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**ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE
CORDOBESE ACCENT AND THEIR
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE
ACQUISITION OF SPANISH AS A
SECOND LANGUAGE IN ARGENTINA**

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PhD

2022

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CORDOBESE ACCENT AND THEIR
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Research undertaken in the Faculty of Arts, Design & Social Sciences

December 2022

Abstract

In Argentina, there is a need for research that focuses on the interplay between language attitudes towards different Argentinian varieties, reported teaching practices, linguistic policies and acquisition of Spanish as an L2. The aim of this project is to examine the language attitudes that 192 Argentinian teachers and 59 students of L2 Spanish have towards the Cordobese accent and to find out whether these attitudes are shaped by language ideologies and linguistic policies in the field of Spanish teaching. Teachers' mean age was 40 (22-73 range) and, on average, they had seven years of teaching experience. Students' mean age was 32 (19-82 range); they studied Spanish for an average of 11 years and their proficiency level was high (37), intermediate (19) or low (3). The thesis also aims to analyse whether these attitudes may be influencing reported instruction (choice of teaching materials, audios, videos, speaking tasks, and so on) and at finding out whether dialectal variation and sociolinguistic awareness is acknowledged and addressed in any way during classroom instruction by these teachers.

The instruments used to collect data regarding attitudes and reported practices were a Verbal Guise Test (VGT), a questionnaire for students (69 items), a questionnaire for teachers (95 items) and focus group interviews with teachers. The data collected through the VGT shows that both teachers and students rated Cordobese speakers more negatively than Buenos Aires speakers in the status and competence and linguistic competence dimensions; on the other hand, Cordobese speakers were rated more positively than the Buenos Aires speakers in the social attractiveness dimension. When directly asked about their attitudes towards varieties, teachers and students have more positive attitudes towards the Peninsular and the Rioplatense or Buenos Aires variety than towards the Cordobese variety, which is explicitly considered a non-standard variety by many. As Cordobese Spanish is associated with a localised variety, many participants prefer to select the Rioplatense variety or the Peninsular variety as a pronunciation model. Most teachers stated that they would use the samples from the speakers from Buenos Aires in their Spanish classes, whereas fewer teachers said they would use the samples from the Cordobese speakers.

It was also found that most teachers do not introduce dialectal variation in their classes in a systematic way, so the incorporation of sociolinguistic variation is not consistent across the curriculum or the practices reported by teachers; the topic is usually dealt with sporadically or anecdotally. Apart from teachers' attitudes towards varieties, other factors may be influencing teachers' decisions: lack of specific training on dialectal variation, lack of specific teaching materials, intuitions, time constraints, institutional limitations and international exams, as

revealed in the interviews and the questionnaire. Most teachers do not seem to be aware of the potential pedagogical benefits of incorporating variation to their classes, as they have not been trained on how to approach this topic pedagogically. Thus, their decisions as regards the teaching of variation seem to be more related to personal attitudes, preferences, or intuitions and institutional or external factors rather than being informed by second language acquisition and sociolinguistic research results. The main implications of the study point to the need for including teacher training sessions on how to pedagogically approach Spanish variation in the classroom and at the need for more teaching materials targeted towards this topic from a pluricentric perspective which acknowledges the value of varieties such as the Cordobese one. Furthermore, the crucial role of general awareness raising among curriculum designers, language policy makers, teacher training institutions, teachers and students about the benefits of dialectal variation teaching in terms of multicultural competence and second language acquisition is stressed throughout the study. Addressing these topics may help us to change the status quo and to achieve more linguistic equality in the field of Spanish teaching.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people who have helped me in different ways to undertake this research:

First and foremost, to Northumbria University, for giving me the opportunity to do this fully-funded PhD in this wonderful institution and in this beautiful city that I have come to love and to call home, and for providing me with the resources and the support that I needed during these years.

My absolute gratitude to Alex Leung, my Principal Supervisor, for his enthusiasm for the project, for his constant professional and personal support, encouragement, patience and positive energy; for trusting in my work and giving me the freedom to make my own choices but, at the same time always knowing when to provide me with guidance and thoughtful feedback. You are a wonderful supervisor and a remarkable human being, Alex. I have been very fortunate to have you as my supervisor.

I also want to truly thank Robert McKenzie, my Second Supervisor, for sharing his expertise in sociolinguistics and in statistics and for providing constant support and kind words during this process.

To Professor Billy Clark, my internal examiner and Head of English Language, for his useful feedback and advice, and for helping me to get the university funding for the Qualtrics licence that I needed for remote data collection. Thank you for dealing with things in a very humane way.

To Professor Graham Hall, for making useful suggestions during different stages of my research, and for letting me audit his wonderful course about World Englishes.

To the School of Languages, National University of Córdoba, Argentina, and to my colleagues from the Phonetics and Phonology II and English Language II courses, Maria Elisa, Julia, Adriana, Yamina, Julieta, Ana and Franco, who contributed to making this project possible in so many different ways: writing letters of recommendation, rearranging their schedules and teaching classes for me, among many other supportive gestures.

To Cordobese dialectologist Professor María Teresa Toniolo, who advised me so kindly, lent me books and materials, and always sent her words of encouragement during these years. To my mentors and friends, Lidia Soler and Griselda Bombelli, who inspired me since I was their undergrad student to love teaching and research.

To my esteemed Argentinian colleagues, who were extremely generous with their time and experience in completing the questionnaires, taking part in the interviews and in kindly inviting their students to take part in the study as well.

To my partner, Juan, and my kids, Facundo and Camila, for helping to turn this personal dream into a family adventure. This experience has taught us so much about the value of family love and support than we could have ever imagined. We have been through some really intense years but we knew that being together would help us get through anything. You are the best team I could have ever asked for.

To my mom, for checking on me every single day, for taking care of my pets, my garden and my house, and for coming to stay with me when I needed it the most. To my brother, Lucas, and my sister, Julieta, for coming to visit us and for bringing family love and delightful Argentinian treats to Newcastle. To my dad, whom I physically lost before embarking on this journey, but who was extremely excited about this opportunity and must be super proud of me wherever he is.

All of you have made this unbelievable journey possible and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for that.

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others. Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this commentary has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted through the Researcher's submission to Northumbria University's Ethics Online System on April 21st, 2021.

I declare that the Word Count of this Thesis is 95.437 words

Name: Andrea de los A. Canavosio

Date: 14/12/2022

Chapter 1: Introduction

In the year 2019, I was part of a team which produced a sociolinguistic description of Argentinian Cordobese varieties to show the world how we, Cordobese speakers, use language. Its results were presented in the XIII Congreso of the Spanish Language¹, a highly valued conference among academics in the field of Spanish, which that year was held in Córdoba, Argentina, for the first time in history. Taking part in this project gave me the possibility of getting to know the profound cultural and historical richness of my province and the endless identities that exist in different parts of Córdoba, which are reflected in the creative and unique characteristics of the numerous vernacular Spanishes found there. As a teacher and researcher in the field of second language acquisition (SLA), during this experience I became very curious and interested in finding out what was going on in the Spanish as a Second Language² (SSL) classroom regarding variation and regarding the Cordobese variety in particular.

This research proposal aims to gather SSL Argentinian instructors and students' attitudes towards the Cordobese Accent and at analysing how these attitudes may be influencing their decisions and practices in the SSL classroom. In this project, I argue that teachers' attitudes and in turn their practices are highly influenced by standard language ideologies and Eurocentrism, which are still noticeably prevalent in teaching materials and current linguistic policies in the SSL field worldwide. In spite of the extreme richness in Spanish varieties around the world, SSL teaching in many contexts is limited to standard varieties and has been characterised as literature-focused and Eurocentric (Ortega, 1999). Teachers' practices may be influenced by their language attitudes but, at the same time, they may be limited by current linguistic policies, sociolinguistic teacher training, teaching materials, language programs, personal preferences and intuitions rather than being informed by SLA and sociolinguistic research results.

It is estimated by the Cervantes Institute (2021) that around 591 million people speak Spanish in the world, almost 8% of the world's population. Spanish is spoken as an L1 by 493 million people and it is an official language in 22 countries: Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador,

¹ The Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española (CILE) is held every three years in different Hispanic cities. It is organised by the Cervantes Institute, the Real Academia Española and the Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española. Its aim is to reflect upon the current situation, problems and challenges in the field of Spanish (Cervantes Institute, 2022).

² Even though in second language environments (contexts where the target language is of general use) and foreign language learning environments (contexts where the target language is not of general use) the contexts, and consequently the amount and quality of input, are different, in this study the terms will be used interchangeably because the underlying fundamental psycholinguistic processes involved are similar in both situations (Gass & Selinker 2008; Bilash 2009).

Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, República Dominicana, Cuba, Guinea Ecuatorial and Spain. Over 24 million people around the world are formally studying Spanish as an L2, and many of these learners are being taught by Argentinian instructors.

This study aims to analyse and interpret Argentinian teachers' linguistic attitudes and their reported teaching practices in the light of a multiplicity of factors that may be having an impact on them. This can help us identify the interplay there is between indirectly collected language attitudes, explicit attitudes and teaching decisions regarding variation, as many times attitudes are so naturalised that we may be reproducing and passing them on without realising it, and the classroom is an ideal breeding ground for this. At the same time, the different kinds of data collected can help us understand how personal and environmental factors belonging to micro, meso and macro levels³ which are in tension with each other coexist, exert pressure and have contributed to moulding participants' language attitudes and teaching practices throughout most of their lives and professional careers. Ultimately, the research aims to bring attention to the importance of sociolinguistic awareness and training among SSL teachers and learners, teacher training institutions, materials designers, curriculum designers and program directors by denaturalising and deconstructing linguistic attitudes towards different Spanish varieties and encouraging decentering practices. The planned and systematic incorporation of language variation in SSL classrooms has both political and pedagogical implications: political, as by including different varieties we are acknowledging and validating them, which may in turn empower the varieties presented and their speakers, eventually modifying the status quo; pedagogical, as there is research evidence to claim that input multiplicity has a positive impact on the acquisition of L2 phonology.

When analysing the history of pronunciation teaching and research, Murphy and Baker (2015) propose four waves of instructional innovations. Even though they focused on English teaching, their analysis could be applied to the teaching of other foreign languages. Up until the end of third wave, which is signalled as extending into the mid-1990s, there was a lack of empirical research to improve pronunciation teaching quality. This gave rise to an agenda that includes empirical research on three macro-areas: "(1) what features of ESL phonology are necessary to teach; (2) how to effectively teach them, and (3) what teachers and students believe

³ The micro level refers to the classroom setting and teachers' individual attitudes, decisions and practices. The meso level points to coordinators, program directors and people who make the decisions in educational institutions. The macro level involves the governmental decisión-making actors regarding linguistic policies.

and know about pronunciation instruction.” (p. 56). More recently, there has been a strong focus on this last macro-area, teacher’s knowledge and beliefs (their cognition) about pronunciation instruction and also on students’ perceptions on instruction and learning. This research project aims to make a contribution to this last macro-area. It also intends to be considered as part of a possible fifth wave which might be in the process of constituting itself. According to Murphy and Baker (2015), this fifth wave will witness the infusion of findings coming from empirical research in different areas such as teacher training programs, materials development and instructors’ actual practices in the classroom.

This project also aims to contribute to the call that authors such as Lauría (2021) are making. She states that in the language field we are witnessing either centripetal (expansion and unity) or centrifugal (shrinkage and diversity) movements (p. 144). She claims that researchers and policy makers’ focus should be on linguistic practices of communities or social groups who speak varieties which are considered “different from” or “subordinate to” the ones which are considered legitimate. Actions should aim at identifying and trying to “reverse the effects of linguistic inequality in the distribution of power and people’s possibilities to access symbolic and material resources” (p.144).

In the case of Argentina, there are few and not widely used endo-normative linguistic instruments, so regional Spanish varieties many times are not taught in schools. Most of the countries’ L1 education makes use of reference and teaching materials produced by language institutions in Spain, which promote a “panhispanic Spanish” whose characteristics are quite different from regional varieties. This situation causes linguistic insecurity among Argentine students (Lauría, 2021), as in the social imagination, there seems to be a hierarchical order that places the Peninsular variety in a higher position than the Argentinian one. When considering the situation of the Cordobese variety within Argentina, this hierarchical order replicates itself. The Buenos Aires variety is placed at the top, and other regional and many times considered “peripheral” varieties are placed in a disadvantaged position, contributing to linguistic insecurity and to the belief that they are not worthy of attention in educational settings, the media, or for public matters.

This scarcity of endo-normative linguistic instruments and the panhispanic trend is very much present in the teaching of Spanish as an L2 as well. Thus, this project intends to explore the role of the Cordobese and the Buenos Aires varieties in the SSL classroom to understand and trace how different factors influence instructors' final choices about which Spanish varieties to expose their students to. Issues related to language ownership, linguistic inequality, standard

language ideology, symbolic dominance and political economy will arise in the analysis and discussion, as teachers' decisions are never entirely personal, but can be traced back to linguistic policies and ideologies present on different planes, such as institutional, social and governmental ones.

In the present study, results of the VGT indicate that both teachers and students rated Cordobese speakers more negatively than Buenos Aires speakers in the status and competence and linguistic competence dimensions; on the other hand, Cordobese speakers were rated more positively than the Buenos Aires speakers in the social attractiveness dimension. Most teachers said that they would use the Buenos Aires samples in their Spanish classes, whereas fewer teachers said they would use the samples from the Cordobese speakers. When directly asked about their attitudes towards varieties, teachers and students have more positive attitudes towards the Peninsular and the Rioplatense or Buenos Aires variety than towards the Cordobese variety, which is explicitly considered "non-standard" by many. As Cordobese Spanish is associated with a localised variety, many participants prefer to select the Rioplatense variety or the Peninsular variety as a pronunciation model.

The data also shows that most teachers do not introduce dialectal variation in their classes in a systematic way, so the incorporation of sociolinguistic variation is not consistent across the curriculum or the practices reported by teachers; the topic is usually dealt with sporadically. Interviews and questionnaires also revealed that other factors may be influencing teachers' decisions: lack of specific training on dialectal variation, lack of specific teaching materials, intuitions, time constraints, institutional limitations and international exams. Most teachers do not seem to be aware of the potential pedagogical benefits of incorporating variation to their classes, as they have not been trained on how to pedagogically approach this topic. Thus, their decisions as regards the teaching of variation seem to be more related to personal attitudes, preferences, or intuitions and institutional or external factors rather than being informed by second language acquisition and sociolinguistic research results. The main implications of the study point to the need for including teacher training sessions on how to pedagogically approach Spanish variation in the classroom and at the need for more teaching materials targeted towards this topic from a pluricentric perspective which acknowledges the value of varieties such as the Cordobese one. Furthermore, the crucial role of general awareness raising among curriculum designers, language policy makers, teacher training institutions, teachers and students about the benefits of dialectal variation teaching in terms of multicultural competence and second language acquisition is stressed throughout the study.

In Chapter 1, the context of the study will be described first. Some details about the country and about the province of Córdoba are provided, together with features of the Peninsular, Buenos Aires and Cordobese Spanish accents. Reference is also made to the role of dialectal variation in the teaching of Spanish as a second or foreign language. Then, the objectives of the study are presented, followed by the literature review. Sociophonetic studies about variation and linguistic attitudes lay people, students and teachers have towards Peninsular⁴ and Latin American varieties are mentioned. Research works that have focused on dialectal acquisition, assessment, and teaching resources are also listed. Studies on factors affecting the acquisition of dialectal features in different languages and the impact input multiplicity can have on the acquisition of L2 phonology are made reference to as well. After the literature review, this project research questions are stated.

Chapter 2 consists in the theoretical framework, which is divided into subsections that develop the theories that served as the basis to collect, analyse, and interpret the data: Language Attitudes, Ideologies and Representations, Variationist Sociolinguistics, Phonology and SLA: Models of acquisition of SLA Phonology, The role of Input in SLA, Dialectal variation and SLA, Pedagogical Approaches to sensitising learners to linguistic variation, Acquisition of Sociolinguistic Competence in the Language Class and Challenges, Policies and Models in the Hispanic World.

Chapter 3 details the study's methodology. It describes the research design, participants, ethical considerations, changes implemented due to the Covid-19 pandemic, procedures, and the research instrument set (questionnaires, VGT and focus group interviews).

Chapter 4 is devoted to the presentation of the results. First, it details the results of the teachers' questionnaire, subdivided into themes. The second section presents the students' questionnaire results, also subdivided into themes. The last section presents the results and discussion of the group interviews.

In Chapter 5, the overall discussion of the study is presented. This is done by restating the research questions and providing possible answers based on the interpretation of the data collected and analysed.

The sixth and final chapter outlines limitations of the study, implications and final remarks.

⁴ The categories (Northern) Peninsular Spanish, Northern-Central Spanish and Castilian Spanish will be used interchangeably in this study, as they are different labels authors use to refer to the educated variety spoken in Madrid and Northern Spain.

Chapter 2: Context, Objectives and Literature Review

This chapter presents the context of the study and the main characteristics of Peninsular, Buenos Aires and Cordobese varieties. Next, the objectives of the study are described, followed by a bibliographical review of studies which are related to the present project. At the end of the chapter, the research questions are postulated.

2.1. Context of The Study

Argentina is made up of 23 provinces and a federal district (the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires). According to the preliminary results of the 2022 national census, the country has over 47.3 million inhabitants (Centenera, 2022). Even though Spanish, also called *Castellano*⁵, was never legally declared in the Argentine constitution to be the official language, it has been used since the creation of the State in the fields of education, mass media and official documents. This lack of explicit and formal statement of Spanish as *the* official language intends to protect the variety of languages spoken in the national territory. In an attempt to be consistent with this plurilingual attitude and to respect aboriginal languages and its speakers, some provinces have declared aboriginal languages such as Guaraní, Moqoït, Qom or Wichí to be “co-official” or “official alternative languages” (Bein, 2020).

In the centre of the country there is a province called Córdoba. It has over 3.8 million inhabitants who live in 26 counties where different Spanish vernacular dialects can be distinguished. Some of these varieties show traces of the languages spoken by the Comechingones (Hênña y Kâmîare), Sanavirones and the Pampas (Ranqueles or Rankülche), aboriginals whose origin in the area could be traced back around 11,000 years. Some of these varieties have features of the Guaraní language, and some others were greatly influenced by Andalusian and Italian varieties, due to massive European immigration waves from late 19th century until mid 20th century. It is estimated that more than six million immigrants coming from Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Turkey, Britain, Russia, Poland, Portugal, Austria, among others, arrived in Argentina during these decades (Bein, 2020). They were looking for better living conditions, running away from European political persecution or emigrating because of World War 1 and World War 2.

⁵ Spanish is many times referred to as *Castellano*, especially in places where it is spoken as a first language. The difference between these two terms is mostly historical and political, rather than semantic (Bein, 2020).

To explore the linguistic richness of this area, a study called *Las Hablas de Córdoba*® was conducted by the School of Languages, National University of Córdoba in conjunction with the Ministry of Education so as to describe and analyse the province's language variation (*Las Hablas de Córdoba*, 2019). Its overall aim is to show the importance of respecting linguistic variation by identifying and defending heterogeneous and innovative ways of using the Spanish language in different communities. Originally, Spanish was clearly imposed by the “conquerors”, who arrived from Spain in the XVIth century. But with time, it was modified and made our own through creativity and through the incorporation of features that can be traced to the contact the members of the community had with people who spoke aboriginal languages or other European languages.

In the first stage of the project *Las Hablas de Córdoba*®, six representative cities of Córdoba: two in the centre of the province, Córdoba Capital and Villa del Rosario; one in the North, Villa de Tulumba; one in the South, Huinca Renanco; one in the East, Marcos Juarez; and one in the West, Villa Cura Brochero, were selected and ethnographic material was collected. Its aim was to create an extensive and diverse digital corpus which gathers evidence of the ways Cordobese people speak, identifying specific characteristics about each area, and also pointing out different linguistic features that have a correlation with social variables. Videotaped ethnographic interviews were carried out and a phonetic instrument was administered to native speakers of each location. Four aspects were analysed in the collected corpus: phonetics, morpho-syntax, lexis and phraseology. The variation was analysed in the light of three social variables: age, gender and level of education.

2.1.1 Spanish Varieties: Peninsular, Rioplatense and Cordobese Varieties

There are many Spanish varieties in Spain and in Latin America, but only eight have been acknowledged by institutions that regulate the Spanish language as educated varieties that can be taken as models when following a pluricentric perspective. They correspond to different geographical areas of the Hispanic world: 1) the Caribbean, 2) México and Central America, 3) Andean Area, 4) Rioplatense and Chaco Area, 5) Chile, 6) Castilla, 7) Andalucía, and 8) the Canary Islands (Díaz García, 2016). Within each of these very general labels there are many other so-called standard and non-standard or vernacular varieties that can be recognised. In this study only Northern-central Peninsular Spanish, the variety from Castilla, and Buenos Aires and Córdoba Spanish, two varieties that fall within the Rioplatense and Chaco Area, will be described in terms of their variation, especially at the level of pronunciation.

2.1.1.1 Northern Central Peninsular Spanish

Northern Central Peninsular Spanish, also known as Castilian, the variety spoken by educated people in the area of Madrid and Northern Spain, is considered a prestigious variety and taken as a model in most SSL coursebooks and materials. It has specific characteristics regarding lexis, morpho-syntax, and pronunciation.

As regards lexis, there are some words that are used specifically by speakers of this variety. Just to name a few, its speakers will use the word *ordenador* for computer or *gilipollas* for dumb, whereas the words *computadora* and *boludo* or *bobo* would be most likely heard in Argentina (Catálogo de Voces Hispánicas, 2022).

Among the most salient grammatical characteristics we should mention *tuteo* (use of *tu* for the second-person singular and its subsequent verb conjugation forms) instead of *voseo* (use of *vos* for the second-person singular and its subsequent verb conjugation forms), which is typical of Argentinian varieties. For the second-person plural, speakers of this variety use *vosotros/as* and they use *vuestro/as* for the possessive pronoun, instead of using the Argentinian variants *ustedes* and *suyos/as* respectively. *Leísmo* and *laísmo* are also frequently used in this variety. *Leísmo* entails the use of the pronoun *le*, which etymologically is a dative pronoun, instead of *lo*. Similarly, *laísmo* denotes the use of the pronoun *la*, which etymologically is an accusative pronoun, instead of using *le* with feminine referents⁶ (van Trijp, 2010). To express future events, there is a prevalence of the imperfect or simple future in the indicative mode, but the use of the periphrastic variant can also be heard (Blas Arroyo, 2008). To express past actions, the present perfect is more frequent than the preterit in this variety; furthermore, the use of one or the other usually conveys a meaning difference depending on whether the past action is related to the present (present perfect) or not (preterit). In Buenos Aires and Cordobese Spanish this difference is usually not established, as the preterit is usually used in a generalised way.

As regards pronunciation, one of its most characteristic features is generalised *yeísmo*, whose use started as a distinctive feature of less educated social groups and gradually became widespread. *Yeísmo* is a phenomenon produced when the pronunciation of graphemes <ll> and <y>, instead of being produced with /ʎ/ and /j/ respectively, converge into the phoneme /j/. There is a fusion in the pronunciation of the voiced lateral palatal and the voiced lateral fricative, so

⁶ For more details about Spanish lexical and morphosyntactic variation, please see *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (2009).

that words like *arroyo* (stream) and *arrollo* (hit with a car) are both pronounced with /j/ instead of producing a difference between them. This lack of distinction between these two phonemes has meant the loss of the phoneme /ʎ/ in most of the Hispanic world (RAE-ASALE, 2011; Rost Bagudanch, 2014). However, the difference is still produced by speakers in Paraguay, most of Peru, and some localised areas in Northern Spain, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile and Argentina. Another feature which is typical of Northern-central Peninsular Spanish is the distinction between /s/ and /θ/ in syllable initial position, i.e, speakers pronounce the grapheme <s> by using the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, for example in words like *sidra* (sider) and use the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ for spellings <z>, <ce> and <ci>, in words such as *zapallo* (pumpkin), *cereza* (cherry) and *ciruela* (plum) (Cruz Ortiz, 2020). In this variety, the realisation of the fricative /s/ is typically apicoalveolar, as opposed to being predorsal alveolar, as it is usually realised in most Latinamerican varieties, including the Rioplatense ones (RAE-ASALE, 2011; Rosales Solís, 2019).

Furthermore, the articulation of the voiceless velar fricative /x/ is more tense in the Northern Peninsular variety, as opposed to the soft velar or post-palatal variant that is more widespread in Argentina and Latin America. The conservative tendency not to weaken the /s/ sound in coda-syllable position as much as the rest of the Hispanic world is also a representative feature. Speakers have a tendency towards weakening or eliding the consonant /d/ in intervocalic position, especially in participles that end in “ado”, such as /kan'sao/ for *cansado* (tired) or /pe'sao/ for *pesado* (heavy). Lastly, speakers tend to pronounce the /d/ sound in syllable-coda position as a voiceless interdental fricative, so words like Madrid and Valladolid are realised as /ma'ðriθ/ and /baʎaðo'liθ/ respectively (RAE-ASALE, 2011).

As regards intonation features, many coincide with most other Spanish varieties; however, some could be considered distinctive of this variety. For example, a characteristic high pitch of the nuclear syllable has been documented in Madrid, just as in Buenos Aires speakers. Also, yes or no questions tend to be said with a final rising intonation by its speakers. Finally, the tonal accent (pitch movement or contour) is usually aligned with the tonic (last prominent) syllable, as opposed to being placed in non-prominent syllables in post or pre-tonic position (RAE-ASALE, 2011).

2.1.1.2 Buenos Aires Spanish

According to the Argentinian dialect atlas (Vidal de Battani, 1964), five geographical regions can be identified in Argentina: The Littoral zone, comprising the area of the River Plate

delta, the province of Buenos Aires, parts of the provinces of Santa Fe and Entre Ríos, and Southern provinces that include the Pampas and the whole of the Argentinian Patagonia. The Central dialect zone comprises the majority of the territory of Córdoba and San Luis provinces. A Northwestern dialect zone extends from Northwestern Córdoba upwards. A fourth area, the Guaraní zone, is located in the Northwestern area of the country. Lastly, the Cuyana zone is located along the Andes region around the province of Mendoza.

As the Littoral region comprises ten provinces, it is further divided by Vidal de Battani into the Rioplatense, the *Pampásica* and the *Patagónica* regions. In this categorisation, Buenos Aires Spanish is part of the first sub-region listed, the Rioplatense. This variety has been the most widely studied in Argentina, which can be related to Buenos Aires being the capital of the nation and the biggest city in the country, with a current urban and suburban population of around 17.5 million people.

In a more recent study, Fontanella (2000) puts forward a slightly different division and identifies seven varieties in Argentina, each associated with a specific geographic area: 1) Buenos Aires, 2) Litoral, 3) Centre, 4) North West, 5) North East, 6) Cuyo and 7) Patagonia.

Buenos Aires Spanish, the variety spoken in the metropolitan area of the city functions as the “standard” in Argentina; Buenos Aires Spanish keeps imposing its ways, voices, changes and neologisms to the rest of the country, especially because of the concentration of mass media, as transmissions come almost exclusively from Buenos Aires (Grana & Masih, 2020; Lipski, 1994). It has been reported that the city of Buenos Aires, which has around 3 million inhabitants, has 254 mass media companies, whereas the central part of the country, which comprises the provinces of Córdoba, Santa Fe and Entre Ríos and has around eight million inhabitants has only 78 mass media companies (Marino & Espada, 2022). However, most Argentinian provinces, such as Mendoza, Córdoba, Misiones and Salta, still keep some phonetic, morphological and syntactic characteristics as part of their identity marking; thus, it could be claimed that Argentinian Spanish is also polycentric (Conde, 2018).

As regards lexical items, there are words and expressions which are used by speakers of this variety and also by speakers of other Argentinian varieties, for example, *al pedo* (unnecessary), *lolas* (breasts), *petiso* (short) and *quilombo* (mess), to name just a few. Italianisms are also quite frequent in Buenos Aires Spanish. Within this category we can mention words such as *laburo* (job), *nono / nonino* (grandad) and *valija* (suitcase). *Lunfardo*⁷

⁷ Lunfardo is an Argentinian vernacular which has its origins in the Buenos Aires *conventillos* (‘shantytowns’) during the 20th century, when there were massive European immigration waves and it was tango’s

words are very typical to Buenos Aires Spanish but they can be frequently heard among Argentinian speakers in general. For instance, words such as *cana* (police officer), *falopa* (drugs) and *mina* (woman) are words that belong to this vernacular language (Catálogo de voces hispánicas, 2022).

As regards grammatical variation, *voseo* is typical of most Argentinian varieties, including Buenos Aires and Córdoba Spanish. Second, the verb *haber* (there is/are) tends to agree with the noun that follows it, as opposed to other varieties in which its form does not change. There is also a preference for the form *acá* (here) and *allá* (there) instead of *aquí* and *allí*. *Dequeísmo* and *queísmo* are two other characteristics that can be found in speakers of Buenos Aires Spanish. The Dictionary of the RAE (2022) defines *dequeísmo* as the incorrect use of the preposition *de* before the subordinating conjunction *que* in utterances that do not require it; on the other hand, *queísmo* is defined as the incorrect elision of the preposition *que* when the context actually requires it to be there. Fourthly, in this variety, diminutives tend to be formed using the clitic *ito/ita* at the end of nouns. Furthermore, the prefix *re* is used with an emphasiser and with superlative meaning, for example, in the utterance *eran re unidas*, meaning ‘they were super close’. Lastly, the confirmation question *¿No es cierto?* (Right?) and the exclamations *¡Viste!* or *¡Che!* are typical of most Argentinian varieties.

Regarding its most salient segmental pronunciation features, *seseo* is a prevalent characteristic of Buenos Aires Spanish. Generalised *seseo* is said to occur when Spanish speakers produce the phoneme /s/ for spellings <s>, <ce>, <ci> and <z> without differentiating between them, as the feature of *distinción* does. When speakers pronounce words such as *cereza* (cherry) and *cierto* (cherry) like /se'resa/ and /'sjerto/ respectively, they are producing the neutralisation process defined as *seseo*. Donni de Mirande (1992) also claims that the phonetic realisation of Buenos Aires /s/ is more relaxed than the Peninsular variant, describing it as a predorsal dentoalveolar convex fricative. Lapalma (2017) distinguishes between three different realisations of this phoneme depending on its phonemic context: it is produced as a voiceless alveolar fricative in intervocalic and initial position, it is weakened or elided at the end of words or phrases, and it is aspirated, taking the form of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, especially when it occurs between a vowel and a consonant. The pronunciation of <s> as a sibilant

golden age. As it had its origins among lower social classes, it was considered to be a taboo language, highly stigmatised and associated with criminals. However, nowadays scholars consider it to be an essential component of Argentinian identity (Guillen, 2019).

increases as the social and economic level of speakers increase and it is also more frequent among female speakers (Catálogo de voces hispánicas, 2022).

Yeísmo rehilado is another characteristic of the Buenos Aires variety. As previously stated, *Yeísmo* is the lack of differentiation between the pronunciation of graphemes <y> and <ll>, which results in a fusion between phonemes /k/ and /j/ towards /j/. However, Buenos Aires speakers tend to produce *yeísmo rehilado*, also known as *žeísmo*, which occurs when speakers, instead of producing generalised /j/, they change its articulation and produce the generalised voiced fricative /ʒ/. They usually pronounce the words *arroyo* (stream) and *arrollo* (hit with a car) in the same way: /a'rojɔ/. A variant of *žeísmo* which is quite common in this variety is *šeísmo*. It occurs when the voiced fricative undergoes a devoicing process, resulting in the production of the phoneme /ʃ/. Thus, speakers who produce *šeísmo* will pronounce these words like /a'rojɔ/. It is important to point out that *žeísmo* and *šeísmo* coexist in Buenos Aires.

According to the *Catálogo de voces hispánicas* (2022), a tendency to drop the /d/ sound, especially in words ending in <ado> and <ido> has been detected, for example in words such as *tostado* (toasted) /tos'tao/ or *comido* (eaten) /ko'mio/. The deletion of final consonants is also common, for instance in terms such as *toser* (cough) [to'sé] or *verdad* (truth) [ver'ðá]. Vibrant consonants /r/ and /r̄/ are articulated in an alveolar position. Lastly, a tendency to depalatalise the nasal palatal /ɲ/ is common, rendering pronunciations like [ka'nja] for *caña* (cane) and [panjo] for *pañó* (cloth). Another feature listed is the tonic pronunciation of non-tonic enclitic pronouns: *organi'zando'la* (organising it).

Intonation is an essential part of a variety's identity and it may help us understand past and present relationships between different speaking communities (Panzutto, 2019). Buenos Aires Spanish intonation is said to be influenced by Italian, as a consequence of the large number of immigrants that arrived in the city during the 19th and 20th centuries. A further characteristic that has been highlighted is a tendency towards stress-timed rhythm, especially in spontaneous speech, as opposed to the tendency towards syllable-timed rhythm which is more pervasive in Spanish (RAE-ASALE, 2011).

Results of previous studies on Buenos Aires Spanish intonation confirm that there is an extremely high tendency for the pitch peak in prenuclear accents to be located 'early' on the stressed syllable (Colantoni & Gurlekian, 2004; Gabriel, 2006; Labastía, 2006; Enbe, 2009; Gabriel et al., 2009), and to have a very steep fall in the final contour of utterances (Kaisse, 2001; Colantoni & Gurlekian, 2004). This contrasts with Castilian Spanish, where prenuclear accents usually reach their pitch peak in post tonic syllable location. As regards intonation of

absolute (yes/no) and wh-questions in Buenos Aires Spanish, authors agree that they usually start with an initial rise but there have been contradictory results as regards patterns of intonation at the end of questions (Gabriel et al., 2010). In order to describe the striking pattern of fall-rising intonation that typically occurs in utterances with a contrastive or emphatic meaning, a L+H*+L tritonal accent was proposed by Gabriel et al. (2010), which is not found in any other variety and could only be compared to Ecuadorian Andean Spanish⁸. Final lengthening and tonic vowels are also a common feature of this variety, whose perception may be exacerbated by the abrupt falling intonation produced right after the accented syllable (*Catálogo de voces hispánicas*, 2022).

2.1.1.3 *Cordobese Spanish*

The accent chosen for this study is the one spoken in Córdoba Capital, a city founded in 1573 by Jeronimo Luis de Cabrera under the name *Córdoba de la Nueva Andalucía*. Nowadays, it has around 2.2 million inhabitants. It is the second biggest Argentinian city in terms of population size after Buenos Aires. It is located in Córdoba province, the second most populous province in the country, with around four million inhabitants (Centenera, 2022). In the 18th century Córdoba was a place of frequent migration and transition. It was a central development point by *criollo* and *mestizo* conquistadors, as local indigenous groups, the *Sanavirones* and *Comechingones*, had been easily defeated in previous centuries (Vidal de Battani, 1964). The city was also used as a checkpoint for African slaves who were taken to the silver mine in Potosí, Bolivia, through the *Camino Real*, which linked the Viceroyalty of Peru and the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata.

Apart from the influence of African, aboriginal and European languages, Cordobese Spanish is in contact with different Argentinian and South American varieties. As the city is home to the prestigious National University of Córdoba, which has around 170,500 students (UNC, 2022), the city is constantly receiving students coming from all over the country and South American countries. There are also significantly large communities who were originally from Bolivia, Peru, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Armenia, Korea, China, and Venezuela, and who are now part of the Cordobese community. Córdoba has been acknowledged to be the Argentinian city with the highest foreign immigration rate in the 21st century (Las hablas de Córdoba, 2019).

⁸ For details on nuclear configurations found in Buenos Aires Spanish see Gabriel, Feldhausen, Peskova, Colantoni, Arana & Labastía (2010).

The morpho-syntax used by Cordobese speakers confirms general tendencies of the speech that has evolved in Latin America since the 16th century (Las Hablas de Córdoba, 2019). Its characteristics largely coincide with Buenos Aires Spanish. These include the use of *voseo*, *queísmo* and *dequeísmo*. Another feature is related to the way we talk about the future. In Córdoba and the rest of Argentina, there is predominance in the use of the periphrasis made up of the verb *ir* (go) + infinitive to refer to future actions, as opposed to using the simple future in the indicative mode which is typical of the Peninsular varieties; the use of the simple present in the indicative mode with future reference is also very frequent. Similar to the rest of Latin America, the preterit highly predominates when referring to past actions as opposed to the present perfect; it could be said that in Córdoba it is used almost exclusively (Las Hablas de Córdoba, 2019). Grana & Masih (2020) have identified changes in the use of verb patterns by Cordobese speakers which they call “quantitative simplification”. By this they mean that the use of fewer verb patterns does not imply a qualitative reduction, as the possibilities of expressing different meanings are not reduced, they are just substituted by periphrastic constructions or by verbs followed by adverbials (Grana & Masih, 2020).

The use of diminutives, ending nouns using the clitic *ito/ita*, is highly abundant in Cordobese speech to express not only small size but also and most frequently appreciation and affection (Las Hablas de Córdoba, 2019). Augmentatives are much more frequently used in Córdoba in comparison to other Argentinian varieties. They can be used to express positive or negative appreciation, to intensify, and to emphasise size or value. The forms used are the clitics *azo/aza*, like in *ricazo* (delicious), *ote/ota*, like in *grandote* (huge), and *ón* or *ononón*, like in *calorononón* (very hot weather), or even a combination of *azo* and *ononón*, such as in the case of *ricazononón* (extremely delicious).

As regards lexis, apart from the abundant use of diminutives and augmentatives, there are some words which are typically used by Cordobese speakers to refer to things that are named differently in other varieties. For example, in Córdoba people will call *criollito* what Buenos Aires speakers typically call *biscochitos* (a type of salty pastry biscuit). Another example is the adjective *culiado/a*. In most of the Hispanic world, including the rest of Argentina, this term is used in an insulting way, similar to ‘fucker’ in English. However, in Córdoba *culiado/a* is very frequently used as a vocative among friends in informal settings; in Buenos Aires and other

areas of the country they typically use the adjective *boludo* as a vocative in similar contexts, which is used in Córdoba as well⁹.

When focusing on pronunciation features, we can distinguish some prosodic and some segmental features. Córdoba Capital inhabitants speak with an accent which has extremely salient prosodic features. At the suprasegmental level, the relative lengthening of the pre-tonic vowel (higher pre-tonic to tonic ratio) is what gives this variety its particular melody (Berry, 2015; Lenardón, 2017). In the case of words which are classified as *esdrújulas*, i.e. words which have their lexical stress on the ante-penultimate syllable, the lengthening occurs in this tonic syllable when the word has only three syllables. This feature has been found to be a marker of Cordobese identity; it has been found to have indexical meaning. The lengthening of word endings is also something which is usually produced by speakers of this variety.

At the segmental level, there are noticeable differences especially in the variation of the realisation of consonants. The grapheme <r> and the digraph <rr> show much variation in its pronunciation and distribution across geographic locations and social groups. It may be assibilated, devoiced and it can also be elided in some contexts by certain speakers. The assibilated variant [r̃] has been found to be more frequent among less educated people and slightly more used among male informants than the alveolar rhotic vibrant [r], which was, in turn, highly predominant among educated Cordobese people and slightly more popular among women (Las hablas de Córdoba, 2019). Grana & Masih (2020) also found the assibilated variant to be more used by male informants and by older generations: people who are 55 or older. The assibilated variant had been previously associated by some linguists such as Supisiche (1994) and Vidal de Battini (1964) to identity and regionalism.

The pronunciation of the graphemes <ll> and <y> also varies across speakers. There is a co-existence of four variants: 1) *yeísmo* –dissolution of the opposition between palatal phonemes and /ɲ/ and /j/ towards /j/- 2) *yeísmo rehilado* or *žeísmo* –use of the /z/- and 3) *šeísmo* –use of the voiceless fricative /ʃ/ and 4) the use of the voiced affricate /dʒ/. The frequency of the different realisations of this phoneme varies depending on the social classes the speakers belong to. Viramonte de Ávalos (2004) found *yeísmo rehilado* to be more common among people from upper and middle classes. Less educated speakers tend to use the variant [j], which used to be “the prestige form for the upper classes in the 19th century” (Archer, 2021, p.152) and is

⁹ For more details about most frequent words, phrases, and sayings used and heard among Cordobese speakers, you can access the lexis section in Las Hablas de Córdoba webpage: <https://lashablasdecordoba.lenguas.unc.edu.ar/lexico-ciudad-de-cordoba/>

currently stigmatised; sometimes this sound may even be elided when it occurs after stressed /i/ and between vowels (Toniolo, 2013). For instance, the word *tortilla* may be pronounced /tor'tia/. Apart from confirming these tendencies as regards diastratic variation, Las Hablas de Córdoba (2019) also found that when considering gender, the variant [j] is the most frequent among men, followed by [ʒ], whereas among women, the variant [ʒ] is the most popular one. When considering age, they found that the sound [j] is more frequent among middle aged people (35 to 54 years old), whereas the phoneme [ʒ] is more frequent in the youngest (20 to 34 years old) and the oldest (55 onwards) generations studied. Archer (2021) found that “the growing tendency toward [ʒ] in the last five decades continues forward steadily” (p. 152). She found the dominant norm were the realisations /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ for all speakers.

Another feature which is characteristic of Cordobese Spanish, but also used by speakers of other varieties is the elision of the sound /d/ between vowels and in word final position (Lenardón, 2017). When the elision of /d/ occurs in an intervocalic position, it is usually produced with vowel raising. For instance, words like *cansado* (tired-masculine-singular) and *amistad* (friendship) would be pronounced by many Cordobese speakers /kan'sau/ and /amis'ta/ (Toniolo & Zurita, 2012).

Some authors described other frequently perceived features among Cordobese speakers, especially among lower classes, such as consonant clusters reduction (e.g., /ko'luna/ for *columna*, column), first syllable omission (e.g., /'tas/ for *estás*, you are), and nasal alveolar consonant metathesis accompanied by stress displacement, such as in *llevelón* /jeβe'lon/, you-plural take it-masculine, instead of *llévenlo* (Lenardón, 2017).

Regarding the pronunciation and distribution of the phoneme /s/, in Córdoba, there is *seseo*, as opposed to *distinción*. However, the phoneme may be realised as /s/, /z/ and it may also be aspirated or elided all together. In the case of the grapheme <s> in word-coda position followed by vowels or consonants, the aspiration of the sound is the most frequent variant. However, when analysing frequency in different social classes, aspiration is the most frequent variant among educated people, whereas elision is more frequent in less educated informants. When <s> is followed by a pause, elision is the most frequent variant. However, when considering the age of participants, younger generations tend to keep the /s/, whereas middle-aged and older generations tend to elide it. When taking into account the level of education, educated people tend to keep the /s/ sound while less educated people elide it (Las Hablas de Córdoba, 2019). Moreover, men aspirate this sound in syllable-coda position more than women

do, and workers belonging to lower socio-economic groups aspire it more than professionals with affluent backgrounds (Grana & Masih, 2020). Some of the previously described variants are highly stigmatised (Lenardón, 2017). Thus, even though they are characteristic of Cordobese Spanish, the frequency of their production is usually lower in formal contexts, the media, and among certain social groups. The stigmatisation of the elision of the /s/ sound is widespread throughout the Hispanic world (Silva Corvalán, 2001).

2.2. Objectives of the Project

In spite of the multiple varieties of Spanish spoken around the world, SSL teaching is usually literature-focused and Eurocentric (Ortega 1999). Authors such as Burns (2018) state that SSL courses do not provide students with inclusive and accurate research-based sociolinguistic information about variation. This might have to do with “traditional focus on grammar and writing and the use of an amalgamated ‘standard’ variety of the language, which does not always reflect the language used by speakers in authentic conversational contexts” (Burns, 2018, p.20). Leaving aside local varieties from Latin America may be linked to what Leeman (2014) refers to as “ideologies of Hispanism, which privilege Iberian Spanish and have colonialist and racist origins” (as cited in Burns 2018, p.32). Thus, focusing on the status and value of Cordobese Spanish, an Argentinian “peripheral” and often stigmatised variety, we try to counteract this Eurocentric, neocolonial trend of Hispanism.

The aim of this project is to examine language attitudes, both explicit and indirectly collected, Argentinian SSL teachers and students have towards the Cordobese accent and to find out whether these attitudes are shaped by language ideologies and linguistic policies in the field of SSL. The proposal also aims to analyse whether these attitudes may influence reported instruction (choice of teaching material, audios, videos, speaking tasks, and so on) and at finding out whether dialectal variation and sociolinguistic awareness is acknowledged and addressed in any way during classroom instruction by these teachers. This will allow us to draw connections between how naturalised, institutionalised and learned language attitudes, which have historical, political and socio-economic foundations, may mould teachers’ practices and in turn their students’ attitudes, reproducing and amplifying them in a never-ending cycle which ignores the potential benefits that incorporating variation in the SSL classroom can have on learners’ multicultural competence and L2 acquisition.

2.3. Literature Review

This section provides a description of several studies which have focused on aspects that the present project deals with. This description will help to indicate what has not been done so far or has been studied but from a different perspective so as to identify where my research niche is. We will see that little research has been done about Cordobese varieties, especially in relation to their role in SSL instruction in Argentina. Most research is focused on the Buenos Aires variety, even though Cordobese is the second most spoken variety in the country.

The section is divided into further sections. The first one describes sociophonetic studies that revolve around Argentinian varieties and how these vary depending on social variables. After that, we look into works that focus on attitudes to dialectal variation exposure and second language acquisition in languages other than Spanish to be able to draw some points of contrast or comparison with this study. Then we move on to studies within the Spanish language that explore Spanish speakers' attitudes towards the variety spoken by other people and towards the one they speak. Argentinian teachers and students' attitudes towards the Cordobese and the Buenos Aires varieties could be interpreted in the light of these results. A revision of studies about the role of Spanish varieties in instruments used worldwide to assess SSL proficiency is also presented, as international examinations might exert an influence on teachers' language attitudes and practices. A similar revision will be done as regards the role of variation in the materials available for teaching SSL. Then there are sections which are more focused on SSL acquisition: the acquisition of Spanish dialectal features, the factors that have an influence on the acquisition of dialectal features, and the role of input multiplicity in the acquisition of L2 phonology. These studies will also help interpret results and discuss pedagogical implications of the project.

2.3.1 Sociophonetic Studies on Argentine Varieties

There are a few sociophonetic studies carried out with Argentinian varieties to understand how different variants relate to specific social factors of speech communities. Even though the focus of the current project will be on the Cordobese and the Buenos Aires varieties, this overview will help us have a clearer picture of the richness in terms of varieties across the Argentinian territory.

The North East of the country, bordering Paraguay, Brazil and Uruguay, is called Mesopotamia. Mazzaro (2011) focused on the alternation between labial and velar approximants across social strata in the population of one of the three provinces in this area: Corrientes. She

found that education and the following phonetic context are the most powerful factors that influence this alternation, which is very frequent in this province but can also be heard in other areas, including Córdoba.

Researchers of Argentinian varieties have shown persistent interest in the different pronunciations of the <ll> and <y> graphemes. Fernández Trinidad (2010) made a thorough and systematic acoustic study of the allophonic variants of *yeísmo* in the current Rioplatense speech. Some studies have focused on the process of devoicing of the voiced pre-palatal fricative in the region: Fontanella (1979) studied this phenomenon in Bahía Blanca, Wolf & Jiménez (1979) in Buenos Aires, Donni de Mirande (1991) in the city of Rosario, and Barrios (2002) in Montevideo, Uruguay. These studies have found a significant social component accounting for phonetic variation but have limited the analysis to the Río de la Plata area or its surroundings.

Two old but iconic auditory analyses of the Cordobese dialect were carried out by Vidal de Battani (1964) and Fontanella (1973), two remarkable Argentinian linguists and dialectologists. They studied the Cordobese *tonada*, which is the word used by Argentinians to talk about the intonation, melody or musicality of different varieties. The authors stated that the existence of pre-tonic lengthening, especially in nuclear position, and wide pitch-excursions, were the most representative features of the Cordobese *tonada*. In a more recent but similar study, Berry (2015) carried out two acoustic experiments to analyse how pitch, duration and style contribute to the Cordobese *tonada*. The findings revealed that the only consistent intonation feature of the *tonada* is the relative increased duration of the pre-tonic syllable in comparison to the tonic syllable. However, the analysis shows that this usually implies the shortening of the tonic syllable rather than the lengthening of the pre-tonic one. Pitch range and pitch contours were not found to be significant factors in any of the experiments.

A Cordobese researcher, Lenardón (2017), also did an acoustic and perceptual sociolinguistic study on the Cordobese intonation. She investigated whether position in the intonational phrase (IP), vowel concordance, and social class and gender condition pretonic vowel lengthening. Results show that linguistic and social factors influence the duration of the pretonic vowel. She analysed informal conversations among native Cordobese speakers. The so-called nonstandard form is favoured by lower class speakers. As part of the same dissertation, the researcher investigated the attitudes, ideologies and perceptions of Argentine people towards this *tonada* using a matched-guise test and an ideologies questionnaire. Results revealed the salience of the *tonada*, some stigmatisation of the Cordobese variety and also local pride.

Another Cordobese researcher working in the US, Archer (2021), carried out a study in which she explored the status of *yeísmo* in Córdoba Capital by analysing the variation in the realisations of orthographic <y> and <ll>. Her participants were 65 residents of Córdoba belonging to different gender, age and socioeconomic groups who took part in sociolinguistic interviews and read some materials aloud. She found that “the alternation between /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ seems to have reached a stable status across social classes and ages” (p. viii). Results also show that people who are less affluent and less educated, together with men, tend to favour the production of /j/. Furthermore, she found that women, especially from more affluent backgrounds show “sonorisation with early signs of devoicing” (p. viii). The author concludes that the pattern of variation of *yeísmo* in Córdoba differs from that of Buenos Aires and that it correlates with some social and linguistic variables. The differences might be related to the strong sense of identity of Cordobese people. As part of the study’s implications she argues that information reported by this type of research should be incorporated into the design of teacher training programs so that teachers are made aware of the variation richness in the Hispanic World. This would help minimise “the perpetuation of ideologies such as acceptable/correct/pure/standard Spanish that permeates today’s Spanish classrooms in the United States” (p.175).

As described earlier in section 1.1.1.3, there is currently an ongoing project at the National University of Córdoba which is documenting the most relevant morphosyntactic, lexical and phonological characteristics of six Cordobese varieties across different education levels, genders and age groups: *Las Hablas de Córdoba* (2019).

In sum, acoustic and auditory studies about sociophonetic variation have been carried out with Argentinian varieties for several decades now. These research works have mostly focused on the Rioplatense variety. The Cordobese variety has been studied with the objective of describing its characteristics and also to show how different realisations of certain features correlate with social variables. None of the previously mentioned studies discuss how Argentinian varieties may be dealt with in SSL classes, what role the Cordobese variety or other local varieties have in the SSL class or what impact the teaching of these varieties may have on SLA. Neither have studies tried to trace the link between language attitudes towards the Cordobese variety and linguistic policies in an attempt to identify how historical political configurations since colonial times have fostered and maintained current linguistic inequalities.

2.3.2 Attitudes Towards Sociolinguistic Variation, Dialectal Exposure and SLA in Other Languages

In this study, the attitudes of SSL teachers and students towards the Cordobese and the Buenos Aires variety are collected through a verbal guise test and through direct questions and focus group interviews to later on try to trace the origin of these attitudes and whether they influence instructors' decisions regarding their practices. There are several studies that have focused on the interface between sociolinguistic variation and the acquisition of L2s other than Spanish. Having an insight into the attitudes teachers, learners and speakers in general have towards variation in other languages and how those attitudes may influence SLA contributes to interpreting the results of the present research work, as issues such as linguistic inequality, standard language ideology, and symbolic dominance of some varieties over others also arise in other languages. Furthermore, these studies provide evidence of how exposure to dialectal variation can have an impact on the development of L2 skills across languages.

A study carried out in Western Canada (Lam & O'Brien, 2014), focused on the perceptions Canadian university students of German as an L2 had about dialectal variation. The participants completed dialect discrimination and intelligibility tasks; furthermore, attitudes towards dialects were gathered using a standard-colloquial continuum. These dialects included Austrian, German and Swiss standards, regional standards, regional colloquial speech and full dialects. Results showed that proficiency level influenced the ability to tell dialects apart but did not influence intelligibility. Moreover, students found certain dialects more pleasant than others. The study highlights the importance of exposing learners to variation and of valuing the legitimacy of all dialects, as languages are by no means homogeneous. Regarding implications, authors stress that course contents should be carefully planned, taking into account course and students' goals and teaching context. In foreign language contexts, they suggest exposing students to non-standard varieties since the beginning of their language learning careers. The more they advance, the more dialectal variation they should be exposed to.

Another study conducted by Major et al. (2005) focused on the effects of ethnic (African American English), regional (Southern American English), international (Australian and Subcontinental Indian English) and Standard English (Standard American English) dialects on native and non-native speakers' listening comprehension. The findings revealed the significant effect that speaker dialect had on both Native-English-speaking and ESL listeners' comprehension. ESL listeners' scores were lower in the tests in which they heard international and ethnic dialects in comparison with Standard American. When comparing the test scores

where Standard American and regional dialects were the focus, no significant differences were found, suggesting that regional dialects could be included in listening comprehension tasks in English proficiency examinations such as the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language). One English proficiency text which already includes some standard varieties from different parts of the world in its listening activities is the IELTS (International English Language Testing System), owned by British Council, IDP: IELTS Australia and Cambridge Assessment English.

Ender (2017) studied how adult students of German dealt with dialectal variation in Switzerland in relation to Standard German and Swiss German. She analysed whether students incorporated or failed to incorporate dialectal and standard features in their second language system. The findings show that some learners used more standard features, some used dialectal features more frequently, and some highly mixed the two varieties. Differences had to do with students' social experiences, their expectations about the linguistic community surrounding them, and the position they had or intended to have within it. This is where instruction may be useful, as teachers can help students to make informed decisions about variation use rather than decisions based on prejudices or biased ideas.

A study that focused on French variation was carried out by Fox (2002), who studied varieties taught in US French as an L2 courses. Even though French classrooms are supposedly globalised, Standard Metropolitan French (SMF), the variety used in Northern Metropolitan France and Paris, is usually the target model. Considering SMF as a linguistically superior variety is a legacy of France's prescriptivist and normative tradition, and it has served as a limitation for students' exposure to other varieties. The author suggests that a pedagogical norm should be adopted in US classrooms, so that students are exposed to authentic language, spoken by people from different backgrounds and in different circumstances, in a controlled, progressive and mediated way. The failure to provide an organised exposure to varieties other than SMF reinforces the misconception that this is the most prestigious variety, putting down other World Frenches. Furthermore, it undermines the usefulness of French as a language for international communication and of the incorporation of different francophone literatures and cultures to the curriculum. The situation of the teaching of French as an L2 is quite similar to the situation of Spanish as an L2. The Peninsular variety is still the most predominantly used to teach Spanish worldwide, in spite of institutions claiming that they support a pluricentric norm, or that they aim at teaching a "pan-hispanic" or "neutral" Spanish, as we will see in the coming sections.

Van Compernelle & Williams (2012) also did research on the development of learners' conceptual understanding of sociolinguistic variation among students of French in the US. They provided mediation that was appropriately graduated, to sensitise their students to linguistic variation, taking into account the zone of proximal development of the class and resorting to instructional conversation. The results provide evidence that this kind of intervention can lead to a deeper, conceptually based understanding of French language variation. It could be hypothesised that this kind of intervention may have similar effects in the SSL classroom.

Another study that focused on variation and the teaching of French is Mougeon & Rehner (2019). In this case, the classroom speech of 59 secondary school teachers working in four localities of Ontario was analysed to see how they alternated between five different sociolinguistic variables of Canadian French which have different social markings and are classified either as Standard French or Non-standard French. Results revealed that although teachers have the same repertoire of non-standard and standard features found in the wider community, they show a marked preference for the use of standard ones. Their speech reported even higher frequency of occurrence of standard variants than the speech of people belonging to higher social strata, which exposes the normalising impact that the classroom setting has. However, the data also showed a degree of heterogeneity that resembled that of the wider community: their speech varied depending on their gender, the subject they taught, and the communicative function they were performing in the classroom.

In a study carried out in Brazil, students of Letters and Portuguese Language were interviewed to explore their attitudes towards variation and language teaching (Vitório, 2017). Results show that even though most teachers-to-be associate language with normative and prescriptivist rules, they have positive beliefs and attitudes towards variation teaching. The author stresses the need for training programs to consider language as inherently variable, as teachers influence their students' attitudes towards the target language. The author states that teachers in Brazil are not being trained to explore and be able to teach other varieties, as language teaching revolves around the standard variety only.

The studies included in this section closely relate to the present work, as they focus on how L2 teachers' and/or students' linguistic attitudes and exposure to L2 variation may influence the teaching and learning of L2s other than Spanish. They all reveal the protagonist role that instruction can have in relation to how students learn, feel towards and react to variation and many reveal strong standard language bias. Among the pedagogical implications of these studies, authors stress the importance of exposing L2 students to dialectal variation in a planned

and organised way, taking into account context, students' needs and proficiency level. Evidence is provided to claim that exposure to different dialects can have a positive impact on skills development and on variation understanding; moreover, decentering practices help to deconstruct the misconception that there are some varieties which are superior or more worth learning than others. The authors also emphasise the need of dealing with variation in teacher training programs so as to avoid normative, eurocentric and prescriptivist views on language, which later on permeate instructors' practices and have profound effects on their students' attitudes.

2.3.3 Attitudes Towards Spanish Varieties

There are some research studies which have focused on the attitudes Spanish speakers have towards their own variety and other varieties. Even though some focus on lay people's attitudes and some focus on teachers' and students' attitudes, their results can be compared with the results of the present study and can help to interpret them.

There are a series of studies which are part of the PRECAVES XXI project, carried out by the National Committee of Scientific and Technological Research in Chile. These research works gather and analyse data about native Spanish speaking university students' beliefs and attitudes about different so-called Spanish "standard" or normative varieties from Peninsular and Latin American cities. Surveys and matched-guise techniques were used to collect the data about participants' perceptions and attitudes towards these varieties, including their own. Participants were from different cities where Spanish is spoken as an L1: Granada (Manjón-Cabeza Cruz, 2018), Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Hernández Cabrera & Samper Hernández, 2018), Medellín (González-Rátiva et al., 2018), Madrid and other cities from Spain (Cestero & Paredes, 2018), Sevilla (Santana Marrero, 2018), Mallorca (Méndez Guerrero, 2018), Buenos Aires (Gutiérrez Bøjmer & Borzi, 2018) and Santiago de Chile (Guerrero & San Martín, 2018). There are some general results to be highlighted about this group of research works. The belief that there is a model that is more prestigious and correct is widespread among participants, exhibiting linguistic inequalities and the symbolic dominance of some varieties over others. However, the higher the education level, the higher the number of participants that believe in equality among varieties, which gives evidence that supports the influence instruction has on people's linguistic attitudes. This pattern is not uniform, though; more than half of Spanish as an L2 MA students claim that Madrid is where Spanish is spoken best, which is related to historical Eurocentrism and the promotion of this variant as the most prestigious and

desirable model, even though in theory, institutions like RAE and ASALE (*Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española*, Association of the Spanish Language Academies) put forward a pluricentric norm. Over 90% of Madrid participants claimed that their variety, Castilian, was the best language model, followed by participants from Balearic Islands (76%), Medellín (67%) and Buenos Aires (52%), exhibiting ethnocentrism and the linguistic pride of speakers from capital cities due to their variety having the most symbolic capital. On the other extreme we can find participants from the regions of Andalucía, the Canary Islands and Chile, who did not select their own variety as a language model. In the case of Andalusian and Canarian speakers, results are in line with historical lack of prestige associated with their varieties, which may bring about linguistic insecurity as well. Independently of participants' beliefs about language models, they all identify and value their own variety, as there is a sense of belonging, linguistic loyalty and group solidarity that comes into play, which systematically correlates with lower ratings in the cognitive component. The Rioplatense accent was the one which was identified with most accuracy (86%), highlighting its salience, followed by Castilian (70%). The last general finding worth mentioning is that all educated varieties were highly valued through direct methods. In general, the least recognisable varieties, which were considered to be more "neutral", were highly valued, with the exception of the educated Rioplatense accent, which was highly recognised and highly valued (Cestero & Paredes, 2018). This value given to less recognisable varieties or to those perceived as being more "neutral" could be related to the political trend of panhispanism, which also puts forward a "neutral" panhispanic norm; it could also be associated with the pervasiveness of this "variety" in Latin American TV shows, series, movies and media products. However, it might also be the case that when listeners do not recognise the origin of the speakers, they do not activate any preconceived notions or attitudes about their Spanish variety, rating it higher. In any case, as Cestero & Paredes (2018) claim, SSL teachers need to be trained about Spanish varieties, as they have a crucial role in determining their students' beliefs and attitudes towards them.

A similar study was conducted by Jové Navarro (2019) in Barcelona, Spain; in this case, the focus was on SSL teachers' attitudes and beliefs. They were asked whether they believed in the existence of prestigious Spanish varieties and how they valued different educated varieties. The researcher found that the participants positively valued all Spanish varieties, both in direct and indirect tests. The Castilian variety was not the most valued educated variety; its rating was relatively low, in fact, when compared to the ratings the seven other varieties received, which could be related to participants being from Barcelona. The identification rate of different

Spanish varieties was also low, which reveals the lack of dialectal knowledge of novel teachers. A third contradictory finding was that most participants believe that there exists a variety that is better and more prestigious than the rest in the Hispanic world, the Castilian one, revealing linguistic inequalities, symbolic dominance and hierarchical orders in people's imagination. The author concludes that most SSL teachers who participated in this study lack sociolinguistic competence; he goes on to add that knowing about geolinguistic variation is essential for professionals, as it allows them to approach the teaching of SSL from a plurinormative perspective.

A comprehensive global study was carried out by Quesada Pachecho (2019), who gathered data on attitudes of speakers from all Spanish speaking capital cities where Spanish is an official language towards their own speech and towards other varieties. Data about cognitive, affective, and behavioural components was gathered through questionnaires and interviews. The researcher claims it is important to unveil attitudes and prejudices against varieties and suggest ways to neutralise or stop them, aiming at having a clear linguistic plan that is in accordance with the linguistic values the speech community feels identified with. Results revealed that, in general terms, Spanish speakers greatly value the standard variety spoken in Spain and consider it to be the most "correct" variety, which could be related to its traditional and historic prestige since colonial times, currently promoted and protected by the Real Academia Española (RAE). However, most speakers chose their own variety as the one they prefer to be exposed to on a daily basis, which can be associated with linguistic loyalty.

Rojas (2012, 2013, 2014) studied linguistic attitudes towards Spanish varieties in Chile. Rojas (2012) found that people from Santiago, the country's capital, have a high linguistic self-esteem. They value their own central variety highly in comparison to their attitudes toward northern and southern varieties. However, they also showed negative attitudes towards the speech of people from central Chile who belong to lower classes or who live in rural areas. They showed positive affective attitudes towards southern speech as well. The author states that this prevalence of positivity towards the Spanish spoken in the capital is related to what Wagner (2006) called the potential for political and cultural influence, as Santiago is the main political, administrative, economic, cultural and demographic centre of the country, which is also related to political economy (O'Rigan, 2021).

Rojas (2013) focused on the attitudes of Chileans from Santiago towards the varieties spoken by immigrants for Peru, Argentina and Colombia. Participants showed positive attitudes towards Colombian speech. As regards the Peruvian accent, even though the variety per se could

trigger some positive attitudes, the lower social status that Peruvians usually have in Chile brings about significant negative attitudes towards their language, which functions as an obstacle for the integration of these people in Chilean society. In the case of the Argentinian variety (Rioplatense or Buenos Aires speech), there is a mismatch between explicit attitudes and practices. Chileans have explicit negative attitudes towards the Argentine variety but, at the same time, they constantly adopt features which are typical of Argentinian speech, which unveils the covert prestige this variety has in Chile.

The most recent article, Rojas (2014), was a more comprehensive study about linguistic attitudes of Chileans who live in the capital city. As regards linguistic security, speakers show a difference depending on whether the perspective is national or international. When asked about their own variety in comparison to southern, northern or rural Chilean varieties, they valued their own linguistic variety highly, especially when considering the cognitive attitude component. However, when considering their variety from an international perspective, they showed really low self-esteem and linguistic insecurity; participants described an ideal model of correctness very much associated with the Peninsular variety, and some mentioned that the speech from Spain is the most correct of all. When considering the affective component of their linguistic attitudes, participants from Santiago showed more positive attitudes towards southern varieties. Similarly, from an international perspective, participants' speech is seen more positively in the affective attitudinal component, which may be related with their linguistic loyalty. Something similar happens with the Buenos Aires variety, which is not considered to be the ideal model to use in second language teaching or to be the appropriate variety for to use in written discourse by their own speakers, as Peninsular Spanish is thought to be more neutral and desired for both ends (Bugel, 2012; Lang-Rigal, 2014; Rodriguez-Louro, 2013). This tendency to have a negative perception about their own variety in comparison to the more prestigious and authoritative Peninsular Spanish is quite widespread across Latin American speakers; this comes from a long history of symbolic dominance and an ideology of linguistic colonisation that is still very much alive in the Hispanic world (Lang-Rigal, 2014) and is reinforced by institutions like the Cervantes Institute and the RAE.

Focusing on Argentina, Llull and Pinardi (2014) studied linguistic attitudes that speakers from the city of Buenos Aires, the capital of the country, had towards their own variety and those spoken by others. These speakers claimed to be proud of and identify themselves with their variety; they preferred to listen to it in the mass media and they were reluctant to change their accent. They acknowledged the difference between their variety and other varieties in the

country; many of them consider it to be the most correct and the most annoying one, and some others, the most incorrect one too. Many speakers showed a preference for the Cordobese variety when asked to choose Argentinian varieties they liked. Among speakers of certain linguistically conservative groups, especially belonging to lower classes and older generations, there is still the belief that Peninsular Spanish represents correctness and purity, so they believe it could be used to unify all varieties into one. However, most participants were absolutely against a unification of Spanish varieties, acknowledging the prestige of other varieties and defending linguistic and cultural diversity.

Another old but renowned study whose centre of attention were Argentinian varieties was carried out by Malanca (1986), who studied Argentinian speakers' attitudes towards their own language. As regards the answers provided by Cordobese speakers, they preferred naming the language typically referred to as "Spanish" or "Castilian" with a regional label such as "National language" or "Argentinian language" instead of a peninsular one. Most participants also stressed the importance of following a norm; they claimed that the characteristics of this standard variety are put forward by the Argentinian Academy of Letters and the RAE. They are in charge of regulating the language by saying what is "correct" and what is "incorrect", accepting or rejecting changes in the Argentinian language, so as to "avoid excessive localisms and regionalisms" (p. 396). The results show a preference towards the North West Argentinian regional model, for being purer, more traditional and closer to Peninsular Spanish. It should also be highlighted that the Buenos Aires variety was not chosen as the linguistic ideal. When justifying their choice, participants stated that they chose the Peninsular variety because it is "not contaminated by" immigrants, italianisms, and *lunfardo*. When asked about Peninsular Spanish, many claimed it is different and some also said it is better than their own, for being more phonologically and lexically richer and for being "purer" than local varieties. It was considered to represent the traditional and original form of Spanish. The results of this study need to be interpreted taking into account its context, as it was conducted almost forty years ago, when democracy had just been regained and people's linguistic attitudes and beliefs may have been different at that time from what they are now.

A much more recent study about attitudes towards Argentinian varieties was carried out by Lang-Rigal (2015). She explored stereotypes and attitudes towards the accents of speakers from three provinces: Córdoba, Tucumán and Buenos Aires; the perceptions analysed were correlated with speakers' solidarity and competence. People with a Cordobese accent were perceived as less cultured, lazy, funny and parochial, reinforcing stereotypes associated with

people from this province; they were not characterised as educated. On the other hand, speakers with a Rioplatense accent, typically heard in Buenos Aires, were perceived as being more competent, but also more selfish and boring. The data shows that people from Córdoba and Buenos Aires are perceived as belonging to different groups. Furthermore, these results reproduce the ideological distinction between the standard variety and other varieties that are not considered standard, in this case in the Argentinian territory. The results of this study are important for the present project, as we will establish whether SSL teachers and students reproduce the same linguistic stereotypes and attitudes exhibited by the lay Argentinians who took part in this study.

In the case of Bugel (2012), he analysed and compared both directly and indirectly elicited attitudes of Rioplatense speakers towards their own variety. Results collected through explicit methods showed that speakers favoured their own variety. However, indirectly elicited attitudes favoured the Peninsular variety in all aspects but warmth. The study revealed that Peninsular Spanish is considered very prestigious among Rioplatense speakers, confirming tendencies shown in other studies. Thus, whereas the local accent is more liked, carries emotional value and reveals linguistic loyalty, the Peninsular variety holds symbolic, economic and geo-political value. The author claims that these attitudes have a correlation in the teaching of SSL in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, where the constructed non-existent “neutral” variety is encouraged to be used over local ones. The author adds that these practices do not express any kind of sociolinguistic reality; instead of helping Spanish teachers and students to have access to sociolinguistic information that contributes to eliminating unfounded prejudices and stereotypes, they reproduce traditional Hispanism dynamics which ignore variation.

It is worth noting that in many of the previously described studies, a high degree of meta-awareness of the so-called standard can be perceived. Not only Spanish teacher participants but also lay people (non-linguists and non-teachers) seem to know which the standard is supposed to be like and who is in charge of “regulating”, “safeguarding” and “controlling” Spanish, acting as a form of language police and defending the Spanish language ownership of certain groups. This meta-awareness may explain why the “standard” is deeply entrenched in speech communities even when people may have positive attitudes towards local varieties.

In this section, studies focusing on attitudes of speakers from all over the Hispanic world towards Spanish varieties were presented. Many of them reveal strong Eurocentric linguistic ideologies, bias towards “standard” varieties, and marked inequalities between varieties which are considered “central” and having more symbolic capital and those “peripheral” and

stigmatised ones. Teachers and students in the present study are part of speech communities so they may share some linguistic stereotypes and attitudes that are prevalent in their country. Studies that focused on Argentinian varieties show differences between attitudes towards Buenos Aires Spanish speakers, considered more competent, selfish and boring, and Cordobese Speakers, seen as funny, lazy and parochial. Most participants show a sense of solidarity and linguistic loyalty towards their own variety. However, when asked about language models, most speakers tend to have a prescriptivist and normative view. The Peninsular variety is the one that is perceived as representing the highest symbolic power. Once again, insufficient sociolinguistic competence among language teachers and students is identified, which calls for the need for training in Spanish variation so that teachers do not reproduce linguistic ideologies that reinforce linguistic inequality in the classroom.

In the present study we will find out whether the tendencies found in these previous studies are confirmed among Argentinian Spanish teachers or new tendencies emerge. The analysis will go further, as information about attitudes towards Buenos Aires Spanish and Cordobese will be correlated with reported teaching practices in the SSL classroom, an analysis which has not been done from this perspective yet. Furthermore, the link between attitudes, practices, current linguistic policies and historically held language ideologies circulating different institutions will be traced.

2.3.4 Spanish Varieties and SLA: Assessment

Focusing on how Spanish variation is dealt with in Spanish international exams offered by institutions around the world is vital. Why so? The Cervantes Institute (2021) estimates that around 24 million people in 110 countries study SSL and many of these learners are planning to sit these exams. Thus, a great number of courses are tailored for test takers, as they make up a substantial part of the demand for the SSL market.

There are several tests offered mainly by institutions from Spain to those students who want to officially certify their knowledge of Spanish. One of these is the DELE (*Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera*, Spanish as a Foreign Language Diploma), created by the Cervantes Institute in 1989, in representation of the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports. Exams are offered to certify knowledge from levels A1 to C2 from the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). They can be taken worldwide in accredited exam centres. Another exam that serves similar purposes is the SIELE (*Servicio Internacional de Evaluación de Lengua Española*, International Services of Spanish Language Assessment),

which is administered electronically and promoted by the Cervantes Institute, University of Salamanca, National University of Buenos Aires, and National Autonomous University of Mexico. As the DELE exam, the SIELE consists of four parts, which focus on assessing test takers' macro-skills: reading, listening, speaking and writing.

There are examinations offered by countries other than Spain but which are not as widely known and promoted. For example, the CELU (*Certificado de Español Lengua y Uso*, Spanish Certificate: Language and Use), is the only exam officially recognised by the Argentinian Ministry of Education and Foreign Affairs. Regarding this certification, there are international agreements between Argentina and the governments of Brazil, Italy and China. It was created in 2004 by the Inter University Consortium oriented towards teaching, assessment and certification of Spanish as a foreign or second language (ELSE), made up by two thirds of all national universities in Argentina, in order to foster regional linguistic policies that promote the value of diversity and pluriculturalism. Test takers, depending on their performance, may access an intermediate level certificate that is equivalent to B2 in the CEFR or an advanced level certificate, equivalent to C1 in the CEFR. A similar certification, the CELA (*Certificado de Español como Lengua Adicional*, Certificate of Spanish as an Additional Language), is offered by the Autonomous National University of Mexico. The National University of Rosario, Argentina, offers the exam DUCLE (*Diploma Universitario de Competencia en Lengua Española como Lengua Extranjera*, University Diploma of Competence in Spanish as a Foreign Language). This exam certifies test takers' oral and written communicative competence and is nationally and internationally validated.

The following studies have focused on the role that varieties have in Spanish international exams. The analysis of the main varieties included in these exams may reveal which models are being promoted and which ones are given a peripheral role or are silenced altogether. These decisions are nothing but random, as there are institutions, governments and publishing companies that benefit substantially from this.

Díaz García (2016) explored how Spanish dialectal varieties are represented in international examinations offered by institutions from different Latin American Countries and Spain. The author concludes that the exams do not fulfil the expectations required to assess listening and reading comprehension skills of different Spanish varieties. Neither are they designed to adequately assess students' sociolinguistic competence. In terms of audio input, exams lack sufficient authentic texts. Moreover, the analysis reveals that the preferred varieties have an excessively predominant role as opposed to peripheral ones, which is contradictory

given the geographical distribution of the examination centres and the pluricentric perspective these exams supposedly encourage.

In the case of examinations which are associated with a specific country, only the national standard is used, and there are no samples of other local varieties spoken in the country. An example of this is the CELU exam in Argentina, which uses only samples by speakers from Buenos Aires who speak the “standard” Rioplatense variety. In general terms, the predominant variety found in the corpus analysed is the Northern-central Spanish variety. In addition, an overwhelming prevalence of formal register was identified, which does not contribute to assessing the learners’ capacity of interacting in a variety of communicative situations.

As we argued at the beginning of the section, the varieties included in these international examinations influence the choice of models that are used in SSL classes. This is why a wider range of varieties representing the pluricentric and heterogeneous nature of the Hispanic world should be used. The author stresses the need of presenting peripheral varieties though real and varied input that encourages passive knowledge of their linguistic features to boost learners’ communicative competence. Another suggestion made is that the introduction of the features should be graded, being general at beginning levels and then, as they advance, making students increasingly aware of contextual and situational variation.

Otero (2011) also analysed how linguistic variation was treated in the exam DELE, offered by the Cervantes Institute. The analysis reveals that texts used in reading and listening comprehension tasks belong mostly to the Peninsular Northern-central variety. There is some reference to other varieties, especially from Latin America, but they are still far from being representative of the diversity found in the Hispanic world. This author also argues that variation should be present from beginning levels (A1 according to the CEFR) in the exams and that it should be progressively incorporated.

In a similar but more comprehensive project, Amorós Negre and Moser (2019) studied how linguistic variation is integrated in four different international exams of (DELE, CELU, CELA and SIELE) and which linguistic models are put forward. Their aim was to determine up to which point the discourse of panhispanism and pluricentrism is actually reflected in exams. The analysis of the corpus revealed that Spanish geolectal diversity is present in exams. However, only one of the four exams, the CELU, provides evidence of a real change towards a pluricentric and multipolar Spanish, as the test exhibits more willingness to acknowledge linguistic endonormativity. The authors state that even though this exam shows a tendency to favour neutral or general Spanish, which sounds artificial due to being an abstract, blurry,

theoretical construct, this choice contributes to the validity and reliability of the examination. The researchers highlight that in terms of linguistic policies, the Argentinian international exam CELU is the only one that defends endonormativity and linguistic autonomy, which constitutes a remarkable achievement, as the other examinations are strongly eurocentric and Peninsular Spanish oriented in spite of the fact that most of the Hispanic world speaks Latin American varieties.

A study that specifically explored Spanish phonetic variation and its implications on assessment in three international exams (DELE, SIELE and CELU) was Andión Herrero and Criado de Diego (2019). Results show that even though institutions, academics and Hispanic research communities claim to reject lectocentrism or ethnocentrism, the acceptance of Spanish plurinormativism is far from being a widespread reality among SSL teachers who create these exams and act as oral examiners. The analysis of the audio samples used in these exams reveals that there is a disproportionate representation of Spanish varieties. Furthermore, the authors suggest that the training teachers receive about variation to become examiners is not enough and that it can lead to subjective evaluations of the prestige or stigma associated with certain phonological features. Insufficient dialectal variation knowledge may prone examiners to label as a mistake the production of features that might actually be typical of a certain national or regional standard.

In this section, studies that focused on the incorporation of different Spanish varieties in international exams were included. Most exams are designed and offered by institutions from Spain, even though there are some other countries, among which Argentina is found, which offer their own examinations to certify language proficiency. Most research agrees on the fact that variation is either insufficiently, disproportionately or inappropriately treated in the exams under scrutiny; mostly standard varieties are included and Peninsular varieties are more predominant than Latin American ones, which goes against the pluricentric ideology that the sponsoring institutions are said to put forward and defend. Exams do not reflect the linguistic diversity present in the Hispanic world nor do they reflect language autonomy and endonormativity of regions other than Northern-Central Spain. The only exception to the eurocentric approach to assessment was found to be the CELU, certified by Argentinian institutions; however, this exam was criticised for its limitation solely to the standard Rioplatense variety. Once more, researchers stress the need of training teachers, examiners and test designers in sociolinguistic variation to avoid subjective evaluations and prejudices permeating their professional decisions.

Analysing the treatment that Spanish varieties are given in the most popular international exams of Spanish proficiency is of paramount importance to this research, as many learners are studying towards one of these examinations. A “washback effect” takes place, as instructors frequently decide to expose students to the varieties present in these exams, for considering them more relevant and appropriate to students’ learning objectives. What is more, materials design and coursebooks are many times targeted towards these exams because of the practical and economic interests of governments, institutions and publishing companies involved in the business of SSL. Linguistic policies need to address SSL certifications, materials design and availability too if the aim is to achieve changes in the varieties used as learning models and to counteract current linguistic inequalities.

2.3.5 Variation, SSL Teaching and Materials

As portrayed in the previous section, analysing variation in international exams may give us some clues about decisions taken by instructors as regards their everyday practices. In this section, other related aspects that can influence practices will be discussed. We will review studies which have focused on the teaching of dialectal variation, including students and teachers’ attitudes towards Spanish varieties, teachers’ pedagogical practices in relation to variation, and teaching materials available.

2.3.5.1 The teaching of Spanish as an L2 around the globe

Shenk (2014) explores the reasons why SSL instructors in the US may not teach *voseo*, a linguistic variant widely used in Latin America in intermediate level courses. She highlights the importance of raising students’ awareness about linguistic variation by exposing them to variants and by offering activities that contain contextually based occurrences of the phenomenon. She argues that by teaching this variant, language instructors can connect their classrooms to the “C’s” proposed by the American Council of Teaching of Foreign Languages: communications, cultures, comparisons and communities. Some activities that address different modes of communication are suggested and they can be adapted depending on the classroom needs: interpretative, interpersonal and presentational modes of communication.

Spanish teaching in the US has attracted the attention of many sociolinguists, as tensions arising from the role and status of US Spanish, Peninsular Spanish and Latin American varieties are present in the classroom and outside it. Burns (2018) looked into how varieties are presented in the curricula of beginner and intermediate courses at a Southwest US university to see which

ideologies regarding the “standard” variety and US varieties are at work during instruction. She examined how regional language variation is presented in SSL first- and second-year Spanish textbooks and she also conducted focus group interviews with SSL instructors. She claims that educators need to raise awareness of the variation that exists within the Spanish language and that they need to encourage critical language inquiry among their students by fostering recognition and understanding of as many varieties as possible, which can help them find their own language identity.

In the case of Gallego & Conley (2013), they conducted a survey to elicit practices and beliefs of teachers of introductory courses of Spanish in American Universities. The authors claim that in the US, a standard artificial Spanish variety is used to teach and little attention is paid to dialectal variation. Moreover, they say there is a lack of consensus as regards whether variation should be introduced in beginner or in more advanced courses, which is a pervasive dilemma among Spanish teachers worldwide. Results reveal that the majority of participants make their students aware of dialectal variation or present some dialectal differences, but this is done occasionally and there are some teachers who do not address the topic at all. Cobo de Gambier (2011) also focused her attention on universities, but in this case she analysed sociolinguistic attitudes German university students of Spanish had about the Spanish language, culture and speakers. After analysing the data, Cobo de Gambier proposes a range of cognitive activities that help to detect and modify learners’ attitudes toward the target language and culture so as to have an improvement in the acquisition of Spanish.

Martínez Franco (2019) studied the role of Spanish instructors’ language attitudes towards regional varieties in communicative foreign language classrooms in a Southeastern US university. She explored how attitudes influence the incorporation of varieties in classrooms led by teachers from different backgrounds. The data was collected through online questionnaires, video recordings of intermediate Spanish classes, field notes and focus group interviews. The findings reveal that while some teachers use their regional varieties during instruction because they are considered prestigious and this gives them confidence to speak in a more authentic way (speakers of Northern Central Spain and Colombian varieties), other instructors, for example some who reported to speak Andalusian, Nicaraguan, Latin American and Mexican varieties, modify their speech due to the stigmatisation of their variety or because it is not the variety of the textbook, the Northern Central Peninsular variety. For instance, these instructors avoided features like *voseo* and aspiration of the /s/ sound in coda position, which are widespread features in most of the Hispanic world, including Córdoba and the rest of Argentina.

Extralinguistic factors such as language tests and syllabi were also found to influence teachers' practices. The researcher stresses the importance of teacher training that promotes sociolinguistic awareness to erase labels like "stigmatised" and "non-standard", as students strongly rely on the way their instructors use the L2 in order to learn to process it and produce it. They also highlight the need to be critical of language policies to understand their role in the dissemination of standard language ideologies.

A somewhat similar study was conducted by Banes et al. (2016) among 76 linguistically and culturally diverse prospective teachers in the US to find out about their beliefs about language, acceptability, standard varieties and identity. Results suggest that students bring their own conceptions about languages and variation to the classroom. Thus, if these views are taken for granted and are not examined, deconstructed or reflected upon, they may negatively affect these future teachers' students, especially with regard to aspects such as sense of self-worth, identity and learning. The authors stress that teacher training programs need to raise awareness about language ideologies and offer students the possibility of transforming them before they enter the classroom.

In the case of B ark anyi and Fuertes Guti errez (2019), they explored Spanish teachers' opinions and pedagogical practices as regards variation in the UK. The quantitative and qualitative data collected through online surveys provided information about instructors' knowledge about varieties and the way they teach them. Participants exhibited positive attitudes towards panhispanic ideologies and towards the idea of Spanish being conceived as a pluricentric language, policies that have been discursively promoted by the RAE and ASALE since the 1990s. However, results showed that what teachers claim to know about Spanish dialects does not correlate with their reported practices. This gap between theoretical knowledge and attitudes on the one hand and actual teaching practices on the other, is a recurrent problem in the field.

Andi on Herrero (2013) explored the concept of variation as part of SSL teachers' competence. She analysed their sensitivity towards this phenomenon, relevance they attach to it, amount of training teachers should receive about it, their practices in relation to variation, and their opinion about their students' development of intercultural competence. 140 participants from 44 different countries answered the survey. Even though most of them claim that they had some training about variation and that they consider that variation should be taught because it fosters intercultural awareness, the explicit and systematic incorporation of the topic into their practices varies considerably depending on the teaching circumstances. This reveals

that even though, in theory, teachers believe that variation is important and should be taught, in practice, this topic is not systematically dealt with, as teachers may lack training and appropriate materials and guidelines as to how to incorporate it in the course syllabus.

In a similar study, Andión Herrero (2014) analyses 79 SFL teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards variation. Results reveal that among participants who were native Spanish speakers, those who had had the possibility of moving away from their dialectal region were more likely to have a more reflexive attitude towards variation and toward the decentralisation of Castilian Spanish as the traditional teaching model. Most participants chose to teach their own variety no matter the teaching context nor the students' needs. Even though participants acknowledge and value variation, most native and a few non-native SSL teachers strongly associate the "standard" with a specific "prototypical" variety, the Castilian one. This variety is considered the most prestigious one, which provides evidence of participants' ethnocentric perspective. The authors stress the need for teacher training programs that encourage future instructors to reflect upon language variation by providing extensive and systematic training on this topic. Guervós (2009) enumerates the main concepts that should be covered in teacher training programs. He mentions it is necessary to highlight colloquial language, normative aspects, geographical and social varieties, and above all, the Spanish of the Americas, as in that continent there live the majority of Spanish speakers, so time and attention should be devoted to their varieties. However, experts in sociolinguistics, dialectology and pragmatics need to offer training and to create materials that can be used to acquire this knowledge, the author concludes.

In her qualitative study, Shekhovtsova (2019) analysed Spanish teachers' attitudes and practices towards dialectal variation in Novosibirsk, Russia. Her findings show that informants do not have theoretical knowledge about Spanish dialectal variation: they confuse specific terminology and are not familiar with differences between varieties. Some of the participants consider "Latin American" Spanish to be understood worldwide, whereas others consider the Peninsular variety to be the norm to follow. Moreover, some show a positive attitude towards variation, whereas others prefer focusing only on a single variety. Most teachers have little information about dialectal variation teaching and consider the Peninsular variety as the model to follow. The author stresses the importance of including dialectal variation in teaching training programs. She highlights that native speakers without formal training who work as teachers also evidence these deficiencies, so she suggests that they should be asked to take sociolinguistic variation courses before starting to teach.

In another qualitative study, Moneris Oliveras (2015) looked into Spanish teachers' cognition about dialectal variation, their learning experiences and educational background, and their reported practices in Canada by resorting to individual semi-structured interviews. The aim was to find out the likelihood of these instructors addressing Spanish dialectal variation during their own classes and the factors that have an impact on their practices. The data reveals that all participants consider incorporating dialectal variation to be important but they acknowledge their insufficient sociolinguistic knowledge. The author states that it cannot be assumed that teachers know about dialectal variation just because they speak the target language. One pedagogical implication of the study is that sociolinguistic courses offered to prospective SSL instructors should not be exclusively theoretical but also practical. Teacher training programs and professional development courses should include exposure to dialectal variation and address practical pedagogical applications in an explicit way to aid teachers or teachers-to-be to implement language instruction which focuses on variation.

Svetozarovová (2020) carried out a study with secondary students of Spanish bilingual schools in Slovakia, Czech Republic and Poland to examine their attitudes and beliefs towards educated varieties. Data of attitudes elicited directly reveal that the most highly valued variety is the Castilian one, followed by the Mexican, Rioplatense and Andalusian ones. Data of attitudes collected indirectly place the Castilian variety first, followed by the Andalusian, Rioplatense and Mexican varieties. The study also includes a section discussing the application of the results in the area of the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language.

A very similar study was carried out in China by Song and Wang (2017) but these researchers only collected attitudes towards Spanish varieties through indirect methods. 96 SSL Chinese students took part in a verbal-guise test through which they rated speakers of the standards spoken in Spain, Mexico, Colombia and Argentina (*Rioplatense*). Mirroring results of other previously discussed studies, the data reveals that students have a strong preference for Castilian, rating it much more positively than the rest, as most of them use this variety as a target model in their courses. When discussing the results, the researchers argue that this striking preference for the Castilian variety can be related to the phenomenon of ethnolinguistic vitality, which has a great impact on linguistic attitudes and perceptions. Three variables determine the ethnolinguistic vitality of a variety: status (mainly socio-economic), demographics (number, proportion and distribution of group members) and institutional support (use of the variety in the press, education, government, and so on). The authors argue that the prevalence of the Castilian variety has to do mainly with the institutional support it gets from the Spanish

government. Many authors whose works are mentioned in this review (Andión Herrero, 2013; Barnes, 2016; Bugel, 2012; Da Silva & Andión Herrero, 2019; Martins, 2016; Irala, 2004; Martínez Franco, 2019; among others) support similar arguments when discussing SSL teaching around the world, linguistic policies of different countries and the role of institutions, the press, publishing companies and the government of Spain in this matter.

2.3.5.2 *The teaching of Spanish as an L2 in Brazil*

Spanish teaching in Brazil grew significantly since the creation of the MERCOSUR in 1991 and the passing of laws to make the offering of Spanish courses compulsory in secondary schools since 2005 to encourage regional integration. This law was abolished in 2016 by a reform which had as one of its aims to favour English as the required foreign language in all Brazilian schools. However, there is a powerful movement called *Fica Espanhol*, which has been fighting to keep Spanish in the Brazilian curricula because of the relevance of knowing Spanish in that regional geographical context (Brandão Araújo Moreno, 2019).

Bugel (1999) studied the teaching of Spanish in Sao Paulo, Brazil, by carrying out questionnaires, interviews, class observations and materials analysis. The researcher found that the majority of courses used materials that focus on the Peninsular variety, in spite of the country having fluid economic and cultural exchange with its neighbouring Spanish speaking countries. It was also observed that there was a 75% mismatch between the variety spoken by the instructor and the one used in teaching materials. The study also found that sometimes teachers suppress some features of their local variety to comply with the model proposed by the book. Nevertheless, some instructors and language coordinators support the choice of the Northern-central Peninsular variety for being “neutral” and “easily comprehensible”, arguments which are clearly influenced by subjective perceptions with no scientific evidence to support them. In this study we can witness the clash there is when linguistic policies are designed following political and economic interests without taking into account the needs of the learners, determined in the Brazilian case mainly by their geographical and social environment.

In a more recent study, Bugel & Santos (2010) focused on the attitudes and representations that SSL Brazilian learners have towards the Peninsular and Rioplatense varieties and towards their speakers. The authors contextualise the study by reporting the changes that have taken place in the country as regards the teaching of Spanish since the 1990s with the economic agreement that gave origin to the MERCOSUR. In order to collect the data, a matched-guise test and an open questionnaire were used. Results show that speakers of

Rioplatense Spanish are preferred because they have been characterised as sincere, friendly and warm. Speakers of the Peninsular variety are considered intelligent, hardworking and reliable, as participants claim that Spaniards speak the “original” language, revealing the prestige that Brazilians attach to this variety. However, attitudes collected are complex and contradictory, which shows that “the stereotypes, representations, and attitudes toward Argentineans and Spaniards seem to be mobile and subject to shifts, alterations and changes” (Bugel & Santos, 2010, p.165). Based on their findings, the authors suggest that Spanish instructors should expose their students to different varieties, which in turn will help them to broaden their minds, give value to and be more respectful towards different peoples, their languages and cultures.

Da Silva & Andión Herrero (2019) explored the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language in Brazil as well. Most non-native teachers identified themselves with the Peninsular variety, which may be associated with political cooperation between Brazil and Spain and with the widespread use of textbooks coming from Spain. Almost 90% of them claimed that they need training in sociolinguistic variation. The results reveal training deficits and practices that require careful reflection on the part of academic authorities and other actors involved in the area of SSL teaching.

Irala (2004) studied how in-service and pre-service teachers of Spanish in Brazil choose a diatopic variety for their lessons. Results show that they prefer using the Peninsular variety, as they consider it more prestigious and educated. Many explanations about their choices are based on common sense and extra-linguistic factors rather than being informed by research. The author argues that the idealisation of Peninsular Spanish was mainly caused by the strong intervention of the Spanish government in Brazilian education. Even though the teaching of Spanish was made obligatory in Brazil because of regional political and economic reasons, Spain was the country that was most interested in the compulsory teaching of Spanish in Brazil because of the economic benefits that would mean for Spain (Irala, 2004). The author claims the situation is quite contradictory, as the Rioplatense variety should be taught if we take into account geopolitical reasons.

Spain imposed the teaching of their standard variety to benefit politically and economically, by giving an impulse to their Spanish language enterprises in this South American country. Such intervention has given the Peninsular variety a privileged place and has fostered the marginalisation of other varieties (Bugel, 2012). Ignoring the existence of other varieties, and the Rioplatense one in the case of Brazil, encourages a teaching environment that is decontextualised and has little practical use for learners (Irala, 2004). This author states that

persistent prejudices against varieties are mainly due to lack of sociolinguistic training on the part of teachers. However, the author also claims that idealisation of Spanish from Spain among Spanish teachers in Argentina and Uruguay is another factor that has contributed to valuing the Peninsular variety and stigmatising their own.

A study that can help us understand the status and role of different Spanish varieties in Brazil is Martins (2016). It provides valuable information about linguistic policies as regards Spanish and the protagonist role of Spain in the promotion of the language in that country. In the creation of the Mercosur, Spanish and Portuguese were established as its official languages, which called for linguistic policies that would foster integration. One of these policies had to do with Brazil's high schools being required to offer Spanish to their students, as previously mentioned. In this context, it would have been logical for Spanish speaking countries of the Mercosur to be in charge of promoting the language in Brazil. However, Spain is still the main country in charge of offering courses, teacher training and teaching materials. This study points out the deficiencies and incongruities that arise from the role that Spain has in Brazil's SSL promotion, as this situation contributes to preventing linguistic and cultural integration of the member countries.

The attitudes of SSL students towards variation is also relevant to contribute to understanding how linguistic attitudes are learned and influenced by a number of factors. A researcher who pointed out the lack of attention given to SSL students' attitudes towards Spanish varieties is Bandiola (2020). She highlighted how contradictory it is that within a communicative teaching paradigm, which is a student-centred approach, their attitudes, preferences and needs are not being taken into account appropriately. The author calls for reflection about pedagogical practices in aspects such as how variation is dealt with in class, materials and input used, the way different Spanish speaking communities are portrayed, linguistic models chosen, among others. The role of the teaching and learning context should be prioritised when making all these decisions about practices. In his study, Bandiola found that SSL students of the Cervantes Institute in Curitiba, Brazil, value the Asunción (Paraguayan) variety rather poorly, followed by the ones spoken in La Paz (Bolivia), Caracas (Venezuela) and Buenos Aires (Argentina) especially students with lower proficiency levels. These attitudes were probably based on stereotypes and negative attitudes towards the countries in general. The variety from Madrid was the most highly valued as regards attractiveness across proficiency levels. Authors state that these results can be certainly associated with the status and prestige

that Spain and the materials produced by them have in the promotion of the Spanish language and culture in Brazil.

Understanding linguistic attitudes and practices as regards Spanish varieties in Brazil will help us interpret the results of the present study, as some of the factors that help mould attitudes and practices in this country also affect the teaching of SSL in Argentina.

2.3.5.3 *SLA teaching materials*

There is a set of studies which focused on analysing how dialectal variation is dealt with in SSL coursebooks (Santiago, 2015; Sippel, 2017; Requena & Tissera, 2018; Jové Navarro 2019). Understanding the role that variation has in current teaching materials will help us interpret teachers' decisions regarding which varieties to use as models and to expose their students to in class.

Requena and Tissera (2018) examined L2 Spanish textbooks in order to determine whether the variability which is present in natural language use as regards clitic placement (VCP) is faithfully represented. The corpus consisted of nine textbooks that were available to teach *Rioplatense* Spanish. Results suggest that the variability of the feature analysed is not perfectly portrayed. However, the textbooks do portray certain important aspects related to the use of VCP across dialects, which gives teachers an opportunity to highlight variation during instruction, going beyond form and meaning to focus on usage and sociolinguistic information.

Santiago (2015) explored how variation is represented in three Spanish coursebooks produced in Spain and which model they favour. Pronunciation, grammatical, pragmatic-discursive and lexical variants used by speakers of standard Peninsular Spanish were highly predominant in the coursebooks under focus. Regarding pronunciation, the analysis revealed that even though in the Hispanic world *seseo* is much more used, *distinción* was predominant in the audio material, for being characteristic of the Northern-Central Peninsular variety. The same happened with the pronunciation of the graphemes <y> and <ll>: the realisations that correspond to the Peninsular variety were much more frequent than the rest of the possible pronunciations. The author claims that the current materials are inappropriate for SSL teaching, as they do not reflect the geographic and social variation that exists in the Hispanic world; materials should move from being Spanish to being Hispanic. He makes some pedagogical suggestions for future materials design, including the incorporation of more authentic and realistic audio material taken from different communicative situations happening among speakers of a wide variety of areas.

Sippel (2017) also analysed five Spanish coursebooks produced in Spain to see how geographical variation at phonetic, morpho-syntactic and lexico-semantic levels is presented. The author determined which the preferred variety was for each coursebook and what role peripheral varieties had. The quantitative analysis revealed that the material is not suitable to apply a model that acknowledges plurinormativity. He found that peripheral varieties are almost absent in written form, whereas in audio material more variation and plurality can be found, but mostly limited to the phonetic level. Moreover, the books claim to present “General Spanish” when in fact what is being used is mostly the Northern-Central Peninsular variety. When teaching Spanish varieties, the responsibility put on teachers is very high, as coursebooks provide very little support in this area. This is why the author claims that teachers must be aware that they will be transmitting their perceptions and attitudes about varieties to their students, and it is very hard to change these learnt beliefs and attitudes afterwards.

In a similar study, Garcelli et al. (2018) found that in most textbooks used in SSL courses in the US, American varieties are not made visible enough, as these textbooks present the Peninsular variety as the model to follow. They claim that this is contradictory, as the preferred variety should be the Mexican one if geographical closeness were used as the main criteria. However, due to political reasons and educational alliances between Spain and the US, the variety from Northern-Central Spain prevails. The case of the US bears a resemblance with what happens in Brazil with SSL teaching. In spite of being surrounded by Spanish-speaking countries, the variety which is most widely taught and used as a model in Brazilian classrooms is the Peninsular one because of similar political reasons.

With a different point of view, Jové Navarro (2019) reviews the main publishing companies that specialise in the teaching of SSL. He provides the example of the publishing company *Difusión*, which launched a collection of manuals which have a panhispanic perspective: *Aula América* (Soriano et al., 2019), *Campus Sur* (Salamanca, 2017) and *Aula Latina* (Arévalo, et al, 2004), and a collection of reading books for SSL students. By reviewing a variety of materials which do offer a panhispanic perspective, the author concludes that the problem is not the material available but the attitudes teachers have towards their own variety and the ones presented by the textbook. This is the factor that has the greatest influence on variation exposure.

It is relevant to point out that some postgraduate students specialising in the area of SSL teaching have considered variation within Argentinian Spanish. A set of MA final papers from the National University of La Plata, Argentina, have designed pedagogical proposals that focus

on Argentinian varieties (Chappa, 2020; Correa, 2019; Larroca, 2017; Rivera, 2014; among others). Most of them are designed with the aim of preparing students for the CELU international exam and they focus mainly on the Rioplatense variety, but they include some input belonging to other local varieties. One of them, Paiva Godoy (2014), specifically includes audios and activities to work with the Cordobese variety as well, by making students spot its salient features.

The studies presented in these sections focused on Spanish students and teachers' attitudes towards variation, Spanish teachers' practices towards variation in different countries and dialectal variation in SFL coursebooks. Most of their findings agree on the lack or insufficient inclusion of systematic and planned exposure to different varieties in the classroom, especially the ones spoken in the Americas, which account for the majority of Spanish speakers in the world. Because of geographical reasons these varieties should be the ones taught in countries such as the US and Brazil, but paradoxically, Peninsular Spanish still has a leading and predominant role. The current panorama is attributed to lack of training, planning, and availability of adequate pedagogical materials, a situation which is framed within linguistic policies that favour historically privileged varieties, reinforcing linguistic inequality and standard language ideologies.

The linguistic policies behind the institutions that offer Spanish courses and publish teaching materials have a substantial influence on what ends up happening in class. The Spanish government has strong political and economic ties with the US and Brazil, for example, which in turn favours Spain controlling the SSL market. Even though many teachers claim to be in favour of pluricentric perspectives, in practice, most tend to favour standard "neutral" or Peninsular Spanish during instruction, and some even modify their own speech to adjust to the variety used in the course materials because of fear of stigmatisation or because of institutional directives.

Authors call for training in cultural and linguistic diversity and in dialectal variation pedagogical instruction among teachers-to-be so that they make informed decisions as regards variation teaching. Researchers also claim that exposing students to variation empowers them and helps them to build their own language identity; moreover, having a more positive attitude to the target language and its varieties may have a positive impact on L2 acquisition.

As regards how variation is dealt with in current coursebooks available for SSL teaching, results show that even though dialectal variation is present in the corpora analysed, in most cases variation is not appropriately dealt with and there is a marked predominance of the Northern-

Central Peninsular variety over other Spanish varieties, exposing Eurocentrism and the symbolic dominance of certain varieties over others.

2.3.6 Acquisition of Dialectal Features of Spanish

Some researchers have focused on analysing the acquisition of certain dialectal variants during immersion or study-abroad programs. For example, Salgado-Robles (2014) carried out a quantitative study that measured learners' incorporation of the dialectal variant called *leísmo* after spending a four-month period in Valladolid, Spain. The results show a tendency in the informants to incorporate this vernacular variant more in speech than in writing. Another study conducted by Knouse (2012) focused on the acquisition of the Spanish feature of *ceceo* (the use of the interdental voiceless fricative /θ/ for graphemes <s>, <z>, <ce> and <ci>) by American university students of Spanish during a 6-week abroad program. The speech of these participants was compared with that of students who did not travel abroad. The findings show that the students did not incorporate the variant to their phonological inventory and only sporadic uses of this feature were identified in their speech. Moreover, the program abroad improved the realisation of more native-like sounds for beginner and intermediate students; surprisingly, advanced students' production showed a higher rate of L1 transfer for the sound under research.

Schoonmaker-Gates (2017) presented two studies in which either perception or comprehension and recognition were improved when students of Spanish received intensive exposure and explicit instruction on dialectal competence. The findings stress the importance of making use of materials which provide exposure to regional varieties and which explicitly address dialectal variation in the classroom. The author suggests incorporating regional variation by making use of films, TV shows, invited speakers, intercultural projects, TED talks, podcasts, news reports and radio stations in the target varieties. This kind of exposure helps students “disambiguate individual and regional variation and construct a stronger concept of what characterises each regional dialect” (p.189). However, the author claims that exposure needs to be accompanied by explicit dialectal instruction.

Schmidt (2011) studied the perception development of Argentinian and Colombian sociolinguistic variation (/s/ aspiration) of SSL learners at different proficiency levels and native Spanish speakers. The study aimed at demonstrating how important linguistic variation (geographic, social and stylistic) exposure is in the process of L2 and native phonology shaping. Results showed that low level students do not accept the aspirated variant as a legitimate realisation of /s/ and that their perception is influenced by L1 phonology. Nevertheless,

increased experience in high intermediate level students allows for native-like perception of the variant and L1 influence is found to decrease.

Another study, Escalante (2018), investigated the perception and production of a dialectal feature of Ecuadorian Spanish, /s/-weakening, among adult L2 and heritage speakers of Spanish over a one-year volunteering stay in Guayaquil, Ecuador. As regards perception, the findings show that most participants improved their ability to perceive the weakened /s/ variant over time, higher proficiency speakers showing greater gains than lower proficiency ones. On the production side, weakening of the variants was extremely limited among the participants. These results suggest that improvement in perception abilities do not necessarily have a correlation in the speakers' production and that "learners can still show evidence of gains in sociolinguistic competence even if they do not produce local varieties" (p. 5).

The studies presented in this section deal with acquisition of dialectal features of different Spanish varieties in immersion and study-abroad programs; however, none of them were carried out in Argentina or focusing on the acquisition of Argentinian varieties. Even though some studies had mixed results, in general, exposure to target varieties had a positive impact on the acquisition of phonological features (perception, production or both). Thus, the importance of exposure to variation in all proficiency levels is highlighted by researchers.

2.3.7 Factors Affecting Phonological Dialect Acquisition: Input Multiplicity and L2 Phonological Acquisition

A few research studies have been devoted to factors affecting the acquisition of phonological dialectal features in a first or second language and to the interplay between input multiplicity and L1 or L2 phonological acquisition. Some of them have analysed its impact on perception, some on production and some on both.

Leung (2014) investigated how exposure to input multiplicity affected L2 phonology acquisition in Hong Kong. The study focused on the acquisition of Filipino English by Chinese children who lived with Filipino domestic helpers and who were also exposed to varieties of English from Hong Kong, the UK and the USA at school. Results suggest that the participants who were exposed to these varieties were able to establish the phonological categories under study. However, their performance was far from a native speaker's. Leung speculates that the lack of development of robust categories may be related to the limited input variety these students experienced. The author highlights the need to shed some light on the quality and quantity of input needed for acquisition to take place.

Bohn & Bundgaard-Nielsen (2009) explored the impact of exposure to a multiplicity of native and non-native varieties on intelligibility. They analysed the intelligibility of English vowels produced by Danish speakers learning English in a foreign language context. It was found that Danish participants' level of intelligibility varied widely, but so did the native speakers' intelligibility against which they were compared. Furthermore, there was an overlap in the vowels that triggered intelligibility problems between native and non-native speakers. However, it was also found that there were intelligibility problems associated with a highly variable and heterogeneous learning target. Not having a clearly determined learning target may have a negative impact on learners' intelligibility, especially in the case of features that vary a lot across different varieties.

In the case of the study carried out by Brosseau-Lapr e et al. (2013), it focused on English-speaking adults who were trained in perceiving a French vowel contrast using six different experimental training conditions. The results showed further evidence that training with multitalker stimulus and stimuli variability enhance adult learning of phonetic contrasts in an L2. In a similar line, Sadakata and McQueen (2013) analysed the effects of high-variability training on identification and discrimination of Japanese phonetic contrasts during perceptual tasks by native Dutch speakers. One group of participants received the low-variability training: many repetitions of a limited number of words read aloud by a single speaker. The other group received a high-variability training: fewer repetitions of a set of words which was more variable and which was read by multiple speakers. Both kinds of training led to superior performance in the identification of speech materials but not of nonspeech materials. High-variability training enhanced identification but not discrimination sensitivity, and it led to better learning generalisation, as transfer was identified from the identification of trained fricatives to untrained affricates and stops.

Schmidt (2018) examined the development of L2 students' perceptual norms of the Spanish aspirated-s, a feature used in many varieties worldwide. The researcher explores how learners of different proficiency levels in an American university categorise the phone and analyses the role of dialect exposure and individual experiences in the learners' perceptual development of L2 variation. Results showed that although learners doing beginning and intermediate-level courses were strongly influenced by their L1 system when phonetically categorising the phone, more advanced students (levels 3-5) were highly influenced by dialectal exposure factors such as study abroad experiences, metalinguistic training and social contact with native speakers. The author concluded that exposure to target language dialectal variants

may shape L2 learners' perceptual abilities, even when they may not produce these variants themselves.

Bedinghaus' (2015), PhD dissertation explored the acquisition of /s/ aspiration, a variant present in the Western Andalusian Spanish dialect, by American English-speaking learners of Spanish who spent one semester in the region of Andalucía, in comparison with students in a traditional language classroom setting who were not exposed to the variant. The analysis of the lexical decision and the identification patterns revealed the significantly increased difficulty of the aspirated condition and the effect of exposure on increased accuracy in lexical decision and identification. Results also unveiled the relationship between exposure and response speed, and the impact of type and amount of use of the target language on the identification task outcome.

A study that focused on the perception of a feature of the Rioplatense variety is Schmidt (2019). She explored whether the perception of *sheísmo* [ʃ] of speakers of Spanish varieties which do not produce that feature varies depending on dialectal exposure and contact. Participants, who were asked to complete identification tasks, language background and dialect contact questionnaires, were from La Rioja, Northwestern Argentina, and from Bogotá, Central Colombia. The findings revealed that when asked to categorise the non-local variant [ʃ], correct identification depended on the amount of contact informants had had with Rioplatense speakers in the past. Results show that experience can modify listeners' processing and perceptual norms, but that does not necessarily mean that speakers will adopt the use of the given sociophonetic variant.

A researcher who synthesised results of High Variability Phonetic Training (HVPT) studies was Thomson (2018). He analysed 32 studies which focused on the impact of HVPT on perception, production or both. The author states that the articles provide compelling evidence in favour of the effectiveness of this pronunciation training tool and of its long-lasting positive effects. Through his analysis, he explains that few teachers are aware of this "empirically-driven approach to pronunciation instruction" (p. 208) because these studies are published in highly technical journals, which are usually not accessible to teachers. Among the implications of the study, the author suggests naming the technique High Variability Pronunciation Training to make it sound more user-friendly. Moreover, he highlights the need for researchers to describe their findings in ways which are teacher-friendly, which may help to bridge the gap between scientific findings and teacher practices.

A comparison between L2 phonetic training with the canonical HVPT approach and one that included acoustic exaggeration was done by Cheng et al. (2019). Both approaches showed

generalisation effects to new speakers that were statistically significant. However, participants that were trained using the modified paradigm had a greater improvement. Moreover, these participants exhibited more native-like categorical perception. The authors stress the importance of the evidence of this enhanced training in aiding phonetic training and fostering “brain plasticity at the perceptual and pre-attentive neural levels” (p.1).

Zhang et al. (2021a) highlight the evidence there is about the positive impact of exposure to multiple contexts and multiple speakers on the learning of non-native contrasts. However, they make reference to limitations that need to be overcome, especially as regards the kind of input to use, the optimal conditions for successful results, and the type of learners that are benefited. The authors suggest that “it is probably not talker variability per se that has an effect; instead, overall irrelevant acoustic variability may play a role in learning the speech contrast.” (p. 2). Results showed that the incorporation of acoustic exaggeration and visual articulation cues in a modified HVPT program helped participants to establish robust categories and to generalise learning to new contexts and new speakers, as it has an enhancing impact on selective attention.

Zhang et al. (2021b) refer to input variability as “a key to successful speech categorisation and many other aspects of linguistic learning for both first and L2 learners” (p. 4803). They make a meta-analysis of studies published in the last three decades through which they aim at examining in which circumstances speaker variability might have a positive effect on the learning of L2 phonetics. They also aim at finding out how variability needs to be introduced to L2 learners to optimise learning outcomes. The analysis shows that “greater talker variability promotes perceptual generalisation to new talkers and long-term retention of learning outcomes for adult L2 learners” (p. 4816). However, further research is needed in the field in order to explore the potential influence of different factors that might work together with talker variability, such as timing, nature of exposure, input quality and quantity, and learner characteristics.

In this section, studies focusing on factors that affect the acquisition of L2 phonology were presented. The results of these research works provide further evidence to claim that factors such as high variability training, input multiplicity, dialectal exposure, metalinguistic training and positive attitudes towards the target language can have a positive impact on the development of L2 phonology. However, there is still a long way to go before their results have a widespread impact on teaching practices, as this evidence is not necessarily accessible or widely known among teachers.

In sum, several studies that somehow relate to the different aspects that this project touches upon have been conducted: there are some that have focused on people's attitudes towards Spanish varieties; some other authors have dealt with the acquisition of dialectal features of Spanish varieties in different contexts. Research has also been conducted in the field of sociophonetics, focusing on specific features of some Argentinian varieties. When considering the interface between linguistic attitudes, dialectal exposure and SLA, some researchers have carried out studies examining what happens in other languages or Spanish varieties other than South American ones. There are also a few studies that have looked over the factors that have an influence on the acquisition of dialectal features and L2 phonology, especially in languages other than Spanish. Some laboratory-based studies focusing on input multiplicity and L2 phonological acquisition have also been presented. When focusing on SLA and Spanish variation in particular, there are a number of studies that have dealt with the treatment of dialectal variation in SSL classes around the world, in teaching materials, and in international examinations, but none of them focused on the Cordobese variety.

After reviewing the studies that were carried out in the field, an important research niche was identified: there is no information about the attitudes that SSL instructors and students in Argentina have towards variation and towards the Cordobese accent in particular, especially in comparison to the Buenos Aires variety. Moreover, there is no data about the personal and environmental factors that may be moulding those attitudes and how these attitudes, together with some other external elements may impact teaching decisions and practices as regards dialectal variation.

Due to the scarcity of research on SSL instructors' attitudes (cognitive, behavioural and affective component) towards the Cordobese accent, the factors influencing those attitudes and the impact these may have on SSL teaching in Argentina, I put forward the following research questions:

2.4. Research Questions

1. In Argentina, what are Spanish as a foreign language instructors' and students' attitudes towards Spanish varieties and towards the Cordobese accent in particular?
2. What is the effect of instructors' attitudes on their decisions of what variety or varieties to teach in their classes?
3. Which other factors influence their decisions of what variety or varieties to teach in their classes?

4. Is the intersection between sociolinguistic variation and SLA reflected in curricular content, pedagogy and classroom practices as reported by the informants? If so, how and to what extent?
5. Are teachers' choices and decisions about variation instruction based on 1) pedagogical reasons, 2) political-ideological personal or institutional reasons or 3) intuitions?

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter develops the theories that served as the basis to collect, analyse, and interpret the data used to answer the research questions proposed. It is divided into subsections: Language Attitudes, Ideologies and Representations, Variationist Sociolinguistics, Phonology and SLA: Models of Acquisition of SLA Phonology, The Role of Input in SLA, Dialectal Variation and SLA, Pedagogical Approaches to Sensitising Learners to Linguistic Variation, Acquisition of Sociolinguistic Competence in the Language Class and SSL Teaching: Challenges, Policies and Models in the Hispanic World.

3.1. Language Attitudes, Ideologies and Representations

Sarnoff (1970) defines the concept of attitude in simple terms: “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (as cited in Garrett, 2010, p.20). As attitudes are a psychological construct, they cannot be observed directly. They are also thought to be learned rather than innate. They are made up of three main components: cognition (beliefs about the world and about how socially significant objects relate), affect (feelings towards the attitude object) and behaviour (they may predispose us to act in specific ways which may be more or less consistent with the cognitive and affective components).

According to the expectancy-value model, attitude, or evaluation based categorisation “is a summary of evaluation, where the evaluative meaning arises inevitably and spontaneously as a result of cognitive processes, namely associations” (Deme et al., 2017, p.5). This model postulates that through analysing the associations made between an attitude object and certain valued attributes we can capture a person’s attitudes. Even though some authors claim that evaluations made about an attitude object are mostly spontaneous, the model of dual attitudes claims that when attitudes change, there is a more habitual attitude that will predominate. However, both attitudes will keep co-existing and may generate simultaneous and not necessarily consistent evaluative reactions toward the same object (Wilson et al., 2000). Consequently, authors propose establishing a difference between implicit and explicit attitudes. Implicit attitudes are characterised by being outside our conscious awareness and are thought to be based on past experience and environmental impact; thus, they influence uncontrollable responses towards the attitude object that are difficult to control (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Karpinski & Hilton, 2001). On the other hand, explicit attitudes are thought to have been constructed more recently and formed deliberately; thus, they are consciously accessible (Deme

et al., 2017). We can have access to people's implicit attitudes through indirect methods, such as the verbal-guise paradigm used in this study and Implicit Association Tests, whereas explicit attitudes can be collected using direct methods such as self-reports or questionnaires, also used in this project. McKenzie & Carrie (2018) found that when there is a mismatch between explicit and implicit language attitudes, that may be evidence that a language attitude change is taking place or is in progress.

McKenzie et al. (2016) state that language attitudes towards varieties "reflect social evaluations of the perceived (communities of) speakers or the varieties under consideration" (p. 3), as specific morpho-syntactic, lexical and phonological features may contain certain social meanings and indexical information for listeners. Attitudes may play important roles as input leading to certain social actions but they can also be the output of other social actions. Positive attitudes towards a certain minority language, for example, may "provide the impetus towards high levels of achievement" (Garrett, 2010, p.21) in a language course. Similarly, attitudes also have an influence on the way we perceive and produce language. A speaker's communicative competence encompasses knowledge about language attitudes and about socio-cultural norms; our perception and reactions towards other people's way of using language is influenced by attitudes, and so are the particular forms we use depending on the communicative situation. Studies about language attitudes have found a strong link between the standard variety of a language and cognitive value, competence or status features such as education, intelligence and ambition; in contrast, varieties other than the standard tend to be evaluated positively in terms of integrity, identity, local value, solidarity or social attractiveness (affective value) (Lang-Rigal 2015).

The language people speak is part of their identity; the beliefs and attitudes they hold towards that language and variety, whether positive or negative, may have a direct impact on the way they use it and on the way they behave (Jové Navarro, 2019). Language attitudes are not inherited; they are transmitted and learned, especially during the socialisation process that takes place in the classroom, which is an ideal breeding ground for beliefs, values and conceptions (Vázquez, 2008).

In the field of language teaching, what a teacher thinks about a specific language or variety may influence their teaching practices, and consequently, their students' acquisition process and outcome, as many times, a difference or "deviation" from the standard is considered a deficit (Gorski, 2011) and may also cause linguistic insecurity in the learner. Their language beliefs and attitudes may influence instruction and may influence the expectations these teachers

have about their students' performance and achievement (Banes et al., 2016; Fang, 1996; Yoon, 2008). Teachers' attitudes towards linguistic diversity may affect their perception about their students' ability and when observing the bigger picture, speakers of minority languages may have unequal access to jobs or education (McKenzie & Gilmore, 2017), due to the symbolic capital varieties have and due to issues related to political economy (O'Rigan, 2021).

Behind these attitudes there are powerful language ideologies that are frequently aligned with public discourses, and they are usually ignored and unquestioned (Farr & Song, 2011). Language ideologies are defined as "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world, mediating links between social forms and forms of talk" (Schieffelin et al., 1998, p.3). Del Valle (2007) describes them as systems of ideas which link notions of language, speech and communication with social, political and cultural phenomena. They are ideas which work as cognitive frameworks which link language phenomena with extralinguistic factors, naturalising and normalising these associations. Furthermore, they are produced and reproduced through linguistic and metalinguistic practices which, in some cases, are highly institutionalised. For instance, the RAE and ASALE, through their publications, conferences and events held worldwide produce, reproduce, legitimise and normalise language ideologies about different Spanish varieties and about SSL teaching, which many times foster linguistic inequality. Thus, questioning the validity of these ideologies among SSL teachers may bring some understanding about language practices, language status, group membership and identity. Deep reflection and coursework may be the first step in shifting and transforming these ideologies (Farr & Song, 2011).

The controversial concept of "standard language" is used to make reference to the variety which is regarded as the norm. As Milroy (2001, p.532) states, "varieties of language do not actually have prestige in themselves: these varieties acquire prestige when their *speakers* have high prestige". The standard variety is presented as a "primordial entity from which other dialects deviate" (Bhatt, 2008:15). Ricento (2007) highlights that the idealisation of the "standard" variety usually goes unnoticed for speakers of a certain language, as we accept its existence as if it were logical, natural, fair and efficient, when in fact it is none of these things, as no one speaks the mythical standard variety, as we all speak one variant of a language variety. Also, Leung (2015) provides historical English examples to show that the so-called "standard" often had an arbitrary origin. Languages are dynamic entities characterised by changes that are in progress; however, those lay people and language professionals who favour the standard language ideology tend to consider these changes to be errors or "incorrect" use of the language,

as they are deviations from the language standards or prescriptive language rules (Jenkins, 2015).

Language attitudes are the actual crystallisation of what Bourdieu (1999) called sociolinguistic representations. Through sociolinguistic representations links are created between certain linguistic objects (accents, varieties, genres, registers, and so on) and social evaluations of those objects and of those people who are associated with those objects. These representations are realised in actual behaviours of rejection or acceptance through linguistic attitudes. Sociolinguistic representations are constantly manifested in a variety of texts that we produce and are exposed to, for example, in texts that aim at regulating language use (del Valle & Arneaux, 2010).

3.2. Variationist Sociolinguistics

Ohala (1993) points out that phonetic variation may be stable or unstable and may eventually result in sound change. Ohala's (1989) theory of sound change, meaning the hidden variation in the pronunciation that speakers and listeners do not recognise as variation, is a theory that makes reference to the 'origin of the variation' in the sociolinguistic sense, not on its spread.

From the perspective of variationist sociolinguistics developed by Labov and associates (Weinreich et al., 1968), variability is seen as an integral part of linguistic competence. The aim is to find regularity and predictability in seemingly random variation. Using the variationist method, it is possible to quantitatively determine the effect of various factors on the choice of a variant. Each factor group represents a hypothesis that tests the influence of a particular linguistic or extra-linguistic factor on the occurrence of the variant form.

Eckert (2000, 2012) claims that three waves can be identified in the history of variation study, which started around the 1960s. The first wave is mainly about "urban survey studies", the second one deals with "ethnographic studies of local dynamics" and the third focuses on "the meaning of variation" (Eckert, 2018, p XI). However, the author claims that it is not that one wave replaces the previous one, but that each successive wave refines the ideas and claims implicitly stated in the previous one.

The first wave was mainly composed of large-scale surveys which were conducted in specific geographically defined communities. The aim of these variationist studies was to broadly correlate pre-established linguistic variables with macrosociological categories such as socioeconomic status, gender, ethnicity and age (Eckert, 2012). Labov's (1966) study on the

social stratification in New York by analysing the distribution of the /r/ sound among New Yorkers is part of this first wave, which includes works that try to reveal regular social patterns of linguistic variation (Eckert, 2012).

The second wave was characterised by an ethnographic approach to variation. The objective of these studies was to analyse how the use of different variants belonging to a specific vernacular language may be marking or indexing social class or affiliation to a community of practice and may be related to social identity. An example of this kind of study was Milroy & Margrain (1980), who delved into phonological variation among Belfast English speakers of different social networks such as working women.

The third wave, which is the one that is taking place nowadays, views variation as an essential feature of language and of stylistic practice. From this theoretical perspective, “the meaning of variation, with all its dynamism and indeterminacy (Eckert, 2018, p. XI)” is at the centre of analysis. As language is constantly changing, variables cannot be associated with fixed meanings but as having indexical mutability. This author claims that “linguistic features of all sorts are continually imbued with a variety of meanings” (Eckert, 2012:94) so indexical order may progress in multiple directions and change in a non-linear way.

3.3. Models of Acquisition of SLA Phonology

In the early days, it was hypothesised that learners processed the phones of the L2 through the phonological system of their L1 (Polivanov, 1931; Trubetzkoy, 1939/1969). This implies that the L1 phonological system influences in both negative and positive ways how the learner’s L2 phonological system develops. The Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, put forward by Lado (1957), emerged within this framework and it proposed that if the L2 phones have an L1 counterpart, they will be easily acquired by the learner, whereas if they do not, they will pose difficulties in acquisition. Even though this basic assumption underlies many L2 perception models, this hypothesis was criticised for being too simplistic to account alone for L2 perception, as segmental contrasts vary in the difficulty they pose to learners, and so do different L1-L2 combinations (Bedinghaus, 2015).

Escudero (2005) put forward the Second Language Linguistic Perception Model (L2PM), which is a computational model that makes predictions as regards how easy or difficult the perception of L2 sounds is, by comparing these sounds to L1 sound categories. The assumption underlying this model is that, initially, learners perceive the sounds of the L2 through their native language categories by duplicating their L1 perceptual system. Then, as

learners are exposed to the L2, old connections may be shifted by the creation of new perceptual categories and mappings. In this model, learners are eventually able to create separate phonetic systems for each language, and can therefore reach native-like proficiency in the two languages.

There are also several models that have been developed to explain how L2 phonological acquisition is affected by age, especially when trying to explain L2 accent. Nowadays, two distinct positions can be identified regarding this phenomenon: one that claims that as the brain matures, it “undergoes biological changes that make it impossible for the learner to perceive and produce novel sounds” (Ioup, 2008, p.48); supporters of the other position state that the student’s L1 categories produce interference in the perception of new L2 categories, not brain maturation.

The first position was first put forward when studying L1 acquisition: The Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH). This theory investigates neurophysiological maturation and its impact on neural plasticity; it states that human beings’ critical period of brain plasticity to acquire a natural language starts at the age of two and finishes around puberty when brain hemispheric lateralisation for language functions is completed (Penfield, 1965; Penfield and Roberts, 1966; Lenneberg, 1967; Scovel, 1969). Even though this theory was created to explain L1 acquisition, it has been applied to L2 acquisition as well. Supporters of this view argue that language acquisition neurocognitive mechanisms become defective when this period finishes so it is not possible to attain L1 or L2 native-like proficiency afterwards (Ioup, 2008). The ability of adding or modifying sensorimotor programs that are used to produce sounds in an L2 is diminished by this neurological maturation (Sapon, 1952; McLaughlin, 1977, as cited in Flege, 1995). A foreign accent in post pubescent language learners’ speech is associated with this nervous reorganisation the central nervous system goes through around puberty (Flege, 1981).

The alternative position places a much stronger focus on perception and speaker experience and input. It claims that problems in L2 perception and production are due to L1 phonology interference and not due to a brain maturation. This means that the inability to perceive new phonetic contrasts in an L2 is not owing to a physiological limitation; the learner’s ability to discriminate is perceptually constrained by the phonemic contrasts of their native language environment. There are four models that were proposed to account for this theoretical approach. The first one is called the Perceptual Assimilation Model (PAM) and was created by Best in 1994. A young infant establishes categories for L1 sounds from an early stage by learning how to articulate them. After these categories have been created, the speaker will assimilate non native categories on the basis of similarities in articulation. According to this model, “The more a nonnative sound can be assimilated to a native category, the easier it will

be to perceive and then acquire” (Ioup, 2008, p.49). Nevertheless, if in the L2 there is a phonemic contrast in which both items are perceived and categorised as a single L1 sound, “establishing different categories for the L2 will be extremely difficult” (Ioup, 2008, p.49). The PAM model was extended by Best and Tyler (2007) to identify L2 learners' speech perception patterns (PAM-L2). They provide a description of a number of cross-language assimilation patterns at the level of phonology (lexical minimal pairs) and at the phonetic level (allophonic and dialectal). According to this model, the assimilation of phonetic segments of the L2 as “more or less ‘good’ exemplars of L1 phonological categories” (as cited in Strange and Schaffer, 2008, p.171) stands on detail differences between the two languages as regards articulatory-phonetic realisation, or on phonological functions similarities. The probability that L2 learners will perceptually differentiate an L2 contrast with L2 experience is determined by both phonetic/phonological assimilation patterns and L2 functional load.

A second model is Khul’s Native Language Magnet Model (NLMM) (1993), which hypothesises that before categorising speech into phonemic units, the infant develops perceptual phonetic prototypes, or representations of phonetic categories which are idealised and that influence and interfere the perception and acquisition of L2 higher-level phonemic categories. Whenever the learner hears a new L2 sound which bears resemblance with an L1 sound, the learner is forced to perceive this new sound as the prototype due to its magnet force. These models are useful in the sense that they explain how phonetic perception changes by age one, but they do not explain how it is that children after that age are still able to easily acquire L2 phonology and the reasons for the gradual decline in this ability as the person ages.

As opposed to the previously mentioned models, whose implication is that L2 input is used in a less effective way after a certain age, Flege’s Speech Learning Model (SLM), put forward in 1995, states that L2 learners can auditorily detect cross-language phonetic differences at any age. L2 learners maintain their L1 speech learning original capacities, such as being able to establish novel representations and to turn the sensory-based information stored in memory as perceptual representations into articulation (Flege, 2009). Flege’s assumption is that the phonetic systems used in “the production and perception of vowels and consonants *remains adaptive over the life span*” (Flege, 1995, p.233); the speaker’s phonetic systems are reorganised by systematic comparison mechanisms between their existing phonetic categories and the categories of the L2 they are exposed to. During this comparison process, learners determine whether an L2 sound is categorised as “new”, “old” or “similar”. If a sound is categorised as “old”, it will be incorporated with no modifications into an existing L1 category. If it is

categorised as “new”, it means that the differences between the L1 and L2 categories are perceived, so, in time, a new category will be formed. The last option is for the sound to be categorised as “similar”; in these cases, the L2 category acquisition may be blocked by an equivalent classification mechanism. This implies that the new category and the existing one are treated as one, which might prevent the eventual formation of the L2 category (Colantoni & Steele, 2018). Flege further theorises that the phones that are not contrastive in the L1 but are contrastive in the L2 are the ones which will be most difficult to perceive by the learners. These sounds which are similar but not exactly the same in the L1 and the L2 constitute the hardest obstacles in L2 phonological acquisition. On the other hand, when there is a greater difference between L1 and L2 phones, the likelihood of the learner noticing the difference and not relying on their L1 to produce the L2 sound is higher. Again, this model points out the importance of richness of experience and input, not brain plasticity: “without accurate perceptual targets to guide the sensorimotor learning of L2 sounds, production of L2 sounds will be inaccurate” (p. 238). According to his theory, what changes with development is perception, but the mechanisms required for the production of new sounds remain unaltered (Ioup, 2008). Furthermore, he claims that the reason why younger children are capable of discerning new contrasts is because their native-language perceptual categories are not strongly fixed in their phonological system yet. Consequently, “the younger the learner, the greater will be the likelihood that sounds in the L2 will be perceived on their own terms, without reference to the L1” (Ioup, 2008:50). However, this model does not provide linguistic or biological explanation for the decline in the learner’s perceptual ability as they mature and the reasons why L2 phonological acquisition is easier for younger L2 students than for adult learners (Ioup, 2008).

Brown (2000) attempts to shed some light on this issue by developing a model which is based on phonemes' internal structure. He claims that what rigidifies perceptual ability is the phonemic system structure and not the L1 phonetic properties. According to this model, “the phonemic properties of the L1 system determine how the L2 sound system will be perceived” (Ioup, 2008:50), as when children acquire their L1, they acquire not only phonemic representations but also the features that make up those representations.

Another attempt to account for differences between L1 and L2 perception is the Automatic Selective Perception model, put forward by Strange (2008). The author proposes that differences are not related to listeners’ auditory capabilities, which remain intact in adult learners; they have to do with L1 speakers over-learning efficient patterns of integration and selection of acoustic-phonetic information which contribute to phonetic sequences being

recognised. These patterns of categorisation, which are language-specific, have become automatic in adult learners, i.e, they require few cognitive resources, and they are extremely robust even when listening conditions are difficult (Strange & Schaffer, 2008; Strange, 2011). These language-specific and automatic perception patterns are referred to as Selective Perception Routines (SPR). L2 learners at beginning levels use their automatic L1 SPRs, which may not be appropriately attuned to L2 phonetic segments' acoustic information, creating L1 interference. This in turn, may cause L2 learners to have problems perceiving certain non-native contrasts. However, exposure to L2 phonological structures usually improves non-native contrasts perception because L2 experience can help to re-educate these selective perceptual processes. In optimal listening conditions, L2 adult learners may be able to perceptually distinguish between very difficult contrasts, as they can acquire SPRs in adulthood. However, due to L1 influence, even after years of immersion, these “L2 SPRs may be based on different (non-optimal) weighting of acoustic parameters than those used by native speakers” (Strange and Schaffer, 2008, p. 170). Difficult listening conditions cause L2 speaker’s performance to deteriorate faster than that of the native speaker, leading to the conclusion that L2 SPRs may never be fully automated when compared to L1 SPRs (Strange and Schaffer, 2008).

Flege’s (1995) original version of the SLM model focused on the ultimate phonetic attainment of very proficient L2 speakers and “posited a unidirectional pathway of accuracy in perception shaping accuracy in production” (Nagle & Baese-Berk, 2021, p.4). In the revised version of the model, proposed by Flege & Bohn (2021), they put forward a bidirectional link between perception and production in which they co-evolve. They claim that these two modalities should be synchronised or mirror each other in the process of L2 learning. This revised SLM-r no longer focuses so much on end states to take on a more developmental approach; this involves identifying the moment in which learners start recognising differences between sounds which are similar in their L1 and their L2, and how this helps L2 learners form new phonetic categories. However, the authors state that there is still much that is unknown about the link between sounds which are cross linguistically similar, and the time course and the events that may catalyse the formation of L2 categories, i.e. about variation in the development of L2 phonology and the speed at which perception and production align with one another in different learners (Nagle & Baese-Berk, 2021).

3.4. The Role of Input in SLA

Input is defined by Flege (2009, p.175) as all L2 vocal utterances the learner has heard and comprehended, including his own, regardless of whether these utterances have been produced correctly or incorrectly by L2 native or non-native speakers. This exposure to the target language is said to be crucial in the process of acquiring an L2. L2 speech research findings have shown that “acquisition of L2 segmental and suprasegmental features from both perception and production perspectives are possible given sufficient exposure to input” (Leung, 2014, p.402).

Many researchers have come to the conclusion that the learners’ engagement with the language, i.e., the quality of the L2 experience and use, are essential in long-term phonological attainment, stressing also the importance of authentic input and a supportive environment where linguistic fluency can be developed (Flege et al., 2006; Moyer, 2009, 2011). As Muñoz & Llanes (2014) point out, when compared to early learners, who usually receive a large amount of input from peers and caregivers, late learners’ input exposure is quite limited in terms of quality and quantity. Language learners may continue to improve their L2 performance if they take advantage of the social and psychological environments that early learners benefit from, which usually include daily L2 use and exposure (Saito, 2015). There is evidence to claim that L2 learners do not lose their language learning ability; their L2 performance keeps being influenced by their dominant language use, suggesting that “even late L2 oral proficiency development can be characterised as a gradual, constant, and extensive process, similar to the processes involved in L1 acquisition by children in the first several years of their lives” (Saito, 2015, p.566).

Similarly, there is significant consensus on the idea that the most important factors in the acquisition of phonological variants are type and quantity of exposure, rather than the context where that exposure takes place; thus, instructors’ role in acquisition is key (Zárate-Sánchez, 2019). However, it is not clear how much and what kind of input (quantity and quality) are needed in order for acquisition to take place or how they influence “the rate of development and ultimate attainment” (Colantoni et al., 2015, p.90). Moreover, the concept of input multiplicity in itself is a broad term that might make reference to differences between individual speakers, contextual, dialectal, register or gender differences, among others.

There are several studies which have focused on the role of input and intensive language contact, for example in study abroad programs and in immersion courses (Díaz-Campos, 2004; Freed et al., 2004), as seen in previous sections. Some others have explored the effect of input variability in L2 learning and how it may impact L2 speech category learning, as described in

previous sections as well. There is extensive evidence from laboratory studies to support the claim that input multiplicity or heterogeneity, i.e. exposure to multiple speakers or larger sets of stimuli as part of a high variability training approach, contributes to the robustness of phonological category perception and category retention in the memory and may also facilitate learners' ability to transfer perceptual gains to other new contrasts and novel speakers (Bradlow & Bent, 2008; Brosseau-Lapr e et al., 2013; Carlet & Cebrian, 2014; Clopper & Pisoni, 2004; Colantoni & Steele, 2018; Hardison, 2003; Logan et al., 1991; Nishi & Kewley-Port, 2007; Pisoni & Lively, 1995; Pruitt et al., 2006; Qian & Levis, 2018; Sadakata & McQueen, 2013; Thomson, 2018; Zhang et al., 2009a; Zhang et al. 2021). The nature of the stimuli which are presented to participants as part of the training in speech perception will make a difference. There is evidence that natural speech input that is highly variable "provides the best foundation for learning in second language speech perception interventions" (Brosseau-Lapr e et al, 2013, p.420). Nevertheless, due to the high variability in the natural speech input that is at play in SLA studies, defining how variability may impact perception and the learning process may be quite difficult. The link between source of variability and generalisation of learning has been considered as support for the development of speech perception exemplar-based models. In these models the individual tokens which are presented during training, including phonetic and indexical information, are stored in memory, forming a "multidimensional parametric acoustic space from which phonetic units are abstracted" (p. 420). During word recognition, a mechanism of selective attention compares the stimulus dimensions to the stored items.

There have also been advances in the development of computer-assisted pronunciation training tools which rely on the use of highly variable input as a means to improve the perception of L2 phonetic contrasts. Qian and Levis (2018) developed a program which aims to improve segmental perception, especially of high functional load contrasts, by resorting to "word frequency lists, high variability phonetic input, and text-to-speech technology" (p. 69). What is promising about this prototype is that it creates identification and discrimination activities especially tailored for individual learners, as students' needs as regards phonological perceptual training vary depending on many factors, such as their native language and individual differences.

3.5. Dialectal Variation and SLA

SLA studies from a variationist perspective were relatively scarce until the late 1980s because the benefits this kind of approach may provide were not widely known. According to

Bayley (2005), this neglect was mainly due to the dominance of formal paradigms in linguistics and in SLA models, the limitation of sociolinguistic aims to “socially sensitive pragmatics” (Preston, 1996, p. 25), and to SLA researchers’ misconceptions about variationist linguistics. Early SLA research was mostly psycholinguistic in nature, as individuals were treated as isolated for research purposes; learning was viewed as taking place only in the learner’s mind, and it had a monolingual bias; it characterised the learner as a non-native speaker who is an ‘inherently defective communicator’, and who communicates with an idealised ‘native speaker’ who speaks an idealised standard variety (Ellis, 2012).

From the mid 1990s, authors started questioning the psycholinguistic and cognitive foundations of SLA and stressing the need for more interdisciplinary approaches that would explore how social factors influence L2 learning and how they take part in the construction of social contexts of acquisition (Ellis, 2012). Sociolinguistic SLA approaches acknowledge learners’ different identities, which are also dynamic, as learners may speak multiple languages and may engage in heteroglossic practices. Native-like production is no longer the necessary objective, as L2 users may want to construct an identity which “reflects the diversity of their background” (Nance et al, 2016). They also consider that interaction takes place between language learners, and that when learners interact with native speakers, they are likely to speak some regional variety rather than the so-called standard variety.

These approaches take into account social variables such as L2 environment, length of residence, quantity and extent of L2 and L1 use, social identity, gender, target language variety and accommodation of the interlocutor (Hansen-Edwards et al., 2021). This process, which produced a transformation in the field of SLA, is widely known as the social turn, which criticised the narrowness of the input-interaction-output model of L2 acquisition for being too mechanistic and individualistic, and for failing to account for other dimensions of language (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Block, 2003; Ellis, 2012; Ortega, 2011). Some authors aimed at reconceptualising SLA to be able to integrate cognitive and social dimensions of acquisition and L2 use (Leung & Young-Sholten, 2013; Tarone, 2000), as they claimed that the “obsession with the decontextualised, autonomous learner has prevented us from conceptualising SLA as a situated, integrated, sociocognitive process’ (Atkinson, 2002, p.526). Atkinson adds that not only language is social, so is language acquisition; thus, a sociocognitive approach is necessary. Alternative approaches that focused on different aspects of language acquisition emerged as a reaction to formalists and cognitivism, such as the sociocultural, language socialisation, conversation-analytic, socio-cognitive and complexity theory approaches (Atkinson, 2011).

In SLA, pluralistic approaches emerged. Within this framework, teaching and learning experiences involve activities that incorporate different varieties of cultures and languages. There are authors that distinguish four approaches: integrated didactic approaches, intercultural approach, inter-comprehension of related languages, and the awakening to language. The integration of didactic approaches aims at students being able to establish links between a certain number of languages which are part of the curriculum and to optimise the relationship among them and the knowledge learners have about them. Students' L1 or the institutional language serves as a springboard that aids the acquisition of a first foreign language; then, those two languages serve as a basis for learning a second foreign language, and so on, aiming at plurilingual competence. An intercultural approach to language teaching has as its main objective to develop communicative skills by teaching both language and culture. In the approach labelled inter-comprehension of related languages, a number of languages belonging to the same family are studied at the same time, especially aiming at developing receptive skills. The awakening to language approach is the most extreme type of pluralistic approach, as it involves exposing a large number of languages and linguistic varieties, especially to raise awareness in children about linguistic diversity (Candelier et al., 2012).

Another concept that should be mentioned as part of the current trend in SLA is translanguaging, which originated in Welsh classrooms, with teachers speaking in Welsh and students responding in English, or learners reading in Welsh at points, and teachers making comments in English. It has shown to be particularly useful as a pedagogical tool in multilingual contexts where the language of instruction is not the same as the learners' language (García & Sylvan, 2011). This practice aims to empower not only learners but also teachers by “deliberately breaking the artificial and ideological divides between indigenous versus immigrant, majority versus minority, and target versus mother tongue languages” to enhance the learning experience and to develop identity (Li, 2018, p.15).

Translanguaging defies the monolingual conceptions of what it means to teach and learn languages. In a translingual pedagogy, the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia, which stresses the variable nature of languages and their mutability, comes into play, as the presence of different languages, dialects, and socially and functionally stratified varieties is acknowledged and exploited in the classroom. A translingual pedagogy makes use of hybrid and flexible linguistic practices and margins, resembling linguistic practices in a contemporary world which is in constant movement. Learning a language does not mean learning a unified code but a variety of forms that make up our linguistic repertoire and help us to understand and use the

linguistic resources available in a community, as the borders between different languages and varieties are not fixed (Zolin-Vesz, 2014). This perspective seeks to question the four main characteristics associated with a monolingual conception of language: the concept of a national language, language as a specific grammar, language as form, and language as written representations (Dufva et al., 2011, 2012). These characteristics are closely associated with the monolingual view that a language is a “norm” and that languages are autonomous and parallel codes or entities which never touch each other (Zolin-Vesz, 2014). In the case of the SSL teaching in Brazil, for instance, the concept of national language is strictly related with Spain, which promotes the invisibility of the other countries which make up the Hispanic world (Zolin-Vesz, 2014).

The globalised world that we currently live in demands a linguistic competence that allows individuals to engage in translingual and transcultural practices which do not fit the monolingual model of communication. Language learners need to be prepared to decodify the social, cultural and political information that is behind languages and communicative practices. Language instructors, curriculum and materials designers and language program directors, for example, need to be prepared to face these challenges in a responsible and informed way so that students are provided with the necessary analytical tools to critically interpret language use (del Valle, 2014).

Bayley (2005) puts forward four main advantages of using variationist methods in SLA research. The first one is the possibility of studying the effects of language transfer and interlanguage variability in language learners; their use of features that may have once been considered as linguistic incompetence may now be acknowledged as sociolinguistic competence. Secondly, the quantitative results of sociolinguistic studies about certain speech communities “provide a much more realistic view of how target languages function than do traditional grammars” (p. 3) and are helpful to understand transfer and acquisition processes, especially in areas where learners are mostly exposed to vernacular or so called “non-standard” varieties. The third advantage is that this perspective may help to test whether repeated restructuring is involved in the acquisition of second or foreign languages, or whether they are acquired gradually in a multi-dimensional continuum. The last main advantage of examining the patterns of variability is that it may provide information about how learners are able to move away from the typical formal style that they are exposed to during classroom instruction (Bayley, 2005).

There are three main psycholinguistic processes that, according to Ellis (1994), promote acquisition of a new linguistic system: noticing, comparing and integrating. Siegel (1999) suggests that noticing and comparing do not tend to occur naturally for learners when acquiring an L2 that is similar to their L1 or in situations where a stigmatised variety and the standard variety are involved. This happens because in these situations learners are not likely to experience communication breakdowns that would encourage the noticing or perception of the new linguistic form. Tomlin and Villa (1994) define noticing as “detection within selective attention” (p.199). In his noticing hypothesis, Schmidt (1994) claims that the necessary condition for acquisition is attention to L2 forms. The second process, comparing, makes reference to the evaluation of the new system relative to the knowledge the learner already has. This process allows input to be converted into intake, as the information which is temporarily stored in our memory may later become part of the learner’s interlanguage. According to Ellis (1994), “new items and rules will only become intake if learners establish how they differ from their existing interlanguage representation” (p.94). The final process is integrating, which refers to incorporating the new linguistic items into one’s interlanguage.

Hansen Edwards et al. (2021) state that as teachers we have to bear in mind the impact that social factors have on the way learners view their L1 and other languages; these views may have important effects on L2 acquisition and on their use of certain features. In the case of L2 pronunciation acquisition, higher attainment is associated with a stronger identification with the L2 community. Thus, teachers should work on increasing students’ “awareness of the social meaning of pronunciation features”, as this may empower them to engage in meaningful ways with the L2 across a variety of contexts of use.

Addressing dialectal variation during instruction may pose some obstacles, as there is little instruction and guidance as regards how to approach it. Although some studies on varied languages (Amberg & Vause, 2008; Arteaga & Llorente, 2009; Fox, 2002; Gutiérrez & Fairclough, 2006) state that including dialectal variation in foreign language courses is important, there are opposing positions as to when this variation should be introduced: at beginning or at more advanced courses. Gutierrez and Fairclough (2006) claim that instructors should expose students to sociolinguistic variation; they adhere to the inclusion of “key sociolinguistic concepts and samples of language variation ... in all language textbooks ... even at the basic levels of instruction” (p. 184).

The arguments put forward to justify the exclusion of dialectal variation in the curriculum range from lack of sociolinguistic training in instructors, time constraints, lack of treatment of

dialectal variation in textbooks to drawbacks of introducing variation too early in the language acquisition process. Requena and Tissera (2018) state that instructors may avoid exposing students to variation based on intuitive assumptions that associate greater variation to greater difficulty. However, the authors argue that avoiding variation “may mask the diversity, intricacy and reality of language and may also inhibit learners from accessing authentic patterns of language use” (p. 57). As regards this last point, del Valle (2014) states that the process of syllabus design and curriculum planning must necessarily take into account the need for students to start developing critical knowledge about the cultural, social and political dimensions of language from early learning stages. This implies including metalinguistic content that encourages the development of this critical competence in elementary and intermediate level courses so that students are able to face the intellectual challenges posed by a globalised age which demands the acquisition not just of technical ability but of “a greater capacity to engage in communicationally challenging and socio-politically loaded encounters” (p. 370). He goes on to add that content-based learning should be prioritised, with syllabi that contain units that include discourse analysis, dialectology, and critical understanding of language dimensions, especially in higher education contexts.

3.6. Pedagogical Approaches to Sensitising Learners to Linguistic Variation

The teaching of sociolinguistic features in an L2 has been under focus in the last decades not only because of theoretical interests but also because of very practical reasons related to the difficulty that learners have to develop their sociolinguistic competence (van Compernelle & Williams, 2012). In certain educational contexts, it is too frequent for L2 learners to lack exposure to authentic materials during classroom instruction, which often means that they become “mono stylistic communicators, situated somewhere between informal, everyday speakers and relatively standard, formal, or literary language users” (p. 2). This scarcity of instruction on and exposure to naturally occurring language produced in a variety of contexts makes it harder for students to function effectively once they have to use the L2 in real life situations and sociocultural contexts. This author states that most pedagogical models aimed at giving students more opportunities to develop sociolinguistic competence usually focus on mechanical input-output relationships. Within these models the instructor’s role is usually limited to being the presenter of different types of input material which is thought to have a positive impact on production, without engaging in collaborative activities that involve both teachers and students in analysis and work. Moreover, in the results of the application of these

proposals it is hard to identify what the learners' level of understanding of variation is and whether they can use it effectively in their production.

In this context, van Compernelle & Williams (2012) put forward a proposal which combines the Vygotskian Zone of Proximal Development with Interactional Conversation Model in order to foster deeper conceptual understanding of language variation. They found evidence that the incorporation of collaborative interaction activities that involve the whole class and the teacher gives opportunities for learners to understand language variation. This kind of intervention fosters participation by giving them the space to make hypotheses and to co-construct knowledge with the guidance of the instructor. Although the impact this type of interaction has on performance is not completely clear, there is evidence that shows how students become aware of the variety of meaning-making possibilities that a language has to offer. Furthermore, van Compernelle (2010) found that frequent, systematic, repeated “language analysis tasks, interactional conversations, and communicative opportunities for using linguistic variation over the course of an academic year can have dramatic effects on learners' sociolinguistic performance” (van Compernelle & Williams, 2012, p.16).

Explicit, planned, intentionally organised, recurrent and systematic instruction is crucial for the development of sociolinguistic awareness, not just mere exposure to relevant and sufficient input. Explicit comments, meta-linguistic awareness-raising tasks, explanations and analysis of linguistic variation phenomena is beneficial to learners, as it helps them become acquainted with L2 variants and the significance they have in terms of personal identities, contexts of use and social relationships (van Compernelle & Williams, 2013). The presentation of tasks to develop awareness about sociolinguistic variation and the social meanings the variants have need to be integrated systematically into the curriculum and combined with communicative tasks that involve pre-task planning and also post-task teacher-student reflection and collaboration (van Compernelle & Williams, 2012).

3.7. Acquisition of Sociolinguistic Competence in the Language Class

Learning a second language is much more than learning its grammar, phonology and syntax. It implies communicating across cultures. Communicative language teaching methodologies aim at students developing the ability to exchange meaning effectively in the second language, which is referred to as communicative competence (Dörnyei, 2013; Long & Geeslin, 2018; Spada, 2007) and they include the sociolinguistic component within their description. Canale and Swain's (1980) model of communicative competence is made up of

three sub-competences: 1) linguistic or grammatical competence, related to the knowledge of lexical items and morphological, syntactic and phonological rules; 2) sociolinguistic competence, which refers to the speaker's ability to interpret language taking into account social meaning and to produce language which is appropriate to the context of communication; and 3) strategic competence, which refers to the speaker's ability to compensate for deficiencies in the grammatical or sociolinguistic competence by resorting to strategies to avoid communication breakdowns.

In Bachman's (1990, p. 97) model of language competence, sociolinguistic competence is also taken into consideration: he distinguishes pragmatic competence, in which he includes grammatical (syntax, vocabulary, phonetics and morphology) and textual competence (cohesion and rhetorical organisation), from organisational competence, within which he includes sociolinguistic (sensitivity to dialects, register and nature, imaginative function, cultural references and figures of speech) as well as illocutionary competence (ideational, manipulative, heuristic and imaginative functions).

From the perspective of language instructors, fostering the development of students' communicative competence necessarily includes exposing students to a wide variety of input that covers different types of interactions and incorporating sociolinguistic factors to their classes. However, developing students' grammatical competence is the focus of attention in most SLA courses and research studies (Long & Geeslin, 2018).

As Schmetz (2013) points out when discussing SSL teaching, to provide an integral Spanish language education not only is it necessary to develop adapted teaching materials but also to change people's mindset to fight prejudices against language varieties and their speakers. By exposing students to different varieties, teachers foster the development of sociolinguistic competence in their students. In this way they can learn to respect and value different varieties and the countries and cultures of their speakers equally.

Some authors highlight the importance of Critical Language Awareness (CLA) approaches in schools because if instructors uncritically present a variety of English as standard and as being more correct and appropriate than other varieties, "and better than other languages, then this devalues the other languages and varieties because inevitably students begin to see them [and I would add, themselves] as having a lesser role in places like schools, where prestige really matters" (Corson, 1999, pp.140-141 as cited in Alim, 2010). Even though this author is making reference to first language acquisition, the same rationale could be applied to SSL: if

only the standard is presented as the prestigious target variety, then teachers and students will devalue and avoid teaching and learning other varieties, respectively.

3.8. SSL Teaching: Challenges, Policies and Models in The Hispanic World

The field of SSL is in constant growth, as the number of people who want to learn this language increases each year. World citizens are attracted by the different social, personal, educational or professional benefits that acquiring this language may bring about. Many documents report how Spanish has positioned itself as the second language for international communication, which is creating commercial and working opportunities tied to its teaching and learning worldwide (Muñoz-basols & Hernández Muñoz, 2019; Instituto Cervantes, 2021).

The demand for SSL teachers increases and so does the need for them to be prepared for this challenge: having a high Spanish proficiency is not enough, as teachers must also be trained in sociolinguistic variation pedagogy. This training should cover Spanish geolectal richness, criteria for selecting the teaching target variety, main characteristics of the target variety, its relation to other varieties, presentation sequencing of other varieties in teaching training programs, among other issues (Andión Herrero, 2013). Very frequently, SSL teachers have doubts about what variety they should teach and they also exhibit a lack of awareness of their own regional norm (Blanco, 2000). Moreover, they may feel uncertain about how to react when faced with questions about variation. Native and non-native instructors need to know is that they can keep their linguistic identity in the educational setting and they must also make their students aware that by their language use they are forming their own identity in the L2 (Muñoz-Basols & Hernández Muñoz, 2019). In the coming sections, some issues which pose challenges to the field of SSL education will be described.

3.8.1.1 “Standard” varieties, Pluricentrism, Panhispanism and “neutral” Spanish

The first challenge is encountered when choosing a model or normative variety to teach. This model is not chosen considering linguistic reasons, as the standard is usually spoken in the political and economic centre of a region or country. Thus, the media, education, and public institutions use it as its main point of reference (Díaz García, 2016). Historically, in the Hispanic world, Northern-central Spain has been this centre; however, nowadays, there are several supranational, national and regional centres where prestigious standard varieties can be identified, apart from dialects and non-standard varieties which do not enjoy as much social

prestige and are usually left aside in SSL teaching. In the Americas, five main centres can be identified: The Caribbean, Mexico and Central America, Chile, the Andes and Buenos Aires. The problem is that choosing a single norm for teaching may and usually does lead to the stigmatisation of the other varieties and to a wrong conception of what a language is (Díaz García, 2016). This is why even though a model needs to be selected for teaching, teachers and institutions should aim at eradicating prejudices against linguistic varieties and raising awareness about languages reflecting social and cultural diversity. Teaching sociolinguistics is a way of promoting linguistic diversity and legitimising different varieties from different centres as valid models for teaching and learning.

At the end of the 20th century, efforts were made by the Spanish government in order for Spanish to reach the status of an international language. This effort consolidated in the 21st century, with the creation of the Cervantes Institute and the renovation of aim of the linguistic policies put forward by the RAE and ASALE *Fundación del Español Urgente* (Foundation of the Urgent Spanish) towards an official New Panhispanic Linguistic Policy (Arnoux, 2020; Rizzo, 2020). The former motto of the RAE “Clean, Fix and Give Splendour” was no longer adequate nor sufficient for new expansionist ends of Spain’s linguistic policy, as it projected a conservative, elitist and eurocentric image. The renovated strategy was making a discursive change towards panhispanism, giving a more protagonist role, at least discursively, to the Latin American Academies, but without abandoning its ideological essence (Ponte, 2020). Their new motto is “Unity in Diversity”. Since then, Spanish has been taken towards a panhispanic standardisation through a panhispanic norm which is encouraged through publications, linguistic instruments, Spanish courses, conferences, institutional reports, dictionaries, and orthography and through international examinations of Spanish proficiency like the DELE and SIELE¹⁰.

Panhispanism and the instruments to implement it are encouraged by different projects that arise from the conjoint work of institutions that “regulate” the Spanish language, such as the RAE, the ASALE, the Cervantes Institute, and the *Asamblea de Rectores de universidades de Latinoamérica y España* (Assembly of Latin American and Spanish Chancellors). Furthermore, the periodic organisation since 1997 of massive events such as the International Congress of the Spanish Language (CILE) helps to promote projects and materials which

¹⁰ DELE: *Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera* (Diploma of Spanish as a Foreign Language)

SIELE: *Servicio Internacional de Evaluación de la Lengua Española* (International Service of Spanish Language Assessment).

reinforce and consolidate the linguistic representations put forward by these institutions (Rizzo, 2020).

They claim to aim at keeping the unity of the Spanish language and the mutual intelligibility among all its speakers, especially with practical and productive aims. For example, in one of its articles, the RAE states that its mission is to make sure that the changes that take place in the Spanish language due to its adaptation to its speakers' needs do not break the essential unity that brings the Hispanic world together (Moreno-Fernandez & Otero, 2016). Thus, when there is a neologism circulating, if its use is extended among its speakers, then the RAE may officially accept the term by including it in its dictionary, which means the term and its definition is accepted as part of the Spanish language (Lopez Garcia, 2020). These academies have worked together to put forward a common dictionary, grammar and orthography. They have also gathered a spoken and written corpus that functions as the foundation to make academic decisions, such as what terms to include in dictionaries that aim at representing the whole Hispanic world, like the *Diccionario Panhispánico de dudas* (RAE, 2005) and *Diccionario de Americanismos* (ASALE, 2010) (Sippel, 2017).

At the same time, these institutions claim to acknowledge and defend linguistic pluralism by putting forward a pluricentric model in which different educated norms from different parts of the world are used; several models are legitimised to guide SSL teaching; these models correspond to eight different areas in the Hispanic world: 1) the Caribbean, 2) México and Central America, 3) Andean Area, 4) Rioplatense and Chaco Area, 5) Chile, 6) Castilla, 7) Andalucía, and 8) the Canary Islands (Díaz García, 2016).

However, in his analysis, Moreno-Fernández (2000) identifies a monocentric and endonormative standardisation (a single academic norm) built upon a multi normative reality (educated polycentric norm). Even though these institutions officially put forward a pluricentric policy, an of the *Nueva gramática de la Lengua Española* (RAE, 2009) reveals that it provides a variationist description but with recommendations that are closer to old monocentrism (Bugel, 2012). By making reference the “good use of the language” or by stressing the need to “take care of it” the notions of correctness and incorrectness are naturalised and rationalised; this constitutes an obstacle to go beyond formal aspects of the language to be able to contextualise its social use (Bugel, 2012). In a similar analysis, Ponte (2020) describes how the Cervantes Institute puts forward an expansionist language policy through two of its publications: *EL libro del español correcto. Claves para hablar y escribir bien en español* (Paredes et al., 2012) and *Las 500 dudas más frecuentes del español* (Paredes et al., 2013). The author concludes that even

though these publications acknowledge the existence of regional educated norms, they favour an ideal supranational educated norm that is valid across the whole Hispanic world. The works reinforce the authority of the Language Academies as regulators of the Spanish language and as the ones in charge of determining what the educated norm is. The author states that both books aim at stressing a democratic and inclusive attitude by acknowledging regional educated norms, but this is quickly replaced by this supranational educated norm, as within panhispanism, there is a single norm. All this is done claiming that what the Academies do through its instruments is absolutely apolitical. There is no place for conflict, ideologies, or political interests within panhispanism, as it has noble and fraternal ends (Ponte, 2020).

José del Valle (2007b) states that the New Panhispanic Linguistic Policy is a strategy that the RAE puts forward to self-promote and legitimise itself through an ideological system called *Hispanofonía*. The author defines it as “a system of ideas and ideologies about a historically localised Spanish which sees language as the materialisation of a collective order in which Spain has a central role” (p.37-38). Spanish is portrayed as a language of convergence (linguistic post-nation), a global language (because of its expansive potential) and an economic asset (because of its profitability) (Ponte, 2020, p.90). Persuading Spanish speakers that their language is what they claim it is, is vital for the linguistic policy to be successful and serve Spain’s expansionist ends.

Similarly, Lopez Garcia (2020) states that by focusing on invariable aspects we are placing language in an abstract position where language use and variation has no place. This attempt at homogenisation and unification through a panhispanic ideology only serves economic purposes and in itself restricts or even contradicts the concept of pluricentrism that they claim to defend.

In the same line, Paffey (2012) states that the institutional discourse of the RAE puts forward a number of language ideological debates in which it presents itself as a language authority, as the contemporary leader of standardisation of the language and sets forth “definitive representations of what the Spanish language is, and what it “should” be like, and spreads these not only in its own publications and activities, but through print and online media” (p. 1). The RAE has a vision of what the nature of 21st century Global Spanish is, and through its widespread and repetitive practices, in conjunction with Spain’s news media, this vision is accepted, naturalised and expanded as “common-sense” beliefs around the world. This linguistic authority centralisation co-occurs with a “rescaling and expansion of standardisation practices

which transcend the nation-state paradigm in pursuit of a ‘total Spanish’ shaped by panhispanic norms applicable to the entire Spanish-speaking world” (p. 1).

One of the projects put forward by the Assembly of Latin American and Spanish Chancellors and the Cervantes Institute was the creation of SICELE (International Certification System of Spanish as a Foreign Language), which had its origins in the III Congress of the Spanish Language that took place in Rosario, Argentina, in 2004, and which became a formal association in 2017. The aim of this project is to unify and agree on assessment standards, criteria and methodology and linguistic models used to certify proficiency in Spanish through the examinations that are offered around the world from a panhispanic perspective (Otero Doval, 2011; Soler Montes, 2015). The agreement revolves around three main tenets: 1) not excluding existing geolectal varieties, 2) valuing shared features without delegitimising local ones, and 3) reducing grammar assessment to the structures which are more generalised and shared among varieties (Otero Doval, 2011). One of the things that these guidelines do is to point to a variety of features that exist in an ideal Spanish that does not fully coincide with any of the specific educated varieties; they are a number of characteristics that are considered to be prestigious by most Spanish speakers and that describe an “international”, “panhispanic” or “general” Spanish¹¹. For example, presenters in the American television channel CNN tend to speak a variety which is closer to this neutral Spanish, avoiding strong local accents and features.

The dichotomy between choosing this ideal, neutral Spanish and choosing one specific variety arises. On the one hand, some state that this model has high productivity, as it helps students to develop a neutral variety which allows them to be understood by more people and to understand more people from different higher socioeconomic backgrounds (Díaz García, 2016). This international standard, which is accepted by most Spanish-speaking America but not as much on the Peninsula, is claimed to have several advantages, especially commercial ones. It is also said to reinforce the Spanish language identity without giving more importance to a specific country, as it does not include national characteristics that may be “undesirable for product promotion” (Bárkányi & Fuertes Gutiérrez, 2019, p. 202). On the other hand, the neutral or general Spanish is rejected by many students and teachers because of its reconstructed nature. Many find it unattractive because it does not correspond to any speech community; thus, they

¹¹ See Narvaja de Arnoux’s (2020) for a detailed discussion on the attributes that are used to modify the word Spanish, such as global, total, international, panhispanic, general, universal, standard, neutral, common, new, auxiliar, traditional, patrimonial, among others. She explores how these different combinations compare and contrast, which representations they create and which linguistic policies are behind them.

consider that speaking neutral Spanish makes them sound bookish and artificial (Moreno-Fernández, 2010).

It is important to point out that some of the previously mentioned linguistic policies seem to be very convenient and profitable for certain institutions, private enterprises, and governments, because while they claim they acknowledge language variation, at the same time they reinforce hierarchies, symbolic dominance and the linguistic superiority of certain historically prestigious varieties, helping to keep the status quo. As del Valle (2014) points out, the ideology of postcolonial panhispanism is a “system of ideologies that states the existence and encourages the promotion of a cultural community, anchored in the language, between Spain and its former colonies” (p.361) and it serves to legitimise and to naturalise the presence of Spain in Latin America. However, in this symbolic unity, the Northern-centre Peninsular varieties have always been placed at the top of the pyramid, securing Spain a leading global role. This seems to be so even in the modern age, when, discursively, a pluricentric view of the Spanish language is embraced.

Moreover, as Lopez García (2010) points out, this homogenisation and unity that they claim to aim at does not serve the political aims of bringing together Latin American nations. It serves the commercial goals of marketing concentration, which helps media corporations to place their products all over the Hispanic market. It was made explicitly clear by academics such as the director of the Cervantes Institute and, even by the Spanish King himself, that the Spanish government should take advantage of the outstanding economic value of all activities related to the Spanish language, which contributes to the development of the country’s economy. These economic benefits not only emerge from the cultural and language industries, especially the teaching and certification of Spanish as an L2, but also from Spanish being an effective tool for Spain to economically intervene in Hispanic weaker or more peripheral countries, for example, through publishing companies (Arnoux, 2020). Lara (2015) states that the “panhispanic policies are used by the Spanish government as an ideological alibi to economically penetrate the Hispanic World through their transnational companies ... unified through a project that they call *Marca España* or Spanish Brand” (p. 26). As Conde (2018) clearly points out, in practice, the monocentric view is still very much valued in the symbolic space of SSL teaching, and to understand it, we must understand the huge business behind it.

The Cervantes Institute was created in 1991 by the Spanish government to promote and teach the Spanish language and culture around the world. With the political and economic support of public and private institutions, it achieved the aim of centralising the teaching,

assessment and certification of Spanish as a foreign language (Rizzo, 2020). It adheres to the use of the Northern-central Peninsular Spanish variety but acknowledges the existence of several standard varieties spoken in different parts of the world, due to the pluricentric characteristics of the Spanish language. According to del Valle (2014), the main goal behind its creation was to become the central player in charge of the production and distribution of the “commodity” known as Spanish language in the linguistic market. This is achieved through the production of teaching materials, language courses, training services, exams, conferences, agreements with governmental and educational institutions, among others.

There have been many initiatives to deconstruct traditional hispanism and put forward what Zimmermann (2010) calls “new hispanism”, leaving aside the constant comparison with Spain. This implies including all actors and cultural and linguistic factors that make up each Spanish speaking country, which would also allow a more realistic and localised sociolinguistics (Bugel, 2012). However, it is not yet clear whether and how these notions are integrated in pedagogical models (Muñoz-basols & Hernández Muñoz, 2019).

Accepting pluricentrism within a panhispanic perspective would mean not only acknowledging the multi-normative character of the Spanish language at the level of institutional discourse but also, and most importantly, making radical changes in other spheres. As del Valle (2014) states, as long as there is no redistribution of the linguistic capital, discriminatory practices that reproduce historically constituted hierarchies will linger on. Profound changes are needed at the level of theoretical and ideological teaching constructs and also in the design of course materials and examinations. They explicitly need to reflect the existence of linguistic models other than the Peninsular Northern-central Spanish, which is still the preferred variety in academic normativisation tasks and in the panhispanic standard (Amorós Negre & Moser, 2019). In a similar line, Muñoz-basolz and Hernández Muñoz (2019) state that even though the linguistic richness of Spanish is acknowledged in academic works and bilateral agreements between institutions, a transfer of these actions to SSL teaching is not significant. They go on to claim that there are three vital undefined issues that are fundamental in knowledge transfer and that would help to turn words into concrete actions: curriculum design as the backbone of language diversity, teacher training programs that deal with different Spanish varieties within the Hispanic world, and teaching materials that foster sensitivity towards language variation. To these three notions, we should add dialectal variation pedagogical training as well.

3.8.1.2 *SSL Teachers' Role: Models, Standards, Preferred and Peripheral Varieties*

The Cervantes Institute (2012) produced a document in which they list the key skills a SSL teacher should have. Among the eight points that they mention, organising learning situations is listed. In the description of this item, it is mentioned that teachers are expected to cater for their students' needs, to encourage them to reflect about language and to plan didactic sequences. Language variation is acknowledged when objective and subjective students' needs are addressed and also when reflection about the target language use is encouraged, as the teacher is explicitly required to be aware of linguistic variation and to raise awareness among students by exposing them to variation (Andión Herrero, 2013). The role of the teacher is key in giving equal value to all Spanish varieties, both preferred and peripheral ones, stressing the pluricentric nature of the Spanish language, in which any standard national or regional variety can be taught and learnt (Díaz García, 2016). However, to reach this objective, professional training is vital, as they need to know about sociolinguistics, dialectal variation in the Hispanic world and variation pedagogy to make informed decisions which are not based on personal preferences or intuitions. Instructors should expose students to input which reflects the linguistic diversity of the Spanish language. Unfortunately, as shown in Section 1.3.5.3 even though most SSL books include some samples of peripheral varieties, variation is usually not appropriately nor systematically dealt with.

Andión Herrero (2013) suggests that teachers need to be aware of their own variety, identify the target variety, and look for resources and adapt course materials to expose their students to the linguistic diversity which is characteristic of the Spanish language. The design and planning of courses and materials needs to be flexible and combine "standard or neutral Spanish" with the preferred variety and with peripheral varieties, adapting the factors to each specific course depending on course objectives, students and course context. The standard variety is an abstraction that has to do with normative features that are taken as a model, and it is strongly associated with the written word, correctness, prestige, dictionaries and with grammar rules that are shared by most varieties. The preferred variety is the national or regional standard chosen as a model because of location, materials, preferences, students' needs, among other factors. The preferred variety complements and expands the standard, representing the main model for students' production. It is the one used in most language samples, oral and written texts and coursebook rubrics (Sippel, 2017). The standard and the preferred variety chosen usually overlap significantly. Within the category of peripheral varieties, we can find all

the standard varieties which are not the standard national or regional variety chosen as the model and other non-standard varieties. Díaz García (2016) suggests that the best option is to choose the “closest model” as the target variety to teach in the course. This means choosing one national or regional standard as the preferred variety and using the rest of them as input to improve passive or receptive skills. Santiago (2015) claims that the criteria for choosing the closest linguistic model for the SSL class so that it is the most useful and profitable in terms of communication should include four main factors: the teaching and learning context (monoglossic versus heteroglossic), the teacher, students’ needs, expectations and attitudes, and teaching materials and resources available. Gonzalez Blanco (2018) provides a theoretical and practical pedagogical example of how to guide teachers whose preferred variety is Northern-Central Peninsular Spanish and its main peripheral variety is the Rioplatense one. The author provides some detailed descriptions about variation in Latin American and Peninsular varieties that can be used in class. Afterwards, she offers a more detailed description of different aspects of the Rioplatense variety, such as intonation, pronunciation, vocabulary and morpho-syntax. She also includes several activities that can be used or replicated in order to introduce varieties in the SSL class.

The standard and preferred varieties will especially help the learner to develop written and oral productive skills, whereas exposure to peripheral varieties will mainly help them to develop perceptual skills by improving understanding and by aiding them in interpreting sociolinguistic information provided by the different dialectal features. Perceptual knowledge of peripheral varieties is indispensable for the Spanish learner to develop a communicative competence which allows them to interact not just with speakers of the target preferred variety but with any Spanish speaker of the world (Díaz García, 2016). According to Díaz García, choosing the peripheral varieties, the features that will be presented, and the moment when they will be introduced requires careful planning. The CEFR suggests that basic phenomena related to variation should be gradually introduced by levels of proficiency as soon as learners come into contact with the L2 (Soler Montes, 2015). Sociolinguistic features should be distinguished and produced as from level B2. Other authors such as García Fernández (2010) say that at beginning levels the focus should be on one variety to avoid confusion, whereas at higher levels it is a must to explicitly refer to features of other varieties, without resorting to phonetic symbols. On the other hand, Díaz García (2016) claims that it is not desirable to focus only on one variety at beginning levels, as there are features that students need to get familiar with because of their high frequency of occurrence, such as *seseo* and *distinción* or the different realisations of the /s/

sound. Being acquainted with them may help learners identify different morpho-syntactic forms, such as the plural or the second person singular. When selecting the peripheral features to be introduced, teachers need to make sure they are perceptible for the learner and that acquiring those features is “profitable” for the learner, in the sense that not knowing them may create communication obstacles; the features should also be widely used in certain communities (Andión Herrero, 2013; Soler Montes, 2015; Díaz García, 2016).

It needs to be pointed out that in the process of selection of the target variety, both teachers and students are strongly influenced by ethnocentrism and the beliefs about the cultural and linguistic superiority of a specific social group. Ethnocentrism prevents access to Spanish cultural and dialectal diversity, as the linguistic prestige of peripheral varieties is not legitimised (Cerqueira & Ianni, 2009). This issue is very much related to the concept of language ownership, which refers to “the legitimate control that speakers claim to have over the development of a language” and to “the struggles in which they engage to control the production and distribution of linguistic resources” (O’Rourke, 2011a, p.327). In the case of Spanish, this ownership seems to be mainly in the hands of Northern-Central Peninsular speakers, followed in hierarchy by speakers of other national standards among which we find Buenos Aires speakers. These are presented as more “legitimate speakers” (Bourdieu, 1991) by institutions such as the RAE, the Cervantes Institute and the Language Academies, who decide “what language practices are considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct, as connected to social, economic and political interests of specific groups” (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, as cited in O’Rourke, 2011a, p.327). When teachers ask themselves the question of what Spanish to teach, they should be aware of these struggles and of the pressures that are exerted through the language ideologies that circulate in their environment. Moreover, in order to replace hegemonic discourse with the cultural and linguistic plurality that exists in the Hispanic world, they should be asking themselves in what way they can teach Spanish without reducing its diversity to an aggregate of samples with no reflection upon the richness of its heterogeneous sociolinguistic reality (Alves de Oliveira et al., 2007).

3.8.1.3 *The Situation in Argentina*

The *Academia Argentina de Letras* (Argentinian Academy of Letters), which was founded in 1931, is an institution that is a correspondent of the Association of Academies of the Spanish Language and it is in charge of studying and giving advice about Argentinian Spanish. It has a normative function as regards the use of the Rioplatense educated variety and it

stimulates literary studies, which are considered to be a vital element of the country's culture. It keeps a record of regional linguistic features which later on may be incorporated by the RAE. It has a department of philological research, and as part of its research output, it has produced works about the Argentine language that include collections of American voices, a corpus of educated lexicon of Buenos Aires and different volumes containing records of Argentinian Speech, among others (Academia Argentina de Letras, 2022). However, no official guidelines or suggestions are provided to SSL teachers about how and what to teach in their courses.

Lopez García (2010; 2015; 2020) presents a historical review of how control over publications of teaching manuals in Argentina has relaxed over the decades, which has encouraged the strengthening of representations about a Spanish linguistic ideal that is very different from the local variety of the country. She provides evidence of the state devolving itself of its responsibility of selecting and revising teaching materials produced in the country, which means publishing companies and their marketing interests have taken control of these functions and decisions. This situation, whose focus is mainly on the commercial benefit of these companies, has been validated by the Argentinian state and has given these publishing companies the power to make decisions about what to teach and how to teach it. This also affects the Spanish variety that is put forward. By analysing different textbooks, the author shows that Spanish variation is not being taught and that the linguistic policies that these materials adhere to are put forward by the publishing companies and not by the state. In Argentina, “the school curriculum only teaches students to “value” variety, but it does not focus on knowing it and analysing it” (pp.114). The main argument of the author is that the pluricentric ideology which is discursively put forward by the New Panhispanic Linguistic Policy has not permeated the content taught in Argentinian schools because of the economic interests of the publishing companies which control the market. A “global standard” is put forward and at the same time local standard varieties such as Cordobese are not visualised nor valued, which in turn fosters linguistic insecurity among Argentinian speakers. Most Argentinian teachers have been educated within this paradigm, which can have profound effects on their current teaching practices.

This situation is intensified by the central role that the school book as an indoctrination tool, the chief resource of most school teachers, has as a disseminator of language representations that look down on local varieties. As school books are written using an adapted variety which is very far from the local Argentinian variety and they represent the “normative authority”; this prevents teachers and students from creating representations of their own

linguistic identity as legitimate (Lopez García, 2010). To further add to the argument put forward by this author, Mosquera Martínez & Longa (2015) analysed linguistic diversity and intralinguistic variation in a collection of books by Santillana, a leading publishing company that produces books used in Spain and Argentina to teach Spanish as an L1. The researchers found that the books discursively put forward a very positive view on social, cultural, inter and intralinguistic and ethnic diversity and promote democratic values. However, when praxis is analysed, intralinguistic diversity is seen in a very negative light, silenced and looked down on to favour a “general” Spanish. The situation worsens in books for older secondary students. All language forms which deviate from the standard or educated variety are treated as incorrect, vulgar or transgressions of the norms and are, consequently, stigmatised. This paradoxical situation in which the books discursively value all kinds of diversity except for intralingual diversity, which is absolutely repressed, is denying that language is part of a speaker’s identity, so forcing them to abjure their native dialects or varieties means forcing them to be someone they are not.

Another aspect to consider is that Argentinian teachers usually have low wages, which in turn forces them to overwork. In many cases, these working conditions contribute to preventing them from having access to resources and time to carefully plan their courses and materials, reflecting on the content, the ideologies behind teaching materials, and the wider and long-lasting consequences of using them. Further training and postgraduate courses which could help them to critically evaluate their practices and resources are many times inaccessible in these circumstances.

In the year 1991, the Ministries of Education of the States which are part of the MERCOSUR (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay) officially declared their interest in promoting the learning of the official languages of the MERCOSUR (Spanish and Portuguese) through their formal and informal education systems (Negre & Moser, 2019). During the 1990s, the importance of the Cervantes Institute was really strong in Brazil due to the lack of local SSL teaching materials; thus, Peninsular Spanish became the predominant model variety to teach Spanish there.

To counteract this trend, in 2004 different Argentinian universities formed a consortium (ELSE) to guide the teaching, assessment and certification of Spanish as a Second and Foreign Language and to promote regional educational and linguistic policies that foster and value diversity. The outcome of this initiative was the international exam CELU (Certificate of Spanish: Language and Use), which is endorsed by the Argentinian Ministry of Education and

its Foreign Office. Nowadays, there are CELU headquarters not only in many Argentinian universities but also in institutions in places like Brazil, the US, Europe, the Middle East, Thailand and Singapore. Two other Argentinian exams, which are not so popular, are the DUCLE (offered by the National University of Rosario) and the CILES (offered by the Private University of Aconcagua) and they are both inspired by the six levels put forward by the CEFR.

Summary

In this chapter, we have gone over the theoretical basis that was used as a reference during collection, analysis, and interpretation of the data. We have discussed language attitudes, ideologies and representations, models of SLA phonology acquisition, input, dialectal variation and SLA, dialectal variation pedagogy, sociolinguistic competence, teachers' roles, linguistic policies and future challenges. In the following chapter we will focus on the description of the methodology of the present study.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter the overall mixed-methods design will be outlined. This is followed by a description of participants, ethical considerations, changes implemented due to the Covid-19 pandemic, procedures, and the research instrument set (questionnaires, VGT and interviews).

4.1. Research Design

A mixed methods design combining quantitative and qualitative data was chosen in order to draw on the strengths of both types of data and to compensate for their individual weaknesses. Bryman's (2006) typology suggests that another reason for choosing a design that combines both qualitative and quantitative strands is related to having a more comprehensive account of the phenomena under investigation; he labelled this *Completeness*. In this study, the qualitative data may help us interpret and explain the results of quantitative data, labelled as *Explanation*, such as the results of the VGT that teachers and students completed. I decided to collect qualitative data through open ended questions and group interviews to expand and augment findings. In this way participants could provide more details and their own particular views on certain aspects, such as linguistic attitudes and teaching practices, which they may not have been able to do through answering the closed questions; this can be included under the labels of *Illustration*, *Diversity of views*, *Enhancement or building upon quantitative and qualitative findings*.

I opted for a *fixed mixed methods design*, as the use of both quantitative (VGT and questionnaire) and qualitative data (open-ended questions and interviews) collection methods were chosen and planned during project design in order to answer the proposed research questions, even though changes were made throughout the piloting period. However, as Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) point out, the categories of fixed and emergent designs are not seen as a dichotomy but as two ends of the same continuum.

In the case of this project, even though conducting the interviews was predetermined and planned from the very beginning of the study, many of the actual questions that were asked during the interview emerged from the results of the questionnaire and the analysis of the quantitative data, as there were aspects of that data that required further depth and elaboration. The approach chosen is a combination of the one referred to as *integrated mixed-methods design* (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2018), as the quantitative and some of the qualitative data are collected and analysed in an integrated and concurrent manner, and the results are interpreted

together. It is worth noting that as the qualitative data coming from the interviews were collected after the questionnaires were answered, the study could be described as having both an integrated and sequential convergent mixed-methods design. It has an integrated design because qualitative and quantitative data were collected through a single questionnaire; it has a sequential design because qualitative data gathered through interviews were collected after administering the questionnaire, and it has a convergent design because the results were interpreted and discussed resorting to both types of data.

The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS software. NVivo was used for the analysis of the qualitative data collected through open ended questions and interviews.

In this investigation, direct and indirect research methods were used for data collection: a VGT and a questionnaire survey. In order to answer the proposed research questions, indirect measurement was used to compare attitudes towards the Cordobese variety and “Standard” Buenos Aires Spanish. Explicit attitudes towards these varieties were also collected.

4.2. Participants

The main participants of the study were Argentinian teachers of Spanish as an L2 who teach in public institutions or in private institutes, or who offer private tutoring either in Argentina, in other parts of the world or through online language learning platforms. I aimed at getting participants from as many Argentinian places and as many different working environments as possible in order to be able to get a more comprehensive picture of SSL teaching in the country. The project also included the participation of students of Spanish as an L2 who studied in Argentinian institutions, private institutes, or have had private tutors from Argentina.

The participants were recruited through advertisements, social networks, by contacting language academies, universities and other institutions where courses of Spanish as an L2 are offered, and through word of mouth. They were sent an information sheet and a link to the online questionnaire if they agreed to participate. A consent form preceded the survey. 192 teachers completed the whole questionnaire. A further 85 instructors completed the VGT and answered several other questions but did not finish the whole survey.

Some teacher participants contacted their own current and former students and invited them to participate. Those who accepted were sent a link to the Qualtrics online survey to voluntarily take part in the study. 59 students completed the whole questionnaire and a further four completed the VGT but did not finish answering the rest of the questions.

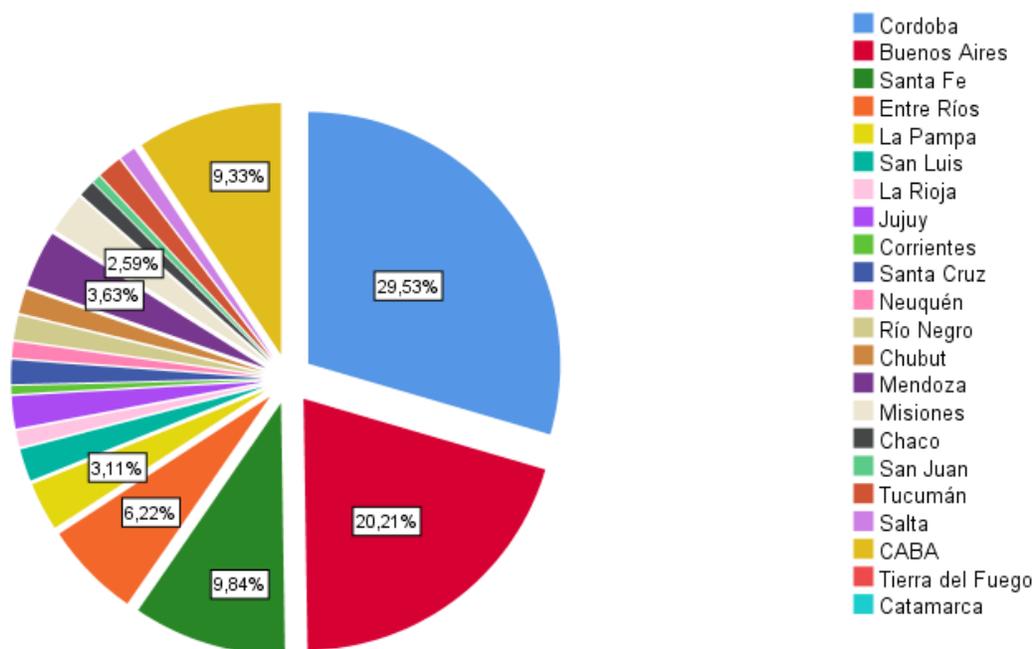
4.2.1 Teachers' Biographic Information

For the teachers' questionnaire, there are 431 recorded responses. Of those, 192 were 100% complete. The rest had different degrees of progress. Of the complete responses, 171 were given by female participants, 20 by male participants and one by a person who did not reveal their gender. Their mean age is 40 years old. The youngest participant is 22, whereas the oldest is 73. The median is 38, the mode is 28 and the standard deviation is 12. All the teachers who answered the survey are native speakers of Spanish.

Argentina is made up of 23 provinces and a federal district (Autonomous City of Buenos Aires or CABA). Teachers who participated are originally from 19 different Argentinian provinces and also from CABA (See Figure 1). There are 57 teachers from Córdoba, 39 from Buenos Aires province, 19 from Santa Fe, 18 from CABA, 12 from Entre Ríos, and less than 10 from each of the rest of the provinces: Mendoza (7), La Pampa (6), Misiones (5), San Luis (4), Jujuy (4), Santa Cruz (3), Río Negro (3), Chubut (3), Tucumán (3), La Rioja (2), Neuquén (2), Chaco (2), Salta (2), Corrientes (1), San Juan (1).

Figure 1

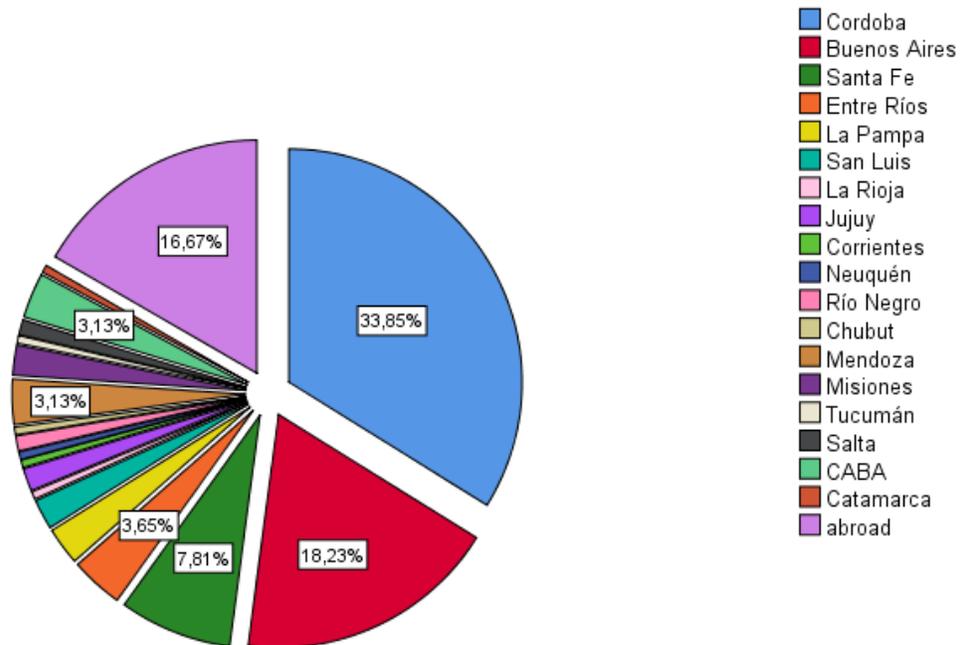
Teacher Participants' Province of Birth



As Figure 2 shows, some participants still live and work in the provinces where they were born, some have moved to other cities in Argentina and a few are living and working abroad (32) in places such as North America, Europe, Asia and Oceania.

Figure 2

Teachers' Place of Residence

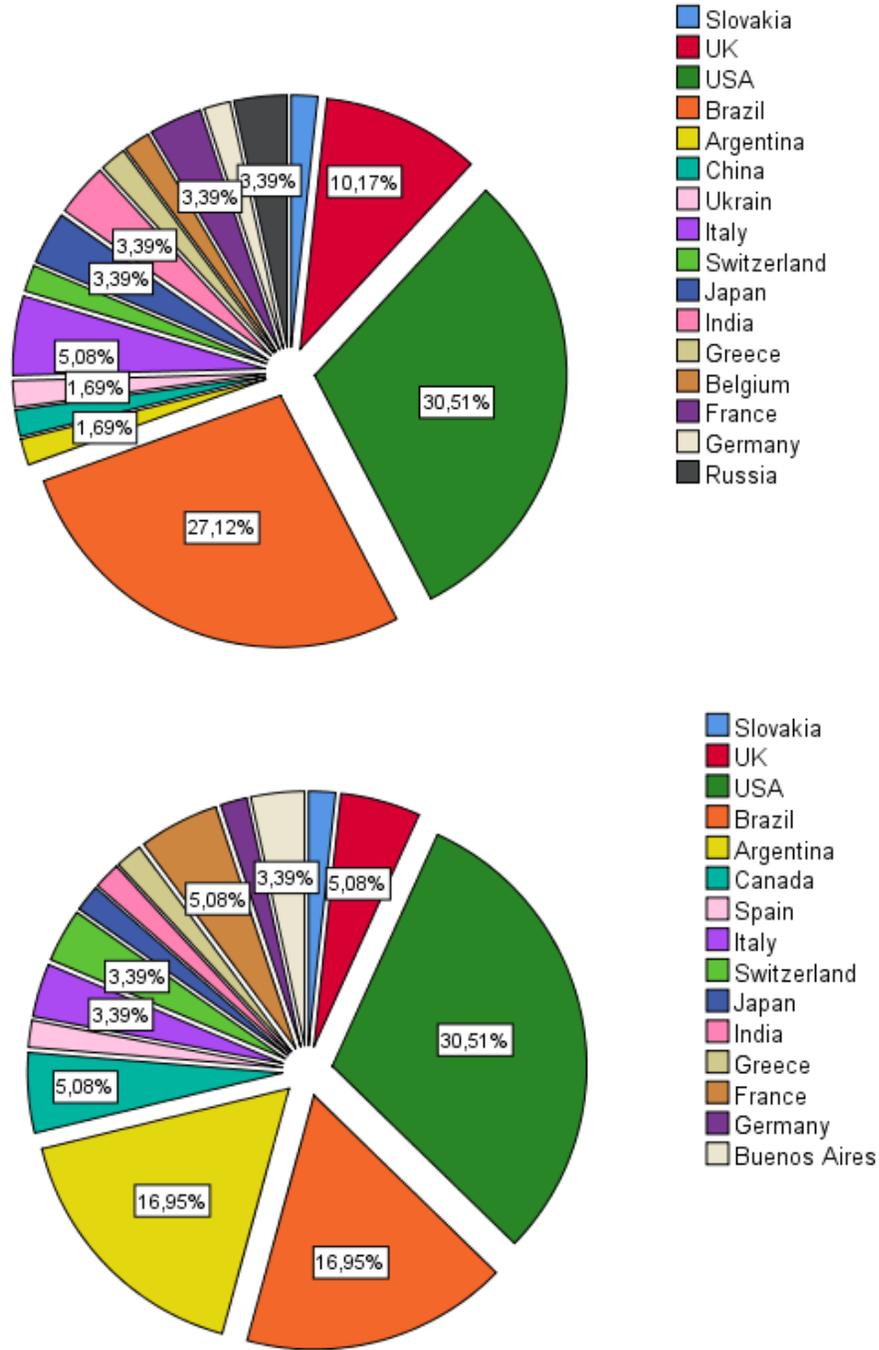


4.2.2 Students' Biographic Information

Fifty-nine students who took or are taking Spanish as an L2 classes with Argentinian teachers answered the survey. Participants were from 16 different countries. Figure 3 presents the country of birth first, and the countries where students currently live second.

Figure 3

Student Participants' Country of Birth and Country Where They Currently Live

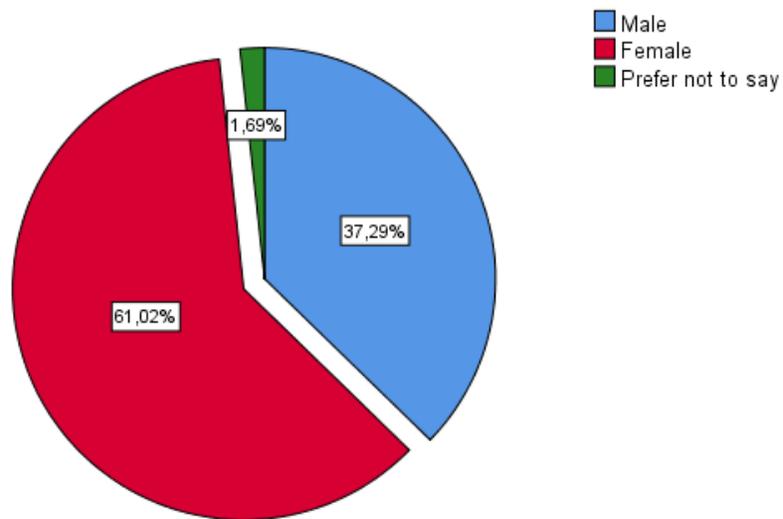


Their mean age is 32 years old. As regards their gender, 36 identify as females, 22 as males and one student participant preferred not to reveal their gender identity (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Student Participants' Age and Gender

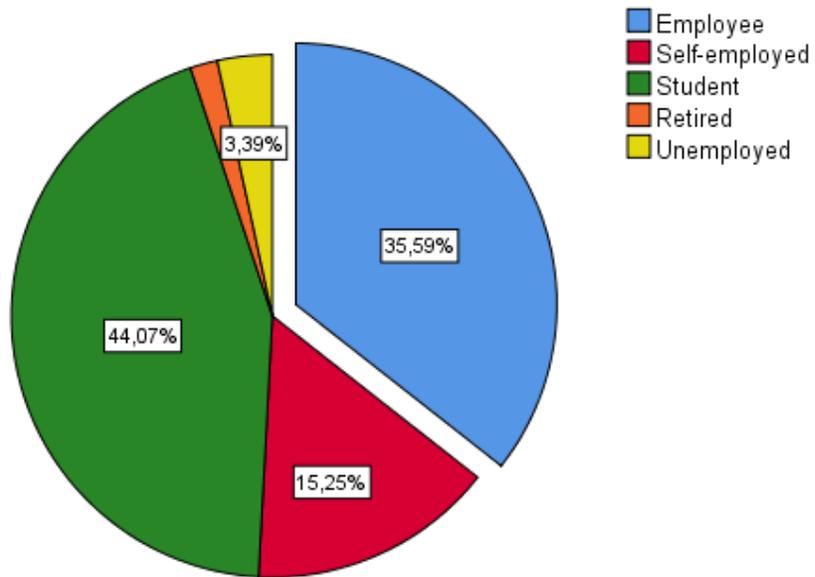
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Students' Age	59	19	82	32,44	14,431
Valid N (listwise)	59				



When considering their occupation, 26 of them are students, 21 are employees, nine are self-employed, two are currently unemployed and one is retired (see Figure 5).

Figure 5

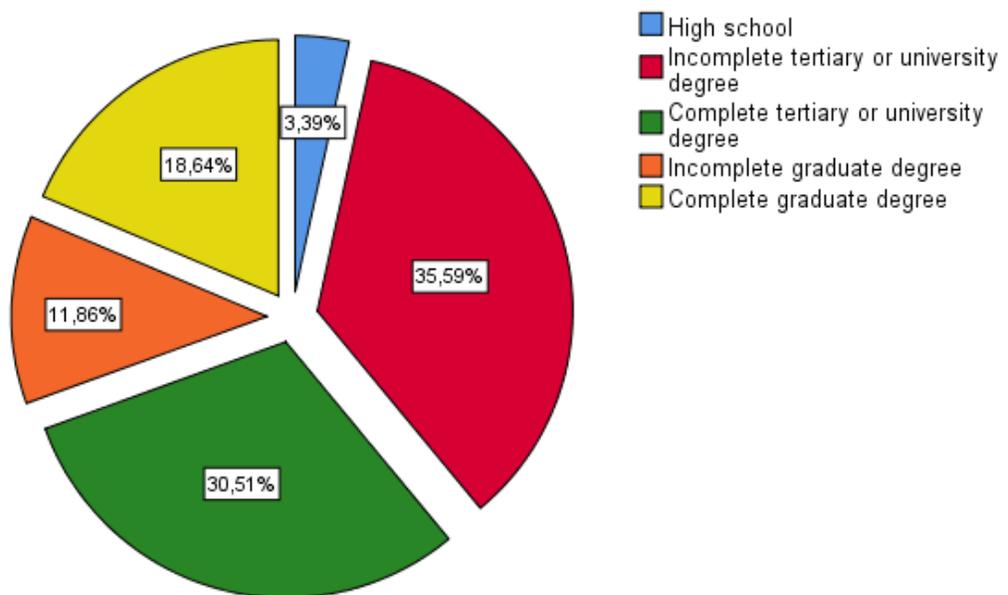
Student Participants' Occupation



In Figure 6 it can be seen that they have achieved different education levels but most of them (57) have received some tertiary education or above: 21 have incomplete tertiary or university education, 18 have completed this level of education, seven have incomplete graduate education and 11 students have graduate degrees.

Figure 6

Level of Education Achieved by Student Participants



Summing up, there is a predominance of teacher participants originally from Córdoba or Buenos Aires¹², but there are also participants from many other Argentinian provinces. Many of them still live and work where they were born but many have moved to other regions of the country or the world. Student participants come from a variety of backgrounds and live in different places around the world, but most of this study's participants are from Brazil and the USA.

4.3. Ethical Considerations

The research this thesis reports on paid attention to ethical considerations at all stages (i.e. planning, data collection, and interpretation, analysis and presentation), in line with current trends in ethical practices in applied linguistics. This project aims to take account of the core principles of (1) respecting persons, (2) yielding optimal benefits while minimising harm, and (3) preserving justice (De Costa, 2015; De Costa et al., 2020).

Macroethics and microethics issues have been considered. Macroethics makes reference to “procedural ethics of IRB [Institutional Review Board] protocols and ethical principles articulated in professional codes of conduct” (Kubanyiova, 2008, p. 505), which involve guidelines and *best practices* manuals created by institutions to protect themselves and students (De Costa 2015). Microethics deals with “everyday ethical dilemmas that arise from the specific roles and responsibilities that researchers and research participants adopt in specific research contexts” (p. 504). This acknowledges that researchers make decisions based on the specific cultural, political, historic and symbolic contexts where they are working (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007).

At a macroethical level, following the guidelines offered by Northumbria University ethical review boards, the information sheet, informed consent and debrief form were designed making sure that people are respected and are not harmed (See Appendix 1). They were written with simple language, avoiding technical terms, and they were available in three languages (Spanish, Portuguese and English), to make them more accessible. The informed consent ensured that participants were made aware of the kind of research being conducted and the way their data would be used and shared (British Association for Applied Linguistics, 2021).

¹² This predominance of Cordobese participants has to do with the fact that the researcher is from Córdoba and works at educational institutions as well. The high number of Buenos Aires speakers is also related to the researcher's contact with institutions from that province and also with the number of institutions and teachers that live and work there as well.

After piloting the instruments, care was taken to reduce the amount of data expected from participants and to include items that specifically address the research questions. This is done to respect participants and to value the time they devote to our research. A flexible approach was adopted during data collection to be prepared to deal with unexpected ethical issues that could arise.

When considering the interviewing process, the group interviews were conducted with the aim of establishing a relationship between the interviewer and the interviewees, acknowledging that an interview is not just a transaction but also a social practice during which participants position themselves discursively while evaluating one another and also shaping the information that is given during the exchange (De Costa, 2015). Details about the way the group interviews were organised and conducted will be provided in Section 3.6.4.

Trust has to be built and care needs to be taken to avoid a monolithic research design, so that participants also benefit from the participation and there is social utility as an outcome of the research. Following these recommendations, when invited to take part in the study, participants were told that when the study finished, they would have access to some teaching materials designed by us, which would take into account the results obtained. This is a way to give something back to the community that is being researched by taking a resource provider role and reciprocating the favour.

The identities of the speakers from Córdoba and Buenos Aires who provided the recordings that served as stimuli for the verbal-guise test were not revealed. The four voices were presented to participants using fictional names.

The information provided by participants was also codified to preserve their anonymity. Answers from teacher participants were coded as T1, T2, T3, and so on, whereas answers from student participants were coded as S1, S2, S3, and so on.

In the interview transcripts, the real names of participants were not provided, as they were substituted by labels, such as CT1, CT2 and CT3 for interviewees from Córdoba, and any personal information that was not necessary for the aims of the study was erased.

The data analysis process also required ethical considerations and transparency. I kept a research diary. When analysing the data, I resorted to coding, determining different themes, building an argument and then going back to the data, which can add rigorousness and transparency (De Costa, 2015). These practices allow other researchers to be able to assess our work, replicate the study, and to improve the foundation of the field (De Costa et al, 2020).

During project design, consideration was given to the potential contribution that its results may make to the field of teaching Spanish as an L2 through the responsible dissemination of research findings. Pondering this aspect is suggested by Burns (2015) as well. This was done by highlighting their practical significance, aiming at “accurately informing L2 theory, practice and future research” (De Costa 2015, p. 251).

As this study was conducted exclusively online due to the Covid-19 pandemic, ethical considerations were taken related to this kind of research, as remote internet-mediated data collection poses further ethical challenges. For example, during digitally-mediated interactions with potential participants in forums and online groups attention was given to the information that was disclosed as regards research aims, to later on provide more details in one-to-one interactions with potential participants. This was also recommended by Spilioti and Tagg (2017).

4.4. Changes due to the Pandemic

Initially, the project planned to include L2 Spanish class observations in Argentina so as to obtain data about what actually happens in classrooms. However, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, there was no physical access to classes during 2020 and 2021, as teaching moved to online platforms.

The data collection was carried out remotely during 2021 following Northumbria University’s Covid-19 Working and Data Protection guidelines so as to maintain the highest standards of academic practice when collecting and processing the information gathered. This was done complying with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). The data was collected online using the platform Qualtrics and the group interviews were conducted through Microsoft Teams System.

Collecting the data remotely also had the advantage of allowing me to reach informants from cities in Argentina which are very far from each other. Argentina is the eighth biggest country in the world, being 3.700 km long and having cities scattered all over the continental area, so contacting instructors in person from many cities might have been an obstacle. Administering the questionnaires and conducting the interviews remotely allowed me to reach participants from 18 out of the 23 provinces that Argentina is geopolitically divided into. Another advantage of remote data collection may be the possibility that online instruments offer to preserve participants’ anonymity, which may encourage participants to express themselves more openly than when the data is collected in person, according to Tao et al. (2017).

Data collection instructions and procedures were scripted to minimise variability across the different collection times and also to serve to keep a record of procedures (also irregularities, interruptions or any additional factor that may influence data collection), as Munro and Derwing (2015) suggest. When designing and administering the instruments, I followed suggestions about the interface and quality control measures made by Nagle (2019) and Nagle & Rehman (2021) to conduct research on L2 speech online.

4.5. Procedures

Before starting the survey, participants were asked to fill out a consent form. Personal and socio-geographic information about participants was also collected, as it can help interpret results, aid in the legitimisation of the generalisation of findings and may be useful for replication purposes in the future (Munro & Derwing, 2015).

Participants took a VGT in order to answer the first research question and collect the data about Spanish teachers' and students' attitudes towards the Buenos Aires and the Cordobese accent. In order to find out about teachers' explicit attitudes towards different Spanish accents, their self-reported pedagogical practices as regards variation, the materials they use and the factors that influence their decisions, a detailed questionnaire was administered. These items also contributed to answering the rest of the research questions proposed, which had the aim of finding out how instructors' classroom practices are influenced by their linguistic attitudes and whether their decisions regarding variation teaching are based on pedagogical, political-ideological personal or institutional reasons or intuitions.

A questionnaire was administered to Spanish students as well, so that they would provide data about their experience during Spanish classes, the accents they were exposed to, and their own opinions and expectations regarding Spanish variation learning. The information gathered through this questionnaire helped to answer research questions 2 to 5, which aim at finding out participants' explicit attitudes towards the Spanish accents under focus, the treatment variation receives in the classroom, the factors that may influence teaching practices, and the role of language ideologies.

Group interviews with teachers were also conducted, as this tool can contribute to gathering more details about attitudes and practices as regards variation and the underlying factors that are behind their decisions. Their answers provide an insight into the role of “standard” language ideology, “panhispanism” and “pluricentrism” in their pedagogical practices.

At the end of the survey, teacher informants were asked whether they were interested in being interviewed on the same topics. Those who accepted were interviewed in groups of three using Microsoft Teams. The five interviews were conducted in Spanish; they were recorded and transcribed. The software NVivo was used to aid in the analysis of the data.

The quantitative data was statistically analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Some recommendations about reporting and interpreting quantitative data provided by Norris et al. (2016), Plonsky (2013) and Larson-Hall and Plonsky (2015) were taken into consideration.

Triangulation of methods was used as a way to mitigate research bias related to participants answering in a way that improves their position (prestige bias), in a way that shows them as they would like to act (self-deception bias), and in the way they think the researcher expects them to answer (acquiescence bias), as suggested by De Costa (2015). When studying phenomena such as behaviours and attitudes, social sciences researchers need to consider that respondents may self-report inaccurate information for fear of violating social desirability norms (social desirability and response bias) by understating negative characteristics and overstating positive ones, for instance, and thus, presenting themselves in a more positive light. There is empirical evidence that socially desirable responding, which caters for the need of social approval, is done both by deliberately and reflectively editing answers and also as an automatic and spontaneous process depending on whether the traits connoted by the responses are positive or negative (Jann, Krumpal & Wolter, 2019).

The next section details the instruments used.

4.6. Instruments

4.6.1 Teachers' Questionnaire

Before reaching the final version of the questionnaire, it was piloted twice. In the first pilot, three participants completed it in a Microsoft Word document. They made comments about the questionnaire's excessive length, which took them around an hour to complete (with the VGT included). Moreover, they referred to some questions which they found repetitive or similar. Thus, unnecessary items were removed and similar questions were merged. Some open questions were turned into closed questions to reduce the time needed to finish it.

For the second pilot, the survey was uploaded to the online software Qualtrics, where participants could access the survey through a link. This time, three participants took around 30 minutes to complete it. One said that in some questions they felt they did not have the option to

have a neutral position, for example when asked about varieties they considered prestigious. To solve this problem, it was explicitly stated in the rubrics of those kinds of questions that they could write “none” and that they were not being forced to give an answer they did not want to. At this stage, some final adjustments to the format were made, especially taking into account comments about the mobile version of the survey and what participants found more user-friendly.

The final version of the questionnaire was divided into nine themes so as to help in the analysis of the data (See Appendix 2 for full questionnaire). The first section collected participant’s biographical information together with data about their contact with foreign languages and Spanish varieties (14 items). The VGT in which they had to answer a semantic differential scale for each of the four samples was presented in the following section (this VGT is described in detail in Section 3.6.3).

Following the VGT, instructors were asked about their perceptions and preferences about Spanish varieties from Argentina and the rest of the world. Issues related to “standard” varieties, prestige, “neutral” Spanish, pronunciation models and panhispanism were raised (17 items). After that, participants were required to answer a set of questions to find out about the training they received and the experience they had in the field of foreign language teaching. Items to find out about specific Spanish teacher training courses, training on the teaching of different skills, variation, sociolinguistics, among others, were included (10 items). The sixth set included items aimed at finding out instructors’ beliefs about teaching Spanish variation, the impact that this topic may have on learning, pronunciation models, and pronunciation learning and teaching goals (21 items).

The seventh section contained four items which had the objective of collecting data on participants’ beliefs about L2 pronunciation acquisition. Section 8 deals with teachers’ reported practices regarding varieties. Items revolve around kinds of variation presented, teacher and students’ preferences, methodology, materials, among others (25 items). In the last set of questions, instructors were expected to provide information about the role some external factors have on their decisions and practices. The influence may come from educational institutions, students’ goals and preferences, international exams, course contents, materials and so on (8 items).

4.6.2 Students' Questionnaire

The students' questionnaire was divided into seven themes to aid data analysis (See Appendix 3 for full questionnaire). In section 1, biographical details were collected, together with information about their contact with and exposure to foreign languages and Spanish varieties (20 items). In section 2, the same VGT that teachers responded to, was presented to students. The third set of questions deals with beliefs about different varieties and accents; thus, concepts such as prestige, standard Spanish and pronunciation models were brought up (19 items). Following this, students were asked to provide details about their Spanish learning experiences and preferences (7 items). The fifth set revolved around learners' goals and also dealt with the impact of exposure to variation on learning (11 items). Section 7 focused on learners' classroom experiences with Spanish variation (10 items). Finally, participants were asked about external factors that may have motivated their interest to learn Spanish, such as education or travel, and whether they were intending to sit for an international Spanish examination (2 items).

This survey was also piloted twice. The original version was shortened, as participants also commented on its length. Some instructions which were found to be unclear were reformulated and a few options that were given in certain items were simplified. The final version of the survey took participants around 20 minutes to complete.

Qualtrics, a highly secure web-based software, was used to create both surveys, as it allows researchers to design questionnaires with a wide range of question types and generate basic statistical reports without the need for previous programming skills. Qualtrics also offers training sessions and guidelines to help users make the most of the tools the software provides.

4.6.3 VGT

Instead of asking direct questions to participants about their language attitudes, we can indirectly measure attitudes towards language varieties through subtler or even deceptive ways which can help us have access to more emotional and private reactions (Garrett, 2010); the aims of the study are usually “concealed from informants, in order to penetrate below the level of conscious awareness or behind the social façade of the individual” (McKenzie, 2010, p.86). In order to measure participants' language attitudes, a verbal guise technique was used, which is a variant of the matched guise technique¹³. As part of the verbal guise technique, respondents

¹³ In a matched guise technique, respondents listen to a recording of a single speaker reading the same text aloud several times “with each reading differing from each other in one respect only” (Garrett, 2010, p. 41), for

listen to samples of spontaneous, natural speech produced by different speakers of the varieties under focus and they answer an attitude rating scale for each sample.

Even though the matched-guise technique is the most frequently used indirect method to collect language attitudes and the Implicit Association Test (IAT) is also being used in many studies to collect implicit language attitudes, the VGT was chosen for several reasons. Being able to use authentic spontaneous texts as stimuli is preferred to using rehearsed read aloud texts. Moreover, in the matched guise technique, the readers need to “fake” different accents, which could turn out problematic and unconvincing. Not using the IAT was mostly decided based on the fact that the stimuli used are just single words or short phrases, so we run the risk of participants not being able to identify the language varieties under study, especially when using samples from educated speakers, as in the case of this study. Moreover, setting up an IAT for fully remote data collection was problematic, costly and possibly not-viable at the time of data collection.

We chose to design a VGT containing a 7-point semantic differential scale with 12 different sets of opposing labels (see Appendix 3). We asked participants to rate speakers using labels which belong to the dimensions of 1) **status and competence**: perceived social status, intelligence, skills and level of education; 2) **linguistic superiority**: aesthetic quality, correctness, appropriate model of pronunciation and persuasiveness 3) **social attractiveness**: fun, friendliness, honesty and solidarity. These three dimensions were chosen following the work of Ladegaard (1998) and McKenzie et al. (2016). An odd number was chosen for the scale (7) so that participants had the chance to choose a “neutral” attitude towards the sample (in each of the 12 traits) and did not feel forced to make a choice towards one of the two ends. These semantic differential scales are faster to complete than Likert scales, for instance, and even more so in their online versions. This helps to “elicit snap judgments and minimise opportunities for mental processing” (Garrett, 2010, p.56), which in turn may reduce the possibility of social desirability bias and acquaintance bias taking place. The selection process of the adjectives, the piloting and the subsequent modifications made to the scale are discussed in more detail in Section 3.6.3.6.

We decided to work with only two varieties, the two most spoken in Argentina, and with four speakers in total. This was done because this study is not looking only at indirectly collected

example language variety, and keeping remaining features as constant as possible. Participants are told that they will be listening to different speakers, not to “the same person speaking in different ‘guises” (p.41), and are asked to fill an attitude rating scale after each sample.

linguistic attitudes, but also at their interaction with data about explicit attitudes, reported practices and linguistic policies collected through questionnaires and focus group interviews. Had it been an exclusively language attitudes study, we could have possibly included more varieties and more speakers in the stimuli.

The stimuli for the VGT were collected from four Argentinian speakers, two from Córdoba (one male and one female) and two from Buenos Aires (one male and one female). They were all university graduates in their thirties or forties, so as to control for speech variation related to different age and socioeconomic groups. The decision to use both female and male voices was to potentially help alleviate the confounding issues that external factors related to talker variability and variations in fundamental frequencies may bring about, as respondents may have preferences for certain kinds of voices. Apart from having different fundamental frequencies, which are attributed to physiological reasons related to size and shape of the vocal cords and the vocal tract, male and female voices tend to differ in terms of voice quality, which may be related to physiological differences, but they may also be learned. Male voices tend to be creakier, whereas female voices tend to be breathier (Henton & Blandon, 1988; Klatt & Klatt, 1990; Simpson, 2009). Using samples from both genders also aims to help to break with an androcentric tradition which is present in research, as studies frequently show males analysing male voices or analysing female voices but very frequently in reference to the male voices and not the other way around, as Simpson (2009) points out.

These two varieties were chosen as Buenos Aires speech or in more general terms the Rioplatense variety is one of the eight “central” standard varieties acknowledged by the Real Academia Española and the Latin American Spanish Language Academies within their pluricentric approach to variation. According to this perspective, the Cordobese variety would be considered a “peripheral” variety to that of Buenos Aires. To contextualise the speech, participants were informed that each of the speakers was giving directions on a map. To add validity and avoid bias or unwanted tendencies related to speakers’ place of origin, gender or sequencing effect, when exposing participants to stimuli, the order in which participants listened to the samples was automatically randomised by Qualtrics, as well as the sets of bi-polar personality traits that they had to rate each sample on.

Even though some researchers suggest placing the positive traits sometimes on the left hand side and some other times on the right hand side in a random way so as to avoid any kind of left-right bias when listeners respond (Oppenheim, 1992; McKenzie et al., 2016), it was decided not to do this so as to avoid adding unnecessary complexity to the instrument design

and to the data analysis. The decision was taken because the survey would be administered through Qualtrics, which offers mobile versions so that respondents can complete surveys using their cell phones or tablets. In the mobile version, the options for each question are presented vertically, and top-bottom bias research has shown mixed results about this kind of bias (Chyung & Miller, 2019).

Regarding the rating procedure, simultaneous rating was chosen as opposed to sequential rating, i.e., participants rated the samples using the scale as they were listening to them. This was decided as no significant difference was found between the two approaches in a study that compared them (O'Brien, 2016). Furthermore, all teachers and students were required to answer all 12 VGT items, as a fully crossed design was chosen, rather than a random-raters one, where only random subsets of listeners evaluate each of the items. This was done, as fully crossed designs have the advantage of allowing to consider rater-by-item effects during the data analysis (Nagle & Rehman, 2021). If desired, we could analyse not only how each group rated speakers in each item, but also how each participant's ratings vary across 12 items for each speaker.

Instead of asking speakers to read a text aloud or to answer an open-ended question, they were recorded completing a map-task which consists in giving directions by looking at the same fictitious map. This is done to control variables like passage content and to avoid that speakers reveal personal information having to do with their age, place of origin or socio-economic position. In this way, speakers can talk more spontaneously but, at the same time, the samples collected are comparable.

Each speaker was sent a file containing a consent form, a biometric information form and detailed instructions to record themselves (see Appendix 4 for guidelines given to speakers and map task). First the elements that they needed were listed: a PC, a professional voice recorder software (a link to download Audacity®¹⁴ was included in case they did not have one already) and a microphone. Suggestions about the conditions in which the recording should take place were made, stressing the importance of being in a quiet room where no interruptions would occur. After that, the procedure they should follow, from opening the audio recorder to sending me the files to my email account, was described in five different steps. They were asked to try to mention all the places included in the map and they were told that the recording should be between 60 and 75 seconds long so that all the samples would be around the same length.

¹⁴ Audacity® is a free, open-source audio software that can be used on a variety of platforms. It is a multi-track audio recorder and editor which is supported by several operating systems.

The designed map that speakers used to give directions includes eleven places you will typically find in any Argentinian town. Many of their names are closely associated with Argentinian cultural elements or activities. The map contains words like *asado* (beef barbecue), *parrilla* (a restaurant where beef barbecue is served), *fernet* (a popular bitter aromatic alcoholic beverage, originally from Italy, which is mixed with cola soda), *pollo a las brasas* (roast chicken take-away), *Facultad de Bellas Artes* (Fine Arts School), *obra en construcción* (construction site), *club de basquet* (basketball club), *hospital de niños* (children's hospital), *yerbas* (the herbs used to make *mate*, a traditional Argentinian hot tea which is drunk with a straw), *yuyitos* (different flavoured natural herbs to put in the *mate*), *cerrajería "La llave"* (locksmith "The Key"), *capilla* (chapel), *municipalidad de la ciudad* (city hall) and *dietética* (health food store).

Moreover, taking into account the purpose of the study, all the places were carefully selected considering their spelling and pronunciation. They were chosen because they contain graphemes that may be pronounced differently or may have a different distribution depending on the Spanish variety of the speaker (Buenos Aires or Cordobese accent), such as <y>, <ll>, <rr>, <s> and consonants like <t>, <d> or in word final position (see Section 1.1.1 for details about the characteristics of the varieties under study). For example, there are words like <parrilla>, whose grapheme <rr> could be pronounced with a non-sibilated /r/ or with a sibilated alveolar trill [r̄] in Córdoba, whereas in Buenos Aires Spanish the sibilated variant is very uncommon. The grapheme <ll> in Córdoba would be produced mostly with the phoneme /j/ (*yeísmo*), /ʒ/ (*žeísmo* or *yeísmo rehilado*), with the voiced affricate /dʒ/ or it could even be elided in this position. The option /ʃ/ (*šeísmo*) can also be heard in certain parts of the province, especially in the south; in turn, most Buenos Aires Spanish speakers would pronounce the <ll> grapheme using the voiceless fricative /f/ or /z/, as both *šeísmo* and *žeísmo* (or *yeísmo rehilado*) coexist in Buenos Aires. The final selection of the terms to include in the map was done with the expert help of Argentinian specialists in phonetics and phonology who had taken part in the Cordobese accents atlas *Las Hablas de Córdoba*® (2019), which was described in the Introduction of this thesis. Once the terms had been chosen, illustrative images for each place were used to design the map using the software Canva.

4.6.3.1 VGT Samples

A larger number of samples from Cordobese and Buenos Aires speakers was collected initially; a selection process was carried out in a pilot study, following McKenzie et al. (2016). The most representative samples of Cordobese and Buenos Aires Spanish were chosen during

focus groups in which speakers of the varieties in question took part. The sample selection process, which took into account native speaker judgements and acoustic measurements is described in detail in Sections 3.6.3.2 and 3.6.3.3.

Over 60 people from Buenos Aires and Córdoba were invited to provide a speech sample for the study. They were people who I knew or who were referred to me by friends or colleagues. Considering variation that may arise as a result of generation-specific and/or age-grading use of language, people belonging to the same age group, middle-aged speakers, were targeted. According to Giles et al. (2000), 31 is the approximate mean age that signals the onset of middle age, and it goes on until around age 51. This age range was chosen as it is thought to be the one that exhibits the most linguistic stability (Bailey, 2002; Chambers, 2009) as opposed to (pre-) adolescent and older adults' speech. The language of pre-adolescents and adolescents is considered to be highly variable because of social meaning-making purposes and it is found particularly interesting by researchers who study language changes in progress and how they advance across generations, for instance. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that nowadays variationist sociolinguists do study changes in the speech of older speakers, their speech is usually the focus of research which aims to find out details about the linguistic past (Pichler et al., 2018). Furthermore, as previously mentioned, all speakers who were invited to participate have a university degree to minimise variation related to their socio-educational level.

After contacting potential participants, I received 11 audios from Bs As speakers and 20 audios from Cordobese speakers. I had to ask some speakers to record themselves again. Two of the recordings were too acted out and artificial or stereotypical of Cordobese speakers, as they thought they needed to sound very Cordobese. Two speakers misinterpreted the instructions and thought that they had to video record themselves doing a dialogue, so they were also asked to re-record their audios. Another speaker's speed of delivery was too slow, so he made the recording again. Two recordings were too long even after being re-recorded, so they were not considered. A further re-recorded audio was discarded because there was a problem with the audio, which skipped for a couple of seconds and some words were missed by the recording.

4.6.3.2 Preliminary Sample Selection

To ensure the target stimuli are representative of their respective varieties, a small panel of native speakers were consulted (Impe, 2010). This board of native speakers of Cordobese and Buenos Aires Spanish were asked to validate the accents of the samples.

A preliminary selection of six audios from each variety was made with the help of five untrained native speakers from Córdoba and four from Buenos Aires, as listeners perform better at accent identification when they are familiar with the varieties of the speakers (Braun et al., 2018) and there is evidence that untrained listeners can systematically recognise different accents or dialects (Shen & Watt, 2015).

The listeners were given the pseudonyms of the speakers. All voices were perceived by native speakers of each variety as belonging to the accents that they were chosen to represent.

The shortlisting was done taking into account the voices' acoustic parameters so as to select similar voices. An acoustic analysis of Buenos Aires and Córdoba speakers' voices was done using the speech analyser Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2022). The parameters taken into account were the minimal and fundamental frequency, jitter, shimmer and HNR in seconds 5-15. Jitter was measured in a vowel. These parameters will be defined and described in the paragraphs below. Voices whose parameters fell within normal values were selected to avoid voices that are acoustically categorised as pathological because of their breathiness, hoarseness or trembling features, for example.

Fundamental frequency is a term used in acoustic phonetics to refer to a physical property of the sound related to vocal cord vibration frequency (glottal pulses per second). It is what auditory or perceptual phonetics describe as pitch of the voice. Male speakers tend to have thicker and longer vocal folds, which makes them vibrate at a slower rate (Simpson, 2009). According to results of an acoustic study of Argentinian speakers' fundamental frequencies carried out by Paolini et al. (2018), Buenos Aires male speakers' fundamental median frequency was 119 Hz; Buenos Aires females' median fundamental frequency was 207 Hz. As regards Córdoba speakers, the study reveals that males' median was 123 Hz (min/max: 97 Hz to 189 Hz) and females' median was 208 Hz (min/max: 147 Hz to 262 Hz).

For an adult, shimmer normal values should be higher than 3%. This value indicates the amplitude perturbation of the wave and is perceived by listeners as the breathiness levels in the voice. In the case of the jitter parameter, which indicates the frequency perturbation and is related to the trembling of the voice and the speaker's control of vocal cords vibration, normal values for adults fall within 0.5 and 1.00. The HNR (harmonic to noise ratio) parameter refers to how sonorant and harmonic a voice is; values higher than 7 dB are considered normal. Lower levels are associated with dysphonia and an asthenic voice (Teixeira et al. 2013).

The speakers' speed of delivery was also considered when selecting the stimuli for the VGT. According to the Cervantes Institute (2022), a Spanish speaker has a normal speed of

delivery when they utter between 150 and 200 words per minute. The speed of delivery of one of the four samples (Horacio, the male Buenos Aires speaker) was slightly modified (rhythm was speeded up by 17% using Audacity so that it is within normal speed of delivery). When changing the rhythm with Audacity, the speed of delivery changes but it does not affect the tone.

In Argentinian Spanish, there is a formal and informal way of addressing the interlocutor. The informal way is using *vos* for second person singular, which also affects the forms of verbs and possessive pronouns. The formal way is using *usted*, which also affects the forms of verbs and possessive pronouns. In an informal situation where you are asked for directions by a stranger in the street, most people would resort to informal addressing. This is why the audios which included formal addressing were not considered so as to avoid variation related to style.

4.6.3.3 Final Sample Selection

After the preliminary selection of six samples from Buenos Aires and six samples from Córdoba, the pre-pilot of the voices was carried out to select two final samples for each variety. Two untrained listeners from Córdoba and two from other provinces were asked to listen to the six speakers from Córdoba and answer some questions about their accents.

Similarly, two people from Buenos Aires and two from other provinces were asked to listen to the six speakers from Buenos Aires and to answer similar questions. All listeners provided us with feedback about the voices and how representative of Cordobese and Buenos Aires accents they found them to be. The two voices which were selected as most representative of each variety by the listeners were chosen. In Figure 7, the values for acoustic parameters for the four selected speakers are presented.

Figure 7

Acoustic Parameters of VGT Stimuli

speaker	origin	sex	length (seconds)	Mean pitch (Hz)	jitter	shimmer	HNR (dB)	Speed Words p/min
Horacio	BS AS	Male	53	132.76	0.72	13.51	7.33	151 ¹⁵

¹⁵ The speed of delivery was slightly speeded up by 17% using Audacity so that it is within normal speed of delivery. When changing the rhythm with Audacity, the tempo changes but it does not affect the tone.

Tamara	BS AS	Female	50	193.61	0.80	7.48	14.96	163
David	Córdoba	Male	64	175.64	0.97	11.23	8.2	191
Pamela	Córdoba	Female	59	219.44	0.83	10.24	8.9	191

4.6.3.4 Description of Samples

HORACIO (Male Buenos Aires)

Horacio is an engineer in his 40s. He was described by speakers who were born and raised in Buenos Aires as having an accent that is very representative of their province. One of the features he produced which is typical of a Buenos Aires accent is generalised *seseo* as opposed to *distinción*, which is a characteristic of Cordobese Spanish as well. As opposed to Cordobese speakers, Horacio does not produce any elisions of the sound /s/, but he does aspirate this sound in some cases: /do'βlas a la ih'kjerða/ for “*doblas a la izquierda*” (turn left). As regards the pronunciation of the graphemes <y> and <ll>, he produces *šéismo*. Thus, he uses the voiceless fricative phoneme /ʃ/ in words such as /ʃe'γas/ “*llegás*” (you arrive), /ka'piʃa/ “*capilla*” (chapel), /pa'riʃa/ “*parrilla*” (barbecue), /'ʃerβas/ “*yervas*” and /ʃu 'ʃitos/ “*yuyitos*” (herbs). He also pronounces the final consonants in words or phrases such as /klub de 'βahket/ “*club de basquet*” (basketball club), /fer'net/ “*fernet*” (fernet), /fakul'tad/ “*facultad*” (school). As regards the intonation of Horacio’s speech, it can be perceived as having an Italian influence, typical of Buenos Aires accent, which also has the effect on the perception of its rhythm as stress-timed as opposed to syllable-timed, which is associated with the Spanish language.

Horacio’s script:

Bien. Ahí enfrente está el club de básquet. Doblás a la izquierda y llegás hasta la municipalidad de la ciudad. Doblás a la derecha, vas a encontrarte la Capilla de los Remedios y enfrente hay una obra en construcción. Seguís derecho hasta la parrilla Asado Zarpado. Ahí doblás a la izquierda, seguís derecho, vas a pasar el Hospital de Niños y vas a encontrarte con una dietética que se llama Yervas y Yuyitos. Doblás a la izquierda, vas a encontrarte con la Facultad de Bellas Artes. Ahí doblás a la derecha una cuadra y vas a ver la cerrajería La Llave, doblás a la izquierda y vas a encontrar un local de Pollo a las Brasas, ahí doblás a la izquierda nuevamente y llegás a tu destino: La Casa del Fernet.

English version¹⁶:

¹⁶ This is my own translation.

Good. There across the road it's the basketball club. You take a left and you will get to the city council. Then you need to take a right turn and you will see the chapel Capilla de los Remedios and across the street there is a construction site. Go on till you reach the barbecue restaurant Asado Zarpado. There you turn left, keep going straight and you will go past the Hospital for Kids. You will also see a healthy food store called Yerbas y Yuyitos. Then you turn left and you will find the School of Fine Arts. There you turn right, go on for a block and you will see a locksmith called La Llave. Then you turn left and you will find a chicken store Pollo a las Brasas, you turn left again and you will get to your destination: La Casa del Fernet.

TAMARA (Female Buenos Aires)

Tamara is a professional actress and she is in her late 30s. During the pilot of the voices, speakers who were born and raised in Buenos Aires considered her accent to be very representative of their province. While giving directions, she produced typical features of Buenos Aires Spanish. To start with, she used generalised *seseo* as opposed to *distinción*. She does not elide the sound /s/ as many Cordobese speakers do. She produces it as a voiceless alveolar fricative in some contexts: /pa'sas una i'glesja/ “*pasás una iglesia*” (go pass the church), and in some others, she aspirates it: /do'βlas a la ih'kjerða/ “*doblás a la izquierda*” (turn left). Tamara produces the graphemes <y> and <ll> using the voiceless fricative phoneme /ʃ/, phenomenon known as *šeísmo*: /ka'piʃa/ “*capilla*” (chapel), /pa'riʃa/ “*parrilla*” (barbecue), /poʃo/ “*pollo*” (chicken) and /ʃaβe/ “*llave*” (key). This is different from Cordobese speakers, who tend to produce *yeísmo* /j/, *yeísmo rehilado* /z/, or /dz/ in these contexts. Another characteristic to point out is that she pronounces the final consonants in words such as /klub/ “*club*” (club), /βahket/ “*basquet*” (basketball), /fer'net/ “*fernet*” (fernet), /fakul'tad/ “*facultad*” (school), /munisipali'dad/ “*municipalidad*” (city hall), which Cordobese speakers frequently elide. When focusing on suprasegmental features, Tamara's speech has the typical Italian influenced intonation that most Buenos Aires speakers produce.

Tamara's script:

Tenés que ir derecho hasta el club de básquet, ahí doblás a la izquierda y vas a ver la municipalidad, ahí doblás a tu derecha, pasás una iglesia, la Capilla de los Remedios, una obra en construcción, y en la esquina vas a ver una parrilla que se llama Asado Zarpado, ahí doblás a la izquierda, pasás por el Hospital de Niños, y en la esquina hay una dietética Yerbas y Yuyitos. Ahí doblás a la izquierda, pasás la Facultad de Bellas Artes y ahí en la esquina de la facultad, doblás a la derecha, hacés una cuadra y a tu izquierda, va a estar la cerrajería La

Llave, ahí doblás a la izquierda hasta una pollería el Pollo a las Brasas, doblás de nuevo a la izquierda y ahí llegás a La Casa del Fernet.

English version¹⁷:

You have to go straight up to the basketball club. There you turn left and you will see the city council. There you need to turn right, go by the church, the Capilla de los Remedios, a construction site, and in the corner you will see a barbecue restaurant which is called Asado Zarpado. There you turn left, you will go past the hospital for kids and in the corner there is a healthy food shop called Yervas y Yuyitos. There you should turn left, go past the School of Fine Arts and there in the corner of the school, turn right, go on for a block and to your left you will see the locksmith La Llave. There you need to turn left and go on to the chicken store called Pollo a las Brasas. You turn left again and you will get to La Casa del Fernet.

DAVID (Male Córdoba)

The speech of David, a male nurse in his 40s, was judged by Cordobese locals to have a highly representative Cordobese accent. His speech has several segmental and prosodic characteristics which were found to be typical of this accent by researchers who have focused on its phonetic features (Vidal de Battini, 1964; Supisiche, 1994; Toniolo, 2007; Toniolo and Zurita, 2012; Berry, 2015; Lenardón, 2017; Las Hablas de Córdoba, 2019). He uses generalised *seseo*, keeping with the prevalence of this feature in the whole of the country. He elides (ø) or aspirates (/h/) several voiceless alveolar fricatives /s/ in different positions. He says /voø/ for “vos” (you), /konøtruk'sjon/ for “*construcción*” (construction). He also elides other consonants such as /r/, /b/, /t/ and /d/, especially in final position: /βah a βeø/ for “*vas a ver*” (you will see), /kluø de 'βahkeø/ for “*club de basquet*” (basketball club), /fer'neø/ for “*fernet*”, /fakul'taø/ for “*facultad*” (school). He combines *yeísmo rehilado* /z/ with *yeísmo* /j/, and /dz/ at times, when he produces words with graphemes <y> and <ll>: /dʒe'yeh/ for “*llegués*” (arrive), /ka'piza/ for “*capilla*” (chapel), /'zaβe/ for “*llave*” (key), /pa'rija/ for “*parrilla*” (barbecue), /'dʒer βah/ for “*yerba*” (herbs) and /βejah/ for “*bellas*” (fine). In terms of intonation, the typical Cordobese *tonada* or melody, given by the relative lengthening of pretonic syllables is also perceived in the speech of this speaker. He also changes the usual word stress of some verbs in the second person singular of the present subjunctive to the final syllable of the word, something which is very typical in Cordobese speakers. Instead of saying /'ʒeyes/, as a Buenos Aires speaker would

¹⁷ This is my own translation.

pronounce “*llegues*” (arrive), he says /dʒe'ʎeh/. So apart from the segmental characteristics, there is also a suprasegmental difference with the Buenos Aires version of the word. In terms of lexicum, this speaker shortens the word “*municipalidad*” (city council) to “*muni*”. The shortening of words, especially words which are very frequent is common in Córdoba, although it is not an exclusive feature of that province and can be heard in other parts of the country. For instance, people say *cole* instead of *colegio* (school), *pele* instead of *película* (movie), or *profe* instead of *profesor*, (teacher), just to name a few.

David's script:

Hola qué tal. Bueno mirá, viste el club de básquet, bueno vos doblá la izquierda y hacete unos cincuenta metros hasta que llegués a la municipalidad, cuando llegués a la muni, doblá mano derecha hacé unos trescientos metros, vas a ver que del lado izquierdo hay una capilla que se llama de los Remedios, así en diagonal hay una obra en construcción. Vos seguí hasta la parrilla Asado Zarpado porque está muy buena y es una esquina que te vas a dar cuenta. Cuando llegués a la parrilla doblá mano izquierda, hacés doscientos metros te vas a topar con una dietética que se llama Yerbas y Yuyitos. Cuando llegues a la dietética doblá a mano izquierda hacé unos doscientos metros más, te vas a topar del lado derecho vas a ver que hay una facultad que se llama de Bellas Artes. Cuando llegues a la facultad doblá a la derecha hacé cien metros y volvé doblar a la izquierda. Vas a ver que vas a encontrar la cerrajería la llave y después si seguís vas encontrar un pollo a las brasas. Cuando llegues al pollo a las brasas que está en una esquina doblá a la izquierda y ahí está La Casa del Fernet.

English version¹⁸:

Hi, how is it going? Well, look, you know the basketball club? Well there you turn left, go on about fifty metres until you get to the city council. When you get there, turn right and go on for about three hundred metres. You will see that there is a chapel to your right, de los Remedios, and there in a diagonal there is a construction site. Go on till you reach the barbecue restaurant Asado Zarpado. It is really nice and it is on the corner, you will see. When you reach the barbecue restaurant, turn left and go on two hundred metres until you reach a healthy food store called Yerbas y Yuyitos. When you reach the healthy food store turn left, go on two hundred metres more and you will see on your right the School of Fine Arts. When you get to the school, turn right, go on for two hundred metres and turn left again. you will run into the locksmith La

¹⁸ This is my own translation.

Llave and if you keep on going you will find a chicken store, Pollo a las Brasas. When you get there, which is in the corner, turn left and there it is, La casa del Fernet.

PAMELA (Female Córdoba)

Pamela, a female gym teacher in her 40s, was judged by local speakers from Córdoba to have a very representative Cordobese accent. She elides (∅) or aspirates /h/ several voiceless alveolar fricatives /s/ when they are in word final position or when they occur between a vowel and a consonant; thus, in some cases they are omitted and in some other contexts they may take the form of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/: /βo∅ a'ka no'ma∅ te 'βah a/ for “*vos acá nomás te vas*” /βos a'ka no'mas te 'βas a/ or /dʒeɣah a la ðje'tetika ke se 'zama 'dzerβa∅ i zu'zito∅/ for “*llegás a la dietética que se llama yerbas y yuyitos*” /dʒe'ɣas a la ðje'tetika ke se 'zama 'dzerβas i zu'zitos/ (you arrive to the health food store which is called yerba and herbs). She elides some other consonants such as /d/ in intervocalic position: /a'sao sar'pao/ for “*asado zarpado*” /a'sado sar'pado/ (great barbecue), /t/ and /d/ in final position: /'baske/ for “*basquet*” /'basket/ (basket), /fer'ne/ for “*fernet*” /fer'net/ and /munisipali'ða/ for “*municipalidad*” /munisipali'ðad/ (city council). She uses generalised *seseo*. She combines *yeísmo rehilado* /z/ with *yeísmo* /j/, and /dʒ/ at times, when she produces words with graphemes <y> and <ll>: /dʒe'ɣah/ for “*llegás*” (arrive), and /'βeɰah/ and /zu'zito∅/ for “*bellas*” (fine) and “*yuyitos*” (herbs), respectively. As regards suprasegmental features, Pamela produces what is perceived as pretonic syllable lengthening and which may be produced in combination with tonic syllable shortening.

Pamela's script:

Si mirá vos acá nomás derecho te vas encontrar con el club del básquet. Ahí doblás a la izquierda. Haces una cuadra, cuando llegás a la municipalidad de la ciudad, doblás a la derecha. Pasás por una capilla que se llama Capilla de los remedios, más adelante vas a pasar por una obra en construcción, bueno, ahí cuando llegás a la esquina hay una parrilla que dice el Asado Zarpado que se llama, ahí tenés que doblar a la izquierda. Hacés una cuadra, cuando llegás a la dietética que se llama Yerba y Yuyito, ahí doblás de nuevo a la izquierda. Pasás por el Hospital de Niños, más adelante vas encontrar la Facultad de Bellas Artes. Cuando llegués a la esquina ahí doblá de nuevo a la derecha. Hacés una cuadra que es cortita, ahí nomás doblás a la izquierda, pasás por una cerrajería La Llave, después más adelante te vas a encontrar con una pollería que se llama Pollo a las Brasas, bueno ahí tenés que doblar a la izquierda de nuevo, hacés una cuadra y ahí vas encontrar el destino que es La Casa del Fernet.

English version¹⁹:

Yes, look, keep on going straight and soon you will run into the basketball club. There you need to turn left. Keep on for one more block and when you reach the city council, turn right. Go past the chapel called Capilla de los Remedios. Further down you will go past a construction site. Well, right there, when you reach the corner there is a barbecue restaurant which says Asado Zarpado, that is what it is called. There you need to turn left again. Keep going until you reach the healthy food shop that is called Yerba y Yuyito. There you need to turn left again. Go past the hospital for kids and then you will find the School of Fine Arts. When you get to the corner, turn right again. Go on one more block, which is short, and right there turn left. You will go past a locksmith called La Llave. A bit further down you will find a chicken store called Pollo a las Brasas; well there you have to turn left again, go on one more block and then you will reach your destination, La Casa del Fernet.

4.6.3.5 PRAAT Images of Words Produced by Cordobese and Buenos Aires Speakers

There follow some Praat (Boersma & Weenick, 2022) images of the words *capilla* and *parrilla*, pronounced by the Cordobese (8, 9 and 10) and the Buenos Aires speakers (Figures 11, 12 and 13). The relative lengthening of the pretonic segment in the words pronounced by the speakers from Córdoba can be identified in the speech analyser output.

Figure 8

Praat Image of the Word Capilla /ka'piza/, Produced by David, Male Córdoba Speaker

¹⁹ This is my own translation.

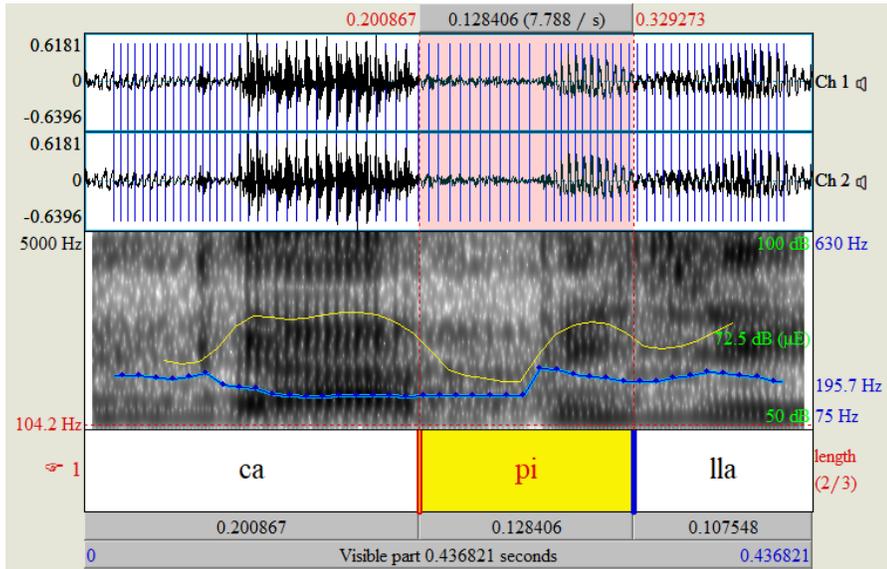


Figure 9

Praat Image of the Word Capilla /ka'pija/ Produced by Pamela, Female Córdoba Speaker

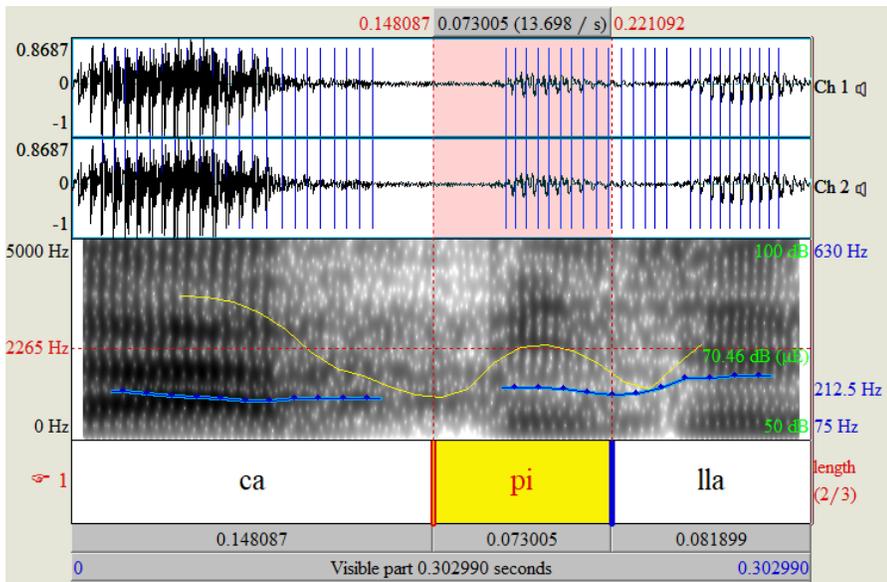


Figure 10

Praat Image of the Word Parrilla /pa'rrija/ Produced by Pamela, Female Córdoba Speaker

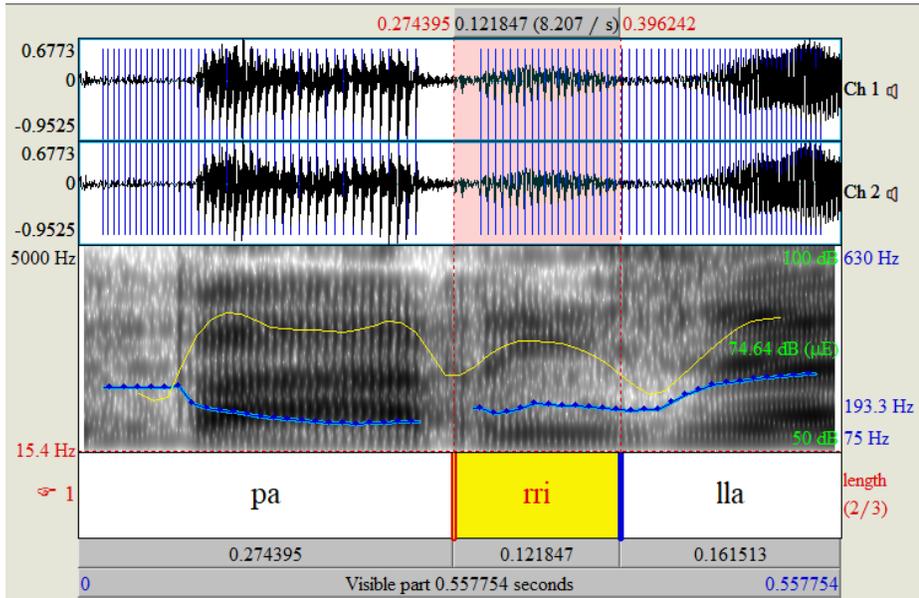


Figure 11

Praat Image of the Word Capilla [ka'pifa], produced by Horacio, Male Buenos Aires Speaker

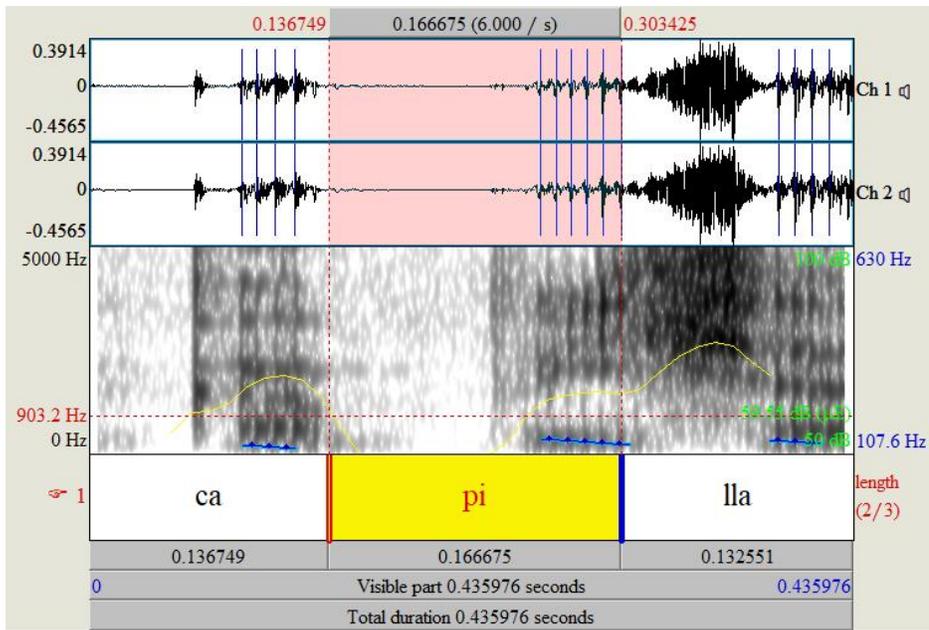


Figure 12

Praat Image of the Word Capilla [ka'pifa], Produced by Tamara, Female Buenos Aires Speaker

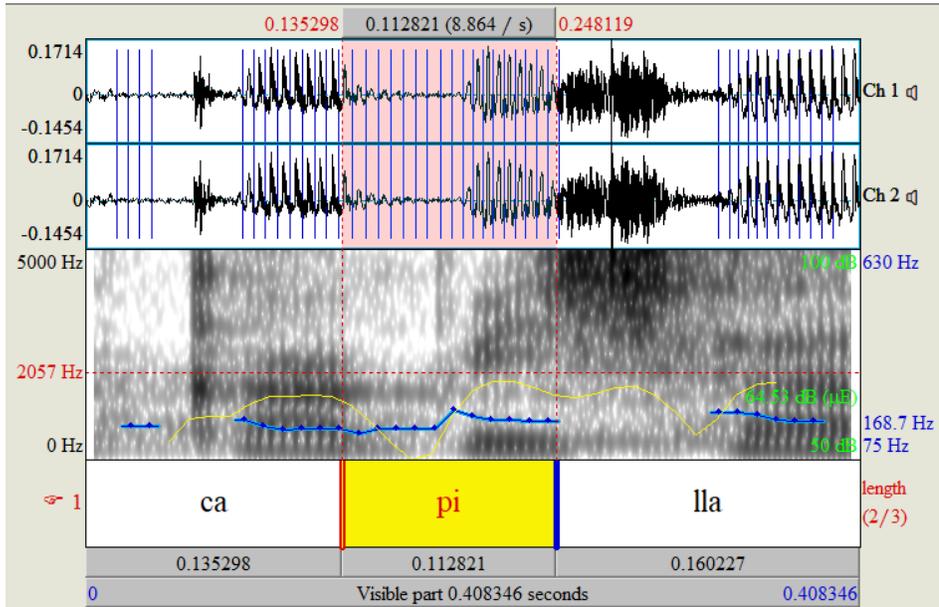
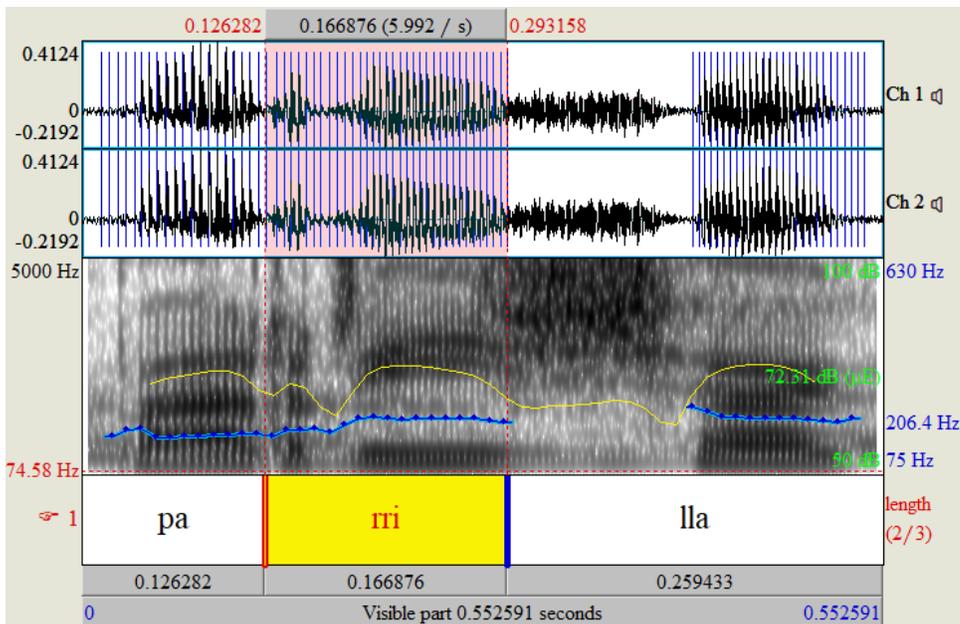


Figure 13

Praat Image of the Word Parrilla [pa'rija] Produced by Tamara, Female Buenos Aires Speaker



4.6.3.6 VGT Traits

In order to select the traits that would be included in the semantic-differential scale, a pre-pilot study was conducted with the population under investigation so that the adjectives used would be meaningful for that specific speech community.

Three teacher participants made comments about 18 traits in the semantic differential scale (see Appendix 5). They referred to how they interpreted the traits (what they meant for

them). In some cases, they suggested different traits which they found to be more adequate to be used within the Argentinian speaking community, as they are typically associated with Cordobese or Buenos Aires speakers. They also pointed out some traits which were too similar. After this pre-pilot for instance the word *elocuente* (eloquent) was substituted by *convincente* (convincing), as they claimed that there are probably many people who are not familiar with the exact meaning of the word eloquent.

Two respondents suggested that 18 traits were too many and that by the time they finished completing the scale, they did not remember the recording very well. Thus, six traits that they found to be too similar to others or irrelevant for the speaking community were taken out. Twelve traits remained in the final version of the VGT (4 traits for each category: status and competence, linguistic superiority and social attractiveness). Items like *gracioso* and *divertido*, which could both be translated as “funny” in English, were blended into one; *gracioso* was eliminated. Similarly, the initial versions contained the traits *amistoso* and *amable*, which could both be translated into English as “friendly”; thus, only *amable* was kept. The label *claro* (clear), which was found by participants to be quite similar to *correcto al hablar* (correct when speaking), was eliminated. “Self-confident” and “leader” were also eliminated, as participants felt they were similar to “persuasive” and there was no need to have three similar traits. Similarly, “reliable” was also eliminated, as “honest” was felt to be covering for that trait by participants.

The opposing labels used in the final version of the semantic differential scale for each of the dimensions were the following 1) Status and Competence: upper class vs lower class, intelligent vs not intelligent, educated vs not educated, skilled worker vs unskilled worker 2) Linguistic Superiority: pleasant speech vs not pleasant speech, correct when speaking vs not correct when speaking, good pronunciation model vs not good pronunciation model, persuasive vs not persuasive 3) Social Attractiveness: fun vs not fun, friendly vs not friendly, honest vs not honest, and solidary vs not solidary.

4.6.4 Focus Group Interviews

At the end of the teachers’ survey, participants were asked to state whether they were willing to be interviewed online on the same topic. More than half of the participants stated that they would like to be interviewed. Fifteen of these participants were contacted. Five group interviews which lasted around an hour and ten minutes each were conducted.

Interviews are resource intensive (Harding, 2013), but have proved to be particularly useful to find some evidence about people's decision making processes, emotions, perceptions and beliefs, motivations for certain behaviours, and meanings attached to different experiences, among others (Hennick et al., 2011). Even though they do not give us an objective perspective of the world inhabited by the participant, they "demonstrate the meanings that they attribute to this world and their experience of it" (Miller & Glassner, 2011, p.133).

The focus group interview is "a way of collecting qualitative data, which usually involves engaging a small number of people in an informal group discussion 'focused' around a particular topic or set of issues" (Wilkinson, 2011, p.168). It aims to gather verbal and observational qualitative data from individuals that have experienced the same situation which is the focus of the interview; they may function as a tool to have access to collective understandings. The social interaction dynamics of this kind of interview allow participants to scaffold and elaborate on each other's accounts.

We chose this type of instrument as it can allow us to gather data about "behavioural questions that go beyond the level of surface explanation" (Stuart & Shamdasani, 2017, p.12) and to observe how the dynamics of the group influence participants' perceptions, attitudes, understanding frameworks, information processing and decision making (Stuart & Shamdasani, 2017). Focus groups can also help researchers identify group norms, values and the way in which they discursively construct normality in their practices and behaviour. Moreover, focus groups can reveal how participants react to other people's ideas, by accepting them, building upon them, rejecting them or by defending their own position. In the case of this study, useful data emerged from observing how different teachers shared their perceptions and practices about Spanish varieties in the classroom, language policies, linguistic attitudes, and so on.

The interaction process in group interviews may capture a slightly different kind of data than the one provided during individual interviews. When individuals engage in conversation in a specific context, they enter the world in a particular way and they also sustain relationships with others in a particular way depending on their communicative purposes. The dynamics of the interaction, the time and the space may shape the meanings conveyed by the speakers (Hall, 2019) and the personae they adopt or want to adopt during these practices. As Hall (2019) states, social actions are not only structured by the meaning-creating resources and the situation where they take place, but they are also structuring and responsive to those specific situations. However, it is important to consider that social desirability bias may be quite significant in

interviews, especially in group interviews, where respondents do not enjoy anonymity (Garrett, 2010).

The organisation of the group interviews with fifteen different people was quite challenging, as interviews would be conducted online and participants were in different time zones. In order to find a time which was convenient for all the members of each group, Doodle²⁰ was used. Once a convenient time was found for all the members of each group, an online meeting was set up and the invitations were sent to interviewees.

As previously mentioned, five interviews were conducted. Three Spanish teachers participated in each of the five group interviews. They were grouped taking into account their place of birth and/or their place of residence: 1) participants from Buenos Aires who work in Buenos Aires; 2) participants from Córdoba who work in Córdoba; 3) participants who are neither from Córdoba nor from Buenos Aires and do not work in those provinces either; 4) participants who are not from Córdoba but live and work there; and 5) participants from different parts of Argentina working abroad. Grouping them according to these criteria was done in order to have more homogeneity within each group. GrønkJær et al. (2011) considers that ensuring some degree of homogeneity in group construction is essential for group dynamics and interaction, as it affects the content of the discussion. Belonging to a similar group may contribute to the flow between the members. It may help participants understand and elaborate on other members' ideas, and it may also function as a motivating factor to share their own views.

The interviews were recorded and manually transcribed. The transcription of the five interviews amounted to more than 25 thousand words (25058). In Appendix 6, the questions used to guide the group interviews are listed. The software Nvivo was used to aid in the analysis of the data collected. The results of the interviews and their discussion will be presented in a single section within the Results chapter, rather than presenting them separately, as it may help readers interpret findings.

Chapter 5: Results of Teachers' and Students' Questionnaire

²⁰ Doodle is an online calendar tool which is useful to administer time and coordinate meetings among different people.

As part of the data collection process, Spanish teachers and students answered online questionnaires through the online platform Qualtrics. In this chapter, the results of the analysis of the data collected through the teachers' and students' questionnaires will be presented in two different sections. These sections will be divided into subsections that present the data grouped into different themes.

5.1. Results of Teachers' Questionnaire

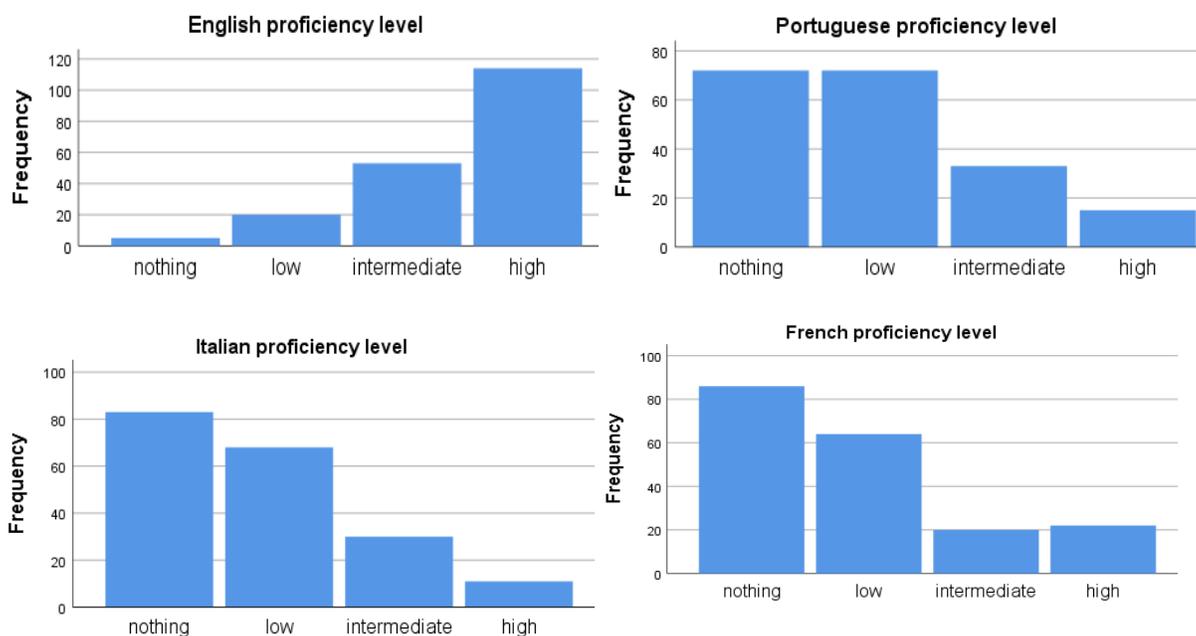
In the first subsection, information regarding teachers' contact with Spanish varieties and with other languages will be presented. Secondly, the responses to the verbal guise tests will be described in order to analyse teachers' reactions to Cordobese and Buenos Aires varieties in female and male voices. Thirdly, responses about their thoughts and opinions about "the standard", about their own variety and about other Spanish varieties will be presented. Next, a description of their beliefs about L2 acquisition is shown. The fifth subsection provides details about the practices that teachers reported, followed by data about the external factors that may affect teachers' practices and decisions. The seventh subsection will be devoted to describing the training participants received and the work experience they have in the field of language teaching. Lastly, beliefs about teaching practices, the impact that dialectal variation instruction may have on learning, and opinions about teaching and learning goals will be included.

5.1.1 Languages Knowledge and Contact with Spanish Varieties

We inquired about what languages teachers know. All 192 of them state to have some level of proficiency in at least one foreign language, especially English, Portuguese, Italian, German and French (see Figure 14). Some also state that they know other languages such as Guaraní, Quechua, Latin, Greek, German, Catalan, Chinese, Japanese, Hebrew, Welsh, and sign language, among others.

Figure 14

Teachers' Proficiency Level in English, Italian, Portuguese and French

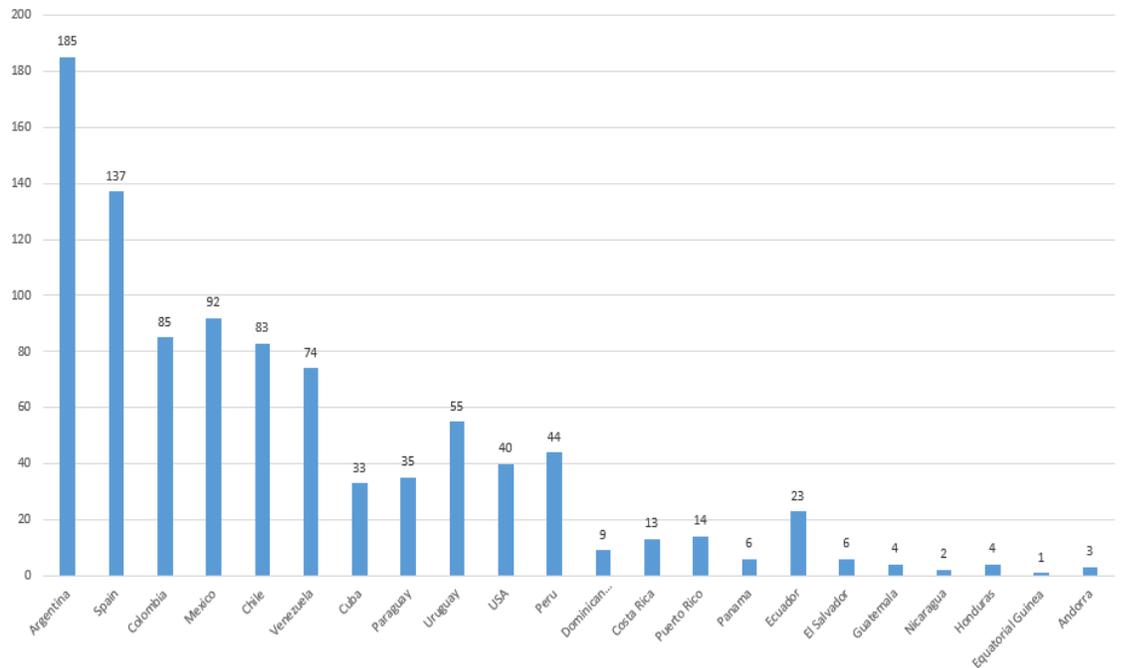


Most teachers have also travelled to other Spanish speaking countries in Latin America and in the rest of the world, either for tourism in more than half of the cases, but also for work and/or study. 22 Spanish speaking countries are mentioned by teachers. The most visited country is Spain (76), followed by Chile (68), Uruguay (64), Mexico (39) and Peru (25).

To give more details about their contact with Spanish varieties, participants also listed the countries whose varieties they are most exposed to on a daily basis through the media or through contact with speakers of those varieties (see Figure 15). Again, there are 22 countries mentioned. In the first place, 185 of them mention Argentina. The second most frequently chosen country is Spain (137), followed by Mexico (92) and Colombia (85).

Figure 15

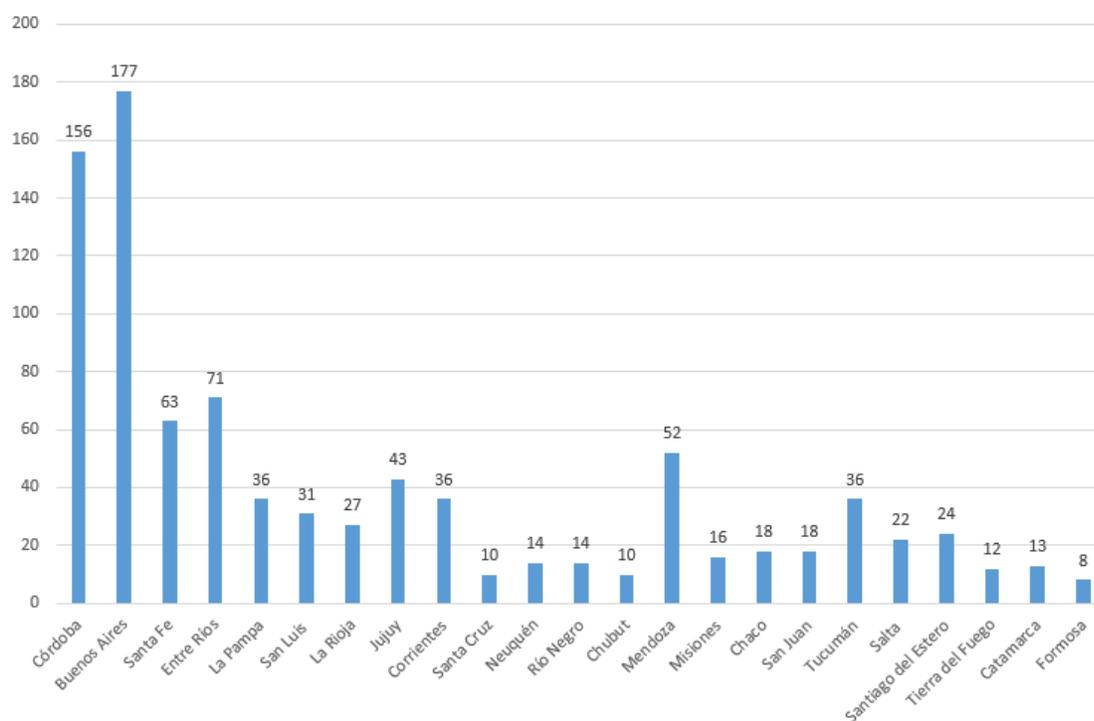
World Spanish Varieties Teachers Are Exposed to



We also enquired about the local Argentinian varieties that they are usually exposed to either through the media or through direct contact with speakers. Among the Argentinian varieties that participants claim to be most exposed to, in Figure 16 we find Buenos Aires Spanish in the first place, as 177 teachers name it, closely followed by the Cordobese variety, with 156 teachers selecting it. Other varieties with a high frequency are Entre Ríos (71), Santa Fe (63) and Mendoza (52). It is worth noting that all 23 provinces are mentioned by at least eight teachers or more.

Figure 16

Argentinian Spanish Varieties Teachers Are Exposed to



Teachers' exposure to different international and local Spanish varieties can help us compare their own experience with dialectal variation with the one they propose in the courses they teach.

5.1.2 Verbal Guise Test

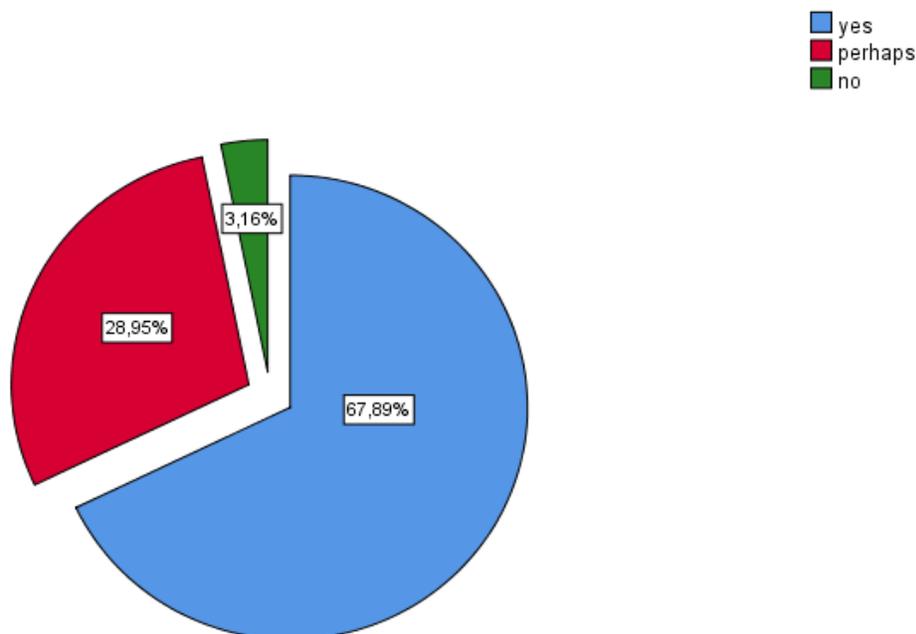
After providing details about themselves and their contact with Spanish varieties and other languages, teachers were presented with a verbal guise test in order to react to the Cordobese and the Buenos Aires varieties. This indirectly collected data about teachers' attitudes will help us answer the first research question proposed in section 1.4.

Teachers heard two speakers from Buenos Aires, one male and one female, and two speakers from Córdoba, one male and one female. For each of the samples, first they identified the province of origin of the speaker. Then they answered a 12 item Likert scale and also stated whether they would use that audio in their classes. In what follows, first we will go over the level of accuracy in identifying each speaker's place of origin and also the response to the question about whether they would use the audio for teaching. This can give us some hints about connections between two dimensions which many times are studied separately: language attitudes and SLA teaching practices, to later on explore and try to trace the origins of those attitudes.

When considering Horacio’s sample, the male Buenos Aires speaker, 83% of participants correctly identified his province of origin. He was characterised by most participants as “correct when speaking”, “good pronunciation model”, “pleasant speech”, “intelligent”, “skilled worker”, “educated” and less “fun”. In Figure 17 it can be observed that most participants (129) said they would use this sample in their Spanish classes or would “perhaps” (55) use it. Only six teachers said they would not.

Figure 17

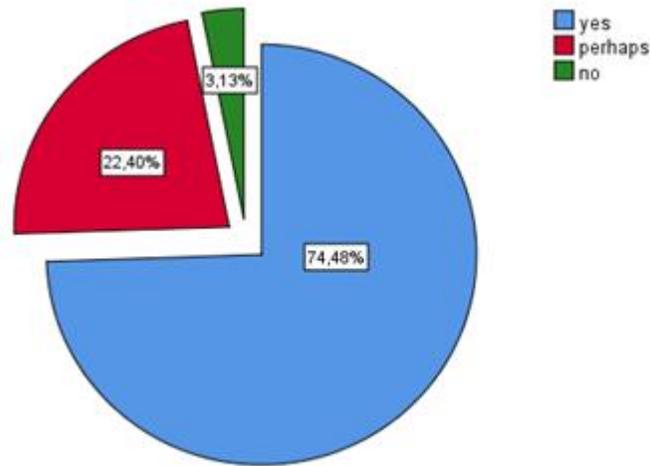
Teachers’ Willingness to Use Horacio’s Sample in their Classes



When focusing on Tamara’s sample, the female Buenos Aires speaker, 73% of teachers accurately identified her province of origin. Most of the rest of the participants identified Santa Fe or La Pampa as being her place of origin, as in these provinces, the variety spoken tends to be perceived as similar to that of Buenos Aires. This speaker was characterised by most raters as “correct when speaking”, “good pronunciation model”, “pleasant speech”, “skilled worker”, “honest” and “educated”. On the neutral point and negative end, the characteristic that stood out is “(not) fun”, similarly to the ratings that Horacio’s sample received. In Figure 18, it can be seen that 143 participants said they would use this audio in their classes, 43 said they would “perhaps” use it and six said they would not.

Figure 18

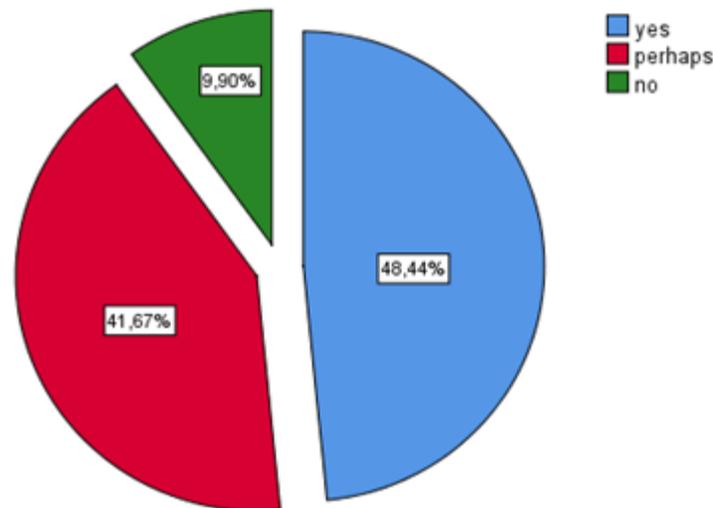
Teachers' Willingness to Use Tamara's Sample in their Classes



Results of the reactions to Pamela's speech, the female speaker from Córdoba, show that 85% of participants accurately identified her province of origin. She was described as "friendly", "solidary", "honest" and "having a pleasant speech". She got mostly neutral and negative ratings in the items that referred to her social class, her level of education and to her speech being a good pronunciation model. In Figure 19, it can be observed that 93 participants said they would use or would "perhaps" (80) use this sample in their Spanish classes. Nineteen (19) teachers said they would not.

Figure 19

Teachers' Willingness to Use Pamela's Sample in their Classes

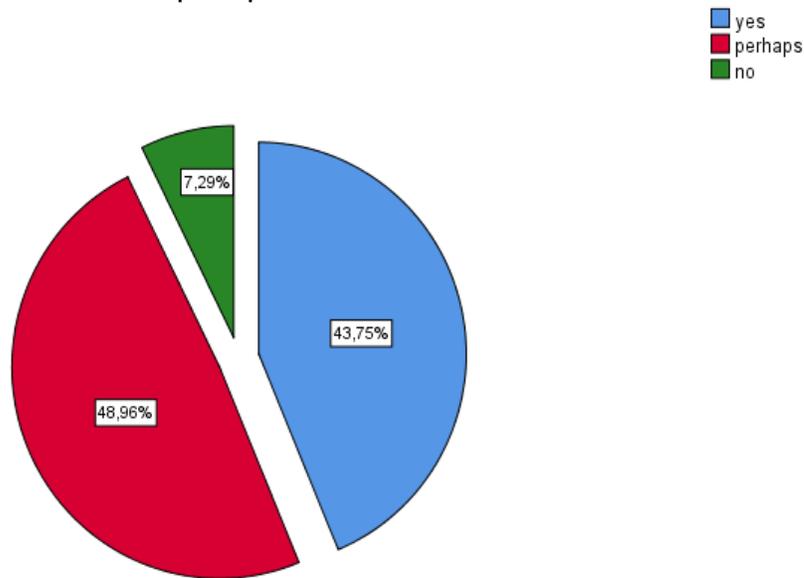


David's sample, the speaker from Córdoba, was identified as being produced by a Cordobese speaker by 86% of participants. The highest ratings and frequencies for this speaker

were in the items “friendliness”, “solidarity”, and “honesty”. The items that stand out on the negative end are “lower class” and “not a good pronunciation model”, similar to the reactions to the female Cordobese speaker. When asked whether participants would use this audio, most answered “perhaps” (94), followed by “yes” (84) and “no” (14) (see Figure 20).

Figure 20

Teachers’ Willingness to Use David’s Sample in their Classes



Even though both varieties are highly recognisable, as they are the varieties spoken in the two most populous provinces in the country, we can see that when asked about their willingness to use the audios in their classes, teachers have a clear preference for the audios produced by speakers from Buenos Aires rather than for the Cordobese ones. When analysing their responses to the questionnaires and their contributions during the focus groups regarding their choices of teaching models we will be able to find some answers as to why this hierarchy and inequality between the two varieties is recurrent. Issues such as standard-language ideology, language ownership, symbolic dominance and political economy will come into play in the discussion and help us understand and deconstruct long-held, learned, naturalised practices.

A description of the results of the VGT are provided below. Participants rated the four speakers on a 7-point scale in which 1 is the positive end, 7 is the negative end, and 4 is the neutral point. The 12 VGT items correspond to three dimensions: 1) **status and competence**: perceived social status, intelligence, skills, level of education; 2) **linguistic superiority**: aesthetic quality, correctness, appropriate model of pronunciation, persuasiveness, and 3) **social attractiveness**: fun, friendliness, honesty, solidarity.

In Appendix 7, a detailed individual exploration of the 12 VGT items is presented. In the case of the items belonging to the status and competence dimension, the speakers from Córdoba systematically received more negative ratings (closer to 7) than the speakers from Buenos Aires. The male speaker from Córdoba was the one who received the worst ratings in all fields.

In the case of the linguistic superiority dimension there is a clear difference between the ratings given to Cordobese and Buenos Aires speakers when considering the items of correctness when speaking and pronunciation model. In these two items, once again the Cordobese male speaker received the most negative ratings, followed by the female Cordobese speaker. The rating given to speakers in the persuasiveness and aesthetic quality items do not follow these patterns.

A pattern which is opposite to the one reported for the status and competence dimension is identified in the social attractiveness dimension. Both speakers from Córdoba were rated more positively than the speakers from Buenos Aires regarding fun, friendliness, honesty and solidarity. Furthermore, the male sample from Buenos Aires was the one which systematically received the most negative ratings of all four.

5.1.2.1 *Friedman Test*

In order to measure whether the ratings given by teachers in each VGT trait were statistically significant, some tests were run. Before doing that, a test of normality of the variables showed a significant value of Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk statistics (significant value of more than 0.05). The P-values were .000, which suggests that the ratings in each of the items of the VGT are not normally distributed (Pallant, 2016). Inspection of histograms, Normal Q-Q Plots and boxplots were also taken into account in order to confirm the violation of the assumption of normality. Thus, non-parametric techniques were used. We could speculate that the reasons why the data are not normally distributed may have to do with participants being mainly from two different provinces which may constitute two different groups, Córdoba and Buenos Aires.

The Friedman Test, which is the alternative to the parametric one-way repeated measures of analysis of variance, was used in order to check whether there are significant differences between the teachers' ratings of the four speakers in each of the items of the VGT. It aims to test the differences between groups in cases where the dependent variable is ordinal, a Likert scale in this case, or with continuous data in which the normality assumption is violated. This

test could be used, as the data complies with the assumptions needed: 1) one group is measured under three or more different conditions; teachers were measured on four occasions, one per speaker that they heard, 2) the group is a random sample of the population, 3) the dependent variable is ordinal or continuous, and 4) the samples are not normally distributed.

As seen in Figure 21, the results of the test suggest that the difference between the scores given to the four speakers are statistically significant (Sig. level lower than .0005) in all 12 attributes of the VGT but one: persuasiveness.

Figure 21

Statistical Significance of Differences between Teachers' VGT Ratings of the Samples

Attribute	Chi-square	Df (degree of freedom)	Asymp. Sig.
Social Status	173.21	3	.000
Intelligence	49.14	3	.000
Level of Skill	159.12	3	.000
Level of Education	152.26	3	.000
Aesthetic Quality	19.69	3	.000
Speech Correctness	158.70	3	.000
Pronunciation Model	181.15	3	.000
Persuasiveness	16.37	3	.001
Fun	190.74	3	.000
Friendliness	35.89	3	.000
Honesty	25.39	3	.000
Solidarity	34.94	3	.000

In Figure 22, the mean, median and standard deviation values for each of the attributes and each of the speakers are provided. The mean can be useful to give us an idea of the overall

rating that each speaker received in each attribute, but as the data is not normally distributed, the median may show us more clearly where the differences are; this is why this value is included as well. By inspecting means and medians we see that Buenos Aires speakers are perceived as more intelligent, skilled, educated, with higher social status, more correct when speaking and having a better pronunciation model (ratings closer to 1), whereas Cordobese speakers are seen as more socially attractive: more fun, honest, friendly and showing more solidarity.

Figure 22

Mean, Median and Standard Variation Values for VGT Items in Teachers' Questionnaire (N=192)

Attribute (1=highest / 7=lowest)	Horacio (BA Male)	David (CBA Male)	Pamela (CBA Female)	Tamara (BA Female)
Social Status MEAN	2.08	3.12	2.84	1.97
Social Status MEDIAN	3.00	4.00	4.00	3.00
Social Status ST. DEVIATION	1.08	1.12	1.15	1.12
Intelligence MEAN	2.41	2.84	2.56	2.20
Intelligence MEDIAN	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
Intelligence ST. DEVIATION	1.21	1.28	1.32	1.30
Level of Skill MEAN	2.13	3.13	2.77	1.97
Level of Skill MEDIAN	2.00	4.00	3.00	2.00
Level of Skill ST. DEVIATION	1.23	1.35	1.34	1.23
Level of Education MEAN	2.22	3.13	2.73	1.92
Level of Education MEDIAN	3.00	4.00	3.00	2.00
Level of Education ST. DEVIATION	1.24	1.42	1.36	1.27
Aesthetic Quality MEAN	2.65	2.62	2.49	2.24
Aesthetic Quality MEDIAN	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00

Aesthetic Quality ST. DEVIATION	1.43	1.38	1.37	1.33
Speech Correctness MEAN	2.20	3.15	2.72	1.93
Speech Correctness MEDIAN	2.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
Speech Correctness ST. DEVIATION	1.19	1.59	1.52	1.16
Pronunciation Model MEAN	2.13	3.17	2.86	1.84
Pronunciation Model MEDIAN	2.00	4.00	3.00	2.00
Pronunciation ST. DEVIATION	1.39	1.62	1.56	1.25
Persuasiveness MEAN	2.52	2.25	2.62	2.60
Persuasiveness MEDIAN	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Persuasiveness ST. DEVIATION	1.43	1.43	1.48	1.55
Fun MEAN	3.08	1.86	2.12	2.95
Fun MEDIAN	4.00	3.00	3.00	4.00
Fun ST. DEVIATION	1.42	1.41	1.48	1.41
Friendliness MEAN	2.79	2.35	2.28	2.58
Friendliness MEDIAN	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Friendliness ST. DEVIATION	1.25	1.27	1.16	1.23
Honesty MEAN	2.77	2.47	2.35	2.41
Honesty MEDIAN	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Honesty ST. DEVIATION	1.27	1.41	1.34	1.33
Solidarity MEAN	2.73	2.33	2.29	2.65
Solidarity MEDIAN	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00

Solidarity ST. DEVIATION	1.32	1.39	1.27	1.26
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We identify the emergence of stereotypes of the Buenos Aires speakers being more competent and having a better social status and of the Cordobese speakers being less cultured, less educated but more funny. These differences in the perceptions of these speakers in the status and competence and social attractiveness dimensions were also identified by Lang-Rigal (2015) and Lenardón (2017) in lay people. The difference with these studies is that when these language attitudes are identified among teachers who have been trained in linguistics and who work every day in environments where those attitudes may be passed on, reproduced and amplified through teaching practices, this should not be ignored or taken for granted.

After establishing that there are statistically significant differences in all 12 items but one, a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) was run for each VGT dimension. This was done in an attempt to reduce the number of variables by identifying one item per dimension that would represent the underlying relationships among the related variables. Results allowed us to reduce the number of variables to three, one per dimension: level of skills for the status and competence dimension, speech correctness for the linguistic superiority dimension, and solidarity for the social attractiveness dimension. The PCA will be described in detail in Section 4.1.2.2.

Once it was established that there are statistically significant differences in most of the items and after conducting the PCA to reduce the number of variables, post-hoc tests were run with the 3 variables representing the three main dimensions of the VGT. The Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test or Wilcoxon matched pairs signed ranks test was used in order to determine the ratings of which speakers were statistically significant from each other in each of these three dimensions. This post-hoc test will be described in detail in Section 4.1.2.3.

5.1.2.2 *Principal Component Analysis*

A data reduction technique was used in order to work with a more manageable number of components. PCA allowed us to reduce the number of related variables of the VGT from 12 to 3; we were left with only one factor per dimension (status and competence, linguistic superiority and social attractiveness) instead of working with four components per dimension of the VGT²¹.

²¹ Initially, and following other studies such as McKenzie (2010), we planned to run the PCA to all of the VGT variables simultaneously so as to get emerging representative components from all of the data set. However, by running the data in this way, it was suggested that we kept only two main components (one that loads very high

Before conducting the PCA, the data set needs to be assessed to determine whether it is suitable for this technique. Authors agree that the larger the data set, the better, but a sample larger than 150 is considered large enough for many (Pallant, 2016). Another issue that was considered to assess data factorability is the strength of the intercorrelations among the factors. Many coefficients greater than .3 are recommended when analysing the correlation matrix. Two other statistical measures were generated to check the data factorability: Barlett's test of sphericity (Bartlett, 1954) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy (Kaiser 1970, 1974). In order to consider the data appropriate for PCA, the Barlett's test of sphericity should be ($p < .05$). The KMO index goes from 0 to 1, and a value of .6 or higher is considered necessary for PCA (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013).

After assessing the suitability of the data for PCA, the four items belonging to each of the VGT dimensions were subjected to PCA using SPSS. Each item was a variable consisting of the ratings given to the four VGT samples by the 192 teacher participants. The analysis of this test revealed the presence of one component per dimension with Eigenvalue exceeding 1, explaining different percentages of variance for each dimension. Inspection of the Scree plots revealed clear breaks after the first component; thus, it was decided to retain one component per dimension using Catell's (1966) scree test. In the following sections, the tests to assess the PCA suitability of the data and the PCA results will be presented per dimension.

5.1.2.2.1 Suitability of the data for PCA

In Figures 23, 24 and 25 we can see the values that show the factorability of the items belonging to the three studied dimensions. In the Correlation Matrices, most coefficients are greater than .3. The Kaiser-Meyer/Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) values are higher than .6 and the Barlett's Test of Sphericity values are significant, as they are lower than .05. Thus, the data belonging to the three VGT dimensions are suitable for PCA.

in status and competence and linguistic superiority items, and another one that loads very high in social attractiveness items). However, we decided to work with a-priori dimensions, the three dimensions that the VGT items were divided into, so as to be able to make a subtler analysis and explore whether there were any rating differences regarding the linguistic superiority dimension as well. Another reason for this decision was that the participants to variables ratio in the students' VGT was too low to do the PCA in the initially planned way (working with the 12 variables and without a-priori dimensions), so results between both groups would not have been comparable.

Figure 23*Correlation Matrix and KMO and Bartlett's Test for Status and Competence dimension*

		SOCIAL CLASS	INTELLIGENCE	EDUCATION	SKILLS
Correlation	SOCIAL CLASS	1,000	,426	,659	,638
	INTELLIGENCE	,426	1,000	,562	,600
	EDUCATION	,659	,562	1,000	,719
	SKILLS	,638	,600	,719	1,000

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,802
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1456,822
	df	6
	Sig.	,000

Figure 24*Correlation Matrix and KMO and Bartlett's Test for Linguistic Superiority Dimension*

		PERSUASIVENESS	AESTHETIC QUALITY	SPEECH CORRECTNESS	PRONUNCIATION MODEL
Correlation	PERSUASIVENESS	1,000	,394	,225	,249
	AESTHETIC QUALITY	,394	1,000	,510	,456
	SPEECH CORRECTNESS	,225	,510	1,000	,689
	PRONUNCIATION MODEL	,249	,456	,689	1,000

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,680
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	879,831
	df	6
	Sig.	,000

Figure 25*Correlation Matrix and KMO and Bartlett's Test for Social Attractiveness Dimension*

Correlation Matrix

		FUN	FRIENDLINESS	HONESTY	SOLIDARITY
Correlation	FUN	1,000	,317	,277	,316
	FRIENDLINESS	,317	1,000	,565	,720
	HONESTY	,277	,565	1,000	,625
	SOLIDARITY	,316	,720	,625	1,000

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,746
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1073,125
	df	6
	Sig.	,000

5.1.2.2.2 PCA: Status and Competence dimension

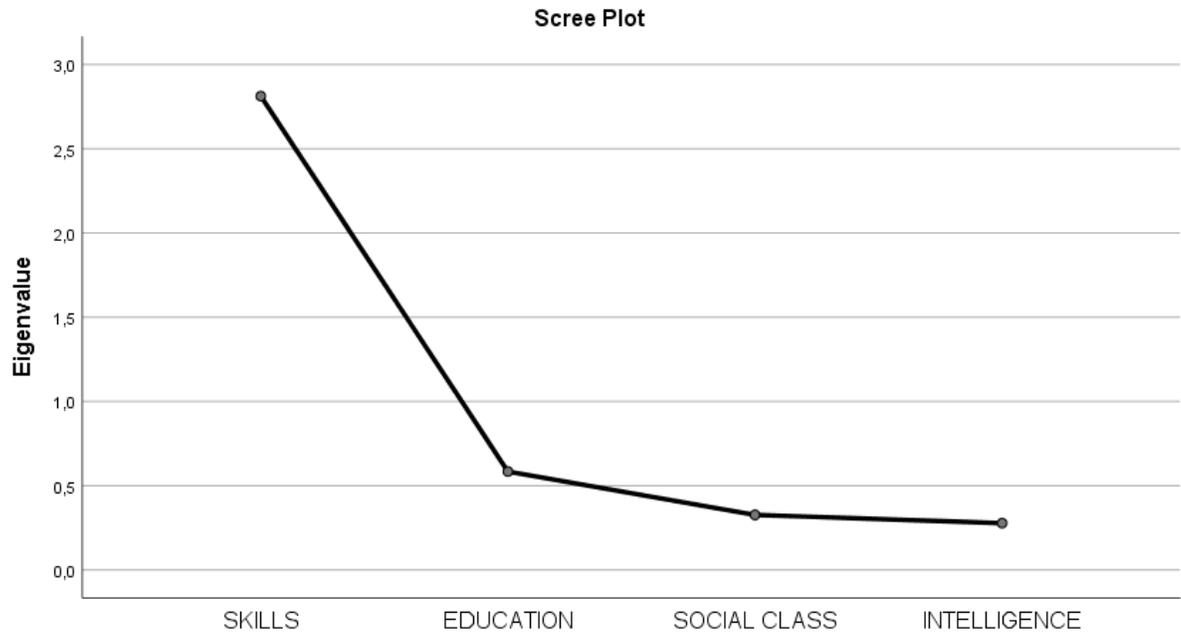
Once the data had been assessed for PCA suitability, the test was carried out for each of the three dimensions. When analysing the output for the Status and Competence data, in Figure 26 the Eigenvalues show that the first component, level of skills, accounts for over 70% of the variance. Furthermore, in the Scree Plot we can observe a change in the shape of the plot which is elbow-like. The components above this change are kept; thus, only one is retained. When looking at the Component matrix which shows the unrotated loadings off the items of the four components it can be seen that, according to Kaiser criterion, all components load very strongly (above .4), so they could all serve to explain a great amount of the variance in the dimension, as they load above .76.

Figure 26*PCA for Status and Competence Dimension*

Total Variance Explained - STATUS AND COMPETENCE

Component	Total	Initial Eigenvalues		Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
		% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
SKILLS	2,812	70,296	70,296	2,812	70,296	70,296
EDUCATION	,584	14,601	84,897			
SOCIAL CLASS	,327	8,163	93,059			
INTELLIGENCE	,278	6,941	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.



Component Matrix^a

	Component 1
SKILLS	,889
EDUCATION	,885
SOCIAL CLASS	,813
INTELLIGENCE	,760

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

5.1.2.2.3 PCA: Linguistic Superiority Dimension

Figure 27 shows the output for the PCA for the Linguistic Superiority dimension. The Eigenvalues show that the first component, speech correctness, accounts for over 57% of the variance in this dimension. After observing the Scree Plot shape, one component is kept. The Component matrix shows that all components load very strongly (above .4) so they all can serve to explain a great amount of the variance in the dimension, as they all load above .54.

Figure 27

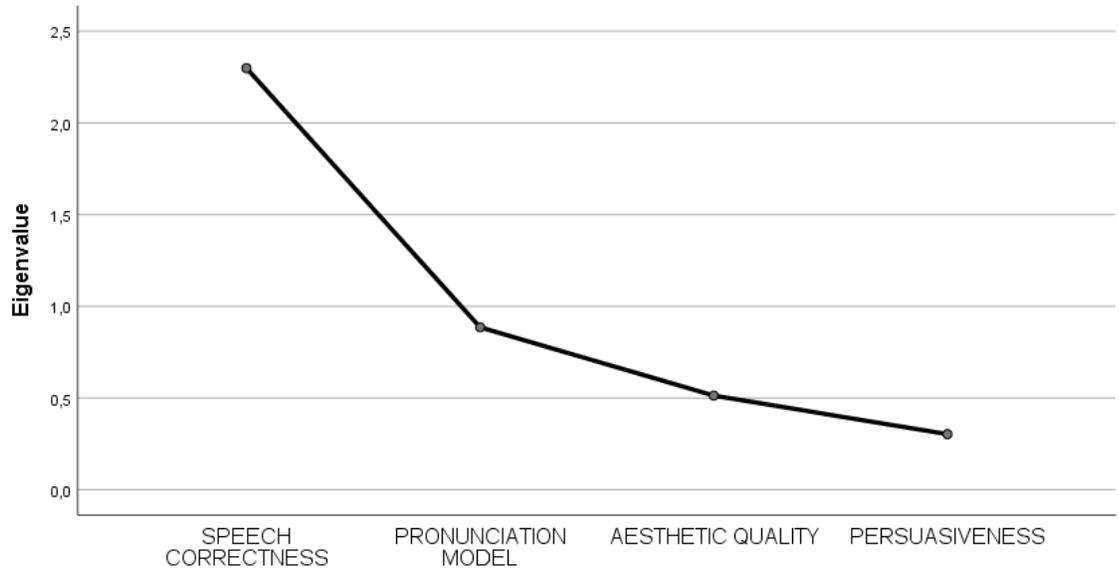
PCA for Linguistic Superiority Dimension

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
SPEECH CORRECTNESS	2,298	57,457	57,457	2,298	57,457	57,457
PRONUNCIATION MODEL	,885	22,137	79,594			
AESTHETIC QUALITY	,513	12,828	92,422			
PERSUASIVENESS	,303	7,578	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Scree Plot



Component Matrix^a

	Component 1
SPEECH CORRECTNESS	,841
PRONUNCIATION MODEL	,826
AESTHETIC QUALITY	,785
PERSUASIVENESS	,542

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

5.1.2.2.4 PCA: Social Attractiveness Dimension

Figure 28 presents the output for the PCA conducted for the Social Attractiveness dimension. In the Total Variance explained chart, the Eigenvalues reveal that the first component, solidarity, accounts for over 61% of the variance in this dimension. When inspecting the Scree Plot, the elbow-shaped change suggests that only one factor should be kept. However, all the values in the Component matrix load very strongly (above .4) according to the Kaiser criterion; this suggests that they all could serve to explain a great amount of the variance in the dimension, as they load above .53.

Figure 28

PCA for Social Attractiveness Dimension

Component	Total	Initial Eigenvalues		Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
		% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
SOLIDARITY	2,465	61,614	61,614	2,465	61,614	61,614
FRIENDLINESS	,812	20,295	81,909			
HONESTY	,451	11,286	93,196			
FUN	,272	6,804	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.



Component Matrix^a

	Component 1
SOLIDARITY	,884
FRIENDLINESS	,863
HONESTY	,810
FUN	,531

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

After reducing the number of variables through Principal Component Analysis we were left with one representative item for each dimension: level of skills for the status and competence dimension, speech correctness for the linguistic superiority dimension, and solidarity for the social attractiveness dimension.

5.1.2.3 Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test

As the Friedman test established that there are statistically significant differences in 11 out of the 12 VGT items (see Figure 21), a post-hoc test was used to determine where the differences are, i.e. between which speakers' ratings there is greater difference. The Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test, also known as the Wilcoxon matched pairs signed ranks test was run with this objective. Only the 3 attributes that the PCA showed to be representative of each dimension were compared. When the difference between two scores is significant, the Asymp. Sig. value is less than .0005.

In order to examine which pairs of speakers were rated significantly differently in each dimension, pairwise comparisons were applied in the post-hoc test (see Figure 29). The “effect size” of a significant effect was calculated dividing the Z Value by the square root of N (the number of ratings, in this case $192 \times 2 = 384$). Cohen (1988) criteria was used to determine the size of the effect of r values: .1=a small effect size; .3=a medium effect size; and .5=a large effect size²².

22 When interpreting the practical significance of effect sizes in L2 research, based on a meta-analysis, Plonsky and Oswald (2014) propose that L2 researchers adopt field-specific benchmarks of small ($r=.25$), medium ($r=.4$), and large ($r=.6$), as they argue Cohen's benchmarks can underestimate the effects of L2 research results. However, it was decided to keep Cohen's (1988) criteria in the present study, as subtler differences between speakers' ratings are spotted using these values.

In the Status and Competence dimension, when comparing them in pairs, significant differences were found between the ratings of all four speakers except for one pair: there were no significant differences between the two Buenos Aires speakers. The greatest rating differences were registered between Tamara (BA Female) and David (CBA Male) and Horacio (BA Male) and David (CBA male), as medium to large effect size differences were found between these two pairs. Medium effect sizes were found in the difference between the ratings given to Pamela (CBA Female) and Tamara (CBA Female) and Horacio (BA Male) and Pamela (CBA Female). Small effect size was found in the difference between David (CBA Male) and Pamela (CBA Female). These figures reveal that there are marked differences between the ratings given to Buenos Aires and Cordobese speakers in the social status and competence dimension. This is reinforced by the lack of significant differences between the rating given to the two Buenos Aires speakers, who also rated higher in this dimension than their Cordobese counterparts, as shown in Figure 22.

Figure 29

Rating Comparisons in the Status and Competence Dimension for Different Speakers

SPEAKERS compared	Z Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	EFFECT SIZE
Horacio (BA Male) & David (CBA Male)	-8.27	.000	.42 (medium to large effect)
Horacio (BA Male) & Tamara (BA Female)	-2.45	.014	-
Horacio (BA Male) & Pamela (CBA female)	-5.82	.000	.30 (medium effect)
David (CBA Male) & Pamela (CBA female)	-4.67	.000	.24 (small to medium effect)
Pamela (CBA female) & Tamara (BA Female)	-7.08	.000	.36 (medium effect)
Tamara (female, BA) & David (CBA Male)	-8.52	.000	.43 (medium to large effect)

Similar to what happened in the status and competence dimension, when comparing teacher ratings given to speakers in the linguistic superiority dimension (see Figure 30), there were significant differences when comparing all speakers except for Horacio (BA Male) and Tamara (BA Female). The biggest differences were found when comparing Tamara (BA Female) and David (CBA Male) and Horacio (BA Male) and David (CBA Male). A medium effect size was found in the difference between the ratings given to Pamela (CBA Female) and Tamara (BA Female), and Horacio (BA Male) and Pamela (CBA Female). Small to medium effect was found between David (CBA Male) and Pamela (CBA Female). Again, there were no significant differences between the ratings that the Buenos Aires speakers received, which is telling us that the attitudes towards this variety may be shared by the population under study. This can be related to the hegemonic position the Buenos Aires variety has in the media, in educational, political, and public institutions. It is considered the most “standard” variety in the country, and thus, the most appropriate variety to use as a model, which brings us back to what was described at the very beginning of section 4.1.2 when going over teachers’ willingness to use these samples in their classes.

Figure 30

Rating Comparisons in the Linguistic Superiority Dimension for Different Speakers

SPEAKERS compared	Z Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	EFFECT SIZE
Horacio (BA Male) & David (CBA Male)	-8.27	.000	.42 (between medium and large effect)
Horacio (BA Male) & Tamara (BA Female)	-2.98	.003	-
Horacio (BA Male) & Pamela (CBA Female)	-6.02	.000	.31 (medium effect)
David (CBA Male) & Pamela (CBA Female)	-4.37	.000	.22 (small to medium effect)

Pamela (CBA Female) & Tamara (BA Female)	-7.03	.000	.36 (medium effect)
Tamara (BA Female) & David (CBA Male)	-8.83	.000	.45 (between medium and large effect)

In the Social Attractiveness dimension, significant differences were found when comparing the ratings of three pairs of speakers (all between speakers of different origins) and non-significant differences were found between the other three sets of pairs (see Figure 31). No large effect size differences were found in this dimension. Small to medium effect differences were found when comparing Horacio (BA Male) and Pamela (CBA Female), Horacio (BA Male) and David (CBA Male) and Pamela (CBA Female) and Tamara (BA Female). These results are also quite revealing, as they show that even though in the means and medians presented in Figure 22 Cordobese speakers are rated more positively than Buenos Aires ones in social attractiveness traits, these differences are not so marked as in the previous two dimensions.

Figure 31

Rating comparisons in the Social Attractiveness Dimension for Different Speakers

SPEAKERS compared	Z Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	EFFECT SIZE
Horacio (BA Male) & David (CBA Male)	-3.76	.000	.19 (small to medium effect)
Horacio (BA Male) & Tamara (female, BA)	-1.52	0.127	-
Horacio (BA Male) & Pamela (CBA Female)	-4.29	.000	.22 (small to medium effect)
David (CBA Male) & Pamela (CBA Female)	-0.76	0.445	-

Pamela (CBA Female) & Tamara (BA Female)	-3.55	.000	.18 (small to medium effect)
Tamara (BA Female) & David (CBA Male)	-2.68	.007	-

Summing up, the most statistically significant and the largest effect size differences in the VGT were found when comparing the ratings of speakers from Buenos Aires with speakers from Córdoba. These differences were most frequent and bigger in the status and competence and the linguistic superiority dimensions. However, there were several significant differences in the social attractiveness dimension as well, when comparing Cordobese and Buenos Aires speakers. These results show that there are some stereotypes that can be associated with these two varieties, as also found in some studies described in Section 1.3. In the coming sections, we will find more details about teachers' explicit attitudes towards multiple Spanish varieties, we will go over teachers' reported practices, experiences and beliefs about SLA and variation teaching, together with external factors that influence their decisions. This will help us establish possible connections between their language attitudes, their personal experiences, knowledge and training about variation and SLA, the linguistic policies adhered to by the institutions they take part in and their teaching practices.

5.1.3 Opinions about the “Standard” and Other Spanish Varieties

After collecting data about participants' attitudes towards these two Spanish varieties using an indirect data collection instrument, the VGT, teachers also answered explicit questions in which they expressed their opinions, beliefs and preferences regarding Spanish varieties (see Appendix 2 for full questionnaire). In this section we will report results of that part of the questionnaire. They also make reference to perceptions about the concept of variety, standard variety and panhispanism. This data about teachers' explicit language attitudes will contribute to answering our first research question and also the fifth one, by giving us more details about underlying ideologies that can be shaping those attitudes.

First of all, we thought it was important to know this: How do participants define a language “variety”?

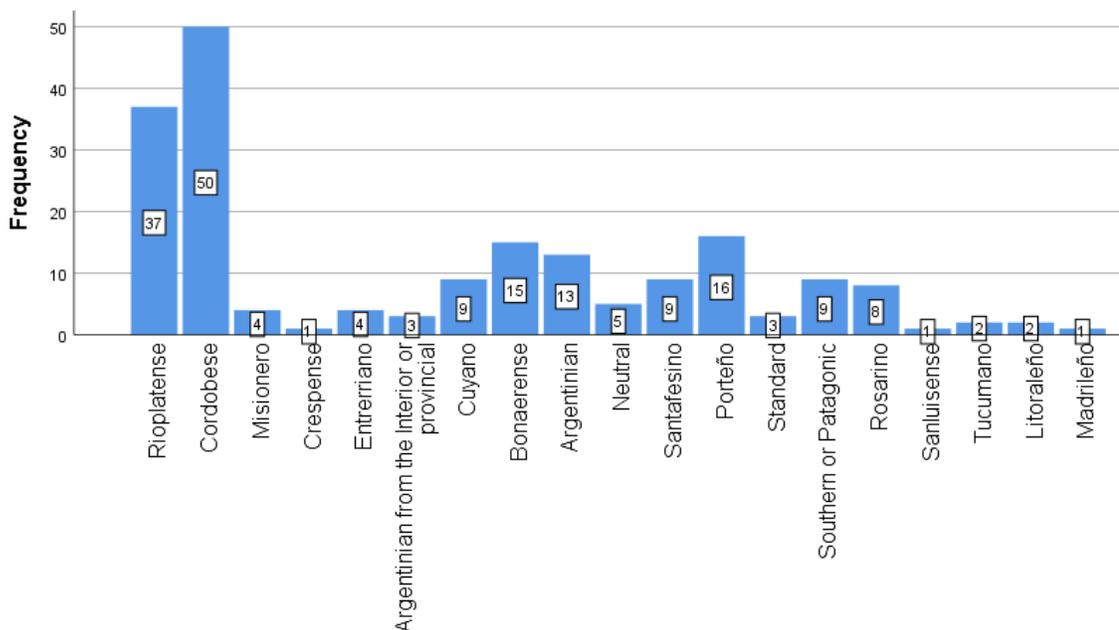
Most make reference to the geographical factor (diatopic variation), regional differences and to pronunciation and lexical aspects. They wrote statements such as: “Spanish is a rainbow

and each variety is a colour”, “none is better than the rest, each variety is different with its own identity”, “they are different uses or ways of speaking the same language (pronunciation, grammar, words)”, “a language is an aggregate of varieties, each country has its own variety and all are mutually intelligible”. They also mention terms such as language community, historical, cultural, and social factors, dialects, accents, regionalisms, outstanding features, versions of the same language, influence of other languages, identities, deviations from the standard, diversity, norms and rules and combination of local aboriginal languages with original Spanish. We can see that a variety of concepts are brought to teachers’ minds when thinking about “variety”. We identify notions related to the linguistic aspect of the concept per se, but there is also the presence of many other social and cultural aspects in the definitions they put forward.

When participants stated which accent they think they speak, a great variety of answers were registered. As it was asked through an open ended question, some participants chose two labels to identify their accent (see Figures 32 and 33). Some labels are general, such as “Argentinian”, “Neutral” or “Standard”. Some respondents chose a label that made reference to regions of the country, such as “Litoraleño”, “Patagónico”, “Cuyano”, or “Argentinian from the interior of the country”. Some other labels are more specific, such as “Crespense”, the accent spoken in the town of Crespo (province of Entre Ríos), “Porteño”, spoken in the city of Buenos Aires, or “Rosarino”, spoken in the city of Rosario (province of Santa Fe).

Figure 32

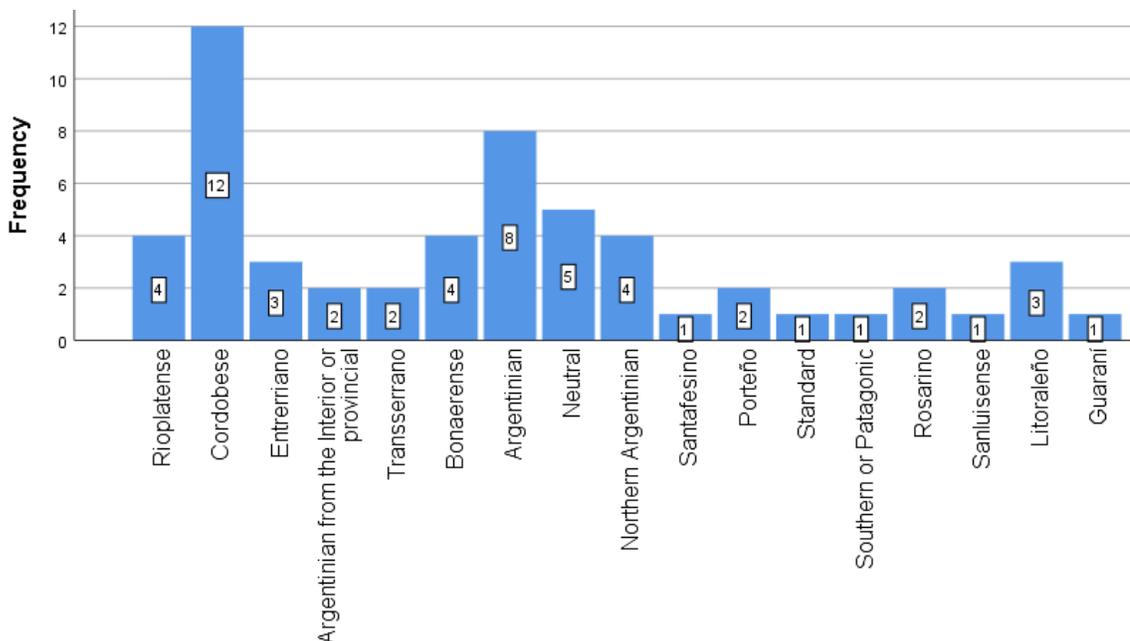
Teacher Participants’ Self-Perceived Accent: Label 1



From the 192 participants, 56 of them chose two labels to identify their accent. In some cases, this second label is more specific than the first one, making reference to an accent spoken in a specific place, such as “*Porteño*”, “*Rosario*”, or “*Trans Serrano*”, the accent that is typically heard in the North West of the province of Córdoba. In other cases, the second label is more general, framing the first label into a wider category, such as “Argentinian”, “Northern Argentinian” or “Neutral”.

Figure 33

Teacher Participants’ Self-Perceived Accent: Label 2



As previously mentioned, when asked about the accent that they speak, many refer to the general category of Rioplatense to refer to the variety which is most widely spoken in the country, but some others prefer to make specific reference to their local variety, identifying either the accent spoken in their province, like “Cordobese accent” or being even more specific and identifying Cordobese and a subcategory, such as “*Trans serrano*”, which is, as previously stated, a readily identifiable accent heard mostly in the Northwestern mountainous area of the province of Córdoba. Choosing these more local and specific labels may be related to participants’ sense of local pride, sense of belonging to a specific speech community and them considering their accent as part of their identity.

Something that might be worth pointing out has to do with the use of the general terms “Argentinian” and “*Rioplatense*” Spanish. A difference is perceived in people who instead of claiming they speak “*Rioplatense*”, which is the general term to refer to the variety spoken in the country, say they speak “Argentinian” and then they go on to state the local accent they have

by mentioning their town or province of origin, which is usually not Buenos Aires. This may have to do with the fact that the Rioplatense variety is usually associated with the speech typically heard in Buenos Aires, so people from other parts of the country may not feel represented by that label or may not feel that their speech falls within that category. Some also mention their local accent but they claim that they change it to a “neutral” variety when teaching, a concept that they have problematised themselves, as we will see when discussing the results of the focus group interviews in section 4.4.

Another noticeable trend in the answers is that teachers from the province of Buenos Aires tend to establish a difference between the “*Porteño*”, which is the accent spoken in the capital and northern parts of the province, and the “*Bonaerense*”, which they say is the term usually used to refer to the variety heard in the south of Buenos Aires. When answering, many participants who are not from the capital explain that their speech is different from that of the “*porteños*” and that they do not like to be confused with them. A similar phenomenon can be identified among teachers from the Patagonia or southern provinces. They say that their speech is supposed to be part of the Rioplatense variety but they claim that their variety is very different from that of Buenos Aires, as it is influenced by aboriginal Chilean languages, such as Mapudungun, and that it has traces of Bolivian and Paraguayan accents as well, for instance. On the other hand, people from the capital usually mention that they speak “*Porteño*”, and clarify that it is the accent which is spoken in the capital (CABA), exhibiting local pride.

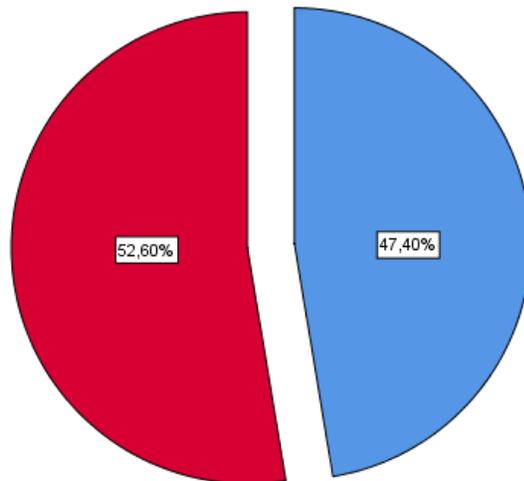
After identifying their language variety, participants were asked to state whether they consider it to be standard or not (see Figure 34). More than half of the respondents, 101 of them, state that their variety is not standard.

Figure 34

Teachers’ Perception about their Variety Being Standard or Not

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	91	47,4	47,4	47,4
	No	101	52,6	52,6	100,0
	Total	192	100,0	100,0	

■ Yes
■ No



After asking teachers whether they consider their variety to be standard or not, we went on to ask how they interpret the concept of “standard”. When defining what “standard Spanish” is, some participants say that they do not agree with or believe in this label or that it does or should not exist. Some claim that using this term goes against cultural diversity and that all varieties should be considered equal.

However, many others gave detailed definitions by using terms and phrases which can be seen in Figure 35²³. Many make reference to grammatical and pronunciation rules, and they acknowledge and stress the authority of certain institutions. For instance, some state “the RAE and the other Academies of the Language are the competent institutions that establish and control language forms”, accepting and normalising their role as “language regulators”. Some also make reference to the standard being associated with education, written language, linguistic planning and language policies that aim at standardisation and global intelligibility. The idea of an idealised norm or model which is not associated with a specific place or speech community and which is shared and understood by the whole Hispanic world is quite pervasive, probably influenced by the positioning of the RAE, which discursively puts forward a panhispanic policy which is supposed to foster “unity in diversity”. The standard is associated with a more acceptable, highly valued, accentless variety which is a marker of a certain social class or education level and that has utilitarian value. Even some countries and cities were mentioned in

²³ Word clouds were used in order to visually present phrases found in the qualitative data collected through some of the content questions. However, differences in sizes of the words do not necessarily imply frequency differences, as no quantitative analysis was done to this qualitative data.

Buenos Aires variety being at the top. Some justify their position saying it is difficult to understand for students or it contains sounds which are unknown or unfamiliar to them, associating local accents with incomprehensibility. Another reason is that it has traces of their identity in social and geographical terms and it could not be used to dub a movie or a TV series, for instance.

These answers may be showing that even though the Real Academia Española and the rest of the Language Academies put forward, at least discursively, a panhispanic and pluricentric ideology, this is not being reflected in participants' responses. These Academies should work harder to take real action to make a substantial change in the way varieties are perceived and valued in the world, striving for language equality. These institutions are extremely influential in the field of Spanish language teaching so a great part of the responsibility lies on them. Decentering and pluricentric ideologies should permeate the teaching and learning of Spanish as an L1 and as an L2 in order to foster changes in attitudes and linguistic ideologies.

In the responses provided by teachers who consider their variety to be standard, the justifications include words like prestige, superior, correct forms, middle class, educated, norm, rules, neutral, no marked accent or *tonada*, historically, politically and institutionally legitimised, socially valued, comprehensible, intelligible, simple, global, clear, good diction, model, practical and "following the recommendations made by the Spanish Language Academies". These responses have similarities with the ones participants provided when defining the concept "standard variety". Some speakers acknowledge the presence of local standard varieties, for example some speakers from Córdoba state that they speak a variety which is considered standard only in the region where they live and when compared to other local varieties, but it is not considered standard in the rest of the country or the world. Some say that they can switch between different varieties and speak a standard one when they are in certain situations, such as in an academic or formal context with their students and they can speak a local variety when they are with friends or family, for example. Similar to some answers to previous questions, some restate that there is not such a thing as "standard or neutral Spanish", that it is an abstraction created with commercial ends.

5.1.3.1 Perceived opinions about teachers' own varieties

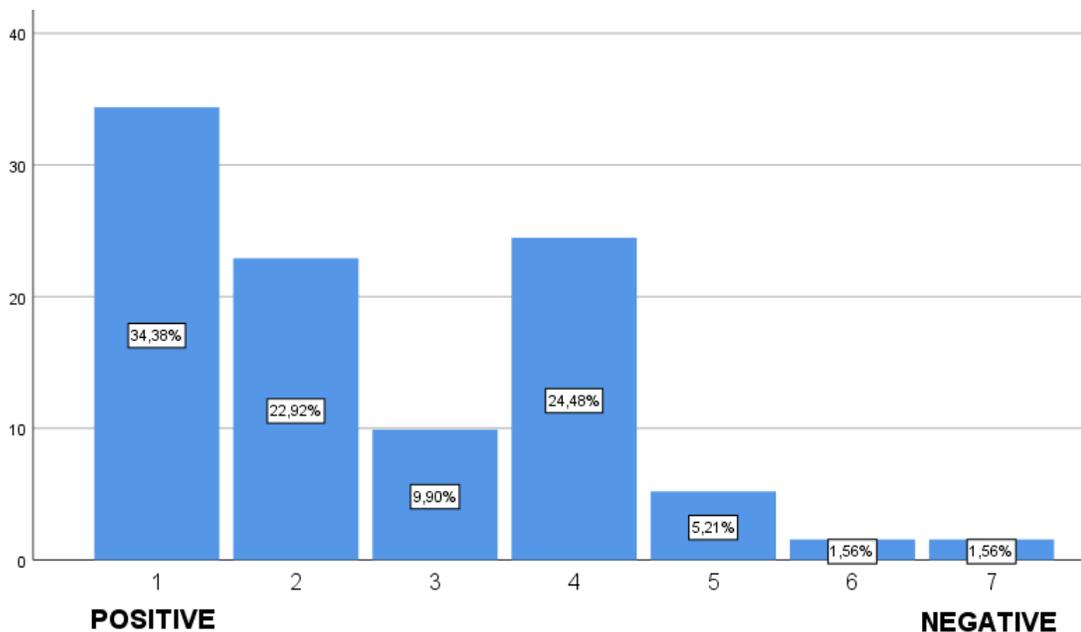
In a further questionnaire item, participants had to choose on a 1-7 scale how positive or negative the attitude other people have towards their variety is (see Figure 36). Most participants, 119 of them, selected values towards the positive end. Forty-seven (47) chose the

neutral value so as not to make a value judgement. The remaining 16 respondents selected values that reveal a negative attitude towards their variety. The mean for this answer was 2.54.

Figure 36

People's Opinions about the Varieties Teachers Speak

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	66	34,4	34,4	34,4
	2	44	22,9	22,9	57,3
	3	19	9,9	9,9	67,2
	4	47	24,5	24,5	91,7
	5	10	5,2	5,2	96,9
	6	3	1,6	1,6	98,4
	7	3	1,6	1,6	100,0
	Total	192	100,0	100,0	



When asked to expand on why they consider people have those perceptions about their variety, some teachers from Córdoba state that Cordobese people are considered funny, charismatic and kind because of their singing intonation. However, many speakers from Córdoba claim that they feel that others have a negative attitude towards their variety and that they do not take them seriously. They feel people consider it funny, humorous, vulgar or incorrect and some claim having been discriminated against on the basis of their speech. They state that the accent is considered a source of discrimination, especially if it has traces of the variety spoken in the countryside or by people from lower socioeconomic classes. In some of the comments, we can perceive some prejudice against the accent, a pejorative treatment, even by speakers of the same variety. One participant's comment that exemplifies this is: "most

Argentiniens think Cordobese people do not speak well as we have an accent from the interior²⁴". Some answers show signs of linguistic insecurity by speakers from Córdoba, who make negative comments about their speech or the speech of Cordobese people who have a very strong accent. Similar comments were also made by teachers who are not originally from Córdoba but live and work there now, using expressions like "non-standard", "strange" and "more difficult to understand".

Some participants, especially from Buenos Aires, perceive negative attitudes when thinking about their accent in an international context, as they claim some consider it "incorrect". Again, Argentiniens' linguistic insecurity is revealed when considering the Rioplatense variety at an international level. Some people from the city of Buenos Aires, usually called *porteños*, say that they are discriminated against in their own country as people from other provinces "do not like them". On the other hand, some teachers perceive speakers from other Hispanic countries, especially Latin American ones, love the way Argentiniens speak. As previously stated, people from the province of Buenos Aires who do not live in the capital do not like to be confused with "porteños", people from the Capital, and they say their accent is different as well.

Thus, in general, most participants perceive a positive, followed in frequency by a neutral attitude towards their own variety. For example, among the reasons for perceiving a positive attitude towards their variety, speakers from Buenos Aires mention words like "we do not have an accent", "fluency", "clear pronunciation" and "accepted by Spanish examinations such as the CELU".

5.1.3.2 Teachers' attitudes towards Spanish varieties

5.1.3.2 World Varieties

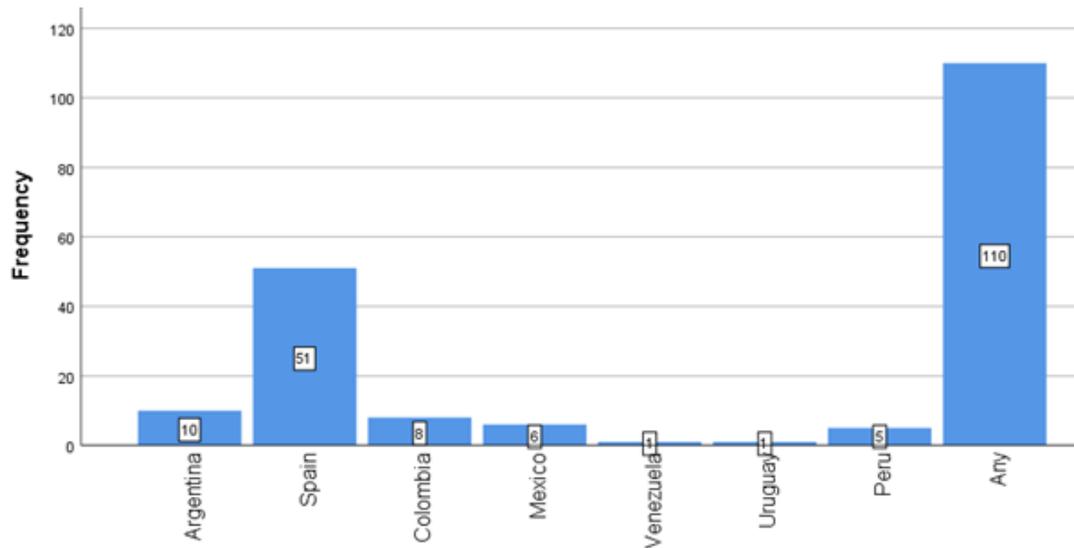
Teachers were also asked about their attitudes towards different Spanish varieties, as these attitudes may be influencing their teaching practices. As regards the most prestigious world variety, most participants, 110 of them, do not want to choose one single variety, as they consider that there should not be prestige differences among them, even though several of them

²⁴ Among Argentiniens, everything that is not Buenos Aires, the capital of the country, is usually considered and referred to as "the interior" of the country. According Faccio and Kunin (2020), the term "interior" can be traced back to a relationship of domination exerted by its counterpart, Buenos Aires. Historically, there have been two poles: the cities, especially Buenos Aires, whose port is looking at Europe and is associated with "civilisation", and The Pampas or "The Interior", associated with "barbarism". This dichotomy invisibilises the heterogeneity that exists in the vast Argentinian territory, as a single term, "interior", encompasses "whatever is not Buenos Aires" (p.182).

acknowledge that people do consider some varieties more prestigious than others. As seen in Figure 37, the variety from Spain is considered by 51 respondents to be the most prestigious world variety. It is important to note that these varieties are subject to their own regional sub-variations too.

Figure 37

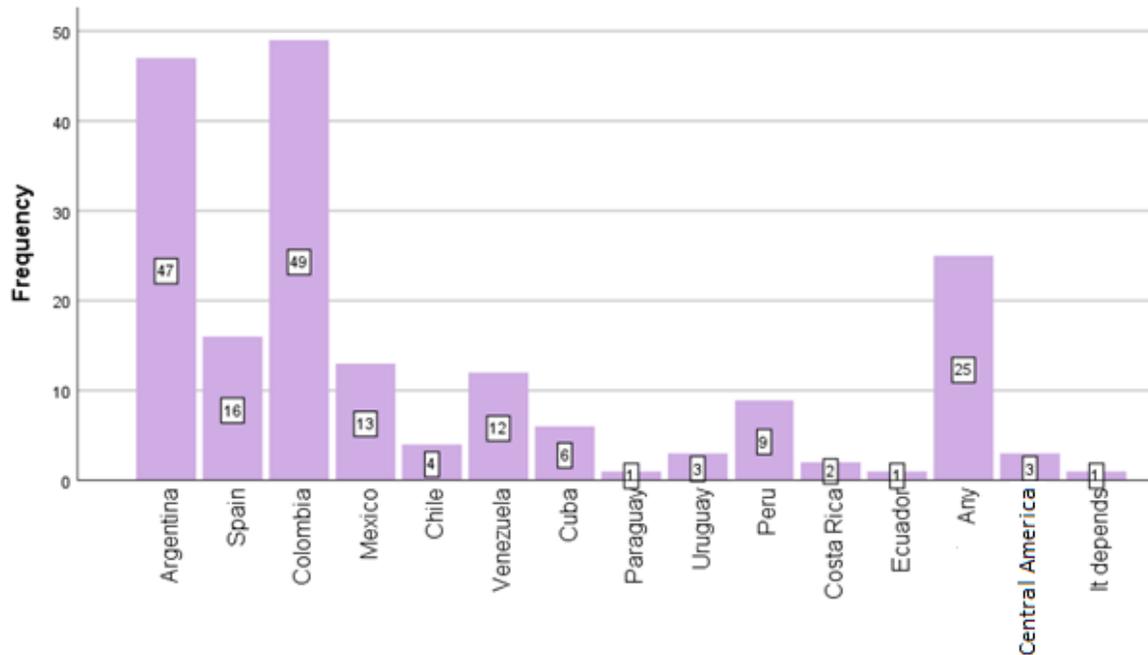
Teachers' Choice of Most Prestigious World Spanish Varieties



In the following image, some phrases participants used to justify their choice of the most prestigious world variety are presented. As seen in Figure 38, the variety from Spain is strongly associated with the origin of the language, which makes it more valid, traditional, pure and clean, revealing that in participants' imagination, this speech community may be considered more legitimate and more entitled to claim the Spanish language's ownership. Historical and political reasons which have given Spain and its variety power and influence over its former colonies are frequently mentioned, together with the institutions which aim at exerting and perpetuating that power, such as the RAE and the Cervantes Institute.

Figure 42

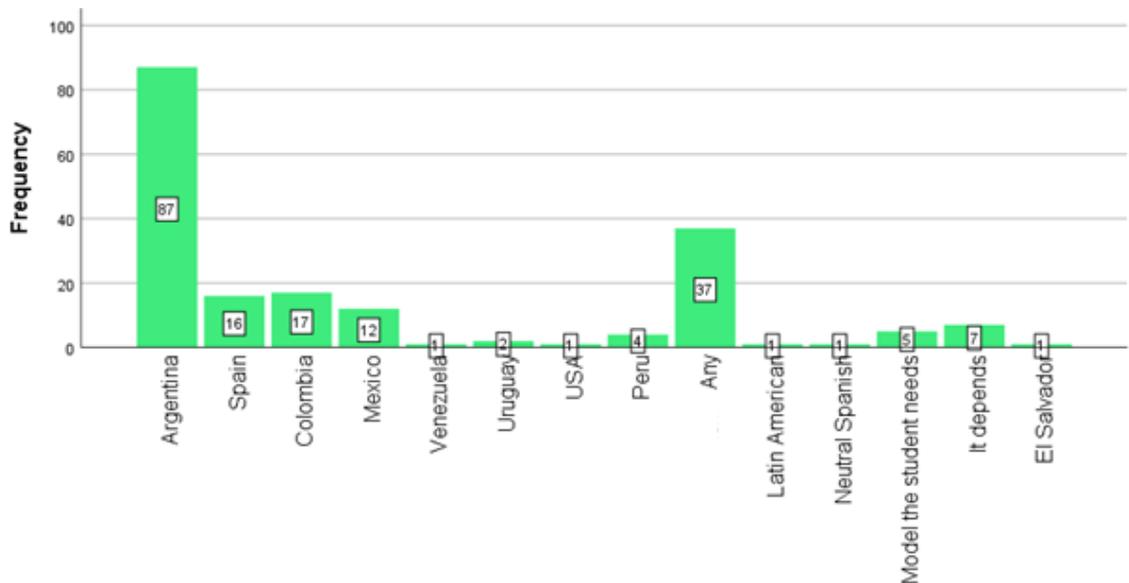
Teachers' Choice of Most Pleasant World Varieties



Considering varieties from different countries, participants were asked to choose the one they thought to be the best pronunciation model for their classes (see Figure 43). The Argentinian variety was chosen by 87 participants. Again, some participants, 37 of them, did not want to choose a specific model and claimed that any variety could be picked.

Figure 43

World Varieties Teachers Consider Best Pronunciation Models



Some teachers claim that they choose the pronunciation model depending on the teaching context and the students they have. They take into account the needs, expectations and

Figure 45

Teachers' Reasons for Choosing the Variety from Spain as the Best Pronunciation Model



The “neutral” variety was chosen by some informants as the best pronunciation model, as shown in Figure 46. The reasons they provide are mostly related to the linguistic characteristics they consider it has. For example, they find “neutral Spanish” is standard, clear, precise, accentless and more intelligible. They also state that it is the one that is mostly heard in the media so it is the variety that the whole Hispanic world shares and understands.

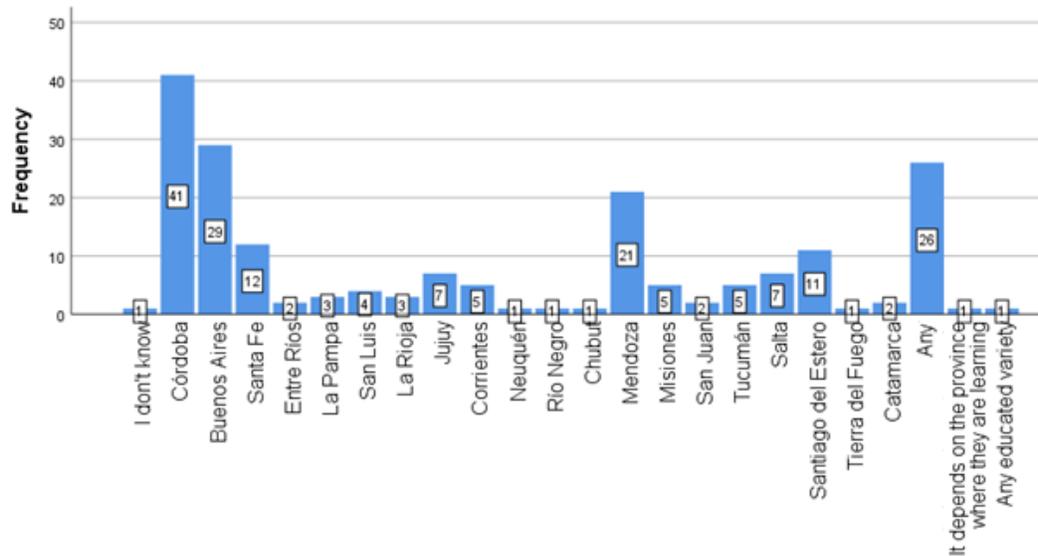
Figure 46

Teachers' Reasons for Choosing the “Neutral” Variety as the Best Pronunciation Model



Figure 51

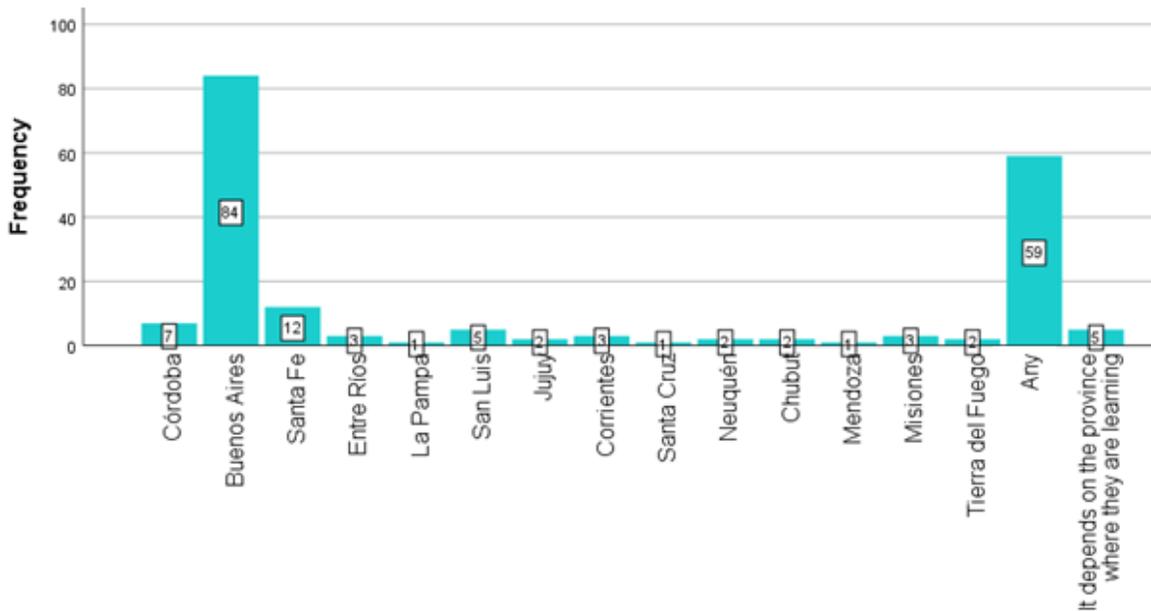
Teachers' Choice of Most Pleasant Argentinian Varieties



As regards the local variety that participants consider the best pronunciation model for their classes, in Figure 52 we can see that most of them, 84 teachers, chose the variety from Buenos Aires. A further 59 teachers did not want to choose a specific variety claiming that any variety could be used.

Figure 52

Argentinian Varieties Teachers Consider the Best Pronunciation Model

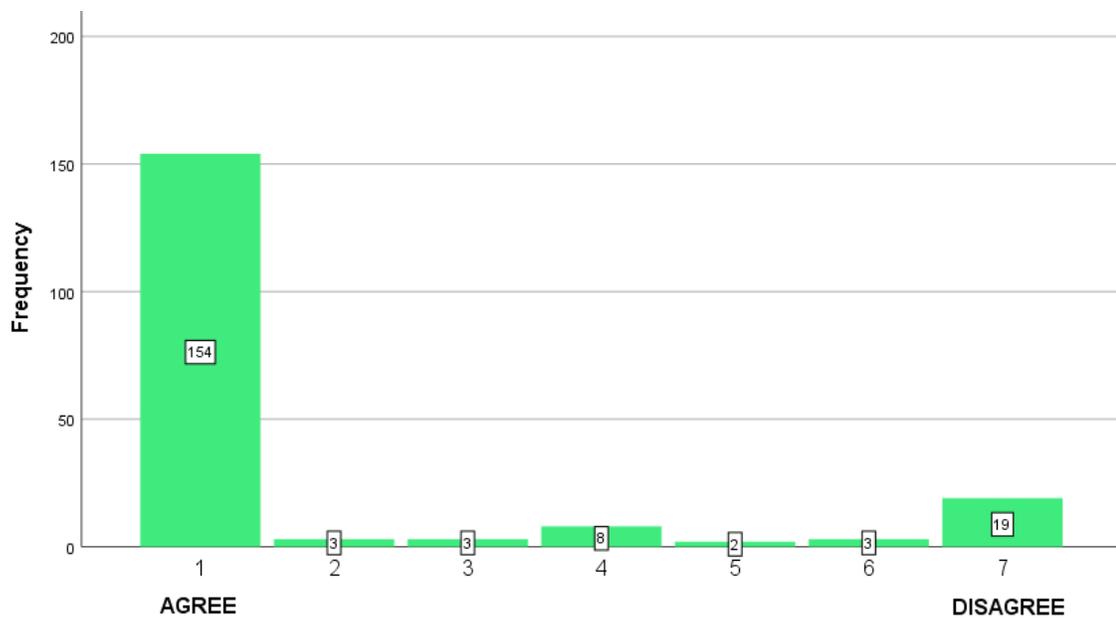


The choice that some participants made of not ranking neither world nor local varieties in terms of prestige, aesthetic quality or best pronunciation model may be related to the way they responded to the item that is described below in Figure 53. The overwhelming majority,

154 respondents, claimed to agree with the statement that says that there are no superior or inferior accents. The mean for this answer was 1.89. However, this claim is often contradicted by the information they provide in other items when they answer questions about the standard language, prestigious varieties, pronunciation models, and so on, where many provide substantial details about how varieties are perceived and valued in different ways. It is also contradicted by the answers provided when they are asked to agree or disagree with the statement “any accent can be chosen as a model in the SFL class as long as it is a standard one”, with which most participants agree, as we will see in Figure 103.

Figure 53

Teachers’ Beliefs about Accents Inferiority and Superiority

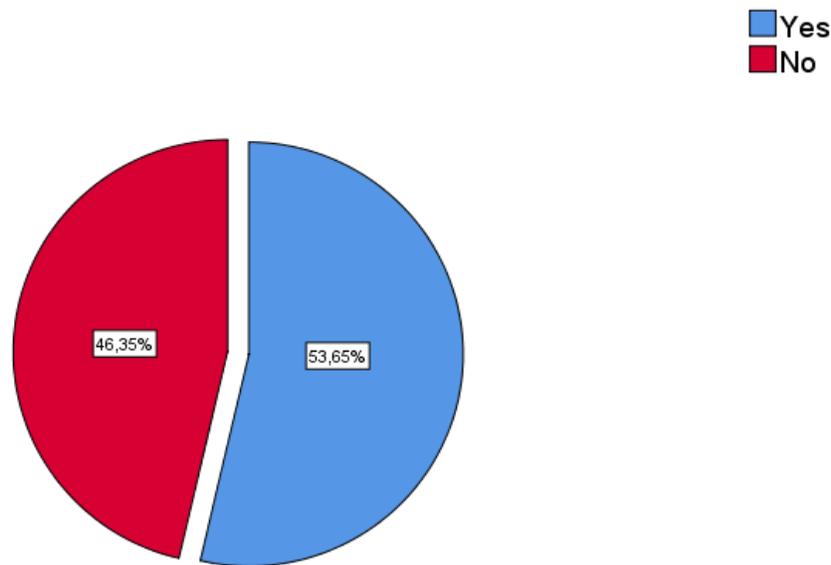


When asked to define how they interpret the terms “superior” and “inferior”, some participants argue that these terms should not be used in relation to language varieties, as all languages should be equally valued and respected. They claim that these subjective terms are used to discriminate on the basis of social class, ethnicity or place of origin, following a “neo-colonial fashion”.

Many others, even though they may not agree with the use of these terms, acknowledge that they are used in relation to language varieties and provide some definitions. In Figure 54 some terms and phrases used to define superior and inferior are presented. Superior varieties are associated with higher prestige, value, popularity, influence validity, development and education. In terms of the linguistic aspects, “superior” varieties are associated with clarity,

Figure 55

Teachers' Familiarity with Panhispanism



Those participants who state that they are familiar with the term “panhispanism” provide a variety of definitions and comments about this concept. Some show a more positive view of the term, whereas others exhibit more negative conceptions.

For example, participants say that it refers to the approach that considers the whole Hispanic world as one, where Peninsular Spanish has no hegemonic position and all varieties are equally valid to teach: “it helps in the tightening of the bonds and the cooperation among all Hispanic countries”. They claim it promotes the integration of regional varieties through strategies such as the co-creation of resources such as the *Panhispanic dictionary of Doubts* (ASALE and RAE, 2005). Some informants are a bit cautious, saying for example that “discursively, the institutions who support this linguistic policy support ‘unity in diversity’ in order to foster mutual intelligibility”; “it fosters tolerance and equality among varieties by validating different Spanishes, which shows the richness of the culture and traditions behind each of them”. They also say that panhispanism was created to acknowledge the existence of several educated varieties that should be known by Spanish speakers.

On the other hand, several participants do not describe the term in such a positive light. For instance, they claim that it is an economic, social, linguistic and cultural strategy of the Spanish government and private businesses to reach Latin America and keep colonising it linguistically and economically: “Instead of presenting themselves as the ‘motherland’ to its colonies, they try to show fraternal love now, a gesture of acknowledging equality”. They also say that it is a political and linguistic movement that aims to standardise different manifestations

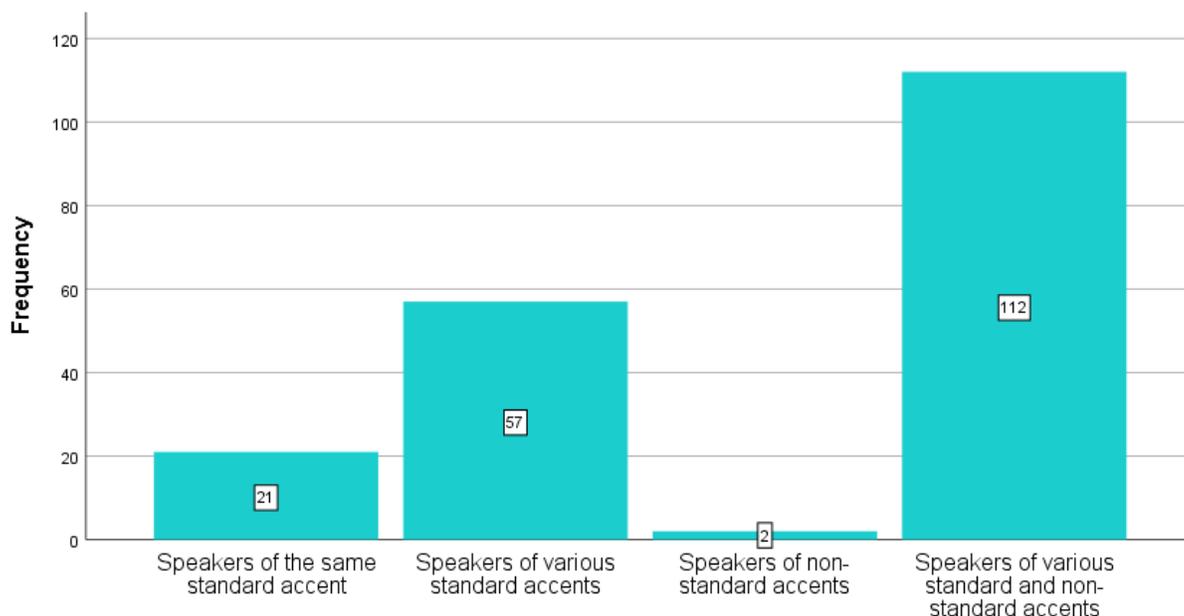
of the same language to reach a norm that is unified and plural at the same time, but they do it through a single artificial norm: “It could lead to the disappearance of differences between varieties, which are what make Spanish so rich”. Some even say it is an invention of Spain so as not to lose control of the market of the teaching of Spanish and of the international exams which benefits them economically. Another participant adds that it is a conception of Spanish where the centre is still Spain and the rest of the varieties have to adjust to it.

5.1.4 Beliefs about L2 Acquisition

In this section, participants were asked to answer questions regarding the kind of input that they consider most beneficial for L2 pronunciation acquisition. Most respondents (112) indicate that exposing them to speakers of both standard and non-standard varieties is the best option, as seen in Figure 56. Some others (57) state that exposing them to speakers of various standard accents is the best kind of input to help students develop their pronunciation. A further 21 teachers chose the option of exposing students to the same standard accent as the optimal input.

Figure 56

Teachers’ Opinion about Best Input for L2 Pronunciation acquisition: Standard vs. Non-Standard Varieties

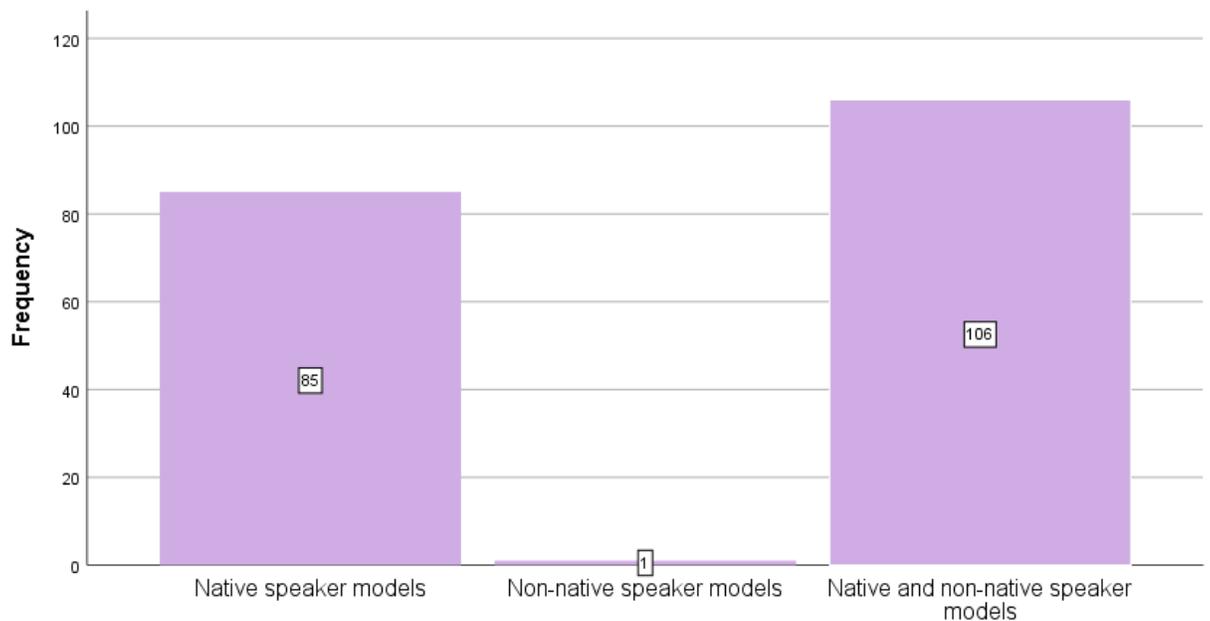


Participants were also asked about whether exposing students to native or non-native speakers is better to foster L2 pronunciation acquisition (See Figure 57). On this point, 106

participants claim that exposing students to both native and non-native speakers is the best option. A further 85 participants chose the option of exposing students to native speaker models. Only one teacher states that exposing students to non-native models is the best way to develop their pronunciation.

Figure 57

Teachers' Opinion about Best Input for L2 Pronunciation Acquisition: Native vs. Non-Native Models



In the discussion section these answers will be compared to the practices that teachers reported both in the questionnaire and the interviews. Some inconsistencies or contradictions may arise.

Participants were asked to give more details about these previous points. When stating which knowledge or skills being communicatively competent implies, most participants focus on linguistic competence, especially grammar and vocabulary, but many mention some other factors that contribute to communicative competence as well: understanding and being understood orally, reading and writing, vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation, knowing language structures, sociocultural and linguistic competence, coherent message adequate to the context and situation, compensation skills, strategic competence, macro-skills, paraphrasing, explaining, interpreting interlocutor's linguistic and paralinguistic cues, irony, (near) native pronunciation and fluency, functional knowledge for real situations, negotiating meaning, philosophical knowledge and world knowledge. Comparison to the native speaker also appears in many of the answers. The knowledge of variation may be implied in some of these factors

that participants mention, for instance in “world knowledge” or in “functional knowledge” but none of them explicitly mention being acquainted with dialectal variation in Spanish as part of communicative competence.

According to participants, students learn to pronounce in an L2 by listening (exposure) and imitating/repeating after models. This is, by far, the most recurrent answer. Many stress the importance of formal pronunciation training too. Some talk about “good” models or input but do not provide details on what that implies or examples of what would constitute a good model. Other factors that they mention frequently are formal phonetic instruction and practice, focusing on learning and practising sounds which are different from their L1, introducing IPA sounds, being in contact with (near) native speakers, being exposed to authentic material (movies, songs, TV shows), intensive and systemic practice, singing, articulatory training, learning pronunciation rules, specific phonetic exercises, comparing it to their L1, immersion, exposure to different pronunciations, drilling, reading aloud, communicative activities, role playing, storytelling, focusing on standard variety, being corrected by a trained teacher, theoretical explanations about articulation, or doing it in the same way they learned their L1. Some also state that pronunciation instruction is their “weak point” as teachers and that they did not have enough training on how to teach the pronunciation of their own language (phonetics and phonology training) during their course of studies and that makes them insecure about teaching this skill.

Most of them mentioned exposure as the key element to developing students’ pronunciation. When asked about the best kind of input for L2 pronunciation acquisition, most answered that exposure to a variety of speakers of standard and non-standard accents and to native and non-native speakers is the best input, followed by the option of exposing them to native and non-native speakers of various standard accents, of the same standard accents and lastly of various non-standard accents. However, when mentioning the kind of input that teachers actually use in their classes in the following section and in the group interviews, a homogeneity of standard and native speakers is prevalent in their practices, not input multiplicity.

5.1.5 Reported Practices

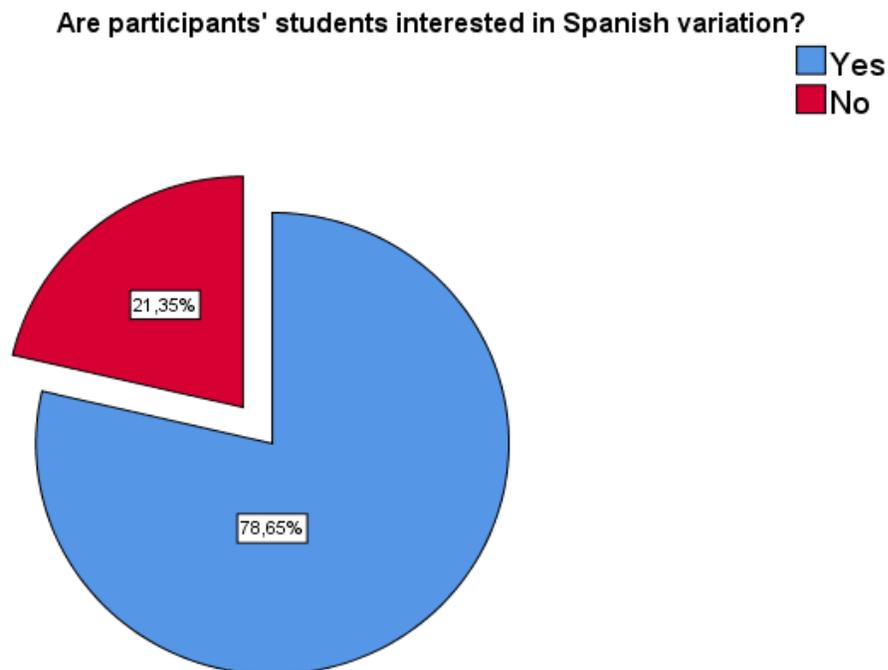
In this section, the data corresponding to the practices that teachers reported are described. Aspects such as students’ interests and needs, teaching materials, pronunciation models and the incorporation of dialectal variation in the class will be described. By analysing

the data about language attitudes in conjunction with teachers' reported practices and student's attitudes and experiences (presented in section 4.2), we will get useful information about how attitudes and other factors may be influencing teaching decisions, and to what extent sociolinguistic variation is incorporated into SSL courses. This analysis will contribute to answering research questions 2, 3 and 4.

The average age of participants' students is 27 years old. Most teachers, 151 of them, state that their students are interested in different varieties of Spanish, as reported in Figure 58.

Figure 58

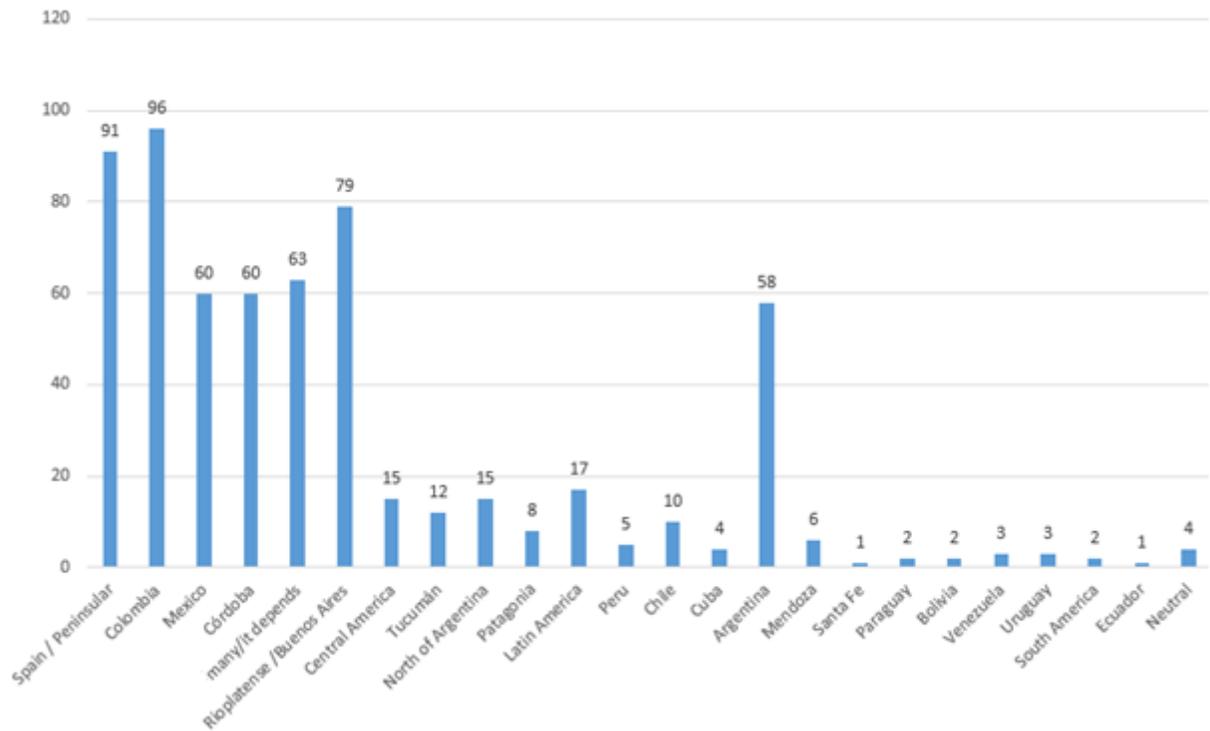
Teachers' Perceptions about their Students' Interest in Variation



According to teachers, their students are interested in many Spanish varieties. In Figure 59, it can be seen that they are mostly interested in Argentinian varieties, as 79 teachers named Rioplatense or Buenos Aires Spanish, 60 named Cordobese and 58 named Argentinian Spanish. The Colombian variety was mentioned by 96 teachers, followed by the one from Spain (91).

Figure 59

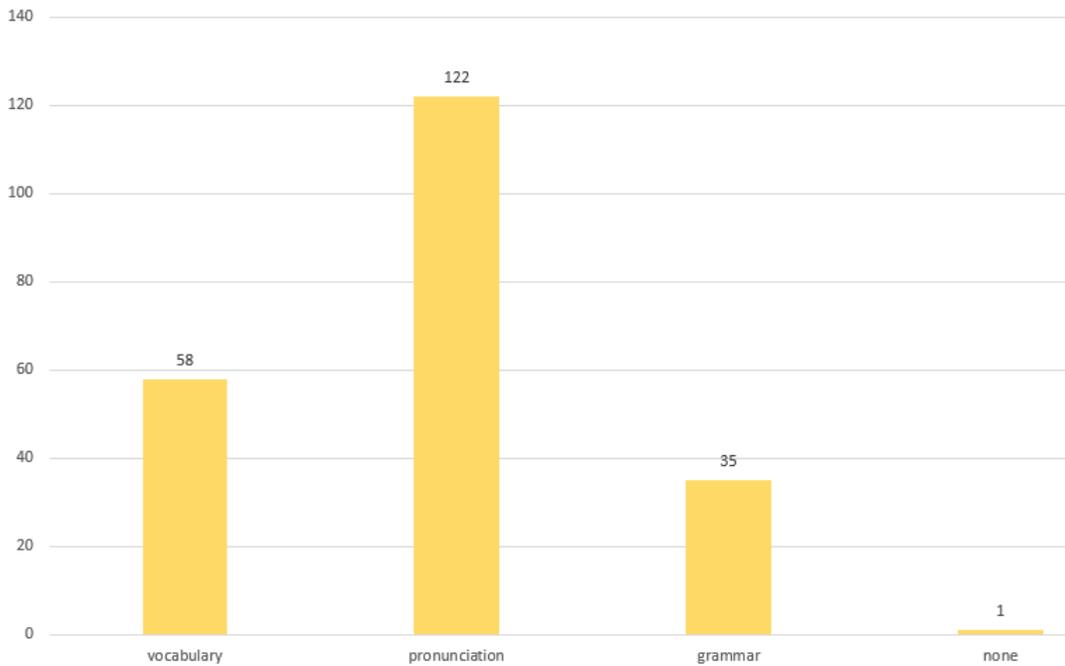
Varieties Students Are Interested in According to Teachers



According to respondents, their students are mainly interested in pronunciation variation, as 122 of them selected this area (see Figure 60). In the second place we find lexical variation (58), followed by grammatical variation (35).

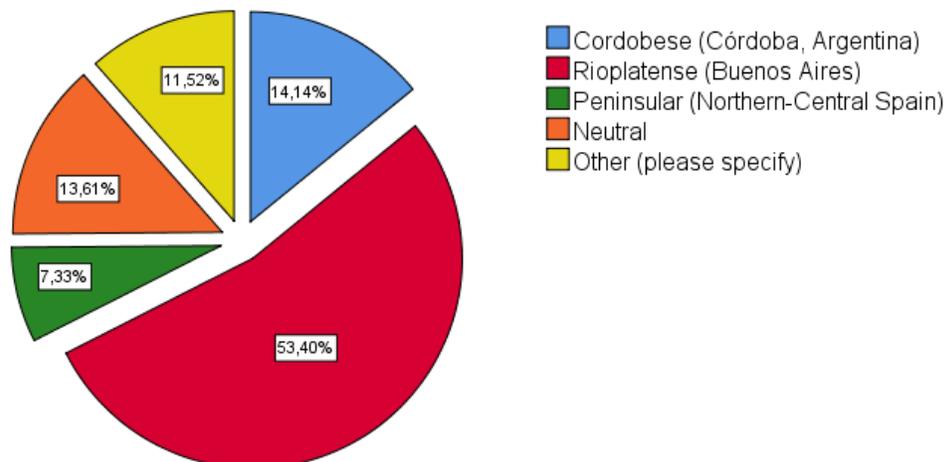
Figure 60

Kinds of Variation Students Are Interested in



When asked which variety they teach in their classes, most participants (102) responded that they teach the Rioplatense (Buenos Aires) variety, as seen in Figure 61. Next in frequency we find the Cordobese variety, taught by 27 instructors. Twenty-six (26) of them stated they teach neutral Spanish and a further 14 claimed they teach Northern-Central Peninsular Spanish. Twenty-two (22) of them listed other categories like Misiones, Cuyo, Neutral Argentinian, San Luis, Neutral Latin American, Corrientes, Mexico, Santa Fe, La Pampa, Entre Ríos, North Eastern Argentinian and La Rioja. Some comment that the variety they teach depends on the students that they have.

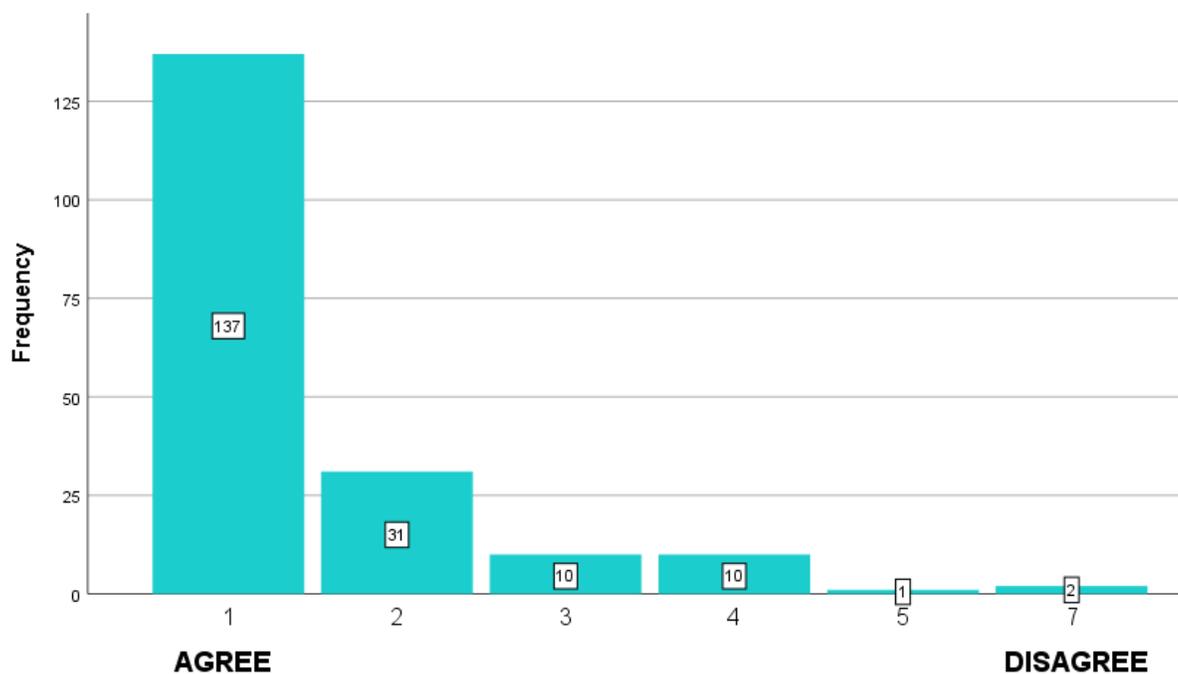
Figure 61: Variety Teachers Currently Teach



The overwhelming majority of teachers (178) state that the varieties they expose their students to are relevant when considering the teaching context and course objectives, as shown in Figure 62. The mean for this answer was 1.5.

Figure 62

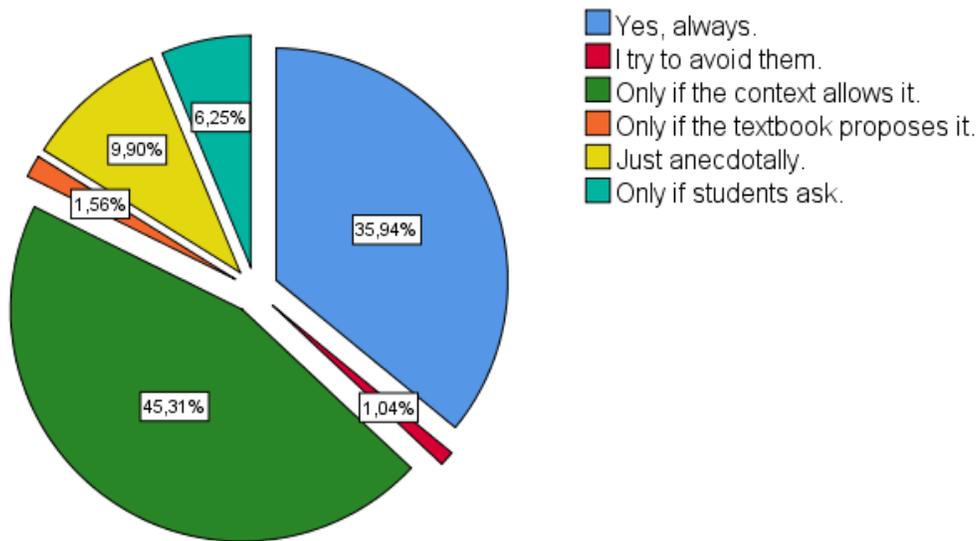
Teachers' Opinions about the Relevance of the Varieties They Expose their Students to



As regards whether teachers deal with dialectal variation in their classes, 69 of them claim they always deal with it (see Figure 63). Eighty-seven (87) say that they do it only when the context allows. A further 19 instructors introduce variation only anecdotally and 12 say they do it only when students ask. Three of them said that they deal with variation if the textbook proposes it and two said they try to avoid it altogether. Thus, even though we will see in Figure 95 that most participants acknowledge that dialectal variation teaching has advantages, their actual practices do not reflect this.

Figure 63

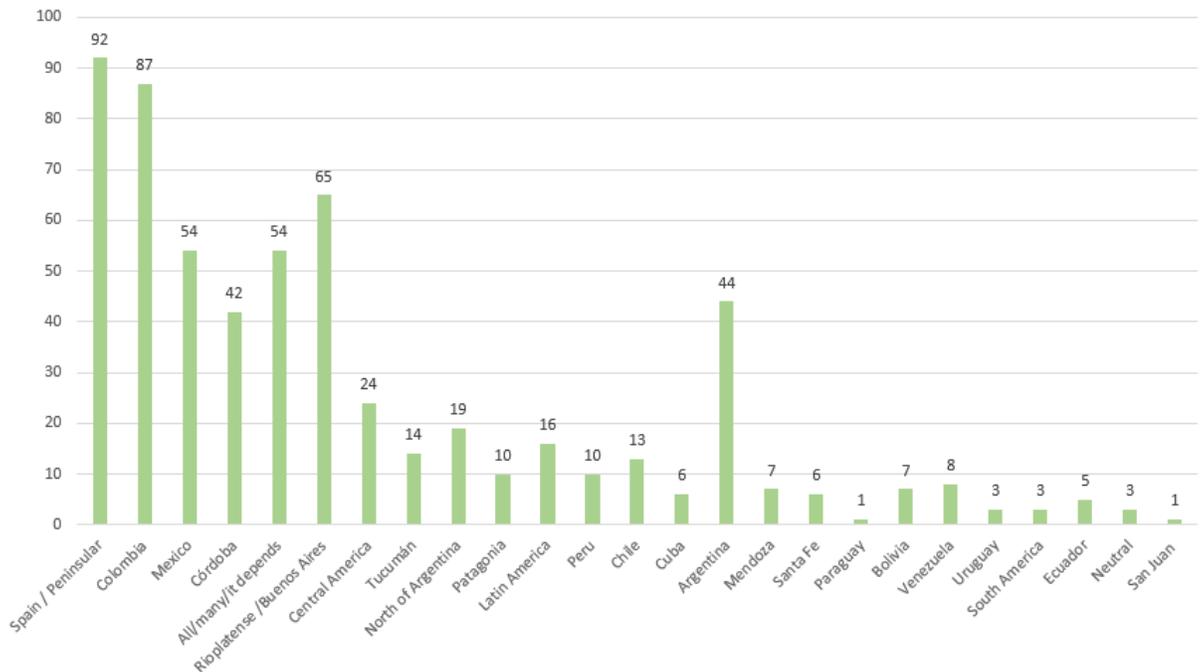
Incorporation of Dialectal Variation in Teachers' Classes



Participants claim to expose their students to a range of varieties, as seen in Figure 64. The label that appears most often is Peninsular Spanish, with 92 participants who expose their students to it. It is followed in frequency by Colombian Spanish (87). However, there are several labels that make reference to Argentinian varieties; some are wider categories that make reference to the country as a whole or to a whole region of the country and others are more specific and refer to specific provinces: Argentina (44), Rioplatense/Buenos Aires (65), Córdoba (42), Tucumán (14), North of Argentina (19), Patagonia (10), Mendoza (7), Santa Fe (6), and San Juan (1), which makes Argentinian varieties the most frequently mentioned.

Figure 64

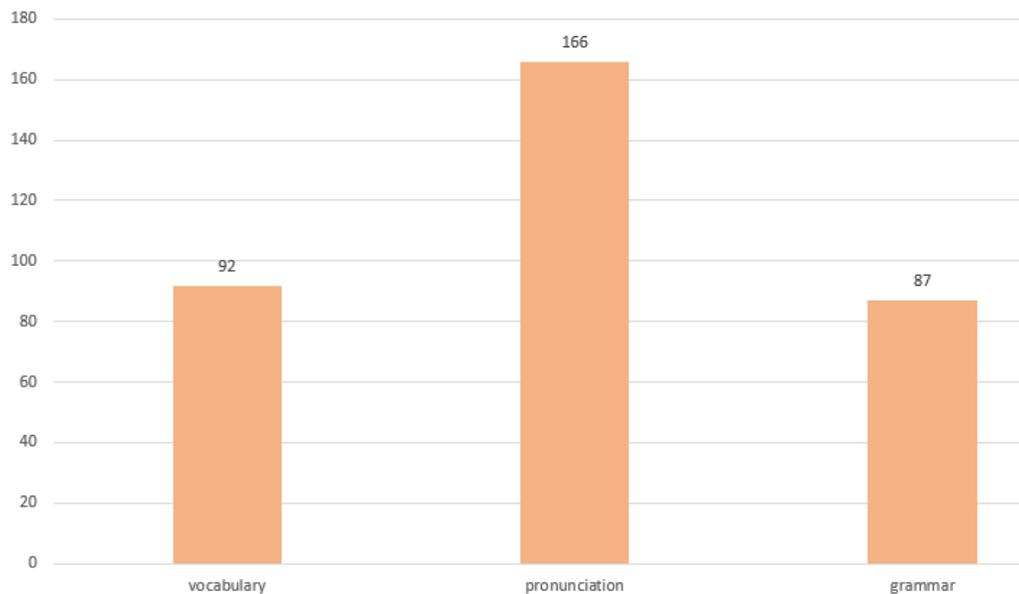
Spanish Varieties Teachers Expose their Students to



In Figure 65 we can see that when teachers do incorporate variation most (166) state that this variation is related to pronunciation differences. Lexical variation is the second most common (92) and lastly, grammatical variation (87). This is in accordance with the interests teachers perceive students have (see Figure 58). However, the materials they have available mostly incorporate lexical variation, as we will see in Figure 69.

Figure 65

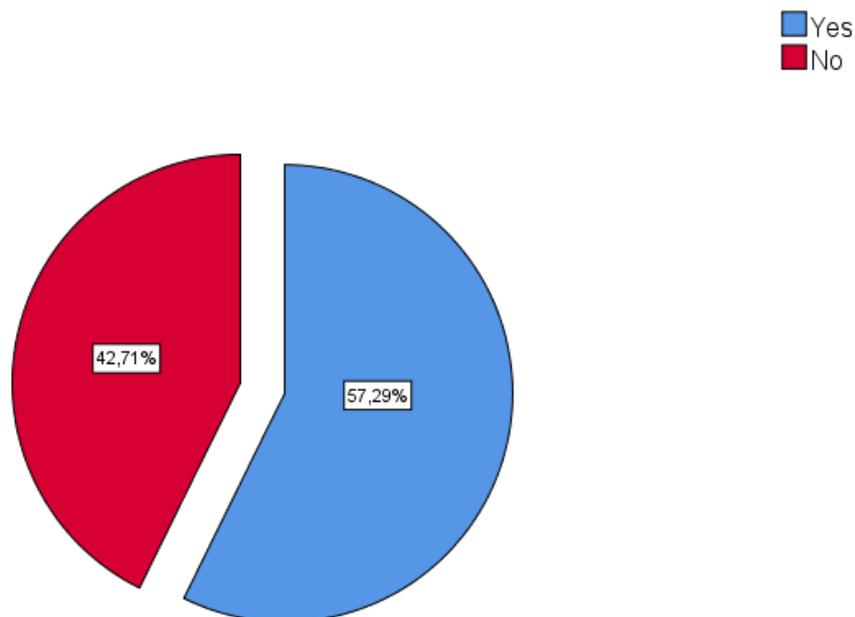
Kinds of Variation Teachers Incorporate in their Classes



We consider that it is important to know whether participants resort to published textbooks to plan and teach their classes, as this might influence the kind and amount of variation they incorporate in their courses. The majority of participants (110) say they use one or several textbooks (See Figure 66). The rest of them (82) claim not to use any.

Figure 66

Use of Textbooks by Teachers



Participants who do use a textbook mentioned a number of books that they resort to (See Figure 67). The most popular one is *Voces del Sur*, which is used by 91 teachers. This is followed in frequency by *Aulas del Sur* (37), *Aula Internacional* (36) and various books from editorial Difusión (21).

Out of the 30 books mentioned by respondents, 15 of them are produced by Spanish publishing companies, six by Argentinian publishing companies, five by American publishers, one by British publishers, one by Brazilian publishers, one by Spain in combination with Argentina and one by Spain in combination with Colombia. Most teachers are using material produced by foreign companies, which may be revealing a need for localised and locally produced teaching materials.

Figure 67

Textbooks Teacher Participants Use in their Courses

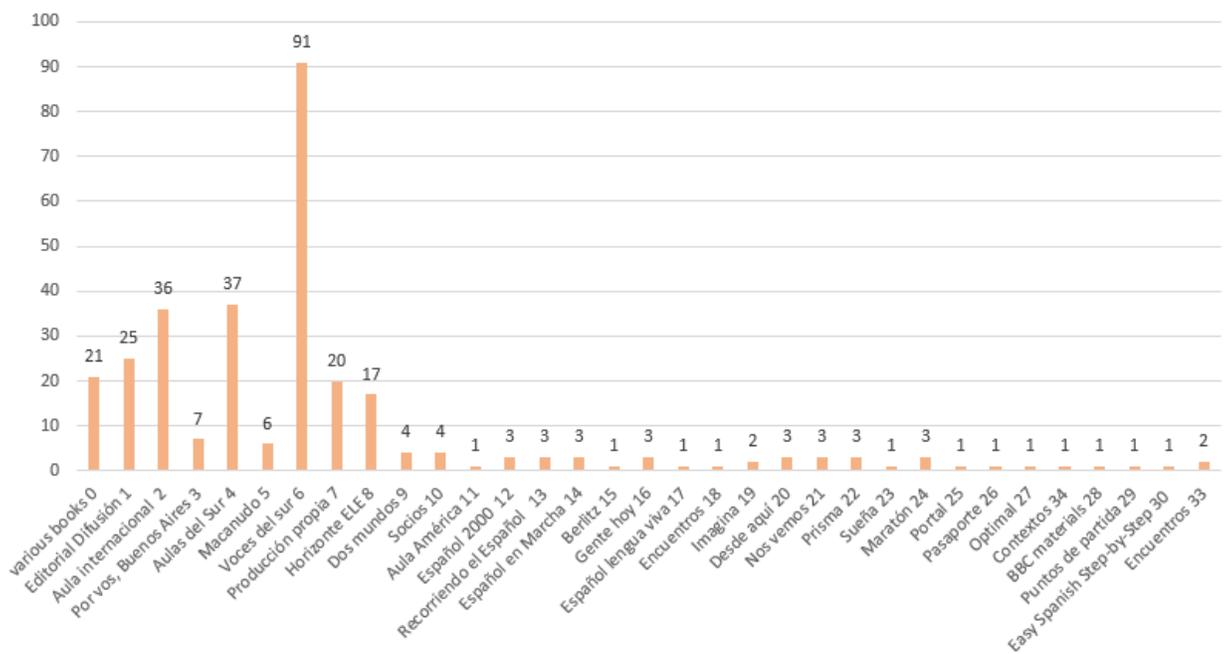
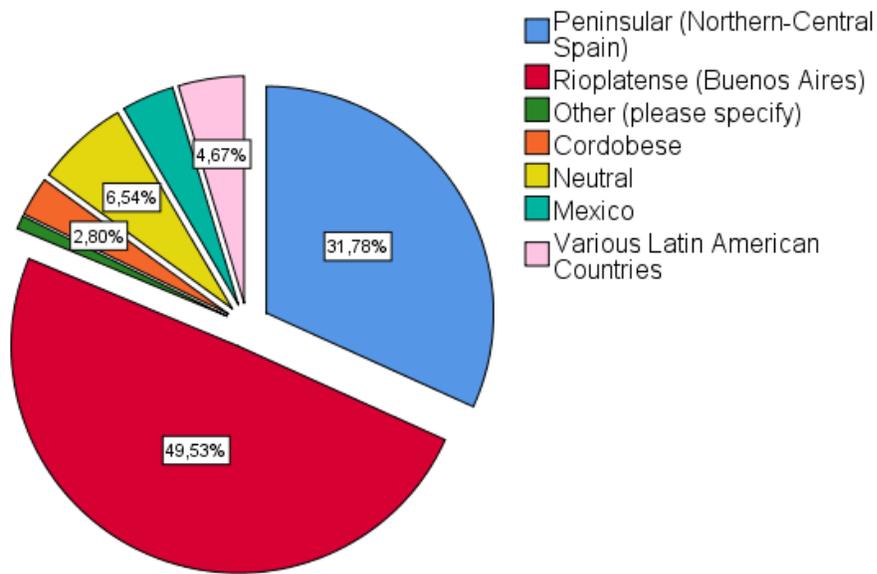


Figure 68 shows the predominant varieties that appear in the textbooks participants use. The most frequently mentioned variety is the Rioplatense one, as almost half of the textbooks focus mainly on it according to teachers. Next in frequency is the Peninsular variety (Northern-Central Spain). With a significantly lower percentage there follow varieties such as “neutral”, Mexican and Cordobese Spanish. It is worth noting that while Cordobese speakers make up a large part of the participant population, their variety is among the least represented in the textbooks they chose.

Figure 68

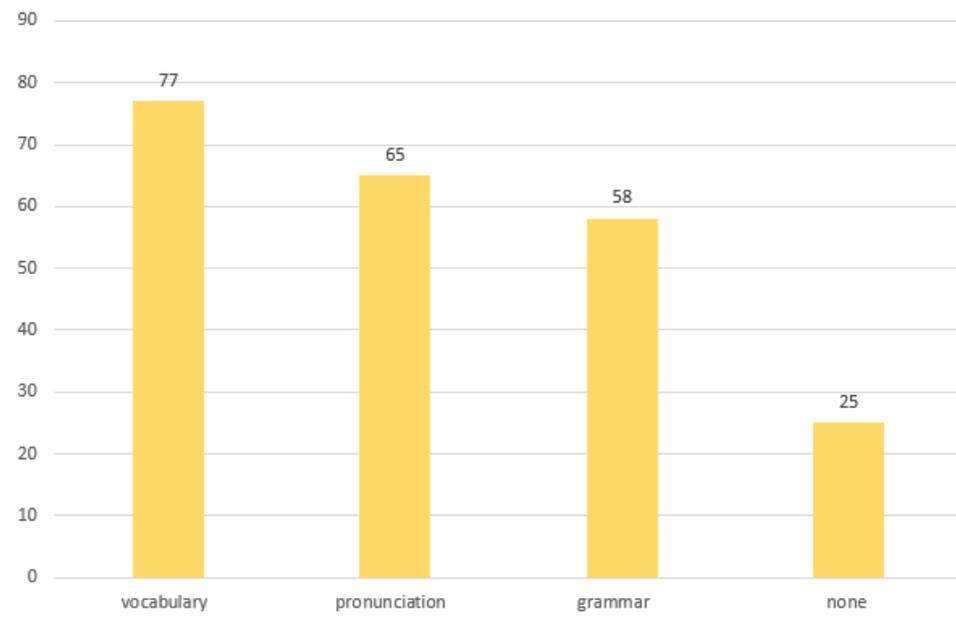
Spanish Varieties Present in the Textbooks Used by Teachers



According to participants, when variation is dealt with in the textbooks, most of this variation is about vocabulary (lexical variation), followed by variation in the area of pronunciation, and lastly by grammar variation, as described in Figure 69.

Figure 69

Kinds of Variation Present in the Textbooks Used by Teachers

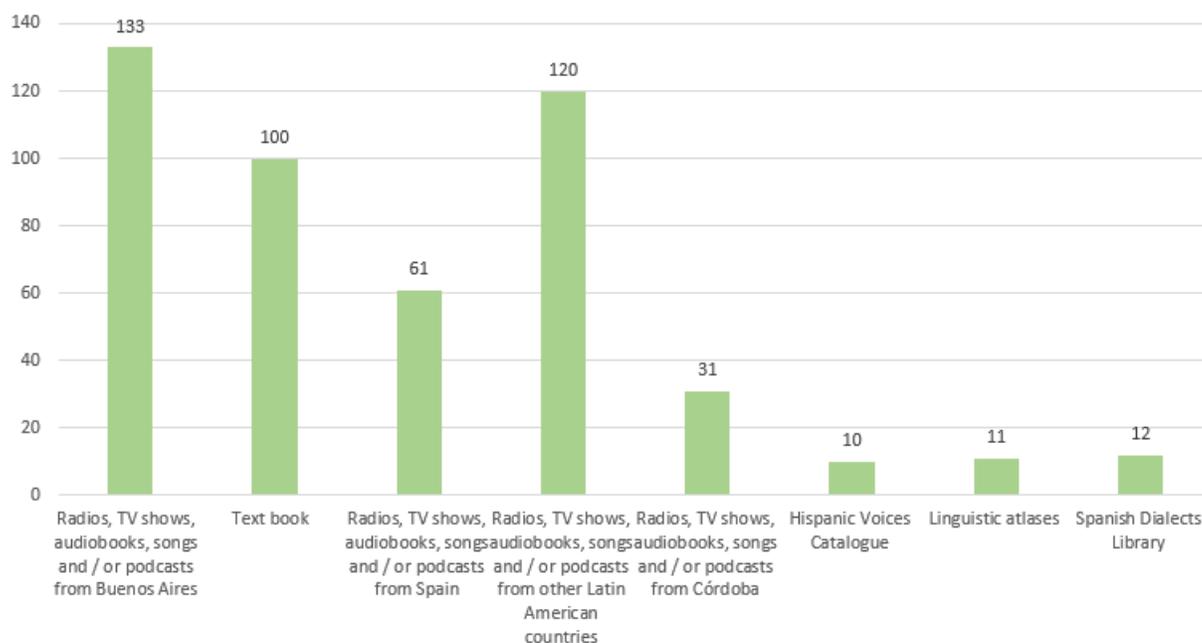


It was previously stated that teachers perceive that their students are mostly interested in variation in pronunciation features. However, as it has just been reported, teachers find that books usually present more material on lexical variation.

Participants also reported where they get the audios they use in their classes from, as seen in Figure 70. In order of frequency, participants mostly get their audio material from mass media from Buenos Aires, other Latin American countries, the textbook, Spain, Córdoba, Spanish Dialect Libraries, Linguistic Atlases and Hispanic Voices Catalogue.

Figure 70

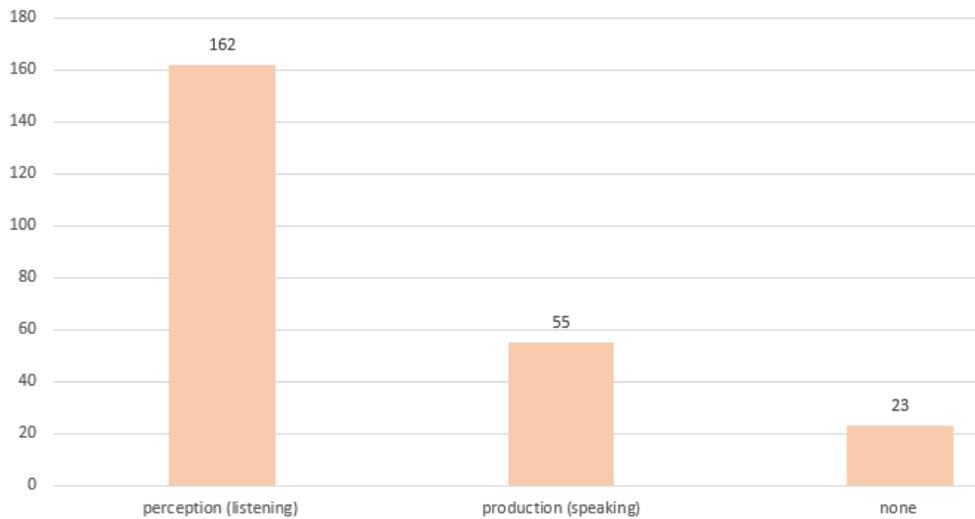
Origin of the Audios Teachers Use in their Classes



Most teachers who incorporate variation in their classes do activities which focus on perception (162) rather than on production, as seen in Figure 71.

Figure 71

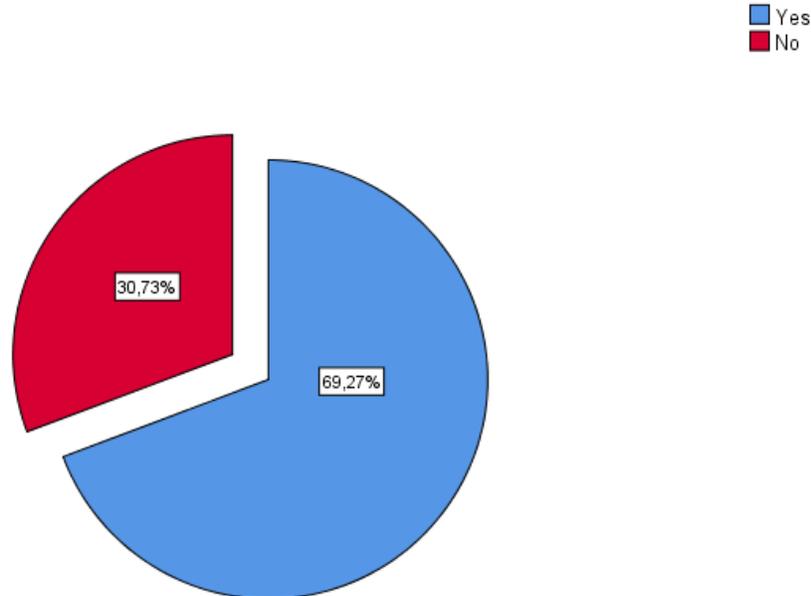
Kinds of Dialectal Variation Activities Teachers Do in Class



As presented in Figure 72, 133 teachers (69%) state that they include activities that deal with variation related to vocabulary and/or grammar in their classes, whereas 59 of them (31%) say they do not.

Figure 72

Incorporation of Lexical or Grammatical Variation in Teachers' Classes

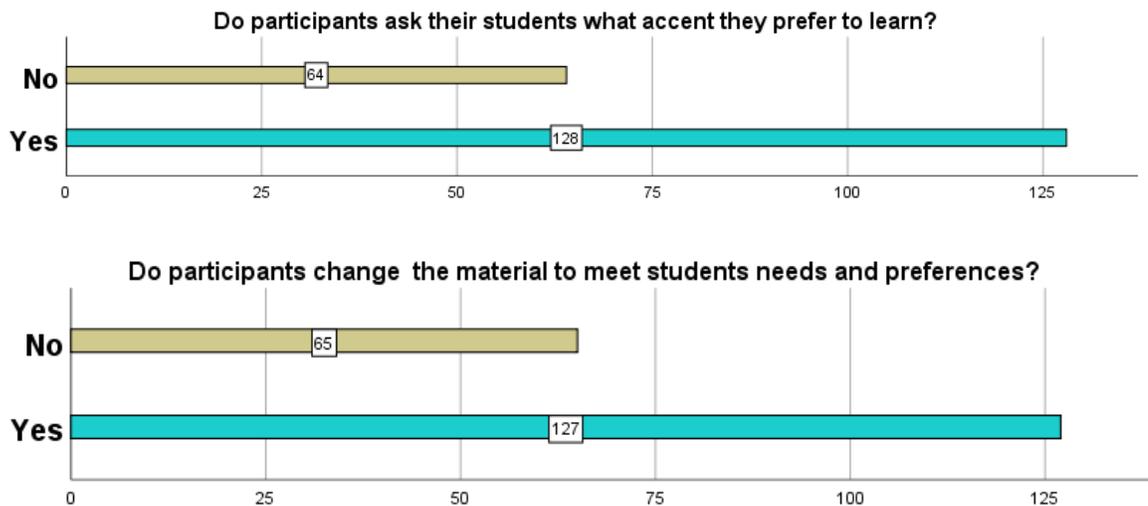


These numbers about the dialectal variation activities that they include may need further exploration, as only 69 participants state that they always deal with dialectal variation in their classes. The rest of them claim to incorporate it only if the context allows, anecdotally, if students ask or if the textbook proposes it.

As shown in Figure 73, most participants, 67% of them, claim to ask their students about their preferences as regards the accent to learn. Furthermore, 66% of them state that they change the teaching material in order to meet those needs. These answers could be compared to students' responses, which show a slightly different picture (See Figures 219).

Figure 73

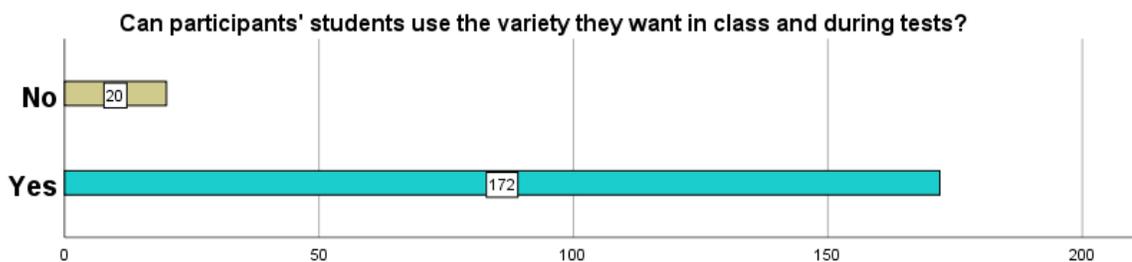
Teachers' Consideration of Students' Needs and Preferences, as Reported by Teachers



As presented in Figure 74, the overwhelming majority of teachers (90%) state that their students are free to use any Spanish variety they want both during class and in the language exams.

Figure 74

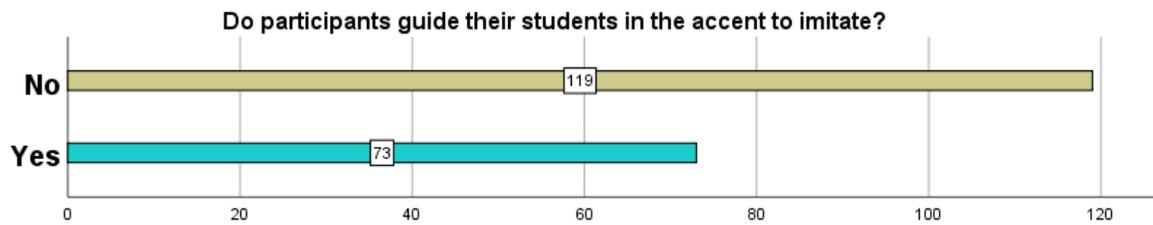
Students' Freedom to Use any Spanish Variety, According to Teachers



When asked whether they guide their students in the process of selecting an accent to imitate, most of them say they do not (see Figure 75), as most students already know what accent they want to learn. However, 73 teachers say they do guide them.

Figure 75

Teachers' Guidance in Accent to Imitate



Those that guide their students state, for example, that they talk to them to find out about their objectives, context of use and needs so as to give them information about appropriate learning resources that can help them achieve their goals. Some claim to show them different options so that learners can choose the one they feel most comfortable with. Others say that they do not guide them but tell them to try to be consistent with the use of a specific variety. A few participants state that in some cases they guided their students into an accent to imitate because it was an institutional requirement. One of them claims to guide their students only when their accents “deviate too much from a certain variety” and another one says they analyse the benefits and drawbacks of different possibilities with their students so that they can decide together, explaining to them that teachers are not experts in all varieties but can offer guidance.

Figure 76 lists the varieties participants perceive their students want to learn. Teachers were asked to organise varieties in order of preference, 1 being the most preferred variety and 5 being the least preferred. The Rioplatense (Buenos Aires) variety is the one participants perceive their students usually prefer, with an average position of 1.76. This Argentinian variety is followed by the Peninsular one (Northern-Central Spain) and by varieties from other Latin American countries (2.89). In fourth position the Cordobese (Córdoba, Argentina) is found. Most participants chose “other varieties” for the fifth and last place. Among the other Spanish varieties they perceive their students want to learn, we find “Mexican”, “Colombian”, “standard”, “Andalusian”, “Guatemalan”, “Santa Fe”, “Mendoza”, and “San Luis”.

Figure 76

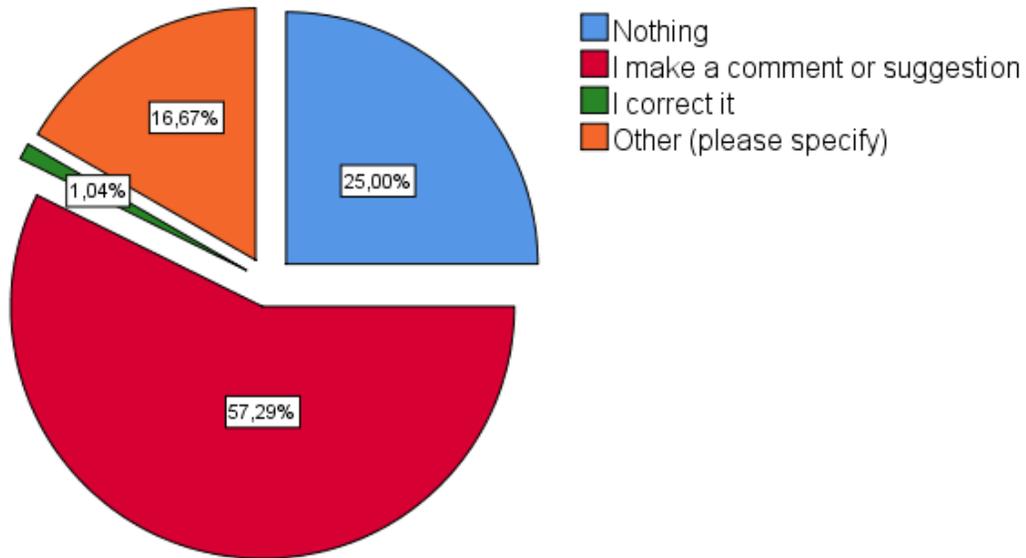
Varieties Teachers Perceive their Students Want to Learn



Participants were also asked about how they react when they hear their students use language which is considered to be a regionalism or as belonging to a local variety, as seen in Figure 77. Forty-eight (48) teachers say they do nothing; 110 of them say that they make a comment or suggestion. In the comments, we can find expressions such as: “If there is a register problem, I suggest an equivalent”, “I explain the context where it is appropriate to use it”, “I provide synonyms and tell them anecdotes to contextualise the language items”, “I tell them it is correct but I explain contextual factors”, “I help them not to mix different accents and correct the pronunciation, if necessary”. Thirty-two (32) teachers say they do something else. For instance, some say “I encourage and congratulate my students for using that language”, “I explain the origin of the term or feature”, “I ask when and where they learnt it and whether they understand the meaning”, “I take those opportunities to talk about varieties”, “I detect and correct dialectal incoherencies”, “I only intervene if there are misunderstandings or communication breakdowns”.

Figure 77

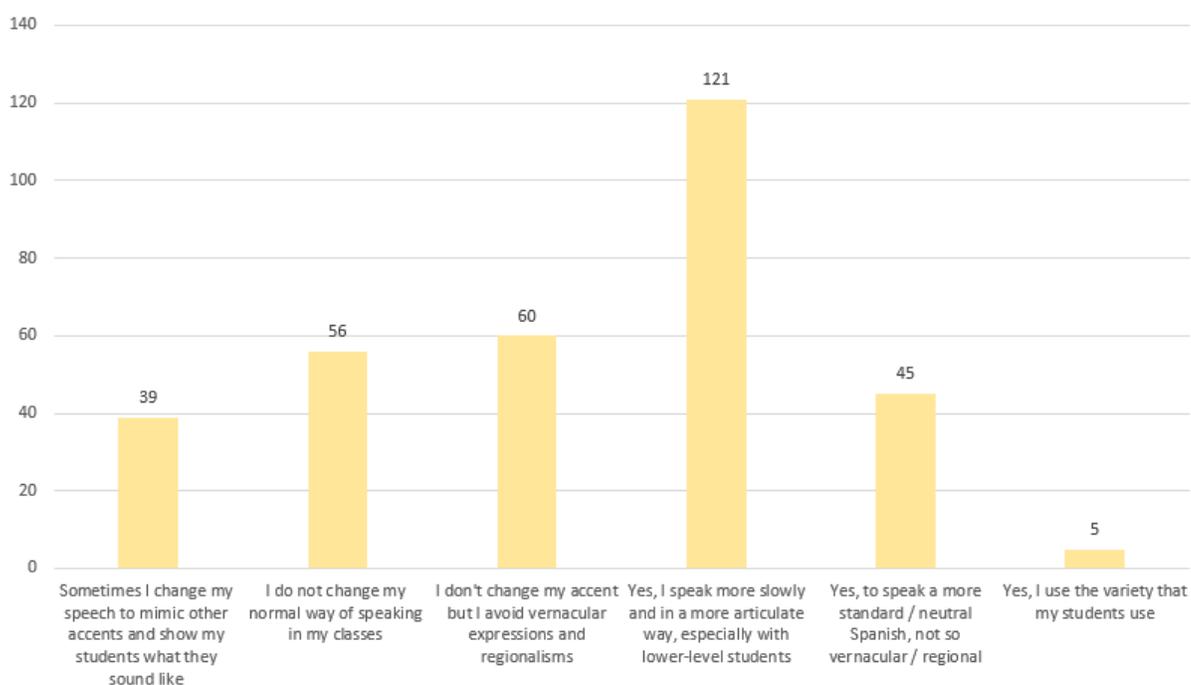
Teachers' Reaction to the Use of a Regionalism by their Students



We also asked teachers about what they do with their own language during their classes and whether they modify their speech in some ways, as seen in Figure 78. Most teachers, 121 of them, state that they slow their speed of delivery and speak in a more articulate way, especially with lower level students. Avoiding vernacular expressions and regionalisms without changing their accent is another strategy that 60 teachers resort to. Forty-five (45) instructors state to speak in a more standard or neutral way during class. Imitating different accents is something that 39 teachers say they do to show their students how they sound. Only five teachers say they switch to the variety used by their students when teaching. A further 56 participants claim not to change their normal way of speaking whatsoever.

Figure 78

Teachers' Alteration of their Normal Way of Speaking During Class



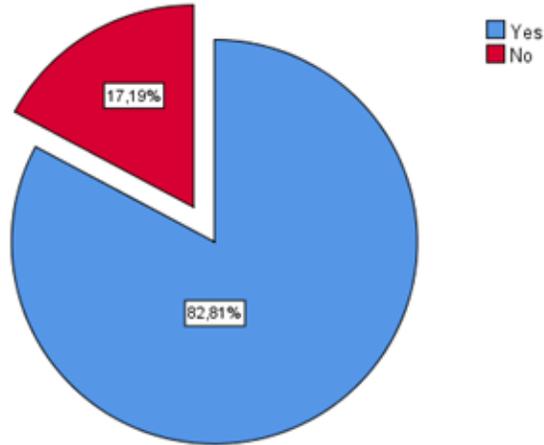
In this section we have gone through the reported practices data. Teachers seem to be aware of their students' needs and preferences and try to cater for them. However, the materials they use may not be suitable to systematically incorporate variation in class. They seem to be open to exposing students to a variety of models and to the incorporation of variation, even though they may not be doing it in a systematic way at the moment. Moreover, there are certain contradictions between teachers' beliefs about SLA and the value of variation on the one hand, and what they actually do in class. In the discussion section we will explore possible reasons for these gaps.

5.1.6 External Factors that Affect Teachers' Practices

In this section, we will deal with diverse external factors which may have an impact on the decisions teachers make as regards their practices. Identifying external factors that influence teachers' practices will further contribute to answering research question 3. Most instructors (159) state they are free to decide about the varieties they incorporate, whereas 33 of them state they are not, as described in Figure 79.

Figure 79

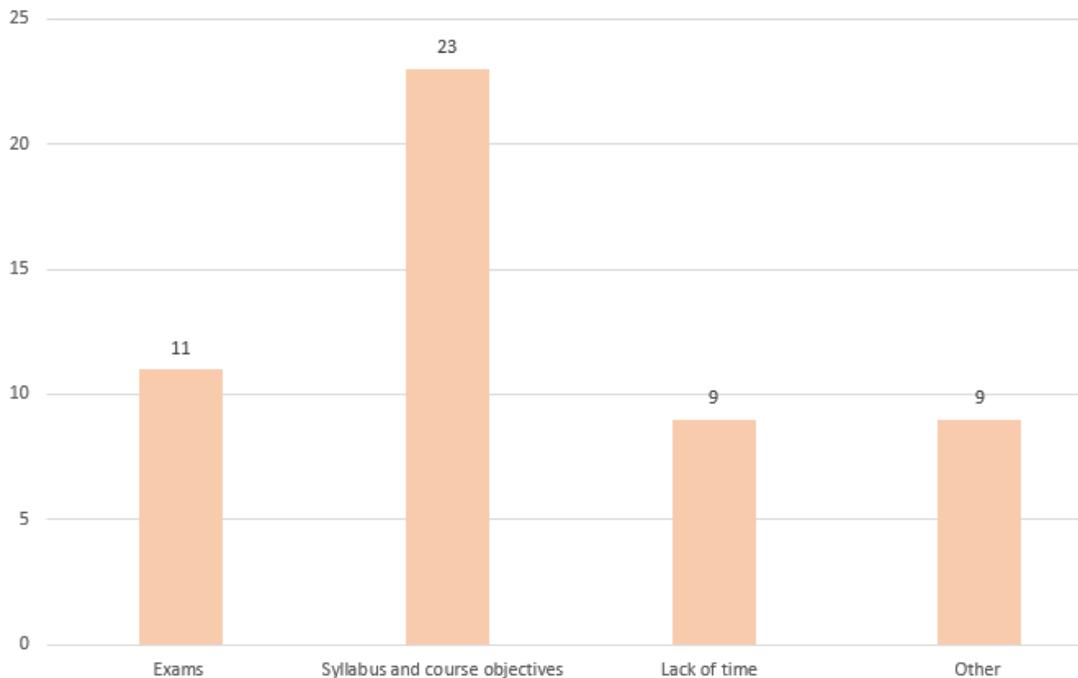
Teachers' Freedom to Choose the Varieties They Expose their Students to



Instructors who claim not to be completely free when making decisions as regards the varieties to use in class list some limitations (see Figure 80). Most feel limited by the syllabus content and the course objectives. Some claim exams are a limiting factor when deciding on varieties to expose their students to, together with time constraints. A further set of participants mention other factors such as “my students are postgraduates who need to learn academic Spanish to write their dissertations” and “the university I work for sets specific guidelines as regards varieties”.

Figure 80

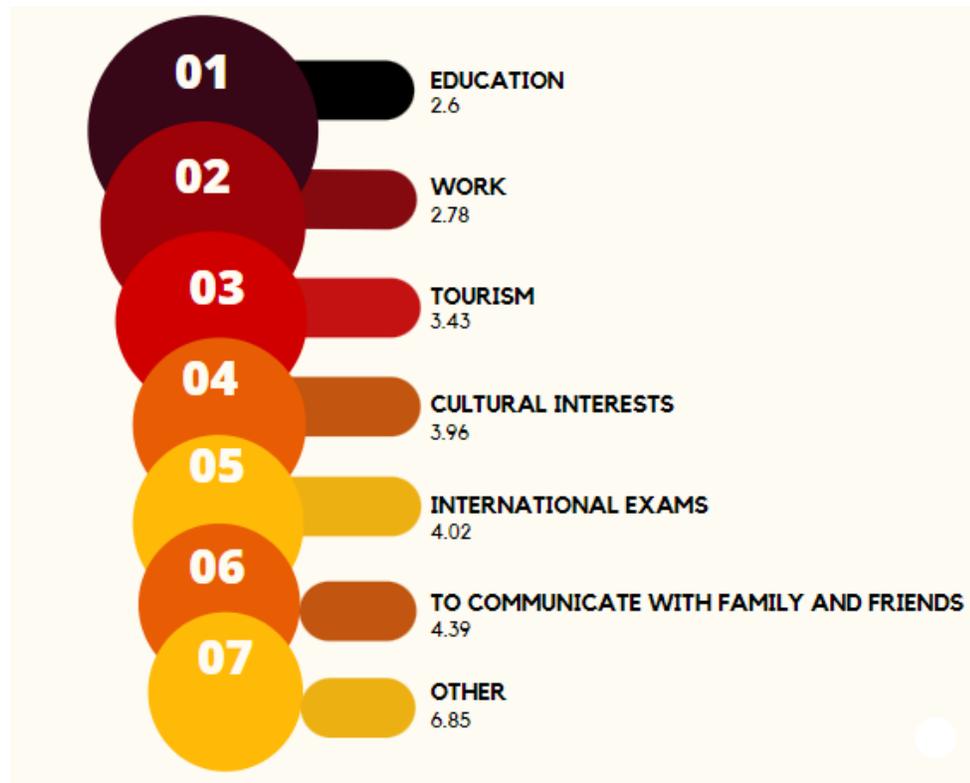
Limitations Teachers Encounter When Deciding Which Varieties to Teach



There are several reasons why participants' students are learning Spanish. Teachers organised the reasons in order of importance according to what they perceive their students' goals to be, as presented in Figure 81. In the first place we find education (2.6), followed by work (2.78), tourism (3.43), cultural interests (3.96), international exams (4.02) and to communicate with family and friends (4.39). Some teachers added other motivations to study Spanish, such as “because they are refugees and need it to survive”, “for pleasure”, “as a hobby” and “a combination of factors”.

Figure 81

Reasons Why Students Are Learning Spanish as Reported by Teachers



When asked whether students are planning to sit for a Spanish proficiency exam, the majority of teachers, 131, claim they are not (see Figure 82). The remaining 61 teachers claim their students are sitting for an exam.

Figure 82

Teachers' Response about Whether their Students Are Preparing for a Spanish Proficiency Exam

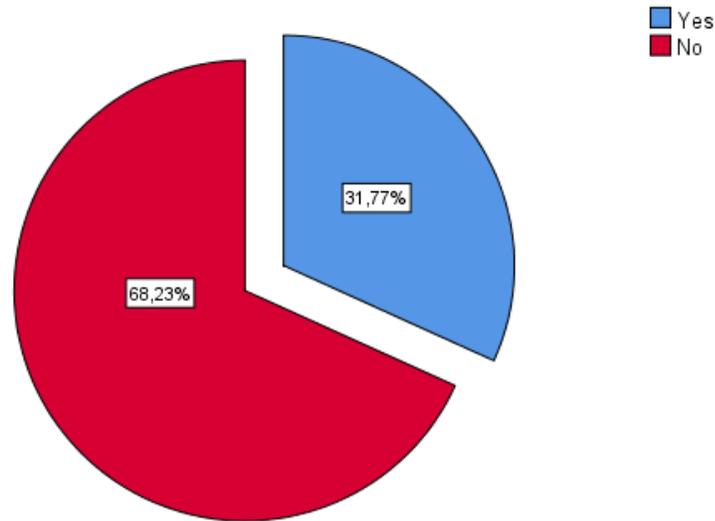
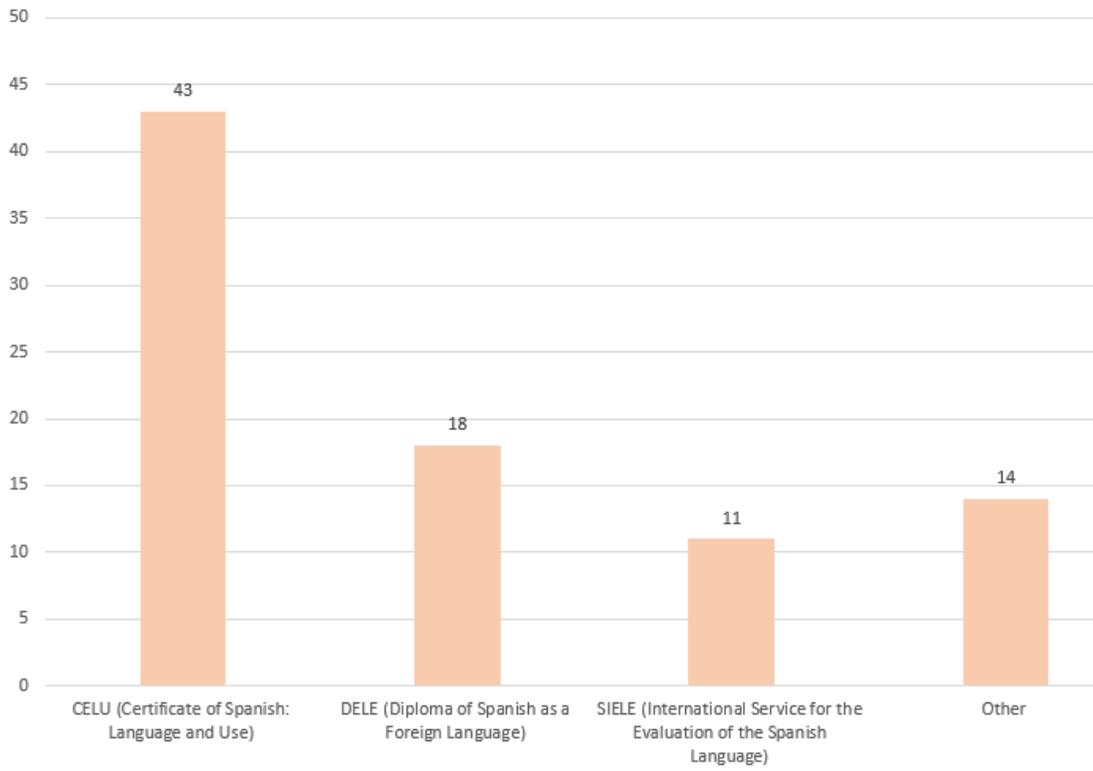


Figure 83 shows the exams students are planning to sit for. In the first place we find the CELU (Certificate of Spanish Language and Use), which is an exam sponsored by Argentinian institutions. In the second place the DELE (Diploma of Spanish as a Foreign Language) is found, an exam granted by the Spanish Ministry of Education through the Cervantes Institute, Culture and Sport. The SIELE (International Service for the Evaluation of Spanish Language) is also mentioned by 11 teachers. This exam is promoted by the Cervantes Institute and the Universidad Autónoma de México, Universidad de Salamanca and Universidad de Buenos Aires. Participants also listed other examinations such as IGCSE (International General Certificate of Secondary Education), ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages), DUCLE (Diploma Universitario de Competencia en Lengua Española, Universidad Nacional de Rosario), certEA (Certificate of Academic Spanish, Universidad Nacional de La Plata) and A Levels.

Figure 83

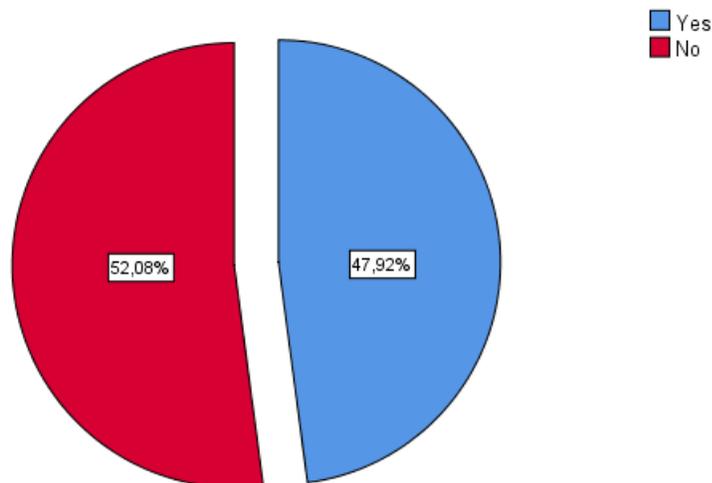
International Spanish Proficiency Examinations Students Are Sitting for, According to Teachers



More than half of participants (100) state that the syllabus they work with does not incorporate variation, as shown in Figure 84. The remaining 92 participants say some kind of variation is incorporated. Further below, some details about the varieties and the kind of variation included is presented.

Figure 84

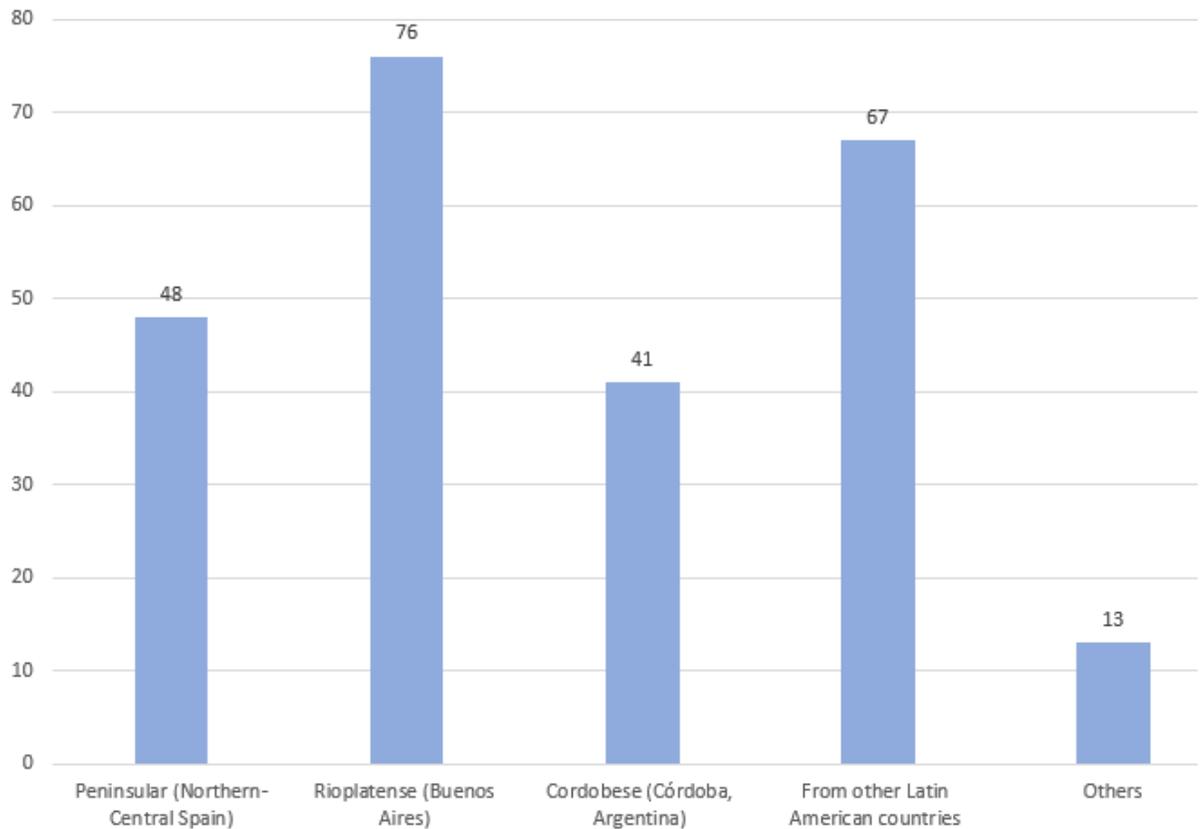
Teachers' Response about Whether Dialectal Variation Is Part of their Syllabus



Participants also listed the varieties included in the syllabus of the courses they teach (see Figure 85). The most frequently used variety is the Rioplatense, as 76 instructors indicate its presence in their syllabuses. Varieties from other Latin American countries are also mentioned by 67 respondents. The Peninsular variety is listed by 48 respondents, followed by the Cordobese variety (41). Teachers mention the presence of other varieties as well, such as “neutral Spanish”, and varieties from places such as the USA, Mexico, Tucumán, La Rioja and Santa Fe.

Figure 85

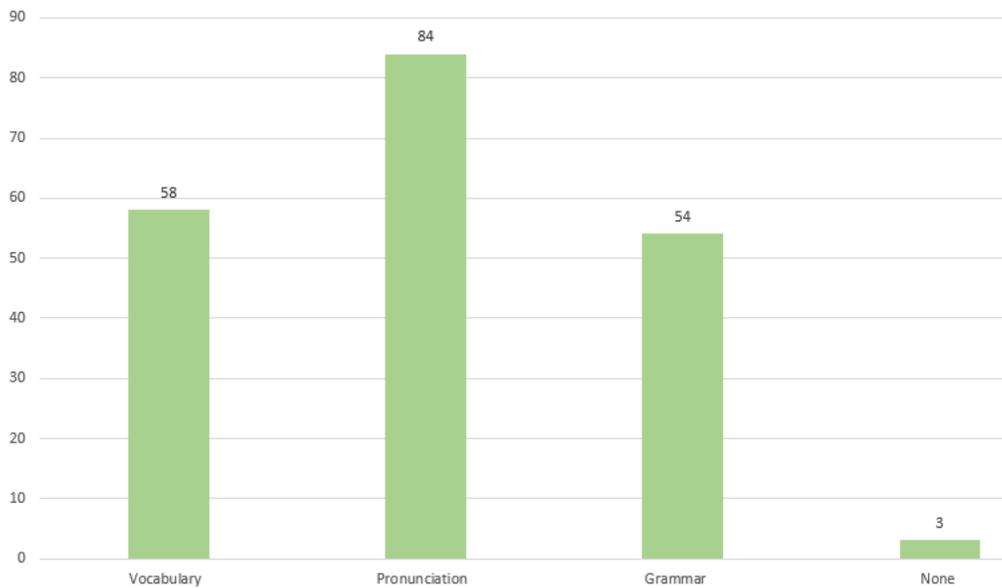
Spanish Varieties Included in the Syllabuses



Most of the variation included in the syllabuses, according to what participants reported, is related to differences in pronunciation (84), followed by lexical (58) and grammatical (54) variation (see Figure 86).

Figure 86

Type of Variation Included in the Syllabuses



We have seen in this section that there are a range of external factors which may influence teachers' decisions as regards dialectal variation teaching, apart from the linguistic attitudes they have. These factors should be given as much importance as their linguistic attitudes, as some can be quite limiting.

5.1.7 Training and Experience

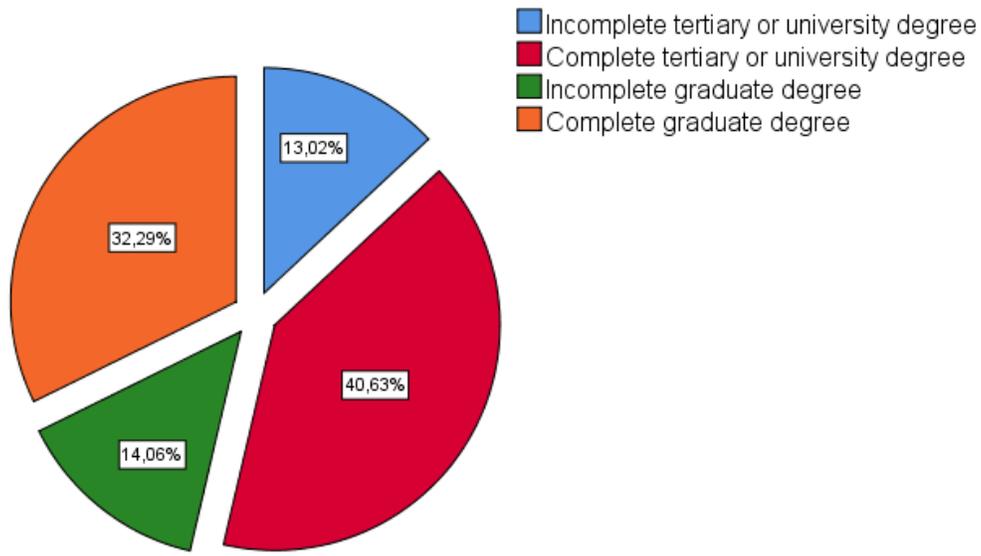
In this section information about the training participants have had in the field of language teaching and details about their work experience will be presented. This data may help us further hypothesise about the reasons why teachers make certain decisions regarding variation teaching, which will contribute to answering research question 5.

Participants' education

As shown in Figure 87, most participants, 87% of them, hold a tertiary or undergraduate university degree (78) a postgraduate degree (62) or are in the process of completing a postgraduate degree (27). Most of these degrees are in the field of linguistics (Spanish or other foreign languages, translation, literature, teacher training or licentiate). The vast majority of them also had specific training in the teaching of Spanish provided by public and private institutions in Argentina or other countries.

Figure 87

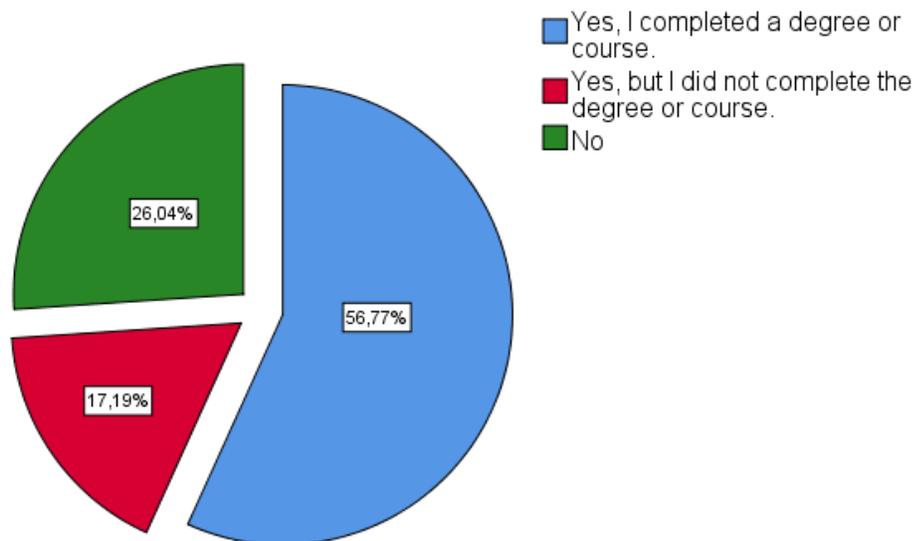
Highest Educational Level Achieved by Teachers



After finding out about the level of education achieved, participants reported whether they had formal training in the field of Spanish teaching, as seen in Figure 88, and the institutions where they studied.

Figure 88

Teacher Participants' Formal Training in Spanish Teaching



The Argentinian institutions that are most mentioned are Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Universidad Nacional de Rosario, Universidad Nacional de San Luis, Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Universidad Fasta, Universidad Nacional de Avellaneda, Universidad Nacional de

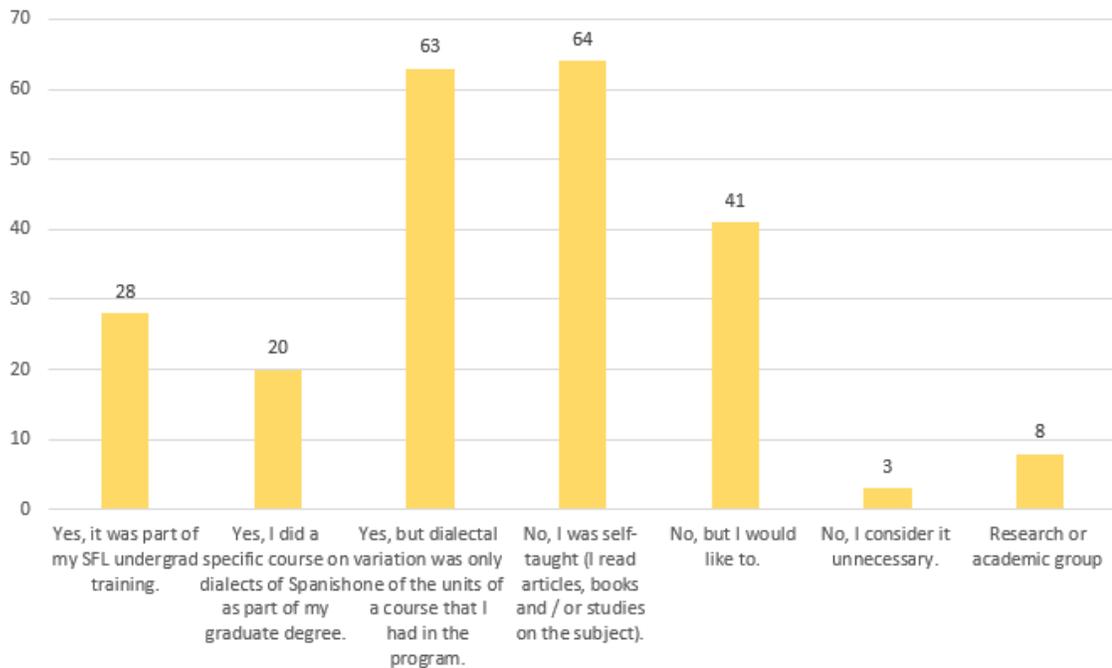
San Martín, Universidad Nacional de Villa María, Universidad Nacional del Comahue, Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Universidad Nacional de Misiones, Universidad Tecnológica Nacional, Universidad del Salvador, FLACSO, Instituto Juan Zorrilla de San Martín, Universidad Católica Argentina, Instituto Lenguas Vivas, Consorcio ELSE, Instituto SET Idiomas, AC XSPANISH, Instituto Superior de Letras Eduardo Mallea and Instituto Joaquín V. González.

Several participants were trained abroad, mainly in Spain. Some were trained by foreign institutions that have branches in Argentina, such as International House and the Cervantes Institute. Some of the institutions mentioned are Universidad de Valladolid, Cervantes Institute of Madrid, University of Central Missouri, International House of Barcelona, Instituto Caro Cuervo, Universidad Andrés Bello, Universidad de Jaén, Ohio University, Arizona State University, Università degli Studi di Torino, EDECA Granada, Instituto Veles e Vents, Universidad de Barcelona, Universidad Antonio de Nebrija, Faculdade UniBF, Université Paris Nanterre, Universidad de Guanajuato, and Universidad Autónoma de Asunción.

Forty-eight (48) participants had a specific course devoted to dialectal variation as part of their undergraduate or graduate training, as shown in Figure 89. However, many studied variation as part of a course, 63 participants claim that one of the units of a course was devoted to this topic and even more participants (64) were self-taught in this field. Several instructors say they were not trained in this field, but they would like to receive training in dialectal variation (41). When asked about whether they were specifically trained on how to teach pronunciation of different Spanish varieties they all said they had not, but many of them were self-taught in this aspect and, again, most of them stated that they would like to learn about this.

Figure 89

Kinds of Formal Training Teachers Received as regards Spanish Dialectal Variation

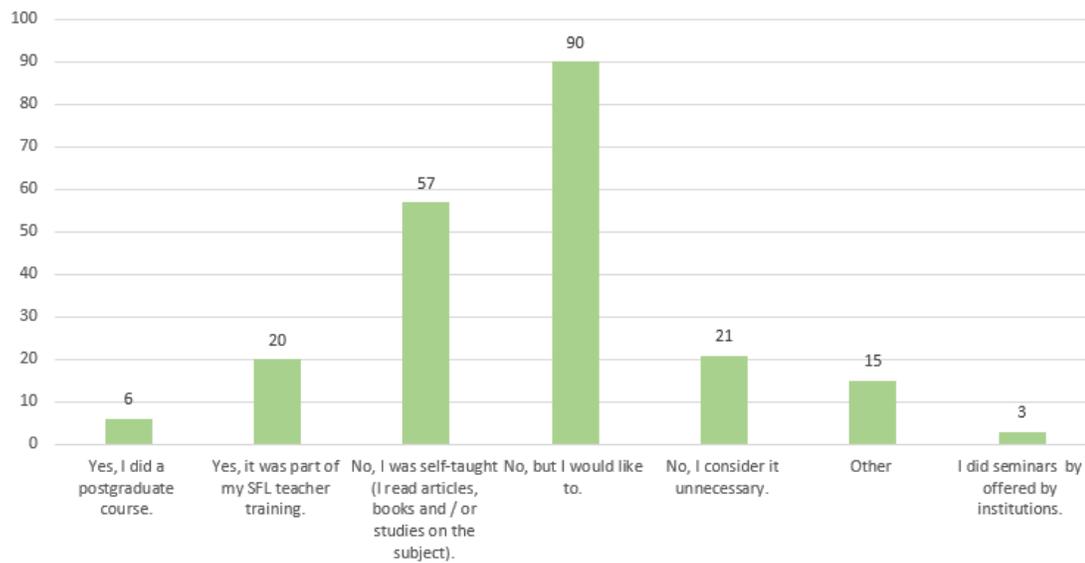


As regards the training they received on how to teach Spanish dialectal variation, most teachers did not receive any training in this area, as shown in Figure 90. Out of the 192 participants, 20 of them say this area was part of their teaching training course. Nine of them did either a specific postgraduate course or a seminar on the topic. Fifty-seven (57) respondents state they were self-taught, whereas 90 claim they would like to have some training about Spanish dialectal variation pedagogy. Only 21 teachers consider it unnecessary to receive training about this. A few teachers also learned about dialectal variation pedagogy during teacher exchange programs, participating in on-the-job institutional workshops or organising courses about this topic themselves.

According to the information provided by participants, even though most teachers are highly qualified, there is a generalised lack of or insufficient training in dialectal variation and even more in pedagogical instruction on how to introduce varieties in the SSL classroom.

Figure 90

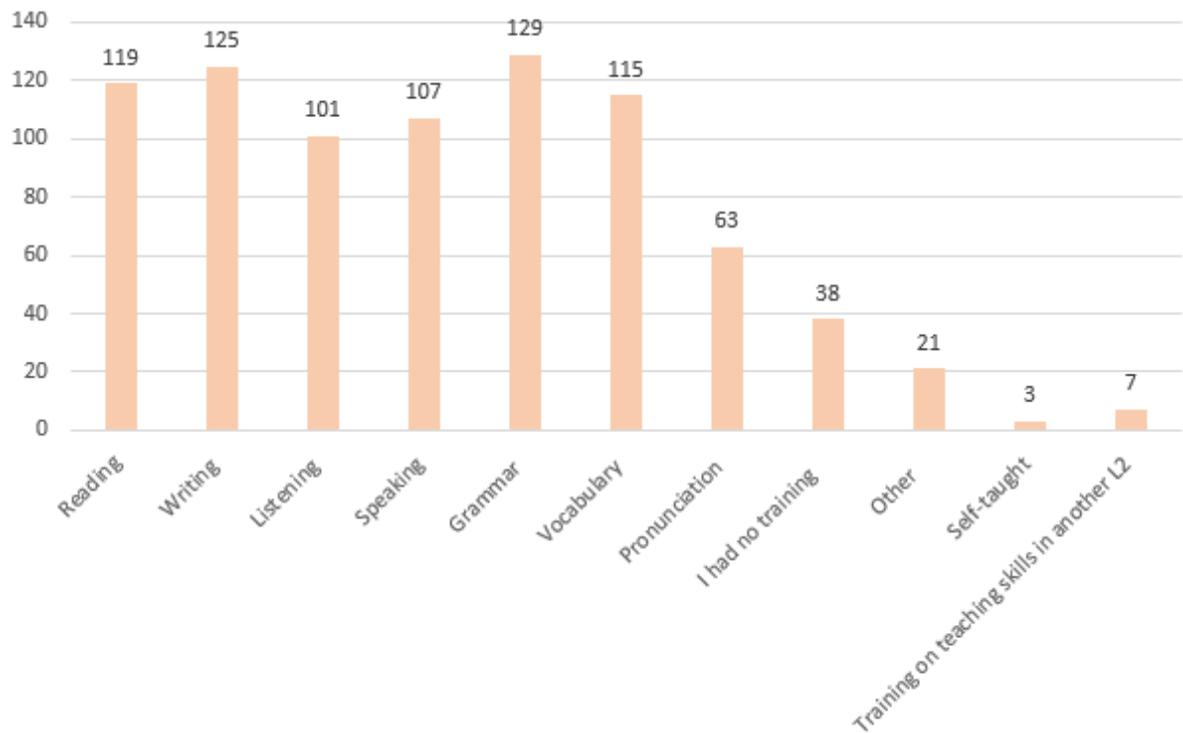
Formal Training Teachers Received as regards Spanish Dialectal Variation Pedagogy



When asked about the skills they were taught how to teach, the leading one is grammar (129), followed by writing (125), reading (119), vocabulary (115), speaking (107), listening (101) and lastly pronunciation (63), as described in Figure 91. Thirty-eight (38) participants have received no training on how to teach different skills whatsoever and three of them to be self-taught. As many of the instructors are trained teachers in foreign languages other than Spanish, some of them state that the training they received about how to teach different skills was related to those L2s, not specifically to Spanish.

Figure 91

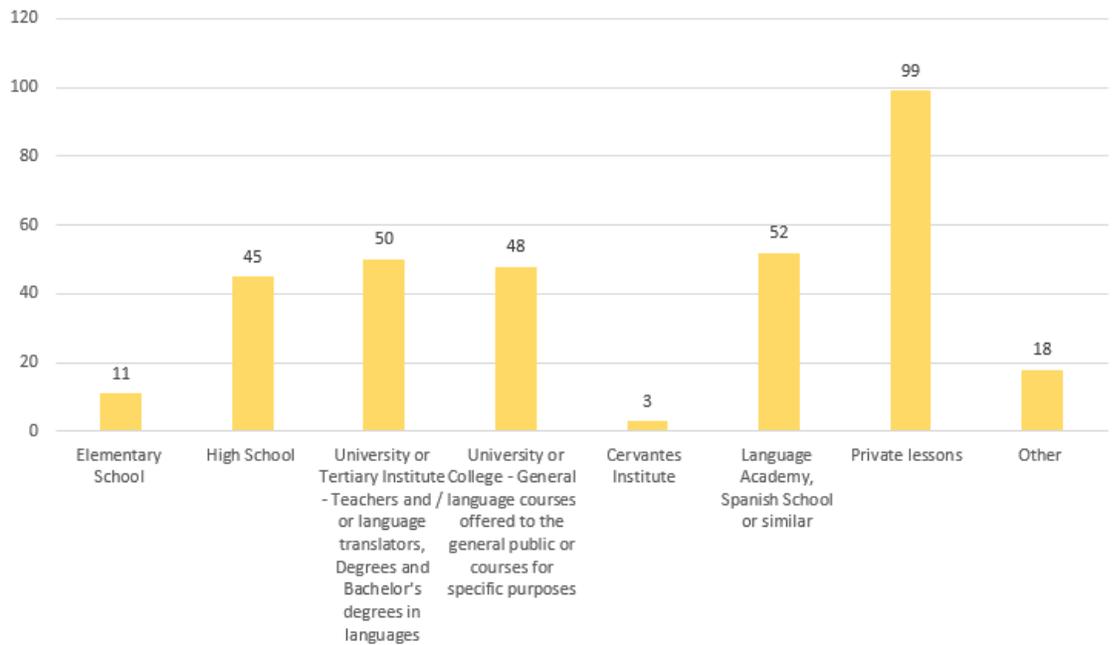
Formal Training Teachers Received on How to Teach Language Skills



As regards participants' teaching experience, the average years they have taught Spanish is 7. The places they work are varied and some of them work in more than one place, as shown in Figure 92. The majority of them (99) offer private lessons. Ninety-eight (98) participants work in university or tertiary education settings. Fifty-two (52) work for a Language Academy or Spanish Language School. A further 56 teachers work in secondary or primary schools. Three claim to work for the Cervantes Institute. Other places mentioned are NGOs, foundations for refugees, postgraduate university courses, their own businesses, ELSE consortium, CELU exam and in-company lessons.

Figure 92

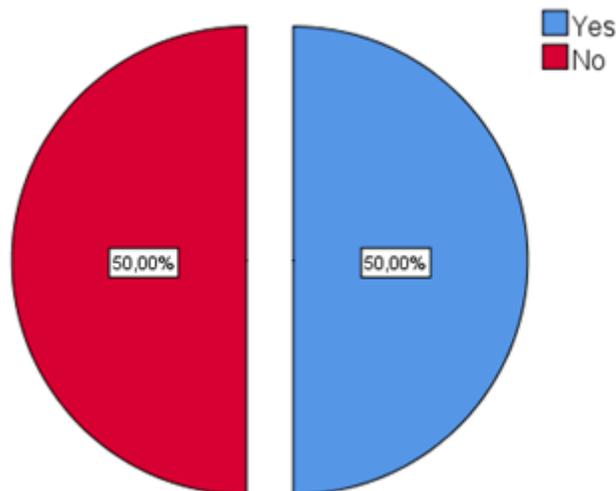
Teachers' Workplace



It can be seen in Figure 93 that exactly half of respondents (96) have experience teaching Spanish abroad, which may also have influenced their language attitudes and practices. The countries mentioned are Algeria, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Mexico, Canada, the USA, France, the UK, Ireland, Greece, Italy, Denmark, Switzerland, Russia, Spain, Bulgaria, Germany, Morocco, India, United Arab Emirates, China, Hong Kong, Korea, Kazakhstan, Israel, Taiwan, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

Figure 93

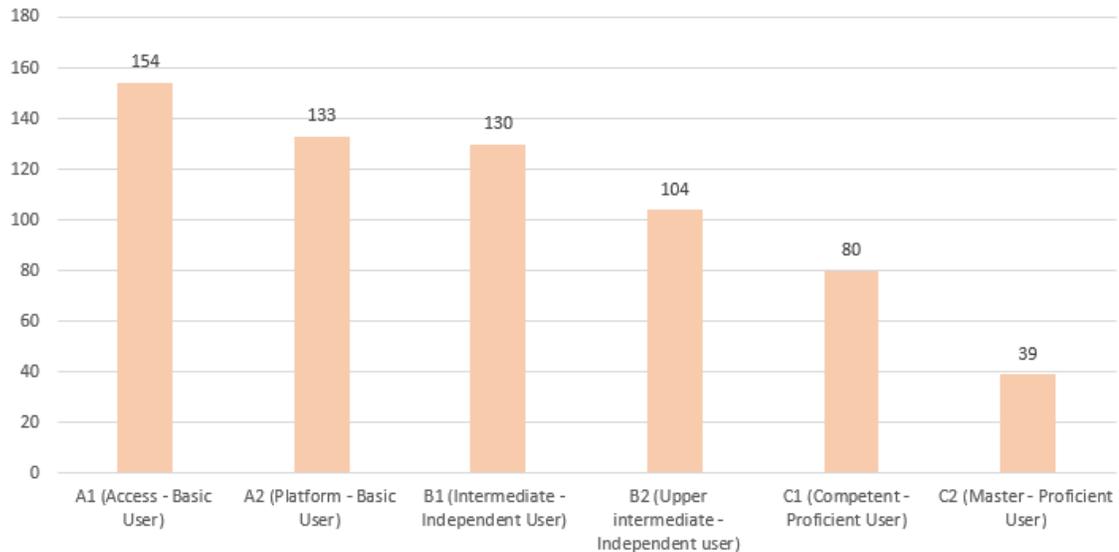
Participants' Experience Teaching Spanish Abroad



As shown in Figure 94, following the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference) to indicate proficiency level, the majority of instructors have taught A1 level courses (154), followed in frequency by A2 (133), B1 (130), B2 (104), C1 (80) and C2 (39).

Figure 94

Levels of Proficiency Participants Have Taught



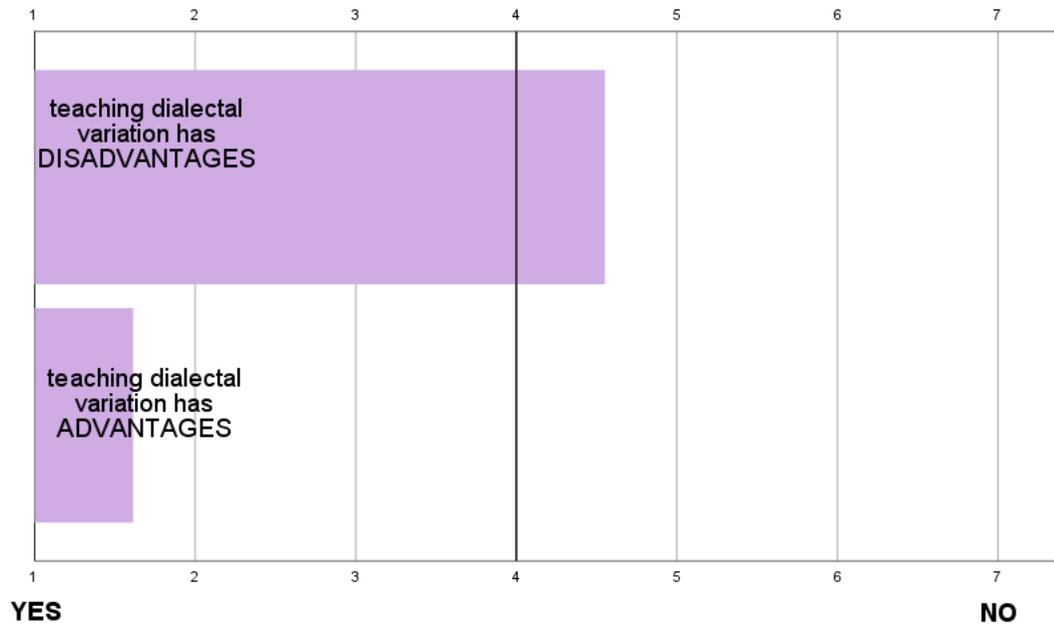
5.1.8 Beliefs about Practices, Learning Goals and Impact of Dialectal Variation Teaching

The overwhelming majority of respondents state that teaching about dialectal variation has advantages (See Figure 95). On a 1-7 Yes/No scale the mean for this option was 1.61.

Figure 95

Teachers' Opinions on Advantages and Disadvantages of Dialectal Variation Teaching

	Teaching dialectal variation has certain advantages	Teaching dialectal variation has certain disadvantages
Mean	1,61	4,55
N	192	192
Std. Deviation	1,101	2,206



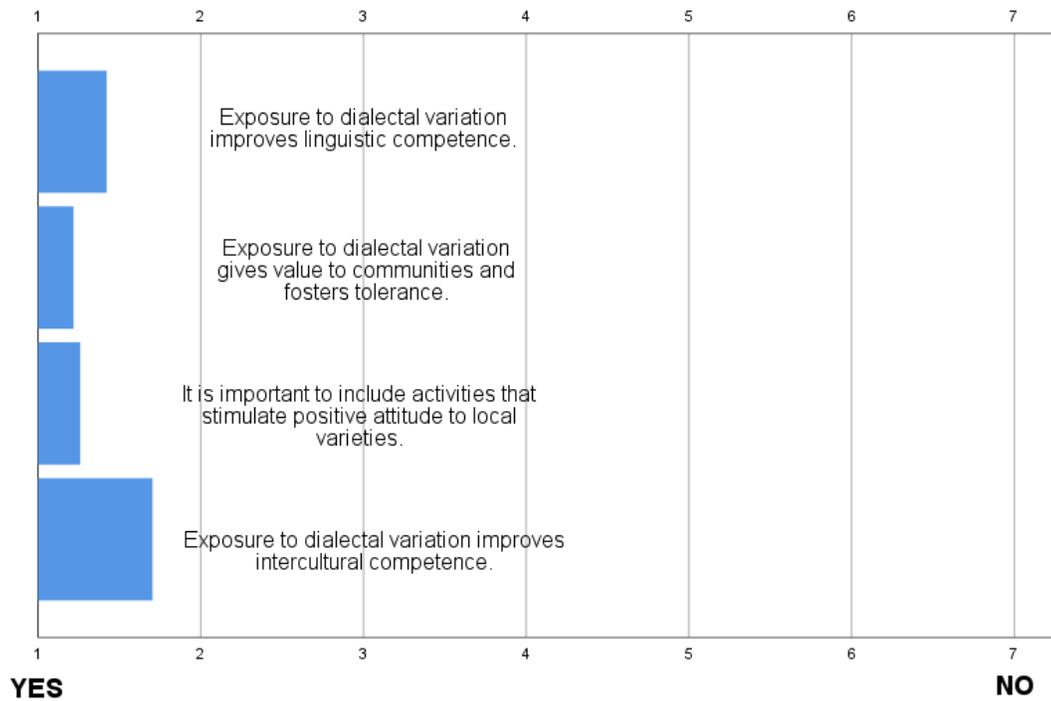
In Figure 96 some advantages mentioned are displayed. Respondents include aspects related to multicultural awareness and equality, but they also mention benefits related to second language acquisition: “it allows students to choose what to learn”, “equality among varieties”, “identification of varieties for advanced students”, “improved listening and communication skills”, “closeness to target culture and speakers”, “improved linguistic competence”, “real language use”, “real world variation”, “more democratic stance”, “awareness of plurality and richness of Spanish”, “stops Eurocentrism”, “helps not to reproduce language stereotypes”, “sociocultural competence”, “deconstructing varieties’ ‘prestige’”, “widening linguistic repertoire”, “decentralising power”, “more adaptability, tolerance and respect”, “improved linguistic security/confidence in a variety of contexts”.

Figure 96

Advantages of Dialectal Variation Teaching



Several teachers stated that variation teaching also has disadvantages (see Figure 95); in a 1-7 Yes/No scale the mean was 4.55. Some of the disadvantages are shown in Figure 97: “it is confusing for students”, “too much information”, “overwhelming”, “difficult for the teacher”, “irrelevant for beginner and low level students”, “time consuming”, “only for advanced students who have an interest in variation”, “lack of teaching materials”, “lack of teacher training”, “may cause linguistic insecurity”, “students may have different interests”, “some dialects are irrelevant for the course”, “hard to teach”, “requires lots of work and planning”, “I do not feel qualified enough”, “there are too many varieties”.

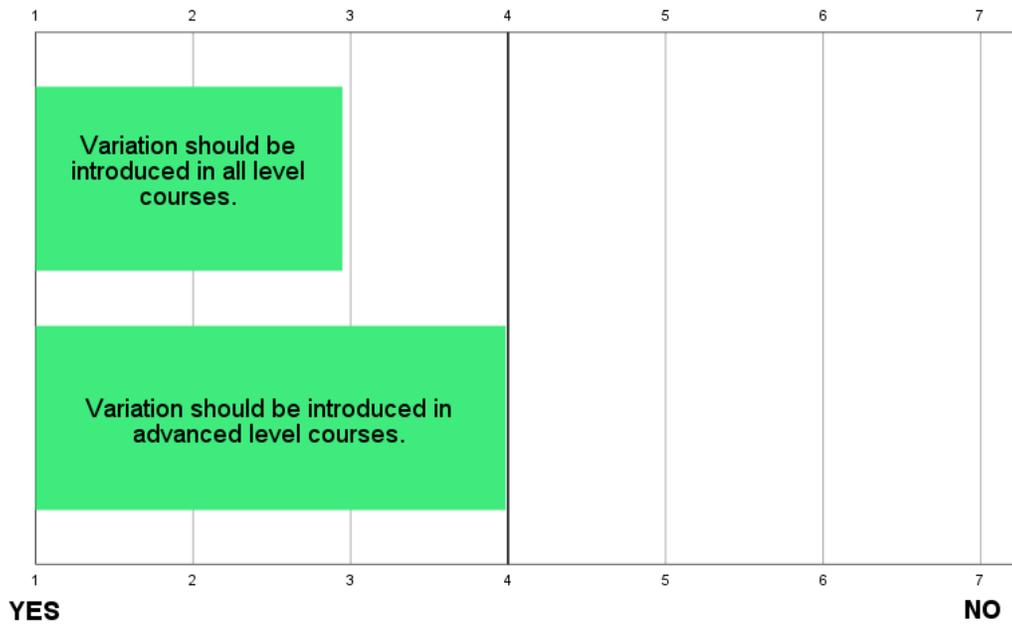


When asked about at which level variation should be introduced, there are a range of opinions with no clear tendency and some contradictions can also be identified (see Figure 99), which may be due to the lack of training in dialectal variation pedagogy that they made reference to in previous items. One third of participants state that variation should be introduced in advanced courses, another third disagree with this, and another third chose the mid value. However, in a follow up question most participants go on to agree with the statement that variation should be introduced in all courses regardless of their level. This variety in answers might suggest that participants may lack training, information and research evidence to support their decisions with.

Figure 99

Teachers' Beliefs about at Which Level to Introduce Dialectal Variation

	Variation should be introduced in advanced level courses.	Variation should be introduced in all level courses.
Mean	3,98	2,95
N	192	192
Std. Deviation	2,167	2,076

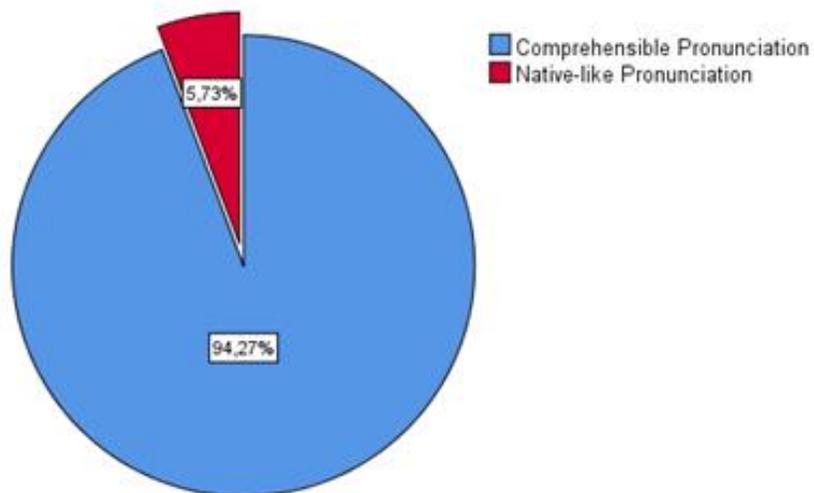


These numbers also contrast with what participants who took part in the interviews said. When interviewed, most of them state that variation should be introduced at advanced levels so as not to overwhelm or confuse students with excessive information. When mentioning the disadvantages and advantages of incorporating variation in their classes, the idea that it should be introduced at higher levels was also present in some of the comments.

As regards pronunciation teaching objectives, most participants (181) agree on comprehensibility being the goal students should aim at, as opposed to native-like pronunciation (11), as shown in Figure 100.

Figure 100

Teachers' Beliefs as regards Students' Pronunciation Goals



Most also claim that it is not necessary for teachers to speak a standard variety nor to have a native or near native pronunciation, as shown in the bar charts presented in Figures 101 and 102.

Figure 101

Teachers' Beliefs about the Accent They Should Have to Be Able to Teach: Standard vs. Non-Standard

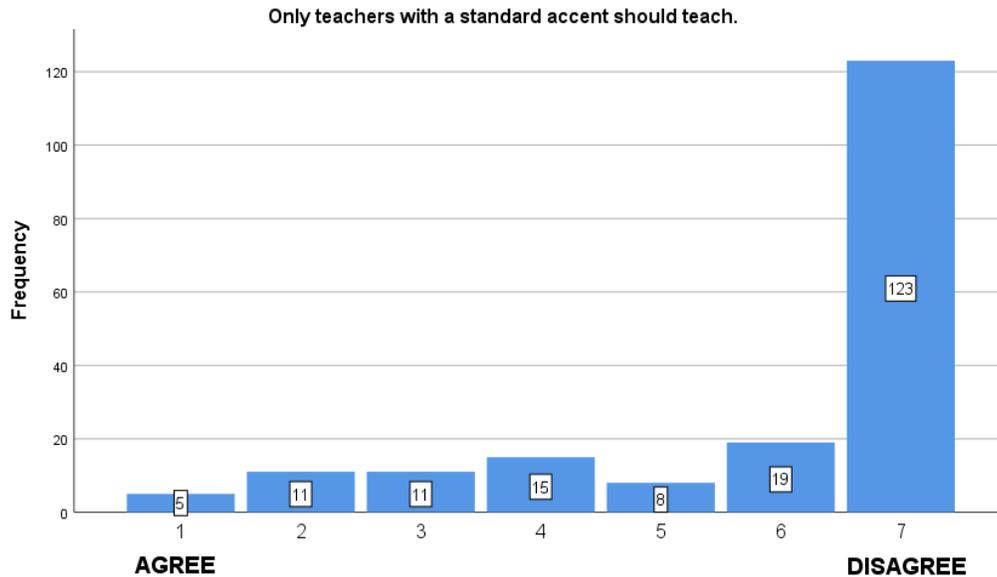
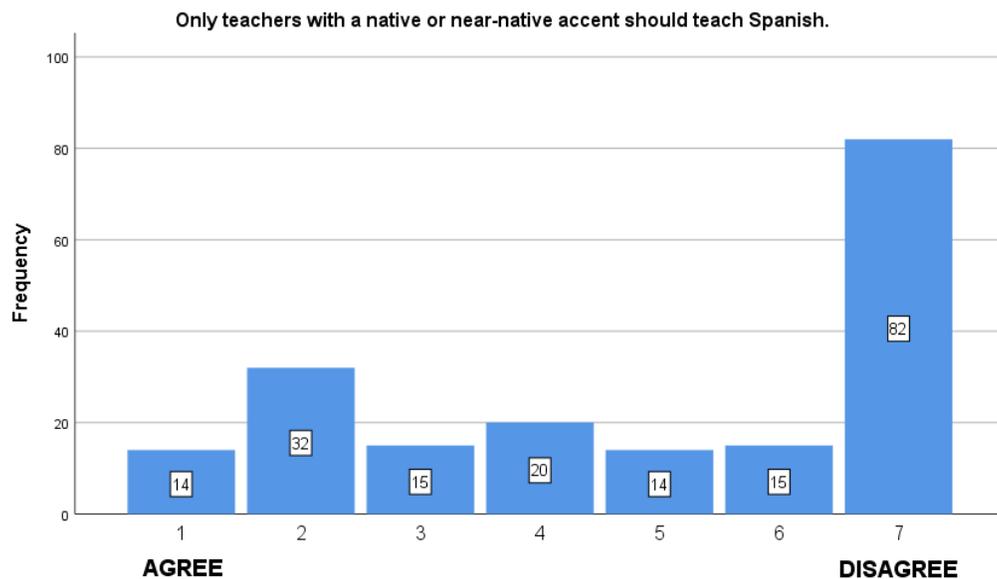


Figure 102

Teachers' Beliefs about the Accent They Should Have to Be Able to Teach: Native vs. Non-Native



Moreover, most say students should be exposed to standard and non-standard varieties (See Figures 103a and 103b). However, most of them also agree with the claim that students can choose any variety as a model to imitate as long as it is a standard one (See Figures 103a and 103c). We can spot another contradiction, as participants claim that teachers do not necessarily need to be speakers of a standard variety but students do need to use a standard variety as a model to imitate, even though they can and should be exposed to a range of varieties.

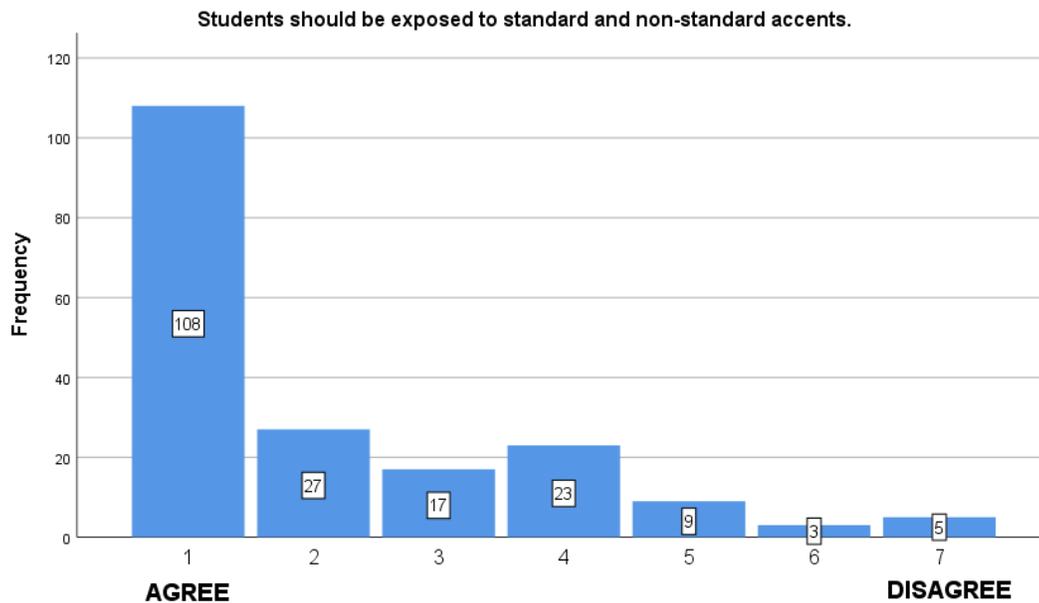
Figures 103

Teachers' Beliefs about the Accents Students Should Be Exposed to and Imitate

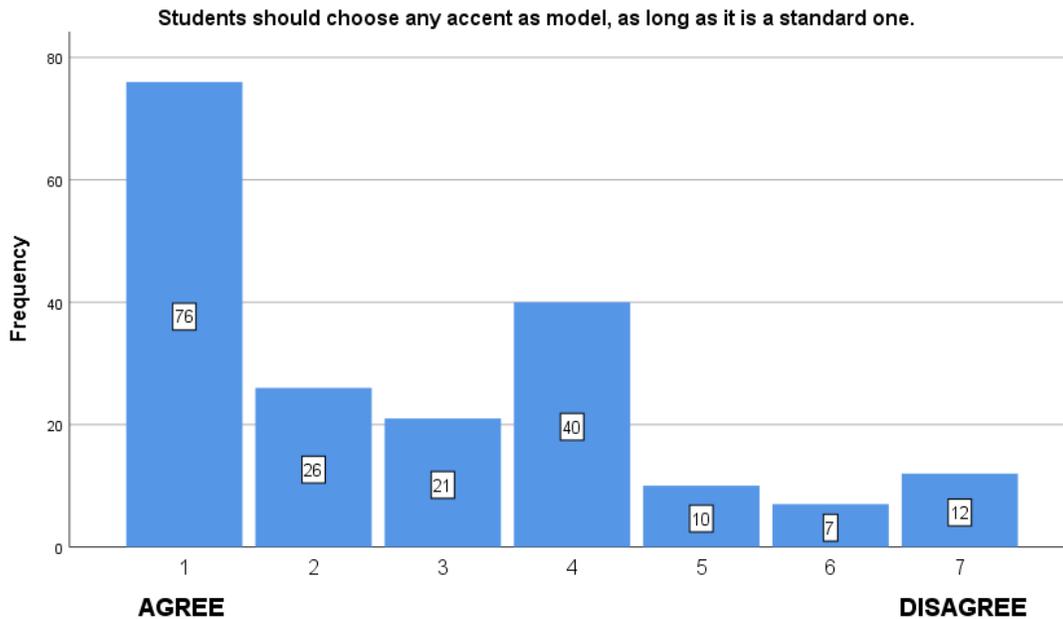
103a

	Students should choose any accent as a model, as long as it is a standard one.	Students should be exposed to standard and non-standard accents.
Mean	2,74	2,10
N	192	192
Std. Deviation	1,848	1,567

129b



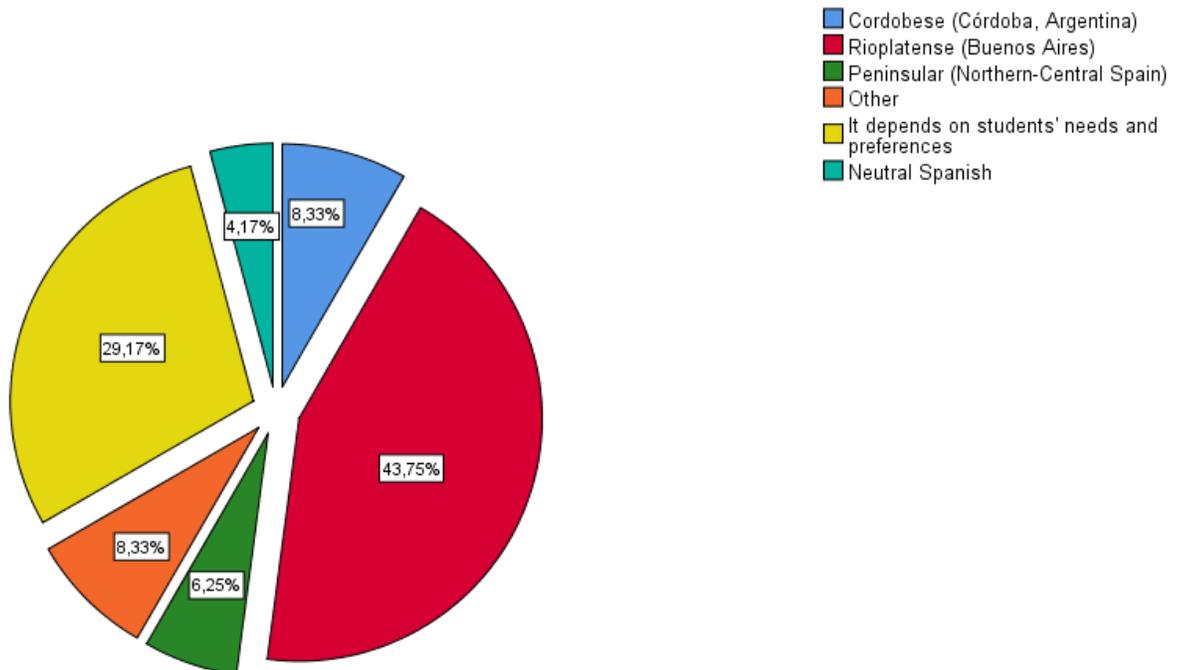
129c



The Rioplatense variety was chosen by 84 participants as the one students should choose as a model (see Figure 104). A further 56 teachers state that the model students choose to imitate is dependent on their needs and preferences and on contextual factors. Cordobese was chosen as a model by 16 teachers, followed by Peninsular (12) and neutral Spanish (8).

Figure 104

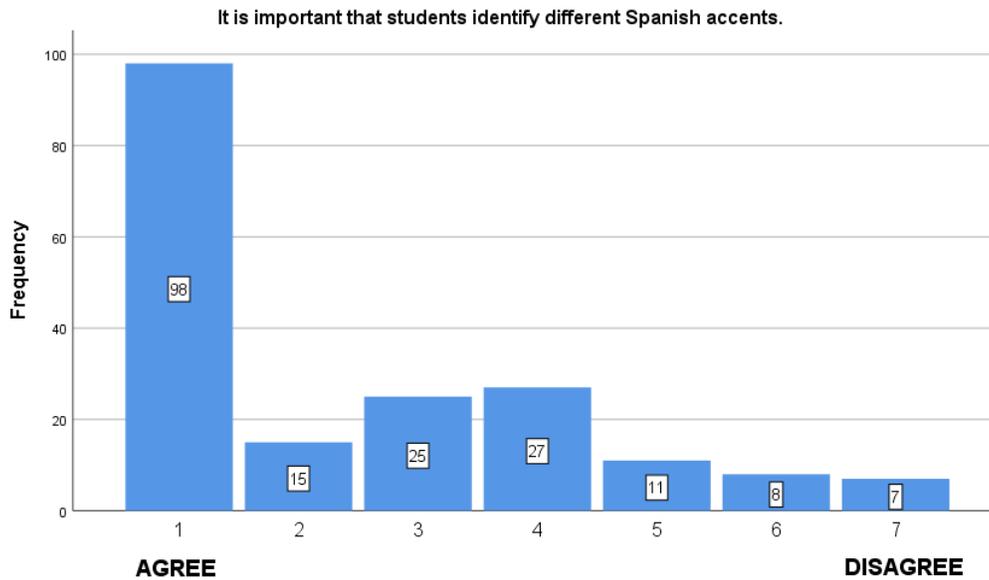
Accents Students Should Choose as a Model, According to Teachers



Even though teachers do choose a specific accent to be the model to imitate in class, most of them believe it is important that students are able to identify different Spanish accents, as shown in Figure 105. The mean for this answer was 2.41.

Figure 105

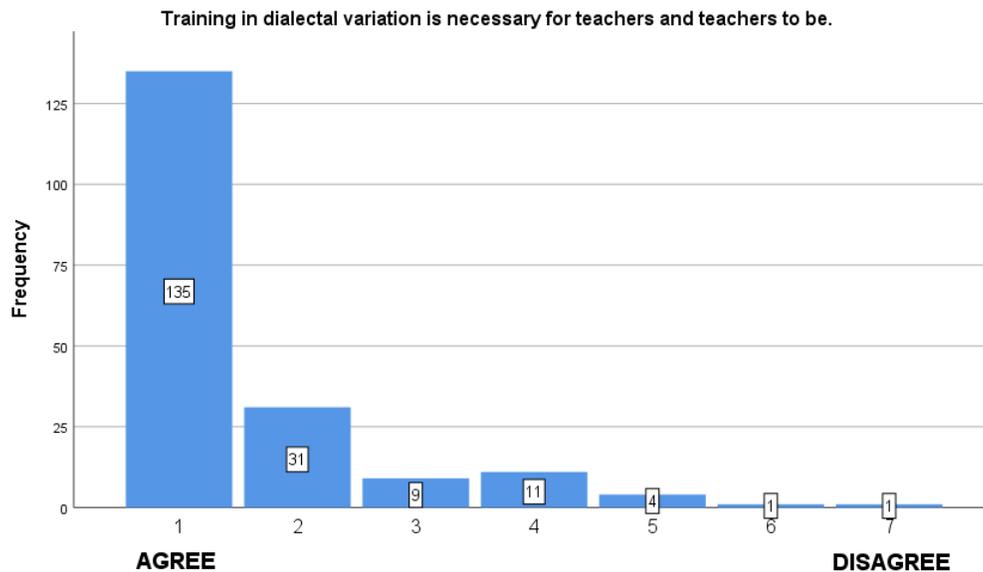
Teachers' Beliefs about the Importance of Students Identifying Different Accents



The overwhelming majority answered that they consider that training in dialectal variation is necessary for Spanish teachers and for teachers to be (see Figure 106).

Figure 106

Teachers' Beliefs about the Importance of Dialectal Variation Training



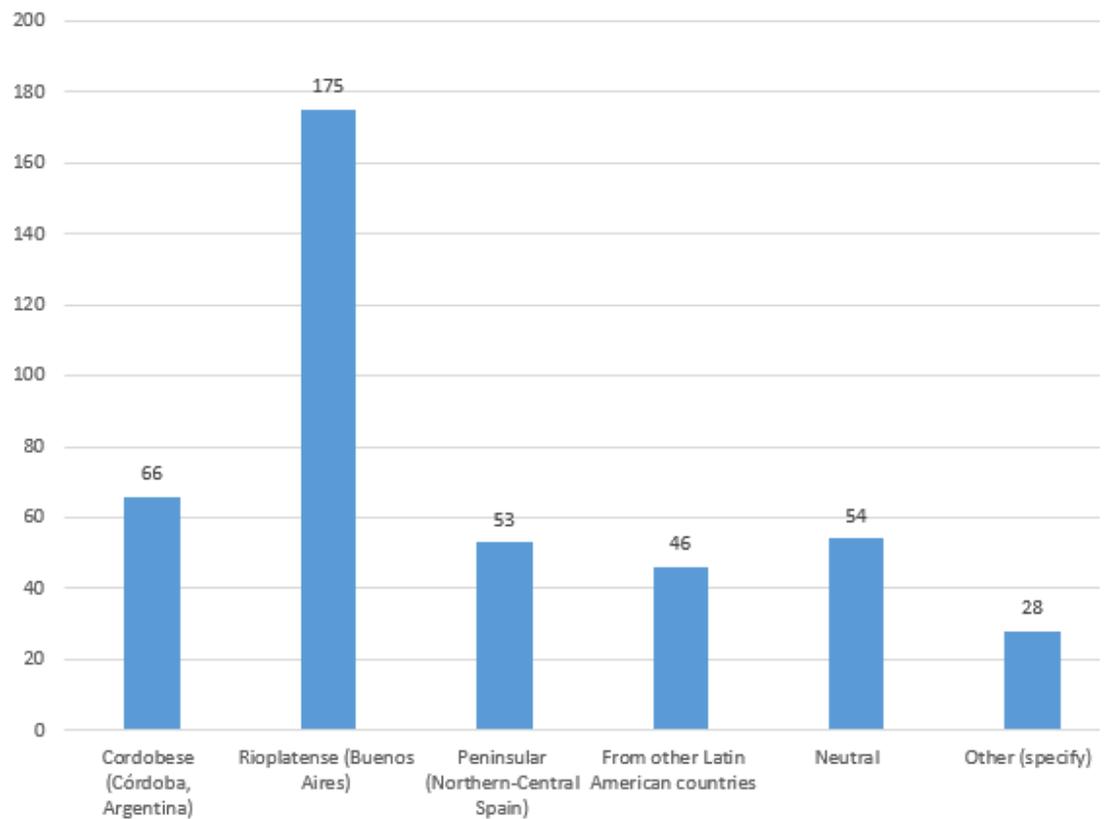
In general terms, there is an explicit positive attitude towards Spanish dialectal variation. The mean for this answer was 1.54. Teachers make reference to the advantages of teaching variation in terms of language acquisition benefits and in terms of multicultural competence development. They also acknowledge the interest that their students show in variation and the importance of students being able to identify different accents. However, when later on they describe their teaching practices, these attitudes do not translate into classes where Spanish variation is included systematically or frequently. They claim to teach variation only if the context allows or anecdotally. Most also claim that they are free to choose the variety they prefer and the varieties to expose their students. If most of them do not have serious external limitations, then why this lack of systematic incorporation of variation in their classes? There is a gap between what they think or claim they believe about language variation and its role in learning and their actual teaching practices and decisions. They may not be aware enough of the cultural, social and pedagogical benefits of dealing with dialectal variation systematically.

The answer may also be related to lack of relevant teaching materials, time constraints, directives from the institution they work for, presence or absence of variation in the syllabus and insufficient or non-existent pedagogical training in variation teaching. It may also have to do with practical reasons related to the specific international exam that students will sit for, which may not include Spanish dialectal variation.

Among the varieties instructors feel capable of teaching, the most frequently listed is the Rioplatense variety (175), followed by the Cordobese (66), neutral (54) and Peninsular (53) ones, as shown in Figure 107. Lastly they list varieties from other Latin American countries (28). Other varieties mentioned are the ones from Mexico, Misiones, Cuyo, Litoral, North of Argentina, Santa Fe, San Luis, Andes, Patagonia and Entre Ríos.

Figure 107

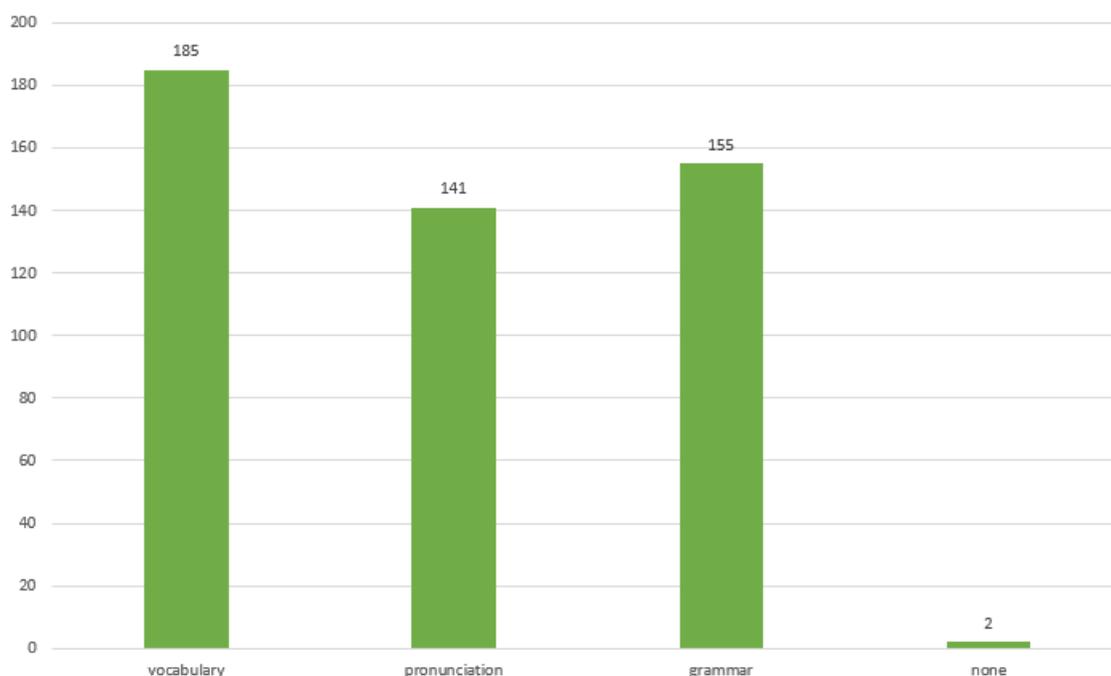
Varieties Teachers Feel Capable of Teaching



Most teachers feel they can teach all kinds of variation, i.e. lexical, grammatical and phonetic (see Figure 108). However, these numbers may contradict their actual practices and what they say in the interviews about not having enough training in the field and not feeling confident about their ability to deal with this topic. Moreover, as seen in the previous chart, most participants feel capable of teaching the Rioplatense variety and the rest of the varieties mentioned rate much lower in the scale. Thus, the need for training on how to approach dialectal variation in their classes might be a way to foster changes.

Figure 108

Types of Variation Participants Feel They Can Teach



In this section, the VGT has shown that teachers rated Cordobese speakers more negatively than Buenos Aires speakers in the status and competence and linguistic superiority dimensions; on the other hand, Cordobese speakers were rated more positively in the social attractiveness dimension. When directly asked about their attitudes towards varieties, teachers show more positive feelings towards the Peninsular and the Rioplatense variety than towards the Cordobese variety, which is considered by many to be “non-standard”, localised and an inappropriate pronunciation model. Most teachers stated that they would use the samples produced by Buenos Aires speakers in their Spanish classes; fewer teachers said they would use the Cordobese samples.

In spite of claiming to know about the numerous advantages of incorporating variation, most teachers state that they do not introduce it systematically; the topic is usually dealt with sporadically. Apart from teachers’ attitudes towards varieties, other factors may be influencing teachers’ decisions: lack of specific training on dialectal variation, lack of specific teaching materials, time constraints, institutional limitations and international exams. Most of them do not seem to be aware of the potential SLA benefits of incorporating variation nor have they had any pedagogical training on how to approach variation. Thus, their decisions regarding variation teaching seem to be more related to personal attitudes, preferences, or intuitions and institutional or external factors rather than to pedagogical reasons.

5.2. Results of Students' Questionnaire

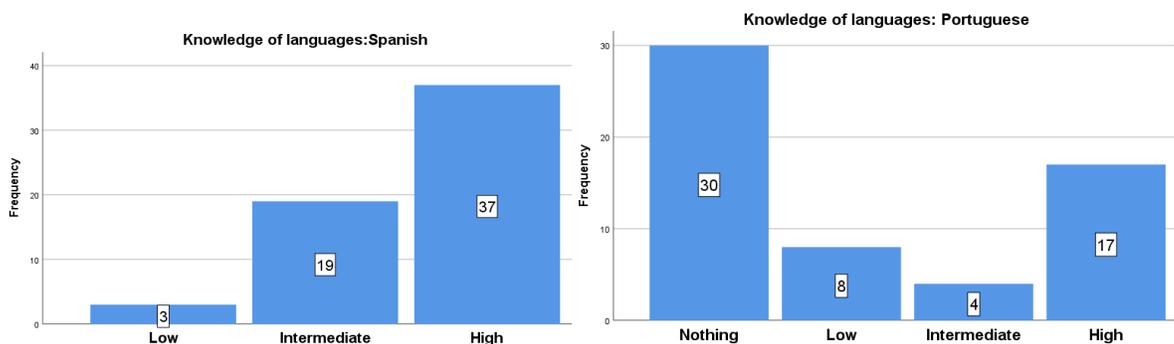
The first subsection here presents information regarding students' contact with Spanish varieties and with other languages is presented. Secondly, the responses to the VGT will be described in order to analyse students' reactions to Cordobese and Buenos Aires varieties. Thirdly, their opinions about "the standard", the variety they speak and other varieties will be presented; this data, in combination with the VGT results, will contribute to answering the first research question proposed in section 1.4. In the fourth subsection, responses about their experience with the learning of Spanish will be reported; these results, together with teachers' reported practices, will give us a picture of what is going on in SSL classrooms and help us answer research question 3. The fifth subsection is devoted to describing their beliefs about the impact dialectal variation instruction may have on their learning; opinions about learning goals will be included as well. Next, a description of students' reported experiences in the Spanish classroom will be presented, which will give us information to answer research question 4. Lastly, there is a subsection with data about external factors that may have an impact on their Spanish learning, which can also contribute to answering research question 3.

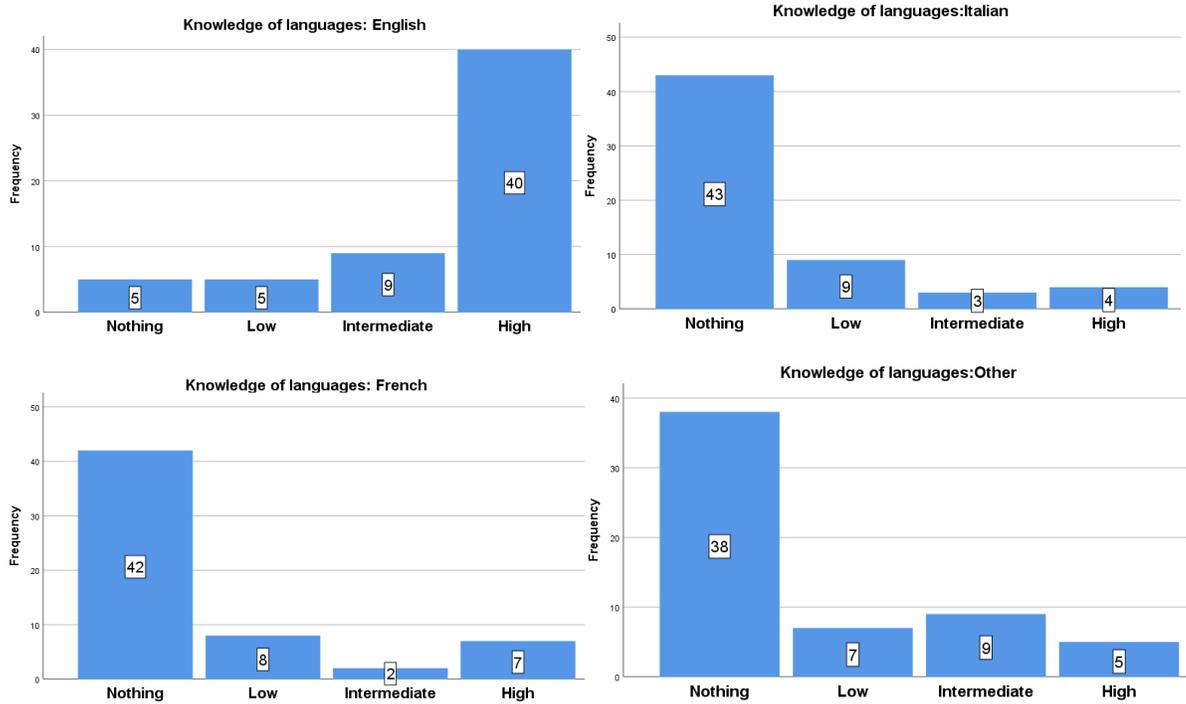
5.2.1 Languages Knowledge and Contact with Spanish Varieties

Students have different degrees of knowledge of different languages, as shown in Figure 109. Apart from the languages displayed in this figure, participants mentioned others, such as Arabic, Catalan, Chinese, Dutch, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Latin, Norwegian, Russian, Sign Language, Slovakian and Ukrainian.

Figure 109

Student Participants' Knowledge of Foreign Languages

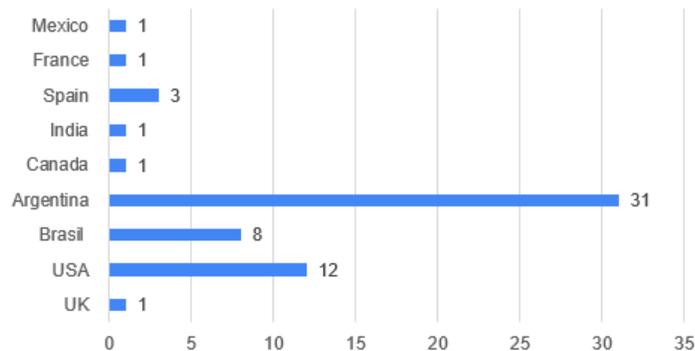




More than half of them studied Spanish in Argentina; However, some others had Argentinian teachers in other parts of the world, such as the US, Brazil or Spain, as seen in Figure 110.

Figure 110

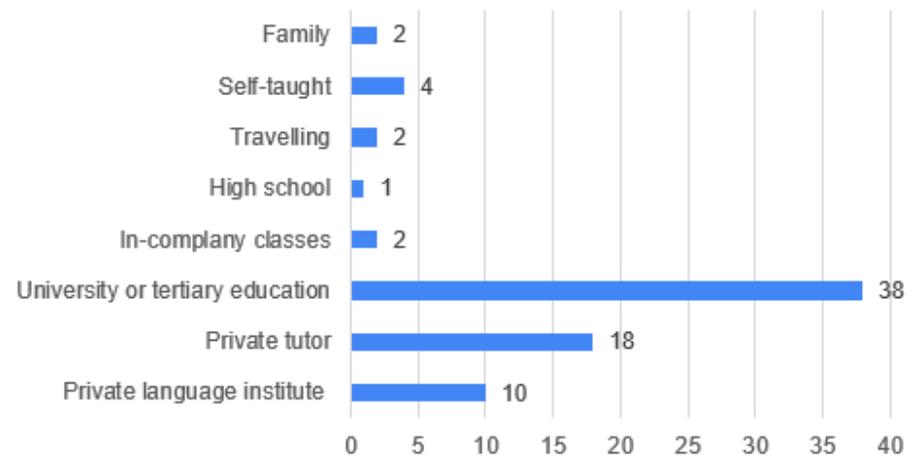
Countries Where Students Learnt Spanish



As shown in Figure 111, students learnt Spanish in different ways, some of them through more than one way. Most students (64%) studied Spanish at university or at a tertiary education institution. Some of them had private Argentine tutors (31%) or studied in private language schools (17%). A few of them also learnt the language while travelling, with family, in high-school, in in-company lessons or were self-taught.

Figure 111

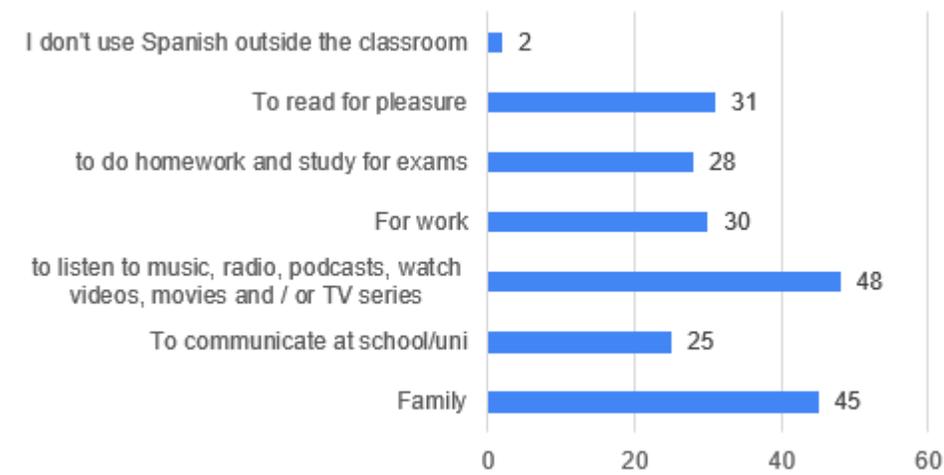
Ways in Which Students Learnt Spanish



As regards the situations when students are able to use the language, only two of them stated that they have no contact with Spanish outside the classroom, as shown in Figure 112. The rest of them use Spanish for various reasons, such as to listen to the radio or watch TV, to communicate with family, for work, to read for pleasure, to study for exams or to communicate at school or at university.

Figure 112

Situations in Which Students Use the Language Outside the Classroom

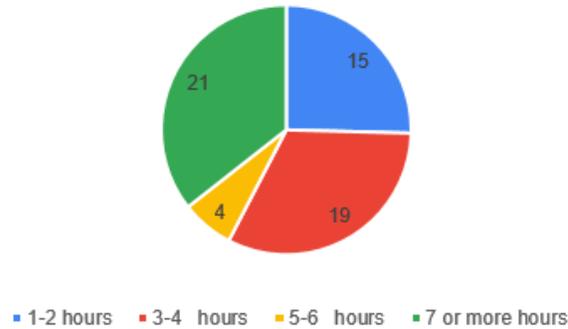


As regards the number of hours students are exposed to Spanish, either by reading, listening to it, writing it or speaking it, students' responses vary quite a lot, as shown in Figure 113. Twenty-one (21) of them state that they use Spanish seven hours per week or more. Following in frequency, 19 students answered they are exposed to the language between three and four hours per week. Fifteen (15) claim to be exposed to Spanish only between one and two hours per week. Lastly, four of them receive between five and six hours of weekly exposure.

Figure 113

Students' Hours of Exposure to Spanish

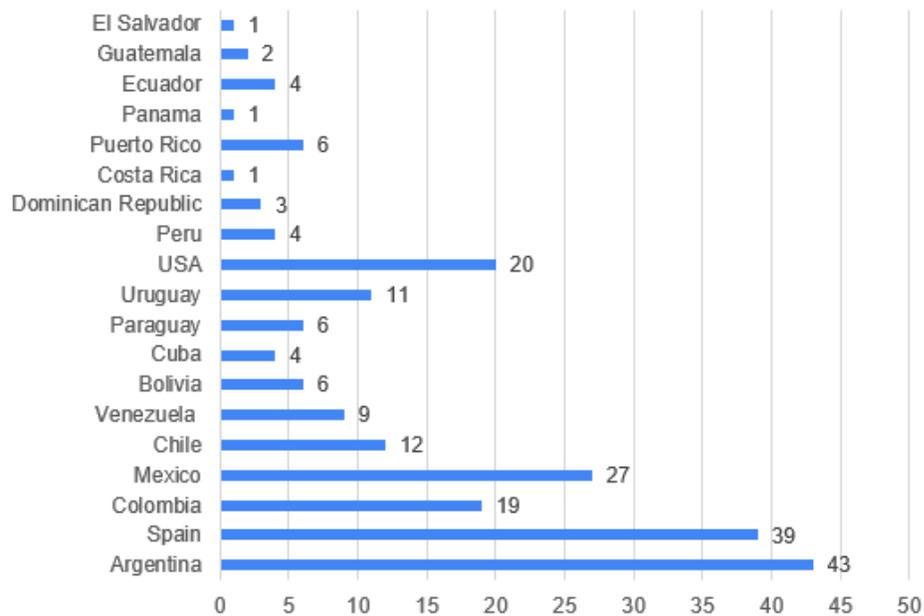
Hours per week students listen to, read, write or speak Spanish



When looking at the varieties students are regularly exposed to, the Argentinian variety is the most frequently chosen one (43), as presented in Figure 114. The second variety is the one from Spain (39), followed by the Mexican (27), American (19) and Colombian (19) ones. Although less frequently, other varieties were mentioned: Chilean (12), Uruguayan (11), Venezuelan (9), Bolivian (6), Puerto Rican (6), Paraguayan (6), Cuban (4), Ecuadorian (4), Dominican (3), Guatemalan (2), Salvadorian (1), Panamanian (1), and Costa Rican (1).

Figure 114

World Varieties Students Are Regularly Exposed to

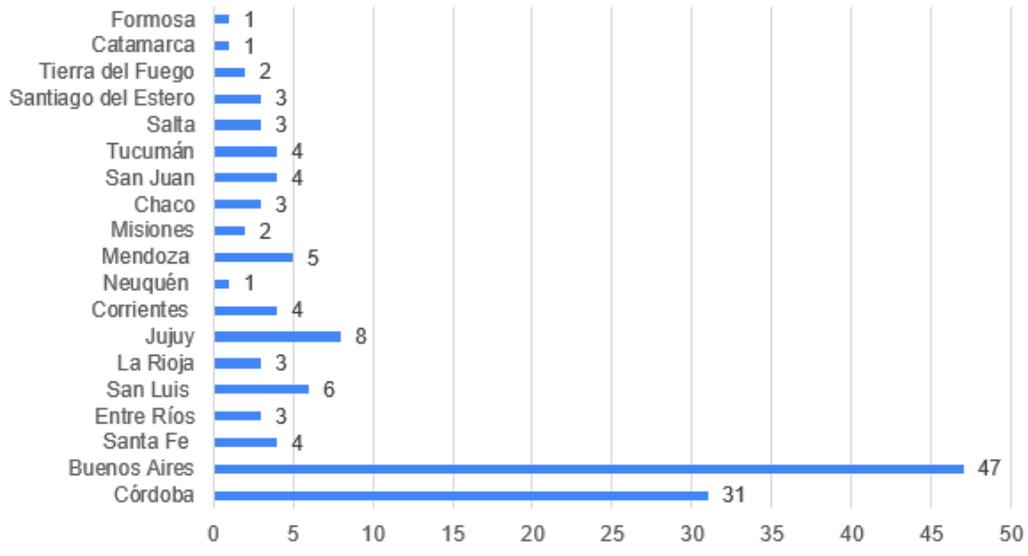


Students also claim to be exposed to Argentinian varieties (see Figure 115). In this case, the exposure is much more concentrated around two main varieties, the Buenos Aires (47) and the Cordobese (31) ones. Seventeen (17) other provinces were mentioned: Jujuy (8), San Luis

(6), Mendoza (5), Santa Fe (4), Corrientes (4), Tucuman (4), San Juan (4), Santiago del Estero (3), Salta (3), La Rioja (3), Chaco (3), Entre Rios (3), Tierra del Fuego (2), Misiones (2), Formosa (1), Catamarca (1) and Neuquen (1). We can see that most students are exposed to the Cordobese variety in their everyday lives, even though most teachers said they did not expose their students to it in class. There might be a mismatch between students' needs as regards variation exposure and classroom instruction.

Figure 115

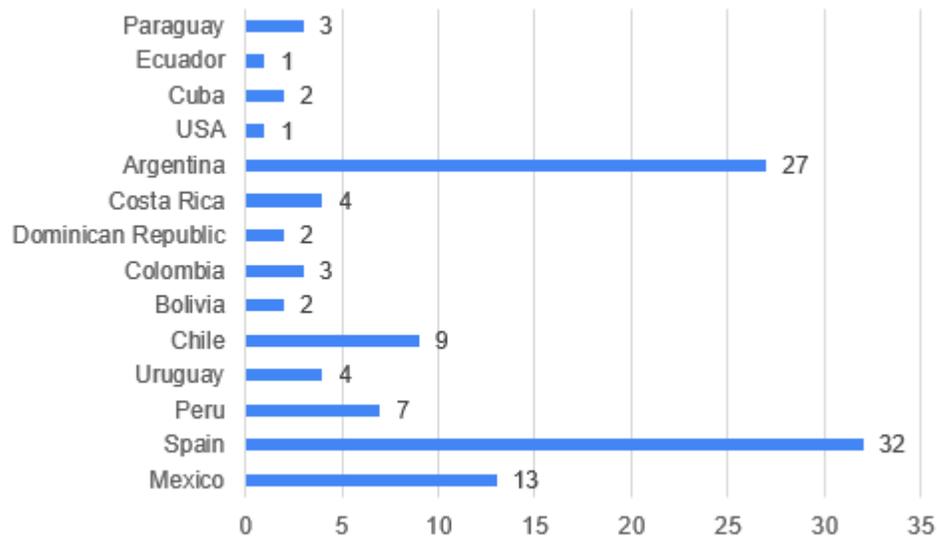
Argentinian Varieties Students Are Regularly Exposed to



As shown in Figure 116, 56 students have travelled to Spanish speaking countries. These trips have been either to study, to work or for holidays.

Figure 116

Students' Trips to Spanish-speaking Countries



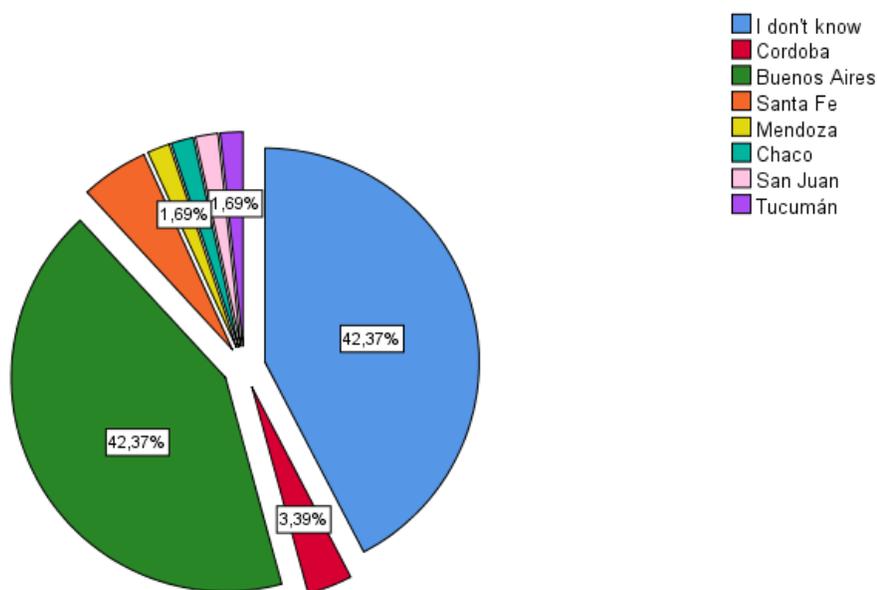
5.2.2 Verbal Guise Test

After providing details about themselves and their contact with Spanish varieties and other languages, students were presented with a VGT in order to react to the Cordobese and the Buenos Aires varieties. The VGT was the same as the one teachers reacted to, so as to be able to compare language attitudes in these two groups and be able to answer research question 1. They heard two speakers from Buenos Aires, one male and one female, and two speakers from Córdoba, one male and one female. For each of the samples, first they identified their province of origin. Then they answered a 12-item Likert scale. In the following sections, first we will go over the level of accuracy in identifying each speaker's place of origin. After that, we will go over the results of each of the dimensions of the VGT for all four speakers.

Several students were not able to identify the speakers' province of origin. In the case of Horacio, the male speaker from Buenos Aires, 25 out of the 59 participants stated not to know which province he was from, as shown in Figure 117. The same number of participants correctly identified Buenos Aires as his province of origin. Three other students chose Santa Fe, which is a province whose accent has similar characteristics to those of the speakers from Buenos Aires. The rest of participants (6) chose Córdoba, Mendoza, Chaco, San Juan or Tucumán as the sample's place of origin.

Figure 117

Students' Identification of Horacio's Place of Origin

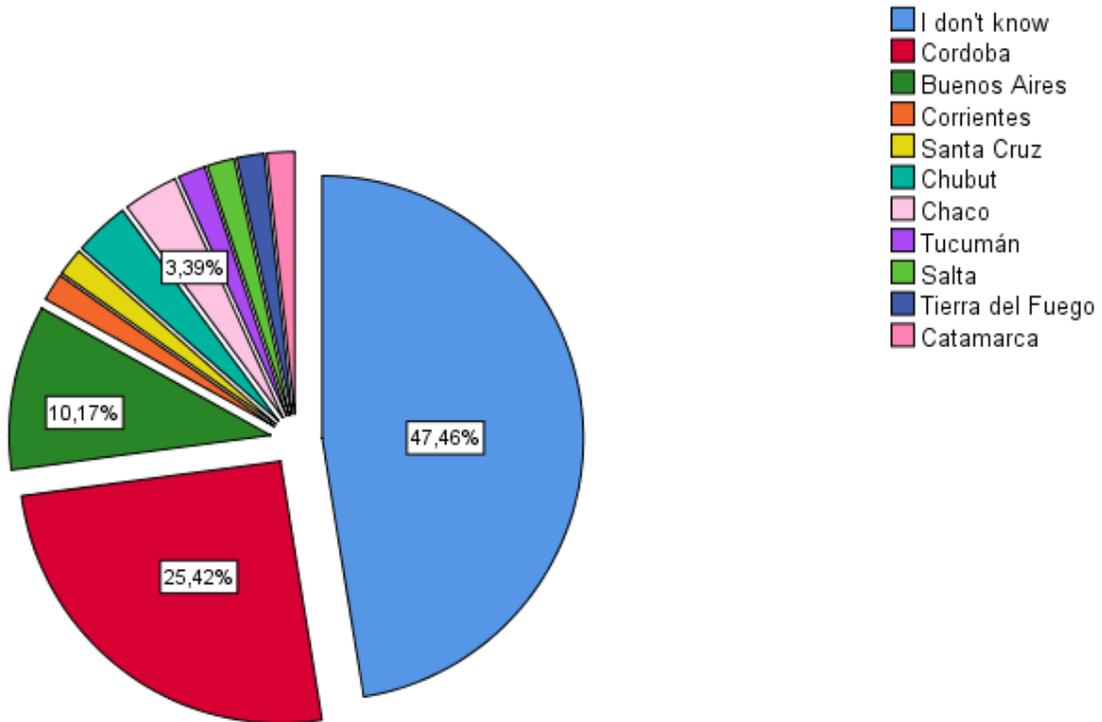


In the case of David, the male speaker from Córdoba, 28 participants claimed not to know where the speaker was from, as shown in Figure 118. Fifteen (15) correctly identified

David as a Cordobese speaker. A further 6 stated that the sample was produced by someone from Buenos Aires. The rest of the participants, 10 of them, chose other provinces such as Corrientes, Santa Cruz, Chubut, Chaco, Catamarca, Salta, Tucumán, Tierra del Fuego and Catamarca. It is worth pointing out that people from Tucumán have an accent which shares some characteristics with that of Cordobese speakers.

Figure 118

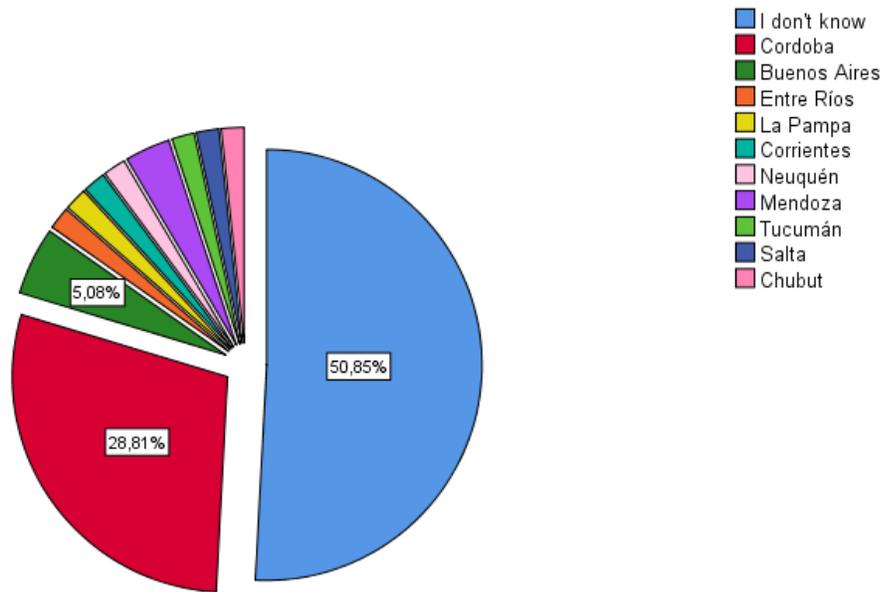
Students' Identification of David's Place of Origin



As regards Pamela's place of origin, 30 out of the 59 students claimed not to know where she was from (see Figure 119). Seventeen (17) of them accurately identified the sample as belonging to a Cordobese speaker. The other 12 participants stated that she was either from Buenos Aires, Entre Ríos, La Pampa, Corrientes, Neuquén, Mendoza, Tucumán, Salta or Chubut.

Figure 119

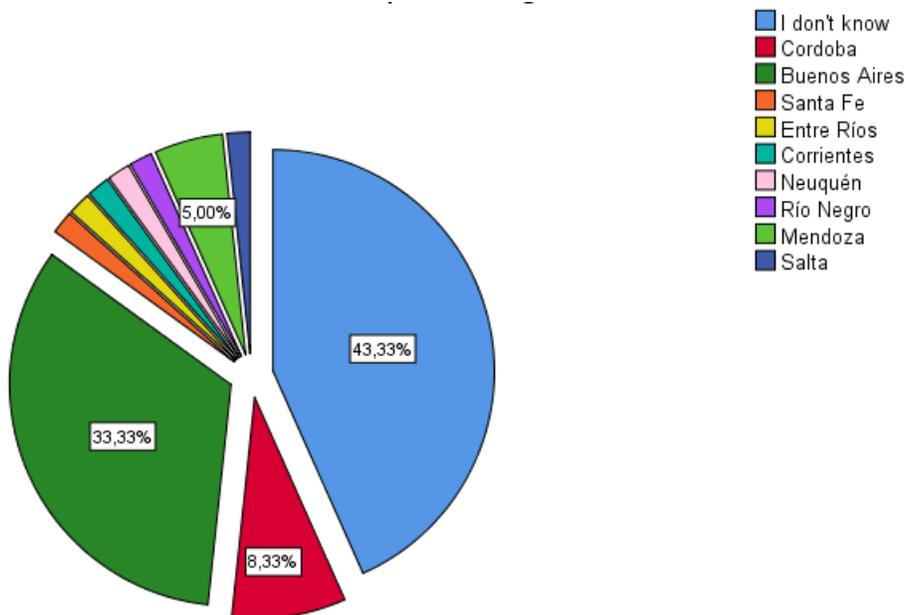
Students' Identification of Pamela's Place of Origin



Tamara, the female speaker from Buenos Aires, was identified as a speaker from that province by 20 participants, as presented in Figure 120. Twenty-six (26) students stated that they did not know which province she was from. The rest of them (13) selected different options, such as Santa Fe, Entre Ríos, Neuquén and Río Negro, which are regions where speakers have accents that have similar characteristics to that of Buenos Aires.

Figure 120

Students' Identification of Tamara's Place of Origin



The higher identification of the place of origin of Buenos Aires speakers when compared to Cordobese speakers may be related to the lack of exposure of these students to the variety spoken in Córdoba. Even though it is the second most spoken variety in the country, the Buenos Aires variety is the most pervasive variety in the media, and that trend may also be replicating itself in SSL classes.

The VGT that students responded to had the same items belonging to the same three dimensions, status and competence, linguistic superiority, and social attractiveness, as the teachers' VGT. In Appendix 8, descriptions of each of the 12 VGT traits are provided. For the status and competence dimension, the Cordobese speakers were systematically rated lower than the Buenos Aires speakers by students. Furthermore, the male Cordobese speaker received the lowest in all four items; he was considered as belonging to the lowest class and as being the least intelligent, educated and skilled of all. These results mirror the reactions teachers had in this dimension as well, which may be telling us that both groups' attitudes might be under the influence of similar factors, and that language attitudes are probably being passed on in educational settings as well.

Students rated Buenos Aires speakers more positively than Cordobese speakers in the Linguistic Superiority dimension, especially in the items aesthetic quality, speech correctness and pronunciation model. These results are similar to the ones in the teachers' VGT, except for the aesthetic quality item.

Regarding the social attractiveness dimension, no clear pattern can be identified in the ratings provided by students in this dimension. However, it could be pointed out that for the honesty item, the Buenos Aires speakers were perceived to be more honest than the Cordobese speakers, whereas for the fun item, the Cordobese speakers were perceived to be more fun than the Buenos Aires speakers, which, again, replicate stereotypes speakers of these varieties are associated with.

5.2.2.1 *Friedman Test*

As with the VGT data collected from teachers' responses, the Friedman Test was used as a non-parametric alternative to the one-way ANOVA with repeated measures. The rationale behind this test can be found in section 4.1.2.1.

In Figure 121, results show a very similar pattern to the one in the teachers' VGT, as they suggest that the difference between the scores of the four speakers are statistically significant (Sig. level lower than .0005) in all 12 attributes but one: persuasiveness.

Figure 121*Statistical Significance of Differences between Students' VGT Ratings of the Samples*

Attribute	Chi-square	Df (degree of freedom)	Asymp. Sig.
Social Status	39.73	3	.000
Intelligence	31.78	3	.000
Level of Skill	48.55	3	.000
Level of Education	40.41	3	.000
Aesthetic Quality	19.93	3	.000
Speech Correctness	56.79	3	.000
Pronunciation Model	51.45	3	.000
Persuasiveness	5.92	3	.115
Fun	34.30	3	.000
Friendliness	13.54	3	.000
Honesty	7.31	3	.000
Solidarity	3.10	3	.000

The mean and median rank values that each of the four speakers received for each of the VGT attributes are provided in Figure 122. The mean can be useful to give us an idea of the overall rating that each speaker received for each of the traits; however, as this data does not present a normal distribution, the median can be more useful to spot where the main differences between ranks are.

Figure 122

Mean, Median, and Standard Deviation Values for VGT Items in Students' Questionnaire (N=59)

MEAN and MEDIAN RANK

Attribute (1=HIGHEST / 7=LOWEST)	Horacio (male, BA)	David (male, Cba)	Pamela (female, Cba)	Tamara (female, BA)
Level of Education MEAN	2.09	3.11	2.78	2.02
Level of Education MEDIAN	2.00	4.00	4.00	2.00
Level of Education ST. DEVIATION	1.52	1.72	1.60	1.50
Social Status MEAN	2.17	2.98	2.89	1.95
Social Status MEDIAN	3.00	4.00	4.00	3.00
Social Status ST. DEVIATION	1.50	1.53	1.47	1.24
Intelligence MEAN	2.19	2.88	2.90	2.03
Intelligence MEDIAN	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
Intelligence ST. DEVIATION	1.28	1.39	1.44	1.38
Level of Skill MEAN	2.03	2.98	3.03	1.95
Level of Skill MEDIAN	2.00	4.00	4.00	2.00
Level of Skill ST. DEVIATION	1.29	1.65	1.56	1.34
Pronunciation Model MEAN	2.05	2.97	3.09	1.89
Pronunciation Model MEDIAN	2.00	4.00	4.00	2.00
Pronunciation Model ST. DEVIATION	1.60	1.75	1.87	1.50
Speech Correctness MEAN	2.05	3.10	2.97	1.88

Speech Correctness MEDIAN	2.00	4.00	4.00	2.00
Speech Correctness ST. DEVIATION	1.34	1.73	1.67	1.37
Aesthetic Quality MEAN	2.36	2.67	2.92	2.06
Aesthetic Quality MEDIAN	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
Aesthetic Quality ST. DEVIATION	1.42	1.61	1.67	1.30
Persuasiveness MEAN	2.42	2.52	2.76	2.29
Persuasiveness MEDIAN	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00
Persuasiveness ST. DEVIATION	1.75	1.55	1.66	1.73
Solidarity MEAN	2.53	2.61	2.54	2.31
Solidarity MEDIAN	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
Solidarity ST. DEVIATION	1.62	1.60	1.51	1.62
Honesty MEAN	2.33	2.69	2.64	2.33
Honesty MEDIAN	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00
Honesty ST. DEVIATION	1.34	1.42	1.45	1.29
Friendliness MEAN	2.78	2.22	2.72	2.28
Friendliness MEDIAN	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00
Friendliness ST. DEVIATION	1.62	1.33	1.42	1.42
Fun MEAN	2.97	1.79	2.58	2.66
Fun MEDIAN	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00
Fun ST. DEVIATION	1.78	1.39	1.60	1.72

5.2.2.2 *Principal Component Analysis (PCA)*

The same data reduction technique that was used with the teachers' VGT data was applied to the students' VGT in order to work with a more manageable number of components.

The number of related variables of the VGT was reduced from 12 to 3 through Principal component analysis; only one representative factor per dimension (status and competence, linguistic superiority and social attractiveness) was left after applying the factor analysis.

This data set was also assessed to determine its suitability for this technique. Some authors state that sets larger than 150 are large enough (Pallant, 2016); in this case, this data set is smaller, as it has 59 samples. However, some other factors were taken into account as well in order to check the data suitability. The strength of the intercorrelations among the factors was considered, which is confirmed by having many coefficients greater than .3 in the correlation matrix. The statistical measures of Barlett's test of sphericity (Barlett, 1954) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy (Kaiser 1970, 1974) were also generated to check the data factorability. The Barlett's test of sphericity should be ($p < .05$). The KMO index goes from 0 to 1, and a value of .6 or higher is considered necessary for factor analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013).

Once the suitability of the data for factor analysis was assessed, the four items of each dimension were subjected to PCA using SPSS. The analysis of this test revealed the presence of one component per dimension with eigenvalue exceeding 1, explaining different percentages of variance for each dimension. Inspection of the Screen Plots revealed clear breaks after the first component; thus, it was decided to retain one component per dimension using Catell's (1966) scree test. The tests to assess the factorability of the data and the PCA results per dimension will be presented in the following sections.

5.2.2.2.1 Suitability of the Data for PCA

The values that show the factorability of the items belonging to the three VGT dimensions are presented in Figures 123, 124 and 125. In the Correlation Matrix, all coefficients are greater than .3. The Kaiser-Meyer/Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) values are higher than .6 and the Barlett's Test of Sphericity values are significant as they are lower than .05. Thus, the four items of this dimension are suitable for factor analysis in the data belonging to the ratings that students gave to the four speakers in the VGT.

Figure 123*Correlation Matrix and KMO and Bartlett's Test for Status and Competence Dimension*

Correlation Matrix

		SOCIAL CLASS	INTELLIGENCE	EDUCATION	SKILLS
Correlation	SOCIAL CLASS	1,000	,646	,574	,664
	INTELLIGENCE	,646	1,000	,603	,676
	EDUCATION	,574	,603	1,000	,618
	SKILLS	,664	,676	,618	1,000

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,833
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	454,429
	df	6
	Sig.	,000

Figure 124*Correlation Matrix and KMO and Bartlett's Test for Linguistic Superiority Dimension*

Correlation Matrix

		PERSUASIVENESS	AESTHETIC QUALITY	SPEECH CORRECTNESS	PRONUNCIATION MODEL
Correlation	PERSUASIVENESS	1,000	,402	,437	,406
	AESTHETIC QUALITY	,402	1,000	,607	,585
	SPEECH CORRECTNESS	,437	,607	1,000	,758
	PRONUNCIATION MODEL	,406	,585	,758	1,000

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,767
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	379,950
	df	6
	Sig.	,000

Figure 125*Correlation Matrix and KMO and Bartlett's Test for Social Attractiveness Dimension*

		FUN	FRIENDLINESS	HONESTY	SOLIDARITY
Correlation	FUN	1,000	,489	,210	,218
	FRIENDLINESS	,489	1,000	,601	,484
	HONESTY	,210	,601	1,000	,500
	SOLIDARITY	,218	,484	,500	1,000

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,669
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	255,324
	df	6
	Sig.	,000

5.2.2.2.2 PCA: Status and Competence Dimension

After assessing the factorability of the data belonging to the status and competence dimension, the PCA was carried out for the data belonging to each dimension. In Figure 126 the Eigenvalues show that the first component, level of skill, accounts for over 72% of the variance. Furthermore, the Scree Plot suggests that only one component should be retained. As shown in the Component matrix, all components load very strongly (above .4) so they all can serve to explain a great amount of the variance in the dimension, as they load above .82.

Figure 126*PCA for Status and Competence Dimension*

Component	Total	Initial Eigenvalues		Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
		% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
SKILLS	2,892	72,290	72,290	2,892	72,290	72,290
INTELLIGENCE	,437	10,934	83,224			
SOCIAL CLASS	,352	8,799	92,023			
EDUCATION	,319	7,977	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.



Component Matrix^a

	Component 1
SKILLS	,873
INTELLIGENCE	,862
SOCIAL CLASS	,848
EDUCATION	,817

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

5.2.2.2.3 PCA: Linguistic Superiority Dimension

Figure 127 presents the output for the PCA for the linguistic superiority dimension; the Eigenvalues show that the first component, speech correctness, accounts for over 65% of the variance. The Scree Plot suggests that only one component should be retained. When looking at the Component matrix we observe that all load very strongly (above .4) so they could all serve to explain a great amount of the variance in the dimension, as they load above .66.

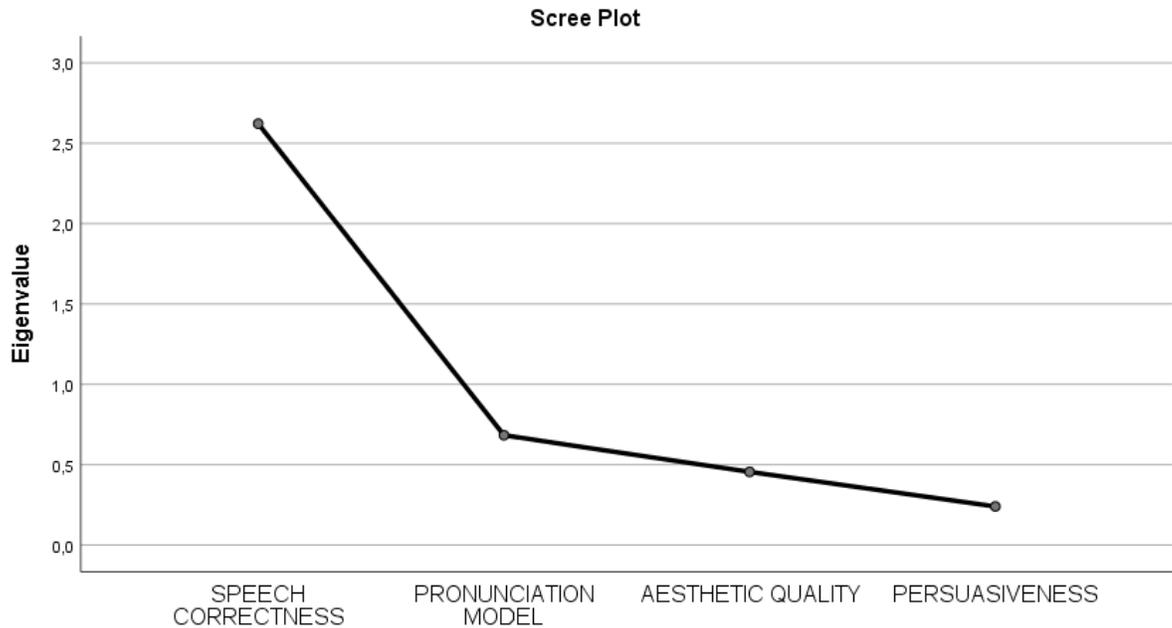
Figure 127

PCA for Linguistic Superiority Dimension

Total Variance Explained

Component	Total	Initial Eigenvalues		Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
		% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
SPEECH CORRECTNESS	2,622	65,552	65,552	2,622	65,552	65,552
PRONUNCIATION MODEL	,683	17,072	82,624			
AESTHETIC QUALITY	,455	11,375	93,999			
PERSUASIVENESS	,240	6,001	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.



Component Matrix^a

	Component 1
SPEECH CORRECTNESS	,885
PRONUNCIATION MODEL	,869
AESTHETIC QUALITY	,807
PERSUASIVENESS	,656

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

5.2.2.2.4 PCA: Social Attractiveness Dimension

The output for the PCA for the social attractiveness data is presented in Figure 128. According to the Eigenvalues, the first component, friendliness, accounts for over 57% of the variance. The shape in the Scree Plot suggests that only one component should be retained. All

components load very strongly (above .4) in the Component matrix so they all can serve to explain a great amount of the variance in the dimension, as they load above .59.

Figure 128

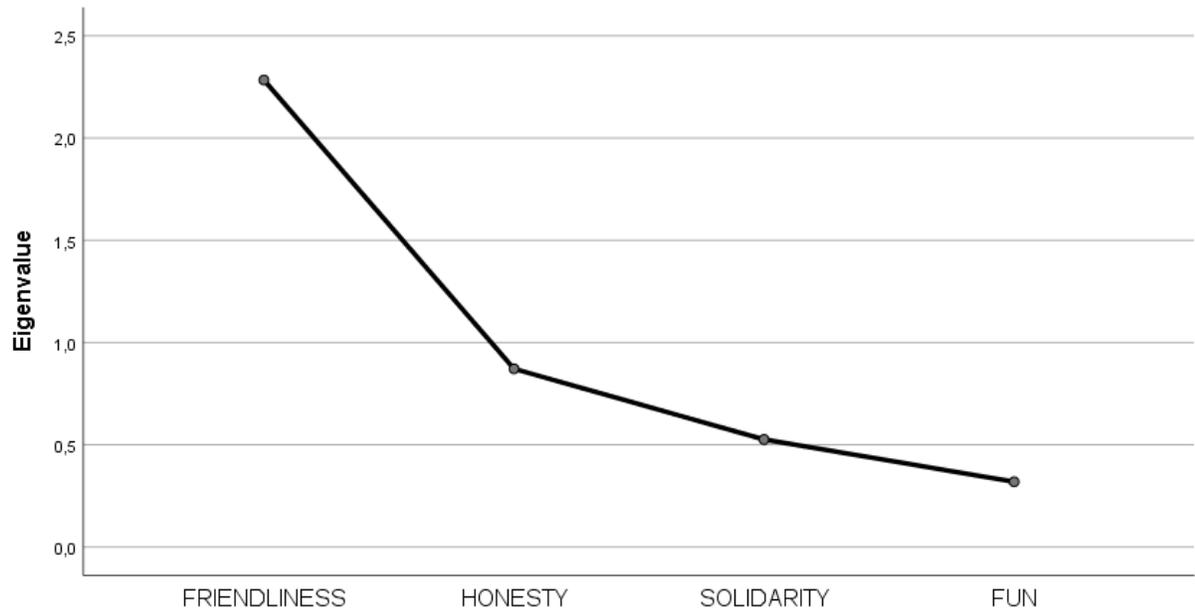
PCA Social Attractiveness Dimension

Total Variance Explained

Component	Total	Initial Eigenvalues		Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
		% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
FRIENDLINESS	2,283	57,084	57,084	2,283	57,084	57,084
HONESTY	,872	21,789	78,873			
SOLIDARITY	,526	13,150	92,023			
FUN	,319	7,977	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Scree Plot



Component Matrix^a

	Component 1
FRIENDLINESS	,874
HONESTY	,793
SOLIDARITY	,738
FUN	,588

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

After reducing the number of variables through Principal Component Analysis we were

left with one item representative of each dimension: level of skills for the status and competence dimension, speech correctness for the linguistic superiority dimension, and friendliness for the social attractiveness dimension. The components that loaded highest in the first two dimensions are the same in both teachers' and students' data. This was not the case for the social attractiveness dimension, where solidarity was the representative item of the dimension in teachers' data.

5.2.2.3 Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test

The Friedman test described in a previous section showed that in the ratings given by students to the four samples there are statistically significant differences in 11 out of the 12 items in the VGT. In order to establish between which speakers' ratings there are more differences, a post-hoc test was used: the Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test, also known as the Wilcoxon matched pairs signed ranks test. Only the three attributes that the factor analysis showed to be representative of each dimension were compared between all four speakers. Differences between two scores are considered significant if the Asymp. Sig. value is less than .0005. The rationale behind this test can be found in Section 4.1.2.3.

When focusing on the Status and Competence dimension (see Figure 129), significant differences were found between the ratings of four sets of speakers when comparing them in pairs and there were no significant differences when comparing the speakers from the same place of origin with each other, i.e. there were no significant differences between the ratings given to Horacio (BA Male) and Tamara (BA Female) and to David (CBA Male) and Pamela (female, Cba), which shows that the attitudes they have towards female and male speakers of the same variety are similar. The greatest differences in students' ratings were registered between Horacio (BA Male) and Pamela (CBA Female), followed by the differences between Pamela (CBA Female) and Tamara (BA Female), Tamara (BA Female) and David (CBA Male), and Horacio (BA Male) and David (CBA Male). Significant differences were found only when comparing speakers from Córdoba with those from Buenos Aires, confirming that there might be stereotypes associated with each of these varieties which place them in a hierarchical order.

Figure 129*Rating comparisons in the Status and Competence dimension for different speakers*

SPEAKERS compared	Z Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	EFFECT SIZE
Horacio (male, BA) & David (male, Cba)	-4.38	.000	.40 (medium to large effect)
Horacio (male, BA) & Tamara (female, BA)	-0.24	0.81	-
Horacio (male, BA) & Pamela (female, Cba)	-4.94	.000	.45 (medium to large effect)
David (male, Cba) & Pamela (female, Cba)	-.57	.566	-
Pamela (female, Cba) & Tamara (female, BA)	-4.56	.000	.42 (medium to large effect)
Tamara (female, BA) & David (male, Cba)	-4.42	.000	.41 (medium to large effect)

In Figure 130 it can be seen that a very similar pattern found in the Status and Competence dimension is found in the Linguistic Superiority dimension. Significant differences were found between the ratings of four sets of speakers when comparing them in pairs and there were no significant differences when comparing the speakers from the same place with each other, i.e. there were no significant differences between the ratings given to Horacio (male, BA) and Tamara (female, BA) and to David (male, Cba) and Pamela (female, Cba). The greatest differences in students' ratings were registered between Tamara (female, BA) and Pamela (female, Cba), followed by the differences between the ratings given to Tamara (female, BA) and David (male, Cba), and to Horacio (male, BA) and Pamela (female, Cba). The last statistically significant difference is the one registered between Horacio (male, BA) and David (male, Cba). Significant differences were found only when comparing speakers from Córdoba with those from Buenos Aires, not when comparing the ratings given to speakers from the same place of origin.

Figure 130*Rating comparisons in the Linguistic Superiority dimension for Different Speakers*

SPEAKERS compared	Z Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	EFFECT SIZE
Horacio (male, BA) & David (male, Cba)	-4.87	.000	.45 (medium to large effect)
Horacio (male, BA) & Tamara (female, BA)	-0.66	.511	-
Horacio (male, BA) & Pamela (female, Cba)	-4.41	.000	.41 (medium to large effect)
David (male, Cba) & Pamela (female, Cba)	-0.47	.637	-
Pamela (female, Cba) & Tamara (female, BA)	-4.43	.000	.41 (medium to large effect)
Tamara (female, BA) & David (male, Cba)	-4.77	.000	.44 (medium to large effect)

As seen in Figure 131, there were no significant differences when comparing the ratings given to any of the speakers in the Social Attractiveness dimension.

Figure 131*Rating comparisons in the Social Attractiveness dimension for different speakers*

SPEAKERS compared	Z Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	EFFECT SIZE
Horacio (male, BA) & David (male, Cba)	-2.43	.015	-
Horacio (male, BA) & Tamara (female, BA)	-2.94	.003	-

Horacio (male, BA) & Pamela (female, Cba)	-.676	.499	-
David (male, Cba) & Pamela (female, Cba)	-2.26	.024	-
Pamela (female, Cba) & Tamara (female, BA)	-1.68	.093	-
Tamara (female, BA) & David (male, Cba)	-.161	.872	-

In sum, in these figures we can find further evidence that shows that students' ratings are similar to that of teachers, which may be telling us that teachers' attitudes are passed on to and replicated by their students. Significant differences were found when comparing the ratings of speakers from Buenos Aires with speakers from Córdoba. There were no significant differences when comparing speakers from the same place of origin. Where we find a difference between teachers' and students' VGT ratings is in the social attractiveness dimension, as in the case of students' VGT, no significant differences were found between any sample pairs. By looking at these findings we can state that certain stereotypes associated with the Buenos Aires and the Cordobese varieties emerge, which may be influencing the decisions teachers make regarding the incorporation of variation in their SSL classes, as will be argued in the discussion section. In section 4.3, we will go over a detailed comparison between teachers' and students' VGT results.

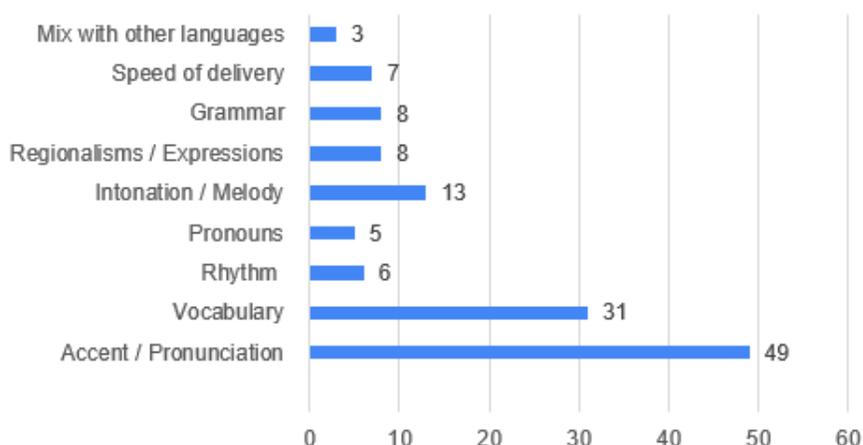
5.2.3 Opinions about the “Standard” and Other Spanish Varieties

This section presents findings about students' awareness of Spanish variation and also about opinions and beliefs they have about Argentinian and world varieties.

All students acknowledge that there are different Spanish varieties and they mention several aspects where they identify variation, as shown in Figure 132. The most frequently mentioned aspect is pronunciation, mentioned by 49 students, followed by vocabulary or lexis, mentioned by 31 students. They mentioned other aspects which are related with or which could be included within the broader category of pronunciation: intonation/melody (13), speed of delivery (7) and rhythm (6). Participants also mentioned other factors that vary, such as grammar (8), regionalisms or expressions (8), pronouns (5) and mix with other languages (3).

Figure 132

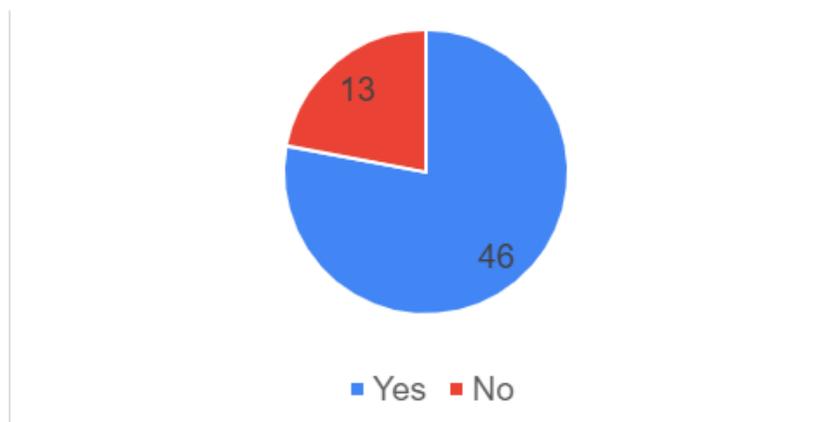
Aspects in Which Varieties Differ according to Students



Apart from acknowledging differences, 72% of the students claim that they can identify differences between Spanish accents, whereas 28% of them state that they cannot (see Figure 133).

Figure 133

Students' Ability to Identify Differences between Accents



Students were able to provide a range of examples of aspects that vary, showing a degree of variation awareness. When referring to the differences they could identify, there were comments related to differences in pronunciation mainly, but also about other sources of variation.

Several students mention the difference between the pronunciation of the graphemes <ll> and <y> and the pronunciation of the graphemes <s> and <z>. Some mention words like “*yeísmo, yeísmo rehilado, seseo, ceceo* and *distinción*”, which reveals a high degree of metalinguistic awareness. Rhythmical differences, aspiration of the grapheme <s>, elision of some sounds at the end of syllables, for example, in words that end with “do” are also mentioned.

One participant refers to “different pronunciations of the <rr> grapheme, sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker”. Some make specific reference to pronunciation features of certain varieties. One student states that Argentinians and especially Cordobese speakers make accented syllables “stronger” and “longer”. Another one says “people in Nicaragua put more emphasis on the end of words, and Chileans pronounce ‘ch’ for ‘tr’ ”. Reference is made to lexical stress differences between Spain and Argentina in verbs in the imperative form (*usa*, Peninsular vs. *usá*, Argentinian). One informant points out that “Mexicans from the city of Chihuahua pronounce the ‘ch’ like a ‘sh’”. Another states “I think that in Cordobese Spanish the tonic accent is emphasised in the previous but last syllable”, which probably is making reference to the relative lengthening of the pretonic syllable and shortening of the tonic one, which is characteristic of this variety according to what researchers have shown (Lenardón, 2017; Berry, 2015). Other comments about pronunciation features of specific varieties are: “in the Andalusian accent people do not say the end of words”. “In Spain they lisp the <s> sounds”, “Boricuas²⁵ do not pronounce the final ‘s’” and “in Spanish from Spain and Puerto Rico the words flow into each other more fluently”.

Participants mention lexical differences, such as the use of *dobla* in Argentina and the use of *gira* in Spain for the verb turn, *fresa* and *frutilla* (strawberry), *vale*, *dale*, and *ya* (ok). Several mention the use of different second person pronouns like *tu*, *vosotros*, *vos*, and *ustedes* depending on the country where you are. Some made reference to the more technical term *voseo* and *tuteo* to indicate these differences. The use of *lunfardo* in Argentina and the use of words such as *che*²⁶ and *boludo*²⁷ were mentioned as well.

In Figure 134, the accents that students consider they speak are presented.

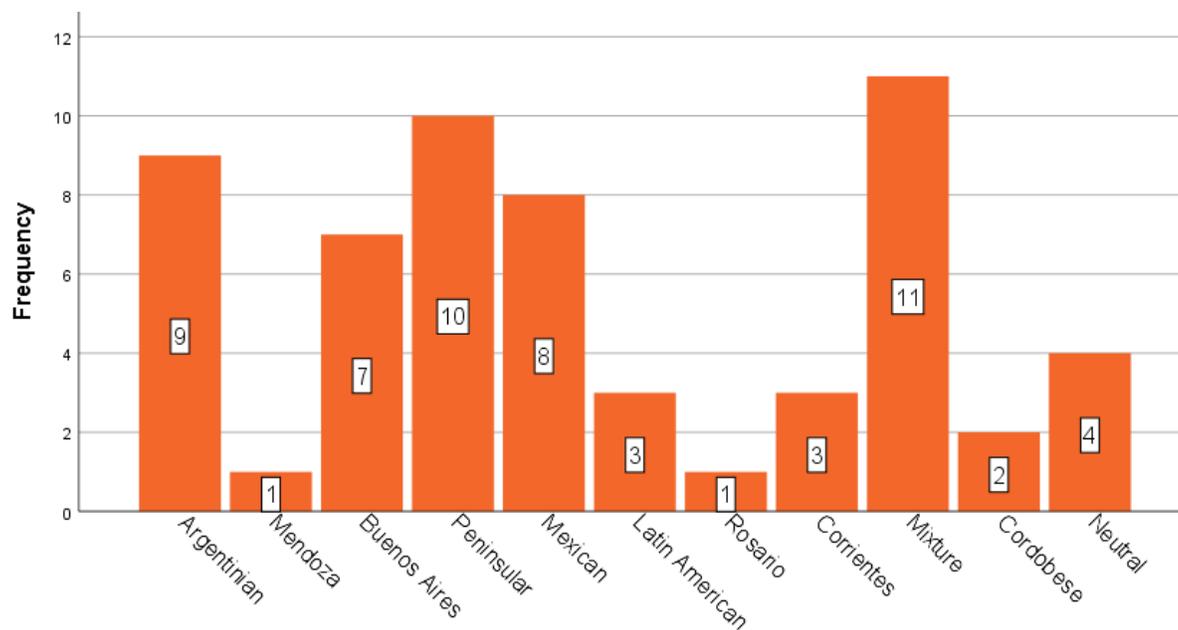
²⁵ A *Boricua* is someone born and raised in the island of Puerto Rico.

²⁶ *Che* is an interjection used to call someone’s attention or to show surprise. It is typically used in Argentina and Uruguay, but also heard in countries such as Bolivia and Paraguay (RAE, 2022).

²⁷ *Boludo* is an adjective that means stupid, but in Argentina it can also be used as a vocative or as a conversational marker (Šmídová, 2017).

Figure 134

Accents Student Participants Consider They Speak

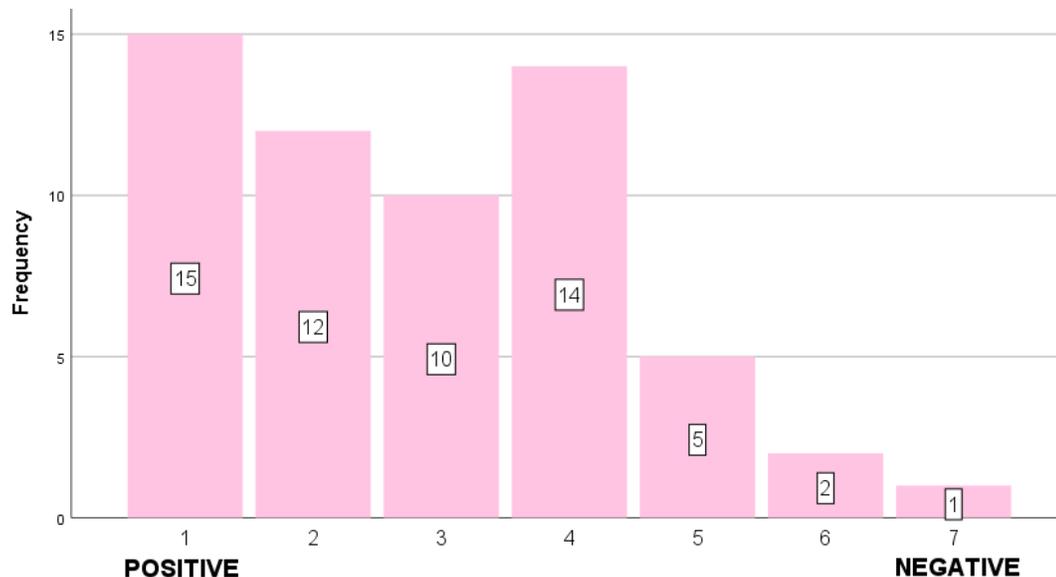


Some of the participants first clarify that they speak a “mixture” variety, and then they mention the varieties that they consider they mix, for example, “Argentinian and Puerto Rican”, “Argentinian and Peninsular”, “Cordobese and Santiago del Estero”, “Argentinian, Peninsular and Cordobese”. Some others choose to acknowledge that they speak a “mixture” variety and then they identify one variety in their speech as well: “Mixture and Argentinian”, “Mixture and Cordobese”, “Mixture and Peninsular”, “Mixture and Mexican”. Some just choose two labels to describe their own variety as a combination of two different varieties: “Mexican and Neutral”, “Argentinian and Neutral”, “Peninsular and Mexican”. Only one of them indicates a broader label and then a narrower one: “Argentinian and Buenos Aires”.

In Figure 135, students’ perception of the opinion other people have about the variety they speak is shown.

Figure 135

Student participants' perceptions of the opinion people have about their variety



Most students (37) consider that people have a positive attitude towards their Spanish variety. The mean for this answer was 2.86. In the following lines, some students' perceptions are described, and the variety they claim they speak is written between round brackets. Among the reasons they provide for thinking this way they state "I sound nice and people understand me" (Mendoza variety), "people say they love my accent" (Argentinian), "my accent is unique and I like it" (Argentinian), "it is a good accent and people like listening to it" (Peninsular), "the Spanish used in Spain is one of the main and original languages that all Spanish speakers can understand and follow" (Peninsular), "they like it because it sounds friendly and funny" (Cordobese). Another student states that "People say I have a very good pronunciation, that I don't sound Italian at all and that I am able to replicate the typical sounds of the Argentinian accent (from Buenos Aires) quite well. I also use some typical Argentinian words (ex: quilombo, micro, gambas, birra, manejar el auto)".

Other students make reference to an ambivalence in terms of reactions or attitudes that they perceive people have about their Argentinian accent: "I think that most people who I speak to do not mind my accent, quite the opposite, they think it is exotic. However, at university I find myself in situations where a 'neutral' accent from Spain is favoured."; "People find it interesting that I have an accent that is not from Spain, which is the most usual to learn at school in Norway. This is especially the case with people I meet from Latin America. I would, however, not say that the opinion is entirely positive because some people find it hard to understand my Argentinian accent if their level of Spanish is not sufficiently high."

Some students who claim to speak the Buenos Aires variety state: “From my perspective, my *porteño* variety is seen in a good light, the one from Buenos Aires, but varieties from other Argentinian places may not be perceived in the same way.”; “people think that my Buenos Aires accent is cool and interesting.”

As regards their Mexican variety, two students state “I do not speak a great variety, but people have made positive comments about the way I speak.”; “I think people have a positive opinion about the way I speak because they can communicate with me effectively.”

Two students who claim to speak a neutral variety make very different comments about the attitudes they perceive from others: “People tend to be happy about my efforts at pronouncing”; “I think that in general people see my accent as something negative in the Hispanic world, as it shows that I am not a native speaker.”

A person who claims to speak a mixture of varieties states that “Every Spanish speaker is aware that Spanish is not my first language. They can understand me, help me when I have problems. I have not had my accent questioned by a Spanish speaker, only my pronunciation, which could be unclear or wrong. No one has questioned my “choice” of accent, at least in the way I have very occasionally been challenged in English about accent: Why do you speak with an American accent when you can speak without an accent? Meaning why do I speak with a Canadian accent when I can do an RP? In short, I didn’t choose. I only shape my accent to attempt to be clear and to sound intelligent.”

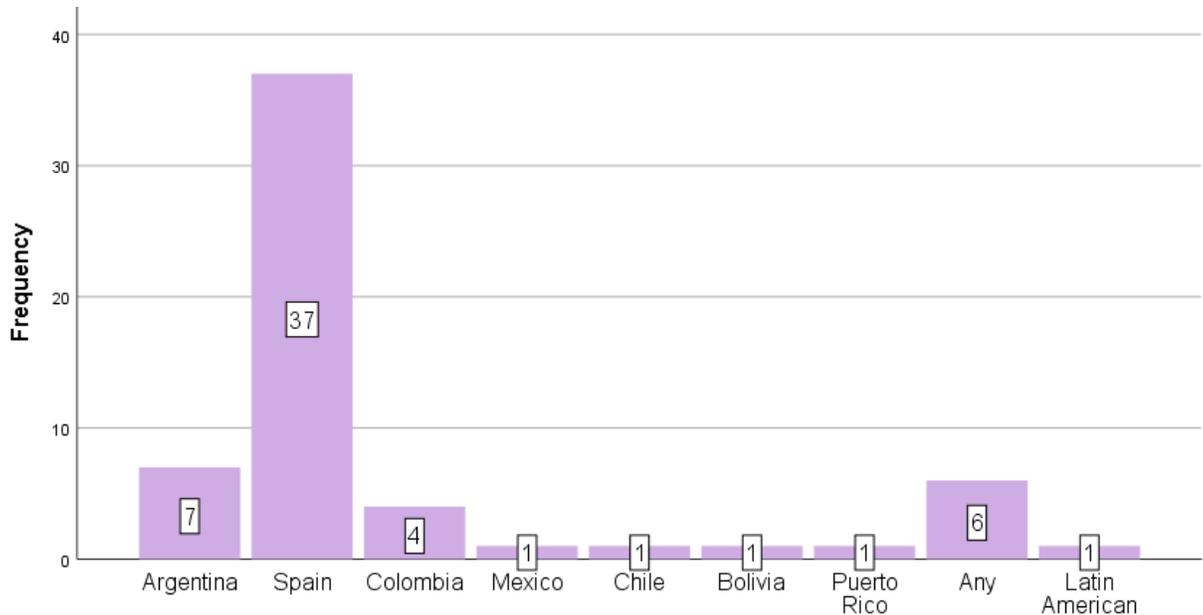
Some informants who speak the Argentinian variety consider that their speech is negatively perceived because their accent is too strong, incorrect or too different from other varieties: “People don’t like my Argentine accent because it is very different from standard Spanish”; “I am in contact with a lot of people who are very Spain-inclined and that prefer their variety, but I still sense that for a lot of people the Argentinian/Uruguayan accent is nice.”; “Sometimes I do not pronounce words perfectly” (Argentinian), “People from Spain tell me that my pronunciation is not correct because I do not pronounce ‘z’ ”, “it is only used in Argentina”, “it is not like the Castilian Spanish that we are taught in France”.

Another student describes how she accommodates her speech to fit the context: “The opinion changes according to the context: in Argentina, my friends and teachers found some Peninsular features of my speech to be weird, so I tried to imitate the Argentine and Cordobese accent throughout the semester, but I imitated the lexis and the grammar, the use of *vos*, not so much the pronunciation, as it is hard for me to get rid of my French accent” (Peninsular).

In Figure 136, we can see the world varieties that students consider most prestigious, with the variety from Spain receiving most points. Students provide some justifications for their choice.

Figure 136

Most Prestigious World Varieties according to Students



The variety from Spain is the one chosen by most students as the most prestigious one. The reasons they provide are very similar to the ones teachers who made the same choice gave, as seen in Figure 137. They see it as the origin of Spanish language, more formal, cultured, closer to the written language, well-known, pure, traditional, correct, beautiful and refined. Some state that in Spain they use weird and difficult words. Some others say that it is the most prestigious one because it is imposed at university and because of Eurocentrism and the influence of the RAE.

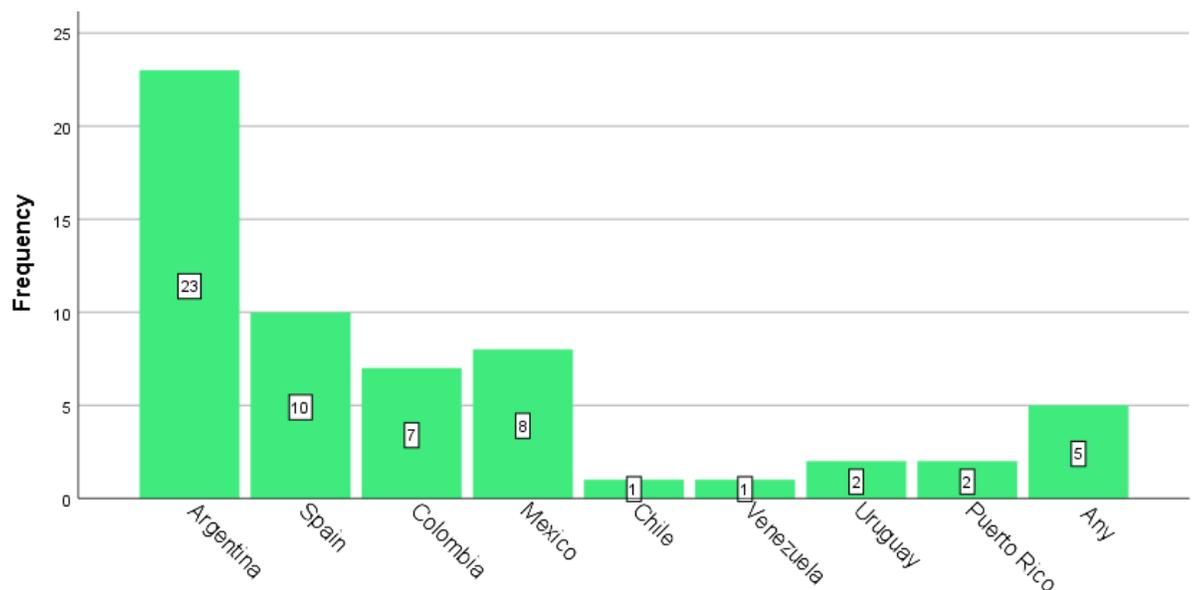
Six students stated that no accent is more prestigious than the rest. Some comments to support this position are “accents don’t reflect prestige.”, “I believe each Spanish variety is prestigious because it belongs to a country.”, “I don’t believe there are countries superior or more respectable than others”, “there are no better or worse varieties, they are just different”.

Even though some participants chose a variety as the most prestigious one, they make comments that show a critical perspective towards this matter. A speaker who chose Peninsular as the most prestigious variety wrote: “I hate to think of languages as more prestigious but it’s kind of ingrained in society because they were the colonisers.”, “I chose the variety from Spain even though there are many varieties within that country and there is also linguistic prejudice among them. Spanish from Spain is considered the most prestigious one because there is a narrative that legitimises it, as they have the power to decide what is linguistically correct or not”.

The tendency that we obtain from analysing students’ answers about which variety they think is most prestigious puts the Peninsular variety in the first place with 37 participants choosing it. However, when students are asked about the variety they find most pleasant to hear, the Argentinian variety is the most chosen one, with 23 participants who selected it, as seen in Figure 139.

Figure 139

Most Pleasant World Varieties according to Students



A third variety comes into play when students are asked about the best pronunciation model to imitate, as seen in Figure 140. In this case neither the Peninsular nor the Argentinian variety got first place. The Mexican variety was the most selected variety (16).

Nine informants chose the Argentinian variety as the best pronunciation model. They justify their choice by saying: “it is closer to my native language (Italian) so it is easier for me”, “it is clearer”, “I like it”, “it is sweet”, “it is attractive”, “I am more in contact with natives from Argentina”. We can see in these answers that some reasons are related to personal preferences but others are related to more practical reasons such as the perception that it is easier to learn than other varieties or that they will be in contact with this variety in the future and thus consider it more useful.

The variety from Spain was chosen by nine other students to be the best pronunciation model. Among the reasons they provided, some say that it is most formal, that they like its pronunciation, and that it is clear and beautiful. A student states that “they pronounce the ‘z’ better” and another one says “it is the easiest to learn”.

Six participants chose the Colombian variety, as they consider it more “neutral”, clearer and more standard. One informant says that Colombians “speak slower and with good pronunciation”.

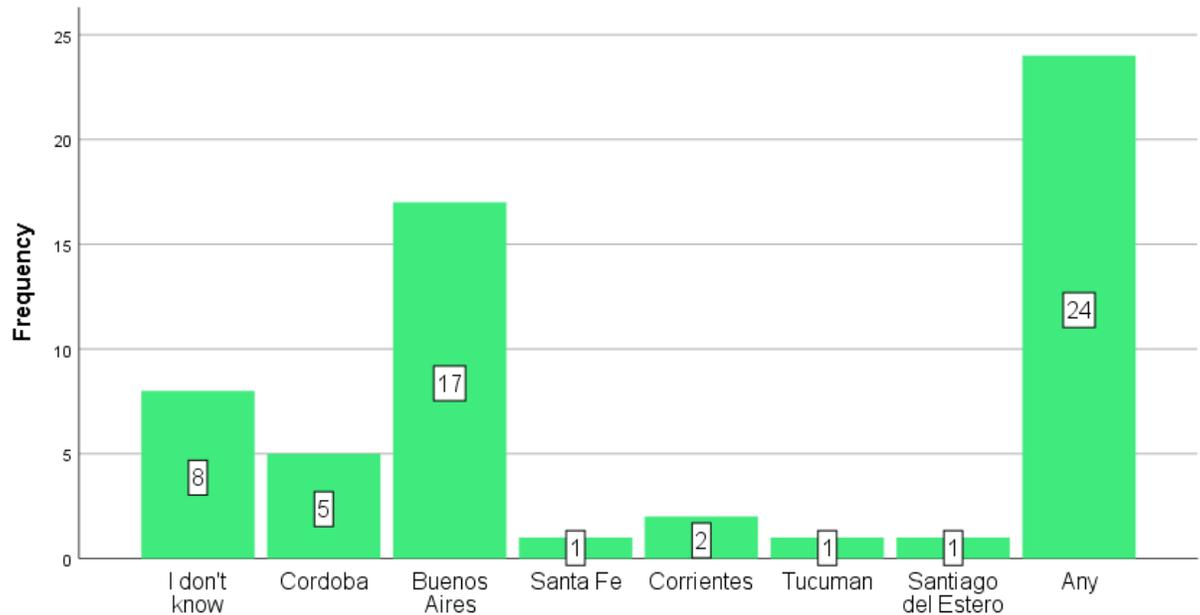
Fourteen participants claim that there is not a single best pronunciation model. Some justify this answer by saying that “they are all equal”, “it depends on the place you are going to visit or live” or “they are all nice and we choose the one we prefer”. One of the respondents says “in my opinion, there is neither a better variety nor a neutral variety. We just need to choose the one we want to learn and follow that pronunciation model”. This last comment is quite salient, as it contrasts with several answers provided by the rest of the group. This participant explicitly denies the existence of a “neutral” variety and of hierarchies between varieties, ideas which are quite pervasive in the answers collected.

There is a recurrent belief that there are certain varieties which are “easier to learn”, “clearer” or more “neutral” than others; thus, they constitute better pronunciation models to imitate. However, each student associates these characteristics to different varieties depending on their own beliefs, perception or personal experience.

In Figure 142, the Argentinian varieties students consider most prestigious are presented.

Figure 142

Argentinian Varieties Students Consider Most Prestigious



Most participants, 24 of them, decided not to choose a specific Argentinian variety as the most prestigious one, even though only six of them had chosen this option when asked about the most prestigious world variety. We could speculate that this may have to do with the fact that they may not be familiar enough with Argentinian varieties to make a choice. However, it could be the case that they do not consider any Argentinian variety prestigious, as most of them, 37 of them, previously claimed that the most prestigious world variety is the Peninsular one. Seventeen students state that the Buenos Aires variety is the most prestigious variety in the country. In the following image (see Figure 143) some of the reasons provided by students can be observed. As with the comments provided when they chose the most prestigious world varieties, most answers are related to influence or power of the speakers or of the city where the variety is spoken, and not to linguistic properties of the variety itself.

Figure 143

Students' Reasons for Choosing Buenos Aires Spanish as the Most Prestigious Argentine Variety



A noticeable change is perceived when students are asked to list the Argentinian variety they find most pleasant to hear, as seen in Figure 144. In this case, the most chosen one is the Cordobese variety (14), followed by the Buenos Aires one (9). Sixteen students state they do not know which variety to choose as the most pleasant one, probably because they may not be familiar enough with different varieties from Argentina.

Figure 144

Argentinian Varieties Students Consider Most Pleasant to Hear

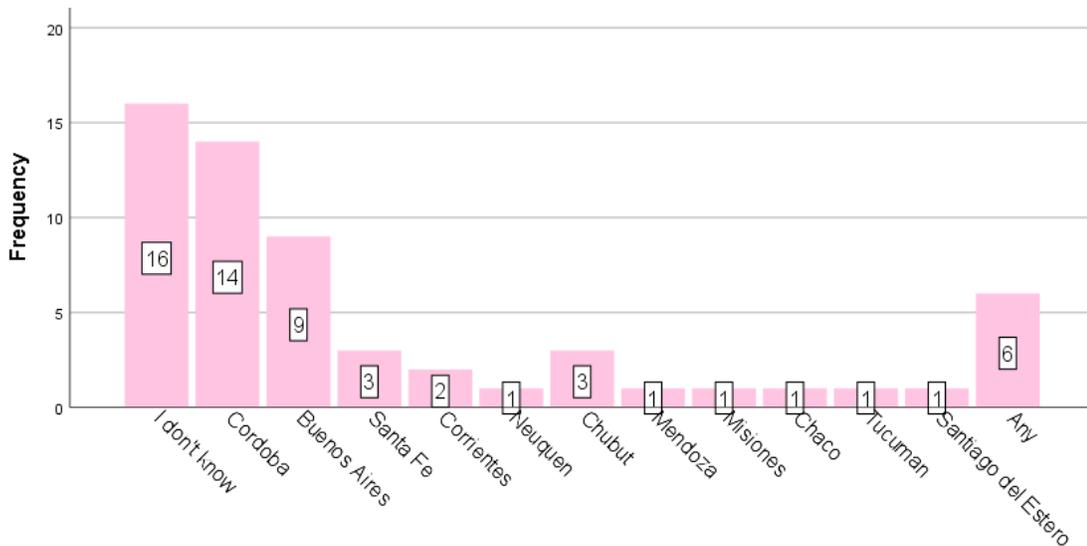
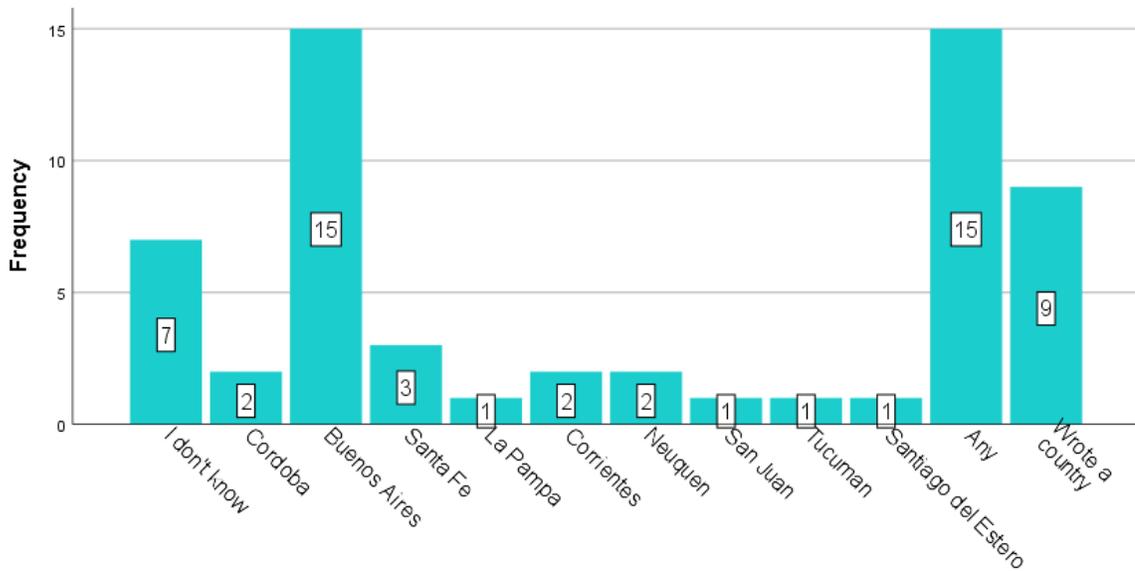


Figure 145 presents the Argentinian varieties students selected as best pronunciation models to imitate. When deciding on a specific Argentine variety, 15 students did not choose a specific variety, while other 15 students chose the Buenos Aires variety. In spite of the instructions in this point, nine students wrote down varieties from other countries as the best pronunciation model, such as Peninsular, Colombian and Mexican.

Figure 145

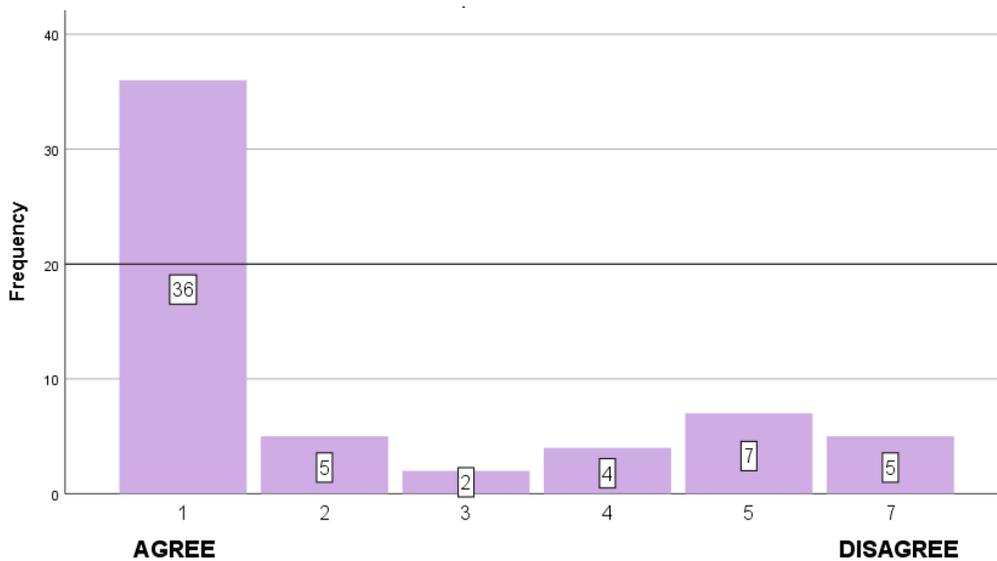
Argentinian Varieties Students Consider Best Pronunciation Models to Imitate



Most students, 43 of them, agree that there are no superior or inferior accents, as can be seen in Figure 146. The mean for this answer is 2.34.

Figure 146

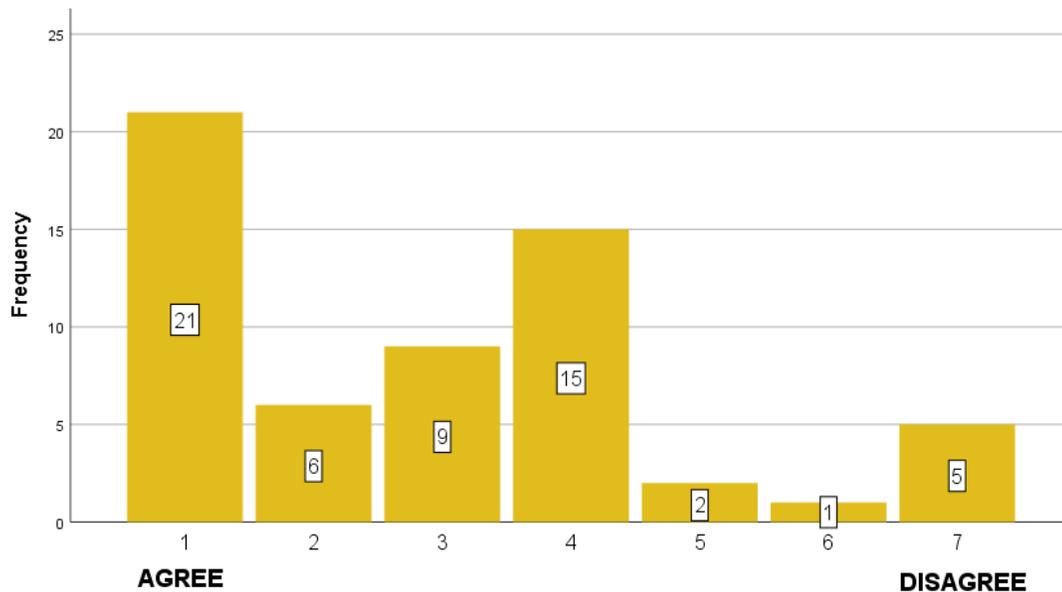
Students' Beliefs about Inferiority and Superiority of Certain Accents



However, results in this previous item contrast with how students react to the following statement in the questionnaire, presented in Figure 147. When they are asked to agree or disagree with the claim that any accent can be a model for the Spanish class, as long as it is standard, most of them, 36 students, agree with this claim. It may be considered contradictory to claim that there are no superior or inferior varieties but then agree to a certain extent with the claim that a standard variety should be used as a model to imitate. The mean in this answer is 2.9.

Figure 147

Student Participants' Beliefs about the Accents Students Should Be Exposed to and Imitate: Standard vs. Non-standard



In sum, in this section we have seen that students are aware of Spanish variation and they have preferences for some varieties, which are at points similar to those of teachers. The Peninsular and Mexican varieties are highly valued for diverse reasons, and the Argentinian one is found most pleasant. As it was the case in teachers' data, the Buenos Aires variety was the most chosen one as pronunciation model but the Cordobese variety was the most pleasant to hear. The associations and stereotypes that emerge from students' responses are similar to those of teachers, as we will see in the discussion section.

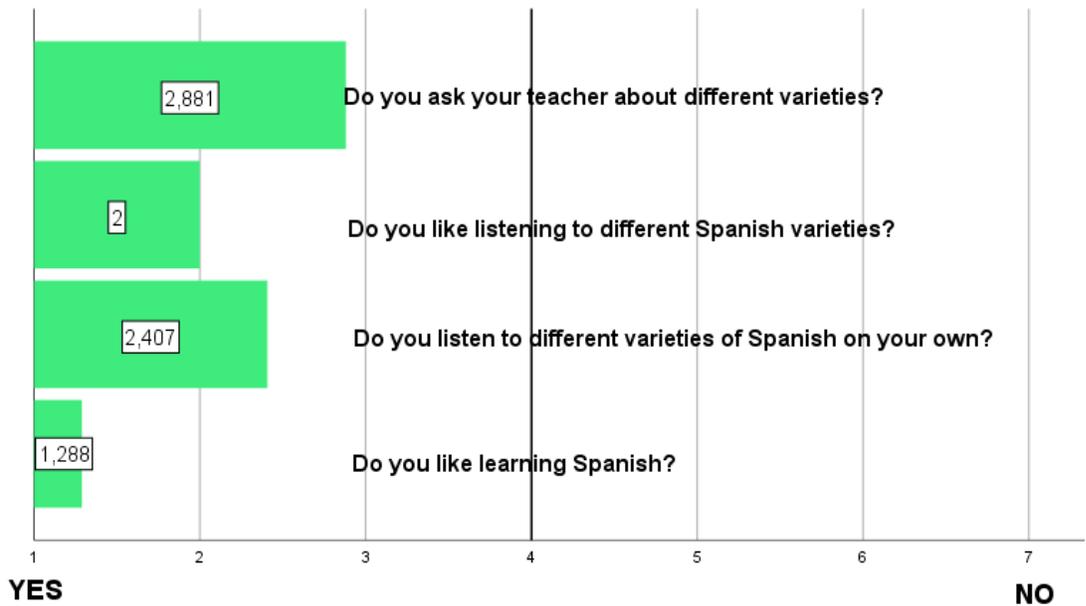
5.2.4 Experience and Attitudes Towards Spanish Learning

There were some questions that aimed at finding out students' attitudes towards the learning of Spanish and of Spanish varieties. In Figure 148, the answers students gave as regards their preferences, habits and experience with the learning of Spanish are presented.

Figure 148

Students' Experiences and Attitudes towards Spanish Learning

		Do you like learning Spanish?	Do you listen to different varieties of Spanish on your own?	Do you like listening to different Spanish varieties?	Do you ask your teacher about different varieties?
N	Valid	59	59	59	59
	Missing	0	0	0	0
Mean		1,29	2,41	2,00	2,88
Std. Deviation		,983	1,830	1,390	1,992



All answers were more towards the affirmative end of the spectrum. Most of them claim to like learning Spanish and to like listening to different varieties. When asked whether they do something in relation to those preferences, such as listening to different varieties on their own or asking their teachers about varieties, their answers are still towards the affirmative end but they are closer to the centre. Thus, the teachers' role can be crucial to foster these interests and to cater for them.

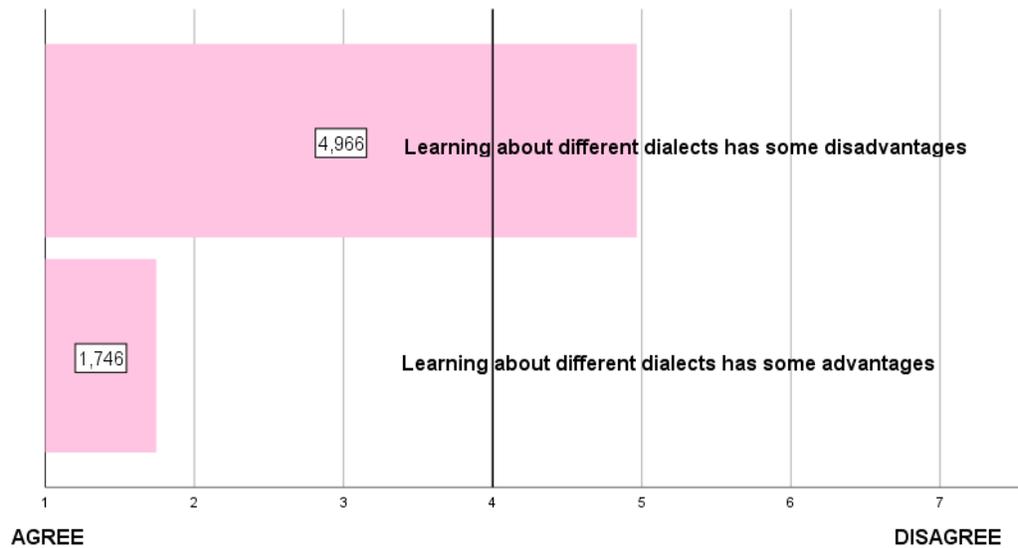
5.2.5 Students' Beliefs About Learning Goals and Impact of Dialectal Variation on Learning

In general terms, students consider that learning about dialectal variation has some advantages, as seen in Figure 149.

Figure 149

Students' Opinions on Advantages and Disadvantages of Dialectal Variation Learning

		Learning about different dialects has some advantages	Learning about different dialects has some disadvantages
N	Valid	59	59
	Missing	0	0
Mean		1,75	4,97
Std. Deviation		1,604	2,141



Among the advantages, they mention benefits related to being able to understand and to communicate with a wider variety of speakers: “more possibilities of understanding music, movies, and people when travelling”, “being able to communicate with any person from any Spanish speaking country in the world”, “understanding regional and cultural differences”, “understanding certain dialects can also help you understand other languages, such as Catalan”, “we can learn more sounds and words so that we can understand many more people”, “it helps you communicate better and understand people better”. As teachers did, some students show awareness of the impact dialectal exposure may have on the development of linguistic skills. Some other related comments are: “it helps me improve my level of Spanish”, “it enriches our vocabulary”, “it can expand our choices as to how to speak the language”, “More exposure to different cultures and tuning your ear to listen to different accents and familiarising yourself with differences is helpful for real-world scenarios”, “more possibilities of easily adapting ourselves to the variety of the place where we are”. The last two quotes make reference to the

importance of knowing about dialectal variation in order to be prepared for variation in the “real world”, in actual communicative situations and specific contexts.

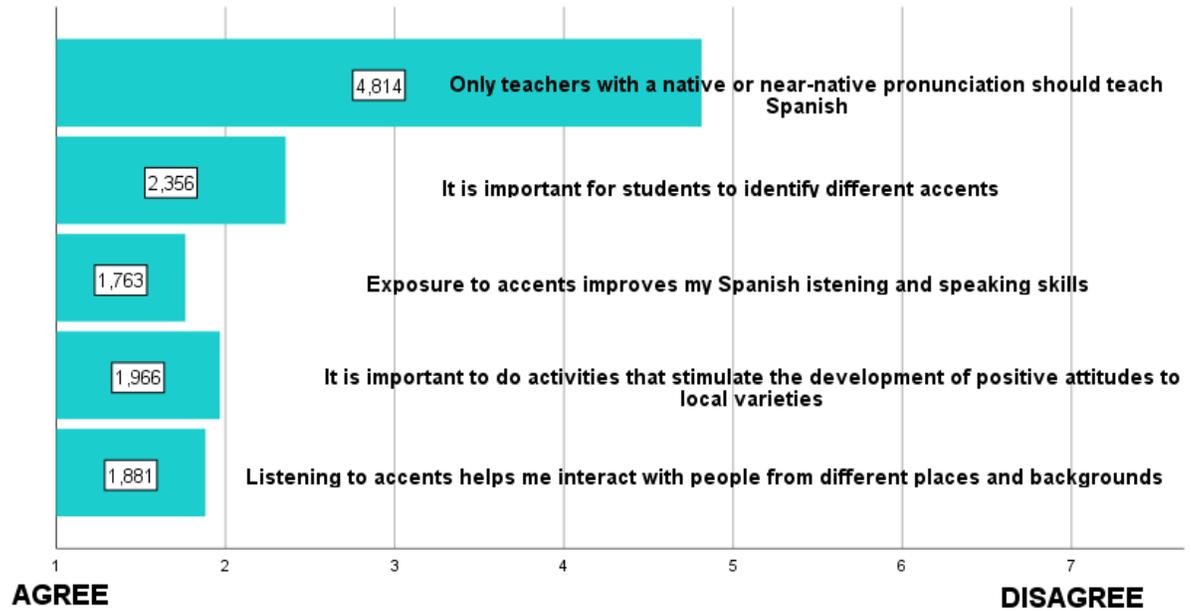
Some comments associate learning about dialectal variation with the development of tolerance and multicultural competence: “getting to know different cultures”, “being more culturally competent and educated”, “it broadens our understanding and helps us respect differences”, “it makes us understand about the history of the language”, “it makes us more empathetic”. One student reflects upon the possibility of thinking about the concept of “standard variety” in a more critical way when they say: “it opens your mind about language and its structures and about why something is considered standard”.

As regards the disadvantages, most of them have to do with the belief that exposure to different varieties may generate confusion or be too difficult, which was a point that some teachers raised as well: “it could confuse people or be too difficult to understand some dialects”, “it could be overwhelming”, “Confusing to remember different grammar rules for each region”, “it requires more time and attention” or “It can be difficult when you are exposed to so many different accents and vocabulary”. Some students worry about the impact it may have on their speech: “We may end up having a mixed accent, less authentic”, “not knowing how to speak or pronounce words, using words which are not used in that place”. Some others state that it may have a negative impact on the learning of the language, such as “There might be some disadvantages of focusing too much on the different dialects of Spanish instead of focusing on developing a general vocabulary and a neutral accent which makes it possible to communicate with people in general”. The belief that variation is not necessary if they are not studying the language to reach a high proficiency level is also present: “In school, you might not develop a very high level of Spanish anyway, so the focus on details might hinder the potential of general knowledge of the language” or “it is not necessary if we are learning basic Spanish”.

The advantages that students list in the previous item are in accordance with their reaction to some of the statements that follow (see Figure 150). They acknowledge the importance of being able to identify different accents. This is related to the fact that they also think that listening to accents helps them to interact with people from different places and backgrounds. They consider that exposure to accents improves their listening and speaking skills, and at the same time they think that it is important to do activities that stimulate the development of positive attitudes to local varieties.

Figure 150

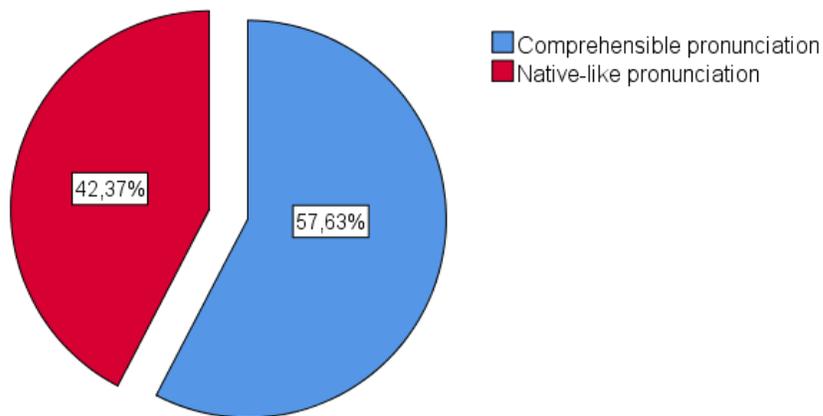
Students' Reactions to Statements about the Importance of Learning about Dialectal Variation



Most students state that their aim with regard to Spanish pronunciation is to reach comprehensible pronunciation. However, 42% state that their aim is to achieve native-like Spanish pronunciation, as seen in Figure 151.

Figure 151

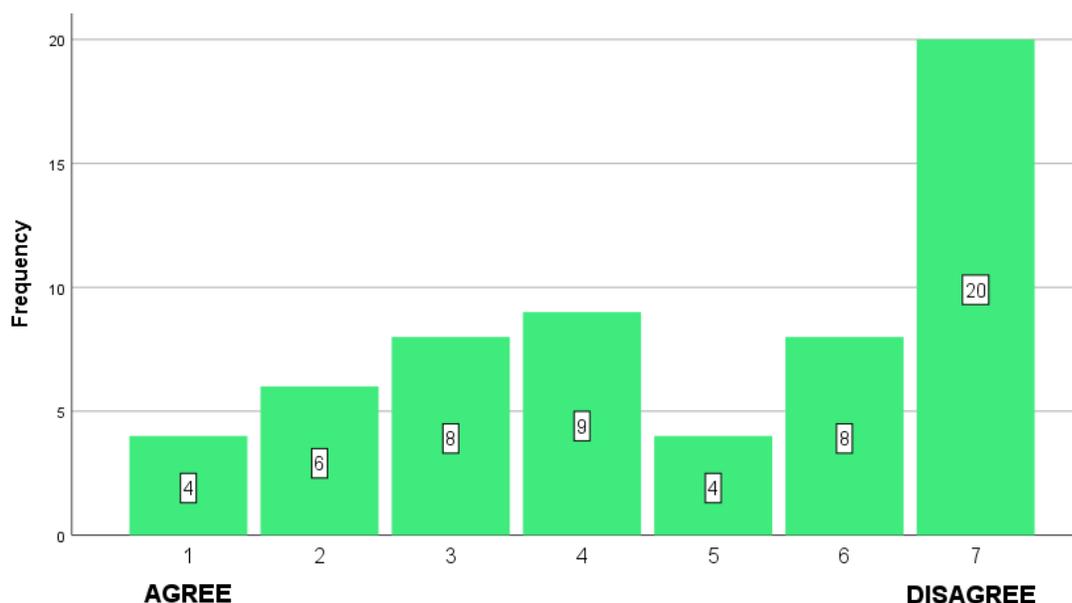
Students' Beliefs as regards their Pronunciation Goals



The answer to this question may be related to the reaction to the following statement. Even though in general terms they disagree with the statement that only teachers with a native or near-native pronunciation should teach Spanish, as 32 students state, there are still 27 students who are not sure or agree with the statement, as shown in Figure 152.

Figure 152

Students' Beliefs about the Accent Teachers Should Have to Be Able to Teach: Native vs. Non-native



In sum, most students like learning Spanish and are also interested in variation. Many listen to varieties on their own and ask their teachers about it. They make reference to benefits and drawbacks of learning about variation similar to those mentioned by teachers, and they acknowledge the impact studying variation can have on their linguistic and multicultural abilities. Over half of them have comprehensible pronunciation as a goal, but still over 40% aim at native-like pronunciation, although most do not believe only native or near-native teachers should teach.

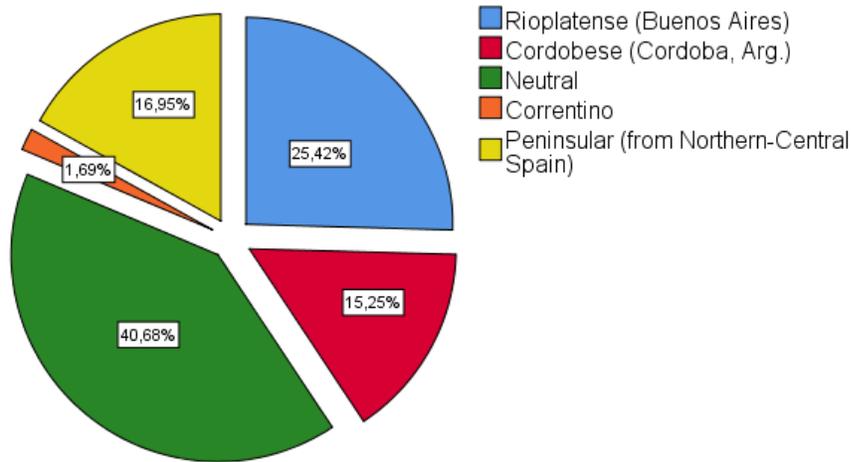
5.2.6 Experiences in the Classroom

Some questions in the students' survey aimed at finding out about their Spanish learning experiences in general and also about variation learning in particular.

Participants were asked which variety they thought they were being taught (see Figure 153). Most state that they are being taught “neutral Spanish”. This may have to do with the fact that neither the teacher nor teaching materials may make reference to specific Spanish varieties during instruction. Next in frequency is the *Rioplatense* variety, followed by the Peninsular and the Cordobese ones, respectively.

Figure 153

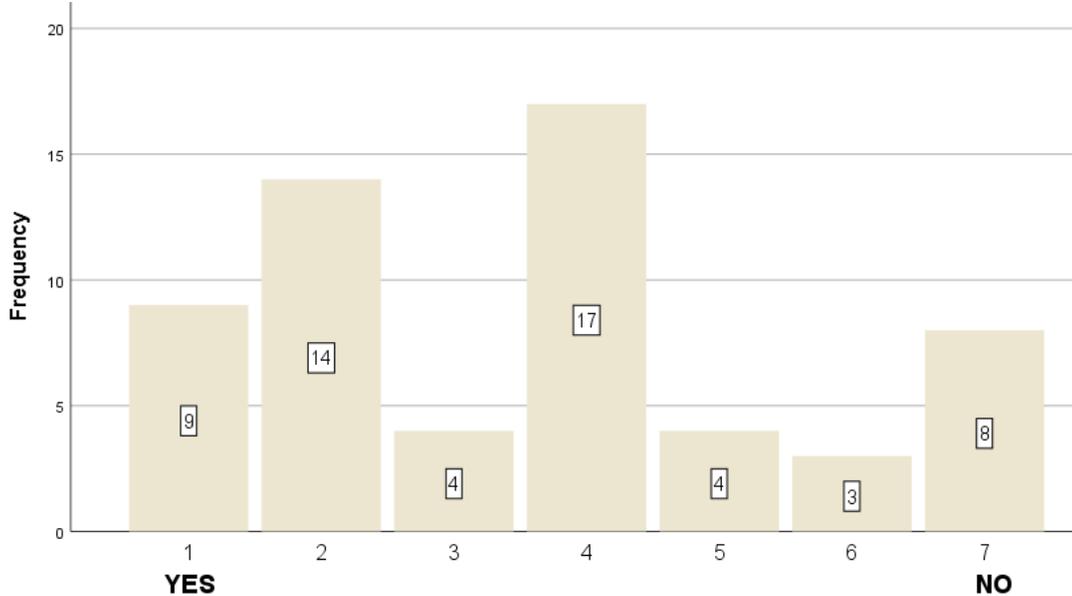
Spanish Variety Students Consider They Are Being Taught



As regards whether students perceive their classmates are interested in variation, 17 choose a neutral answer, as shown in Figure 154; some of these participants state that they took or are taking individual lessons. Twenty-seven (27) participants say that their classmates are interested in variation, whereas 15 of them state that they are not.

Figure 154

Students' Opinion of whether their Classmates Are Interested in Spanish Varieties

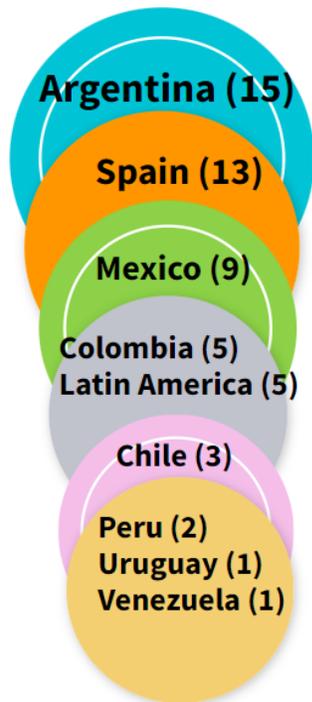


Students who state their classmates are interested in variation list some varieties, as presented in Figure 155. Fifteen (15) students mention Argentinian varieties by using the label “Argentinian” and “Rioplatense” or by mentioning specific provinces such as Buenos Aires and Córdoba. The following most frequent variety is the Peninsular one (13). Nine students mention

the Mexican variety. Five students mention the Colombian variety and five others, the category “Latin American”. Some informants mention Chile, Peru, Venezuela and Uruguay as well.

Figure 155

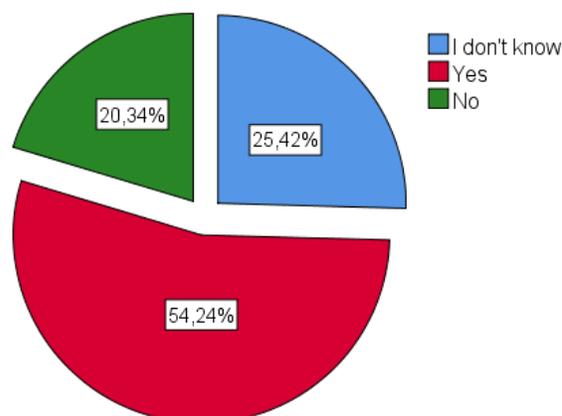
Spanish Varieties Students Think their Classmates Are Interested in



Apart from asking students about their perceptions about their classmates' interests regarding variation, participants also stated whether they have dealt with this topic in class. More than half of them say that they have been taught about variation. A quarter of them are not sure whether they have, and 20% state variation has not been a topic in their classes, as shown in Figure 156.

Figure 156

Students' Report of the Dialectal Variation Teaching They Have Received



Students who state they have been taught about varieties made specific reference to the varieties they were exposed to. These varieties are presented in order of frequency in Figure 157.

Figure 157

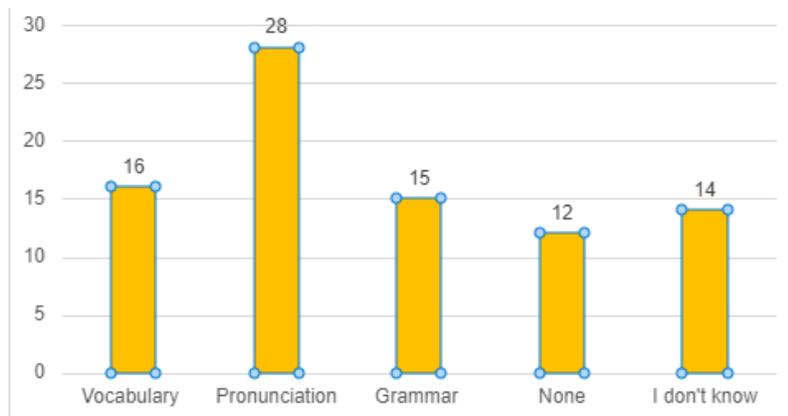
Spanish Varieties Students Have Been Exposed to



Students also reported the kind of dialectal differences they were taught, as seen in Figure 158. Pronunciation differences were mentioned by 28 informants, followed by lexical (16) and grammatical (15) variation.

Figure 158

Kind of Dialectal Variation Students Were Exposed to



Forty-three (43) students say their teachers did not ask them about the variety they needed or preferred to learn, whereas 16 of them say they did (see Figure 159). This contrasts

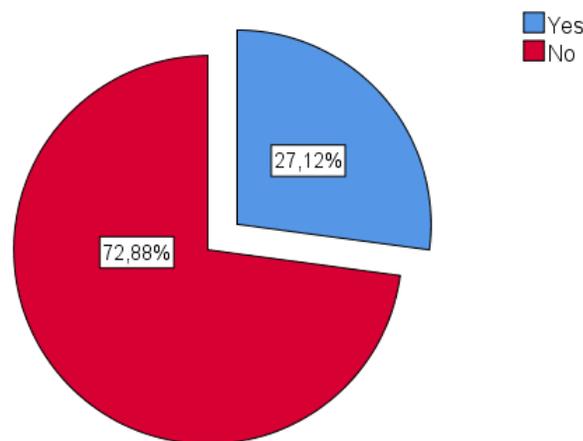
with the results we got from teachers' responses. Most teachers, 67% of them, stated that they do ask their students about their needs and preferences as regards Spanish variation (see Figure 73).

In a follow up item students had to state whether their teacher changed the class materials to meet their preferences as regards variation. In accordance with the previous question, 41 informants answered negatively to this inquiry. Once again there is a discrepancy with the answers provided by teachers. 66% of teachers claimed that they do change the material they use in their Spanish classes in order to meet their students' needs as regards variation (see Figure 73).

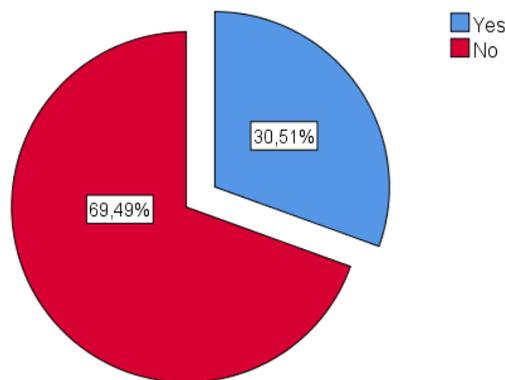
Figure 159

Teachers' Consideration of Students' Needs and Preferences, as Reported by Students

Did teachers ask students which variety they needed or preferred to learn?



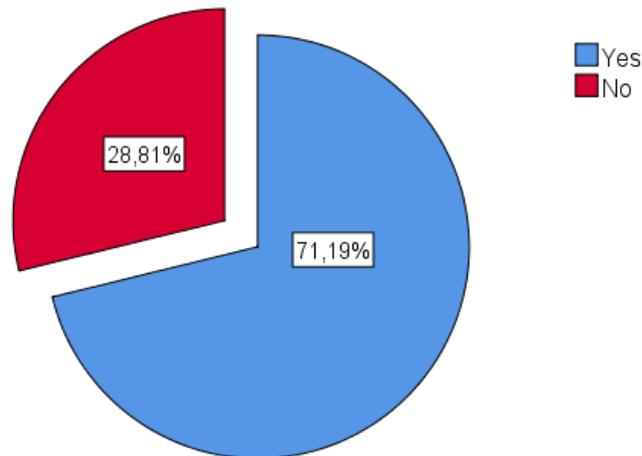
Did teachers change the material to meet students preferences regarding Spanish varieties?



Students were also asked about the degree of freedom they have as to which variety to use during class and in exam situations. More than 70% of them state they can choose freely, as shown in Figure 160. Their answers are somewhat in agreement with teachers' answers: 90% of teachers said that their students are free to use any Spanish variety they want.

Figure 160

Students' Freedom to Choose the Variety They Want in Class and Exams



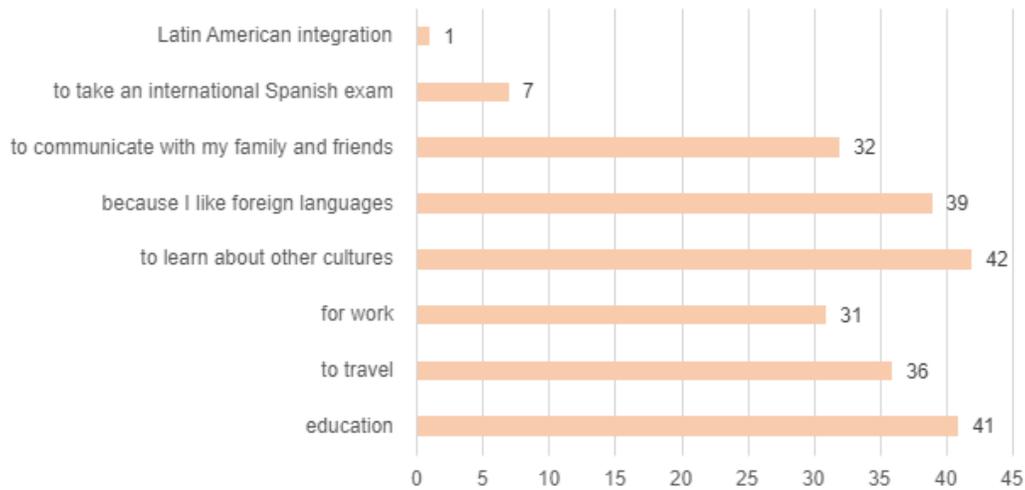
In sum, most students think they are being taught neutral Spanish, followed by the Buenos Aires variety, even though they feel that most learners are interested in the Argentinian variety, followed by the Peninsular one. Over half of them claim to be exposed to variation, mostly about pronunciation. Even though most say they were not asked about their preferences, they feel free to choose which variety to use.

5.2.7 External Factors

In this section, a couple of external factors which may have an impact on the decisions which are made in the learning environment will be referred to. In Figure 161, the reasons why students are learning Spanish are presented. The most frequent reason given by informants is to learn about other cultures (42), followed by educational reasons (41), enjoyment in learning foreign languages (39) and travel and tourism (36).

Figure 161

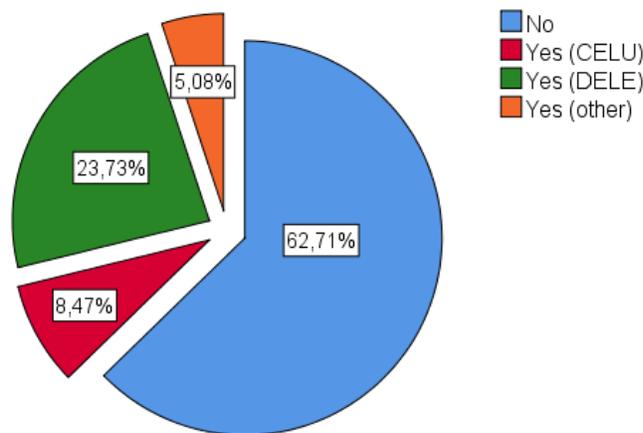
Reasons Why Students Are Learning Spanish, as Reported by Students



A further external factor that can influence the teaching and learning processes has to do with the Spanish proficiency examinations that students may be planning to sit for. In Figure 162 we can see that 37 participants are not planning to sit for an exam. Twenty-two of them are planning to sit for one: 14 will take the DELE examination, offered by the Cervantes Institute, five will sit for the CELU, offered by Argentinian Institutions, and three will sit for other exams, such as the DUCLE, offered by the National University of Rosario, Argentina.

Figure 162

Students' Plans to Take an International Spanish Exam



5.3. Comparison of Teachers' and Students' VGT Results

In this section, a comparison between the results of the students and teachers' VGT will be presented. In the following charts teachers' (Figure 163) and students' (Figure 164) mean

ratings of each speaker are presented, which shows the same exact hierarchical order of varieties for both groups.

The speakers who received the overall most positive rating (closer to 1) by teachers was Tamara, the female speaker from Buenos Aires, followed by Horacio, the male speaker from the same province. In third place Pamela, the female speaker from Córdoba is found, followed by David, the male Cordobese speaker, who was the most negatively rated speaker. Thus, the Buenos Aires variety was rated more positively than the Cordobese variety by both groups, which reveals similar attitudes towards these varieties both among teachers and students and may also be giving us a hint that attitudes may be reproduced and amplified in educational settings. This may be due to the hegemonic position of the Buenos Aires variety in public institutions and the media.

Figure 163

Teachers' Mean Ratings of Each VGT Sample in Hierarchical Order

Speaker	Mean	Standard deviation
Tamara (BA Female)	2.49	0.83
Horacio (BA Male)	2.68	0.87
Pamela (CBA Female)	2.79	0.95
David (CBA Male)	2.96	0.93

When looking at students' mean ratings a similar hierarchical order to the one found in teachers' VGT results is identified. The speakers from Buenos Aires, first Tamara and then Horacio, received the most positive ratings. In third place David, the male Cordobese speaker is found, followed by Pamela, the female Cordobese speaker, who was the one who received the most negative ratings. In this case, the order of the Cordobese speakers is different than in teachers' ratings, as Pamela was placed last, instead of David.

Figure 164

Students' Mean Ratings of Each VGT Sample in Hierarchical Order

Speaker	Mean	Standard deviation
Tamara (BA Female)	2.52	0.97

Horacio (BA Male)	2.71	0.99
David (CBA Male)	3.24	1.01
Pamela (CBA Female)	3.34	1.14

In order to test for differences between the VGT ratings of teachers and students in the three dimensions, the Mann-Whitney U Test was used. This test is the non-parametric alternative to the t-test for independent samples. The chosen test compares medians of the two groups instead of comparing means and assesses whether the takings for the groups are significantly different (Pallant, 2016).

5.3.1 Horacio: Comparison of Teachers and Students' Ratings

As can be seen in Figure 165, for Horacio's ratings, the male Buenos Aires speaker, the Sig. values in all three dimensions are greater than .05: .579 for Status and Competence, .288 for Linguistic Superiority, and .069 for Social Attractiveness. This means that the differences between the ratings given by teachers and students to Horacio are not significant.

Figure 165

Horacio: Comparison between Teachers' and Students' VGT Ratings

	Status and Competence	Linguistic Superiority	Social Attractiveness
Total N	251	251	251
Mann-Whitney U	5402.000	6153.000	6523.000
Wilcoxon W	7172.000	7923.000	8293.000
Test Statistic	5402.000	6153.000	6523.000
Standard Error	473.760	460.625	472.725
Standardised Test Statistic / z score	-.555	1.061	1.817
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	.579	.288	.069

5.3.2 David: Comparison of Teachers and Students' Ratings

Similarly, in the case of the ratings given to David, the male speaker from Córdoba, results reveal no significant differences in any of the three dimensions, as the Sig. values in Status and Competence, Linguistic Superiority and Social Attractiveness are .409, .074 and .438 respectively (see Figure 166).

Figure 166

David: Comparison between Teachers' and Students' VGT Ratings

	Status and Competence	Linguistic Superiority	Social Attractiveness
Total N	251	251	251
Mann-Whitney U	6053.00	6517.000	6020.500
Wilcoxon W	7823.00	8287.000	7790.500
Test Statistic	6053.00	6517.000	6020.500
Standard Error	471.502	477.935	459.354
Standardised Test Statistic / z score	.825	1.785	0.776
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	.409	.074	.438

5.3.3 Pamela: Comparison of Teachers and Students' Ratings

When comparing the ratings that Pamela, the female speaker from Córdoba, got in the VGT, it can be seen that there were significant differences between teachers and students' ratings in all three dimensions (see Figure 167). All three Sig. Values were lower than .05: .023 (Status and Competence), .001 (Linguistic Superiority) and .001 (Social Attractiveness).

Figure 167*Pamela: Comparison between Teachers' and Students' VGT Ratings*

	Status and Competence	Linguistic Superiority	Social Attractiveness
Total N	251	251	251
Mann-Whitney U	6736.000	7255.500	7194.500
Wilcoxon W	8506.000	9025.500	8964.500
Test Statistic	6736.000	7255.500	7194.500
Standard Error	471.996	477.943	464.845
Standardised Test Statistic	2.271	3.330	3.292
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	0.023	.001	.001

As there were statistically significant differences between the ratings given by teachers and students to Pamela in the three VGT dimensions, the direction of that difference needs to be described. The median values are reported in order to present these differences (See Figure 168). The median for teachers' ratings was 3 for Status and Competence, 3 for Linguistic Superiority and 2 for Social Attractiveness, whereas the median for students' ratings was 4, 4 and 3 respectively. These figures reveal that, in general, teachers rated Pamela's speech more towards the positive end, whereas students' ratings for the Cordobese female speaker in all dimensions coincide with or are closer to the neutral point.

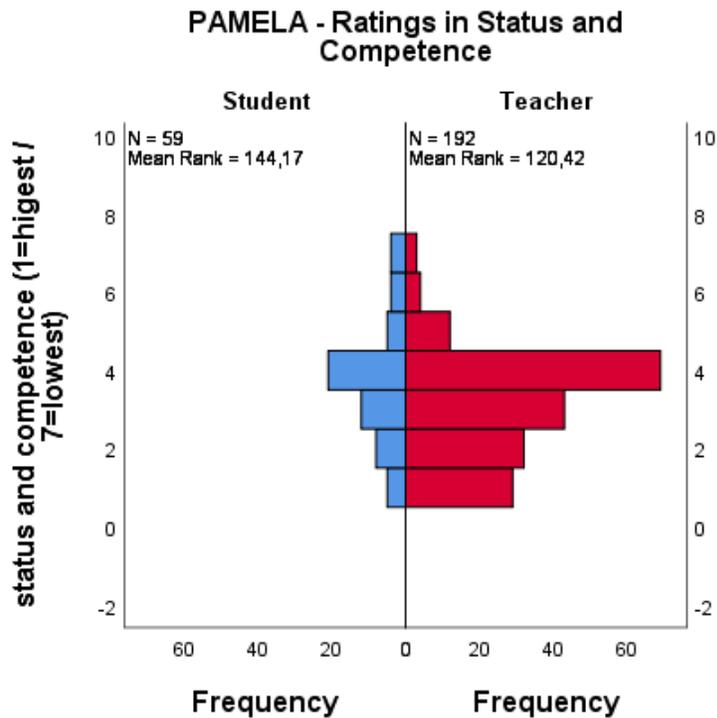
Figure 168*Pamela's Median Values in the Three Dimensions*

	Status and Competence	Linguistic Superiority	Social Attractiveness
Teachers' median	3.00	3.00	2.00
Students' median	4.00	4.00	3.00

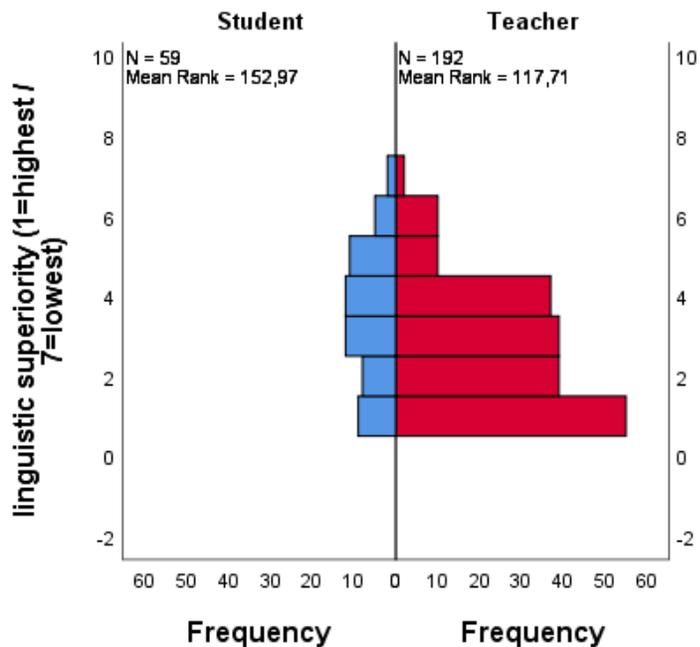
By observing the bar graphs in Figure 169, further details can be seen about how these two groups' ratings compare in the three dimensions. For instance, we can identify which ratings were the most frequent in each of the groups for each dimension. In Status and competence, 4 (the neutral point) was the most frequent in both groups, which leads us to think that both teachers and students may have not wanted to select neither a positive nor a negative rating for this speaker, as they may not have associated her speech to any stereotypical image in relation to status and competence. In the case of the Linguistic Superiority dimension, teachers' most frequent rating was 1, the most positive option, whereas students' most typical ratings were 3 and 4, closer to or coinciding with the neutral point. Moreover, we can observe that students' ratings in this dimension are more evenly distributed along the rating scale than teachers'.

Figure 169

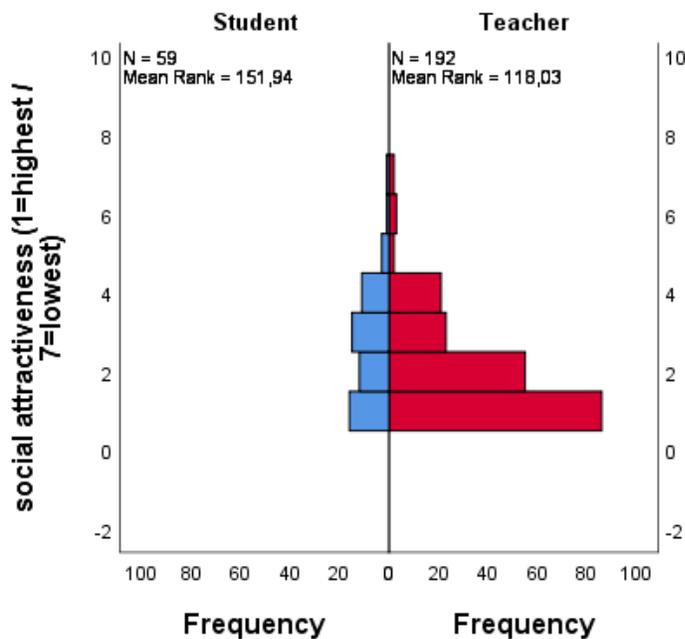
Comparison of Ratings of Pamela's Status and Competence



PAMELA - Ratings in Linguistic Superiority



PAMELA - Ratings in Social Attractiveness



In the case of the Social Attractiveness dimension, the most frequent rating teachers gave to this sample was 1 and in visual terms the difference is very marked if you observe the bars, whereas the difference in ratings given by students are less visible, as ratings are more evenly distributed along the rating scale.

Lastly, the effect size of this significant difference was calculated in order to measure how substantially different these groups were in terms of the rating of David's social attractiveness. This *r* value was calculated dividing the *z* values, which are shown as the Standardised Test Statistic in Figure 167, by the square root of *N*, where *N* is the total number of cases (251). The *r* value for the Status and Competence dimension was .14, which means it is small if we consider Cohen (1988) criteria of .1=small effect, .3=medium effect and .5=large effect. The *r* values for the Linguistic Superiority and Social Attractiveness dimensions was .21, which suggests the effect size in these two dimensions is between small and medium.

5.3.4 Tamara: Comparison of Teachers and Students' Ratings

In Figure 170, we can see the ratings that teachers and students gave to Tamara's sample, the female speaker from Buenos Aires. In the three dimensions of the VGT, the Sig. values are greater than .05: .556 for Status and Competence, .081 for Linguistic Superiority, and .511 for Social Attractiveness. This means that the differences between the ratings given by teachers and students to Tamara in the VGT are not significant.

Figure 170

Tamara: Comparison between Teachers' and Students' VGT Ratings

	Status and Competence	Linguistic Superiority	Social Attractiveness
Total N	251	251	251
Mann-Whitney U	5941.000	6436.500	5355.500
Wilcoxon W	7711.000	8206.500	7125.500
Test Statistic	5941.000	6436.500	5355.500
Standard Error	470.282	443.332	469.046
Standardised Test Statistic	0.589	1.742	-0.658
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	0.556	0.081	0.511

Finally, it can be said that when students and teachers rated the female and the male speakers from Buenos Aires, there were no significant differences between their ratings. When the same participants rated the speakers from Córdoba, there were differences in their rating to the female speaker and there were no significant differences in the case of the male speaker. We could speculate that differences in the ratings given to the female Cordobese speaker could be related to students not being familiarised with this variety, as shown by their low identification of this speakers' place of origin.

5.4. Results and Discussion of Group Interviews

In this section, we will discuss the results of the five interviews that were conducted to collect some of the qualitative data for this study. As described in the methodology chapter, in each interview, three teacher participants took part. Participants were grouped considering place of origin and place of residence, as their native variety and the Spanish varieties they are exposed to are more likely to coincide and may share outlooks on the topics discussed. One group was composed of teachers from Córdoba working there; a second group included teachers from Buenos Aires working in that city; a third group were teachers who were neither from Córdoba nor Buenos Aires and did not work in those places either; in the fourth group the participants were originally from Córdoba but were working abroad; the last group had participants who were originally from different parts of Argentina but were working in Córdoba at the time of the interview. All of them have experience working in different institutions and teaching a variety of proficiency levels.

When invited, teachers had been informed that the interviews would last between one and one and a half hours. Before starting the interview, participants were introduced to each other and told that they were expected to answer questions as honestly as they could. Furthermore, they were told that there are no correct or incorrect answers, as the aim of the meeting was to have as many details as possible about their perceptions, opinions and practices.

The themes proposed during the interviews had the objective of obtaining further details and elaboration on items presented in the questionnaire that participants had previously answered individually (See Appendix 6 for a list of questions). All interviews were conducted following the same structure and approximate timings: the first 15 minutes of the meeting were devoted to further exploring interviewees' opinions on world and Argentinian Spanish varieties. During the following ten minutes, participants shared their experiences, practices, and beliefs about the teaching of Spanish varieties in their classes. In the following section, participants

discussed for 20 minutes about the role of variation in teacher training courses and materials. They also shared their views on the best kinds of activities and input to learn L2 pronunciation. The last 15 minutes were devoted to considering the external factors that may influence their teaching practices. Finally, interviewees were invited to make comments or further elaborate on issues they felt had not been fully discussed.

5.4.1 Cordobese Teachers Working in Córdoba

This interview lasted one hour and ten minutes. Three teachers were interviewed through Teams, two female (28 and 27 years old) that will be referred to as CT1 and CT2, and one male teacher (30 years old) who will be referred to as CT3. The three of them have language degrees and work as private tutors and in language institutes teaching different proficiency levels. One of them also works at a university as an EFL teacher.

The three participants show a thorough understanding of what a language variety is, giving examples of varieties, sources of variation and aspects in which languages vary. They mention the link between a language, the sense of belonging to a community and speakers' identity; the association they make between language varieties, social identities and indexicality arises as well. They also mentioned that we all belong to a wider Hispanic community by speaking the same language, which can be associated with panhispanic perspectives that aim at fostering unity and cooperation among Spanish speaking countries and communities. These two "centripetal" and "centrifugal" forces coexist and seem to be in constant tension among the Hispanic world: feelings of linguistic loyalty and pride in their own local variety on the one hand, and sense of belonging to a wider international speech community which pushes for more homogenisation. SSL teachers may also be "pulled" by these forces, which can influence their decisions regarding variation teaching.

When asked about what having an accent is, they refer to the popular belief that it is a way of speaking which is different from the standard, different from one's speech, or a deviation from the norm. However, one of them claims that in fact we all have accents and the rest agrees. They define the standard as being the norm put forward by the RAE. CT3 says it is associated with correctness, politics, privilege and education so "in order to access certain educational institutions, health services or job opportunities you need to master it"²⁸. Here we can identify the connection made between social value, economic capital and standard/normative forms,

²⁸ The interviews were conducted in Spanish and were broadly translated by the researcher.

which O'Regan (2021) highlights when discussing political economy and “linguistic capital-centrism” in relation to the spread of English worldwide. CT3 adds “correctness between inverted commas”, as the standard is supposed to be “correct” because it is the imposed norm with which all other non-standard varieties, which are “incorrect”, are compared with. The terms correct and incorrect come up when describing what is considered appropriate or accepted by the academies or described in grammar books or dictionaries. Interviewees acknowledge the existence of “several Spanish standards” in the world and that the standard in Argentina is the Rioplatense variety, which they claim not to speak. They all agree that they are not recognised as Argentinians by foreigners, because they did not speak the Buenos Aires or Standard Rioplatense variety. We can identify the force of the standard language ideology coming into play as well, which Lippi-Green used to describe what happens in the field of English teaching but is clearly replicated in other languages such as Spanish, French and German, as we have seen in Sections 1.3 and 2.8.1.1.

CT1 says that the standard serves as a reference point and that it helps with communication and education, as “if there were no standard, communication would not be possible as we would all adopt different variants”. This comment could be analysed in terms of the monolingual and monolithic bias. Within these conceptions, speakers use a national language which has a specific grammar with a fixed norm and there is no room for variation within the language. The non-native speaker is an “inherently defective communicator” who interacts with an idealised native speaker who speaks an idealised standard variety (Ellis, 2012). However, this monolithic model for communication does not fit a reality that is much more complex than that. Competent Spanish speakers will need to be ready to communicate with speakers of a range of varieties and who can be multilingual speakers as well, engaging in transcultural and even translingual practices.

The three of them agree that Cordobese Spanish is non-standard. However, they say they can change their normal way of speaking to speak more closely to the standard in certain situations, as they have received the necessary education to be able to do so. CT2 adds that what is specially a “deviation from the standard” is the Cordobese accent, as “the grammar is not so far from the standard”. Having said this, they state that a unified variety for the whole Hispanic world would be “weird and would devoid us of our identity”. This comment conflicts with previous statements about the standard and its value for communication. CT2 adds that “standardisation serves the interests of publishing companies”. The so-called “neutral” Spanish for them is associated with movies and mass media, a Spanish which is closer to Mexican

Spanish. It has symbolic dominance, as it has become normalised as the “standard” for many. CT2 states that teaching a neutral variety which is not “so marked” or associated with any specific country may be useful for students who travel a lot. She states that she tries to teach “the most standard variety possible”, and she adds “but in the end, I consider it best to teach the variety I know how to speak best, as I am not very confident teaching varieties I am not familiar with”. In this paragraph we can see the complex range of factors that come into play when deciding on the variety to teach and the varieties to expose our students to, such as practicality, comprehensibility, identity issues, familiarity, sociolinguistic awareness and transcultural competence.

They perceive that people usually have a positive attitude towards their Cordobese accent, especially in informal situations or when doing tourism within Argentina. This is in accordance with Lang-Rigal’s (2015) findings: the stereotype associated with the Cordobese accent is that of a funny speaker who is favoured in terms of solidarity but not in terms of linguistic competence, as Cordobese appears not to be considered a standard variety. Linguistic inequality and the hierarchical order in which the Cordobese and Rioplatense varieties are placed arise. This debate mirrors what happens among English varieties worldwide with the hierarchy there exists among varieties at an international level when considering different “inner-circle” varieties, for instance, but also at a national and more local level, when considering the place varieties such as AAVE (African American Vernacular English) has in the US or Tyneside English has in the UK, just to name a couple of examples.

When asked about their practices, teachers are supportive of the incorporation of variation, as it could be useful for students to be able to identify different varieties and this may improve intelligibility. They were doubtful as regards how variation can fit the production area of Spanish acquisition. CT1 points out that in international examinations students may be required to listen to audios produced by people from different countries, so “once they are familiarised with our own accent or with the standard that the teaching material uses, we can expose them to different Spanish varieties to help them develop their perceptual skills”. In this comment we can perceive the high degree of language awareness that the teacher exhibits. Language awareness is the ‘explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use’ (ALA, 2016). Knowing about the underlying L2 systems is thought to be crucial for effective teaching as it helps learners to develop their own awareness. However, Otwinowska (2017) states that the world we live in requires a model of language teacher awareness that encompasses metalinguistic,

psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic awareness²⁹. In that comment we can also see the washback effect that international exams can have, they may mould or at least influence the decisions teachers make regarding variation teaching, since many SSL learners will take one of these exams eventually in order to certify their proficiency level. Furthermore, much of the teaching materials available are specifically designed having specific international exams in mind, which responds to economic and political interests of certain publishing companies and governments that put forward a specific norm and standard variety in order to safeguard their monopoly of the teaching of SSL worldwide. This brings us back to the issue of political economy and how the spread and imposition of a specific norm is not naïve or “natural”, but has clearly traceable historical political and economic interests behind.

CT3 says he teaches the Rioplatense variety but tries to expose his students to varieties of other countries, especially during listening activities, and to raise awareness of different Argentinian varieties, as they are all equally valuable. He perceives that his students are not familiar with variation and they need guidance and sensitisation. CT2 said that she teaches the Rioplatense variety and that she introduces variation when her students ask about different ways of naming something or pronouncing a word. They agree that the teaching materials available do not deal with variation or include very little of it, so it is up to them to find resources to include it in their courses.

They all consider it important to expose students to variation from the beginning of the course in all proficiency levels “as it important for students to know the reality of a language and its varieties and to help them develop better listening skills”. However, CT1 states that when working in the US, she was explicitly told not to use her own variety with lower level students “so as not to confuse them”, which she finds arbitrary and damaging for the development of their language proficiency. She states that if she had been in charge of the groups from the beginning of the course and had had the freedom to choose the varieties to expose her students to, she would have chosen to expose them to her own variety as well as the ones in teaching materials and the syllabus. She considers that this would have had a positive impact on students’ variation awareness and on their perceptual skills, which would have better prepared them for Spanish linguistic reality. In this case we can see that even though the teacher was convinced about the importance of incorporating variation and was willing to do it, institutional limitations were an obstacle to the point of having to disguise her own accent and variety.

²⁹ For details on the components of teachers’ language awareness see Otwinowska (2017).

As regards the input, they claim they try to find audios that are as spontaneous and natural as possible and that they try not to change their normal way of speaking. However, CT2 says, “I speak a bit slower and find easier words”, which implies changing their normal way of speaking. They state that it is important for students to be exposed to non-native and non-standard varieties but exposing them to many varieties may be confusing. Two of them claim that having a standard variety is useful, as “maybe it is better to focus on the standard norm and then expose them to some variation”. Again, we can identify some conflicting perspectives as regards the incorporation of variation, as they acknowledge its importance but intuitive concerns about it being confusing and doubts about how to pedagogically approach it emerge. This point was raised in Song’s (2016) research work, where he identified concerns about the negative impact that exposure to non-native accents may have on the acquisition of L2 pronunciation, though these concerns seemed to be based on participants’ language attitudes.

Interviewees claim not to impose an accent for students to imitate. If their students want to imitate a specific accent, they support them and they tell them that what is important is “that the way they speak does not hinder communication”, that what is key is intelligibility³⁰. One of them also says that when he was a student of English himself, he wanted to sound native-like but with time he realised how valuable it is to have our own accent, so he tries to transmit these ideas to his students: “When I listen to someone’s accent, they are communicating about their identity, that is why it is so important to keep it”. The objective of learning seems to be focused on general intelligibility rather than native-like pronunciation, which coincides with what most students responded to in Figure 100. The sociolinguistic awareness of the intrinsic bond between language and identities also arises.

As to how best students learn to pronounce in a foreign language, they mentioned listening to songs, political speeches and tv series, imitating, repeating, recording themselves and comparing their speech to that of the models. They also mentioned practising specific features that might be problematic. From the analysis of their answers, I perceive a confusion between the variety to use as a primary pronunciation model or preferred variety to study in detail and the varieties used for extensive listening exposure, peripheral varieties, with the purpose of high variability training, for instance. To illustrate, when asked about whether they deal with variation in their classes, they seemed to assume that incorporating variation

³⁰ Although there are differences between intelligibility and comprehensibility, these words were used interchangeably by interviewees. This was kept in that way in the description so as to be faithful to the way they expressed themselves. For details on conceptual differences between these two terms see Derwing & Munro (2015).

necessarily implies studying in detail each variety and encouraging students to imitate them. Teachers may need to be made aware that on the one hand we can select a primary pronunciation model, or preferred variety for the purpose of students' production development, and on the other hand we can select the peripheral varieties that we introduce with the aim of helping them develop their perceptual skills. As Sung (2016) suggests, training perceptual abilities helps learners to improve comprehensibility and to become more tolerant of different language varieties. However, this "should not replace the teaching of a chosen instructional model (for production)" (p. 203).

CT1 and CT2 say they do not teach pronunciation systematically nor do they introduce phonetic symbols, especially with beginner students. Nevertheless, they say they point out "certain sounds that may cause trouble, such as the different pronunciations of the 'll' and 'y'" and they also claim to do it mainly when students ask or have doubts. They make reference to pronunciation when they find it is needed during instruction, not in a systematic or pre-planned fashion. Contrastingly, CT3 claims to always deal with pronunciation, to introduce some phonetic symbols, spelling-sound correspondences, and some allophones, as "this helps to build a better understanding of pronunciation and of the language in general".

The three participants said they had not had appropriate training on how to teach variation and they consider that this would have been really useful for their professional life. They received some training on sociolinguistic variation but no guidance on how to pedagogically approach this topic. As regards this issue, one of them states that "it would be really beneficial to incorporate training on how to deal with accents and varieties as part of the Spanish teaching training programs. I know about Spanish varieties, but I do not know how to transmit that knowledge". As Moneris Oliveras (2015) points out, the sociolinguistic courses that are part of prospective Spanish instructors' training programs should be both theoretical and practical. Future professionals need to be exposed to and know about Spanish dialectal variation, but it is equally important for them to receive pedagogical training on how to implement Spanish language teaching with a focus on variation. This is a deficiency that should be addressed at higher levels through linguistic policies put forward by the Argentinian government in relation to the teaching of variation in the SSL, which we currently lack. Changes at this level would necessarily imply institutional changes in teacher training programs of study, for instance, changes in the international exams offered in the country, and would also create a higher demand for suitable materials that incorporate variation.

All interviewees say they make use of resources offered by the RAE and the Cervantes Institute, such as dictionaries and grammar books. However, they claim that many resources have to be used with caution because what they describe may be quite different from the Rioplatense variety, as they usually focus on standard Peninsular Spanish. CT3 states that these institutions offer useful materials which serve “standardising objectives, and offer detailed explanations and provide many examples”. CT1 comments on her experience with these resources while teaching in the US; her students “could not believe there was a single publication and a single language academy that would define what the standard variety is, what is appropriate or inappropriate, “correct” or “incorrect” because that does not happen with English. They felt a bit of relief and it gave them some reassurance to know they could resort to this material to find the answers and to work autonomously without depending on the teacher.” Teachers acknowledge the importance that these institutions and their resources have in their practices but, at the same time, they show caution and a slightly critical view. As the Spanish government, mainly through the Cervantes Institute, the RAE, some publishing companies and initiatives such as *Marca España*, control most of the Spanish teaching market worldwide, they can choose which variety to validate and impose as the norm, which varieties to incorporate as “peripheral” ones, and which varieties to ignore or silence altogether, which reinforces current language inequalities and linguistic attitudes, keeps the status quo and safeguards their economic interests within a neocolonial dynamics.

Teachers claim to be relatively free to choose what variety to use and to teach in their classes. However, CT1 and CT3 taught Spanish in the US and they were required to use a different variety when teaching, especially in lower level courses. In higher level courses they could and were even encouraged to use their own variety, as the institutions said this contributed to multicultural diversity. They also comment on colleagues who work for some academies that offer classes all over the world, which require teachers to change their normal way of speaking and also to teach the “neutral” variety or the Peninsular one. As an example of this, CT2 states, “I have colleagues who work for an Australian language school and they are asked to change their accent. You cannot be who you are. You cannot speak who you are”.

Interviewees state they take into account their students’ objectives when teaching, especially when teaching individuals or small groups. If students are not interested in variation or are focused on passing a certain international exam which uses one specific variety, they tend to focus on what their students need or prefer; this is why changes at higher levels are needed.

5.4.2 Teachers from Buenos Aires Working in Buenos Aires

In this interview there were two female teachers (BAT1 and BAT2), 37 and 45 years old respectively, and one 28-year-old male teacher (BAT3). BAT1 works for an American language academy and also for a university, teaching Brazilians who moved to Buenos Aires to study medicine. BA2 works as a private tutor and at university. BAT3 works with immigrants from Senegal, who also need to learn to read and write as most of them are illiterate.

Interviewees say that most students come to their classes with preconceived notions of which varieties are “prestigious or best to learn, such as the Colombian and Peninsular variety”. Most are false beginners who have had some Spanish training, especially on the Peninsular variety.

When defining what variation is, interviewees agree that the most important factor is related to geographical variation, but factors such as age and level of education were also mentioned. BAT3 defines a variety as “a theoretical construct which is an abstraction and that is influenced by different factors”.

According to them, “we all have an accent”. However, BAT2 states, “you recognise the accent because of its difference from the way you speak. For example, we hear you and we know where you are from, Andrea, and what for me is your accent, for you is just the way you speak and vice-versa”. BAT1 adds that “we all have an accent and we all speak a variety, because the so-called neutral Spanish does not exist. It is a utopia”.

Further expanding on the concept of neutral Spanish, BAT1 claims it is “like a standard”. She mentioned her experience as a postgraduate student in Spain and her variety being considered a “deviation from the norm”. She had problems writing her dissertation because the institution did not want to accept her final paper being written in her Argentinian variety and required her to follow the “Iberic cannon, the standard Peninsular Spanish”. This experience is similar to what some other interviewees underwent: some were forced to change their own variety to fit the requirements of foreign institutions. BAT3 describes “neutral” Spanish as a “mercantilist idea which was created to offer a common product for the whole of Latin America, such as cartoons, and which is very demanded by students”. He identifies in his students an association of neutral Spanish with prestige and usefulness: “Some of them think that if they avoid the Rioplatense variety, for instance, they will be less discriminated against when they go to Spain.” This teacher is able to identify how his students’ sociolinguistic awareness as regards Spanish varieties moulds their needs and preferences.

When defining “the standard”, BAT1 mentions neutral Spanish as the standard in Latin America, an accent that “cannot be identified with a specific country but aims to be the continent's norm”. BAT3 describes the standard as “the one we learn at school and that we need to manage to live in society and to be successful, a variety which is put forward by powerful economic groups and literary tradition”. In these last two paragraphs, the teachers’ comments unveil issues related to political economy and to the symbolic power that speaking a certain variety entails. Speaking “the standard” is valued because it provides symbolic capital that places its speakers in a better social position and at the same time in a more competitive position in the market.

The three interviewees from Buenos Aires consider their variety to be the standard in the country. BAT3 says “I am privileged to speak the variety spoken in Buenos Aires, the Rioplatense variety, which is the standard in Argentina, but not when considering it from an international perspective, when compared to the one spoken in Spain, for instance.” In this comment we can identify the conflict and power struggle between Buenos Aires (Rioplatense) and Peninsular Spanish: Buenos Aires Spanish is the national standard in Argentina, and it is acknowledged by the Language Academies as one of the eight world standards. However, when compared to Peninsular Spanish, its speakers feel their variety does not enjoy equal status and some linguistic insecurity may arise. This can be analysed in terms of the sense of language ownership of a speech community and how it can fluctuate when considering their position at a national and at an international level. As Lang-Rigal (2014) observes, there is quite a widespread tendency among Latin American speakers to have a negative perception of their own variety when comparing it to Peninsular Spanish, which they tend to see as more prestigious and authoritative. She states that these strong beliefs derive from a long history of linguistic colonisation ideology. Historical linguistic inequality which originated in colonial times is still very much present in a neo-colonial fashion nowadays, which places varieties in a hierarchical order where the Peninsular variety is usually the unquestioned “leader”.

On the other hand, when asked to consider Cordobese Spanish, the three teachers readily agree on considering it non-standard. BAT3 holds it is a peripheral variety in comparison to the Rioplatense one, which is more central. He says “unfortunately, within Argentina I do not consider it a standard variety. It is us, the *porteños*³¹ who speak the variety which is closest to the standard. Maybe in Córdoba, the variety of the capital is more standard within the province.

³¹ *Porteño* is the demonym used to make reference to people who are from the city of Buenos Aires.

But when thinking about Argentina, I don't think they speak the standard, but we luckily do." The difference between "us/we" and "you" is marked by the participant. Making it clear that they belong to different speech communities and exhibiting linguistic pride and ethnocentrism as well.

They have experienced mixed comments about their variety, mostly positive ones. BAT3 made reference to some students from a US university where he worked complaining about his accent because it was different from the ones they had been exposed to previously or to the ones used by other teachers, which they liked more. At the same time, BAT3 says this university had a predominantly Jewish community and there were many Jewish students from Argentinian descent, so they liked his accent because it reminded them of their childhood and origins; it had an affective component.

About the possibility of all the Hispanic world speaking the same variety, they found it "horrible". As BAT3 puts it, "Diversity is necessary. I know the RAE puts emphasis on us speaking the same language and understanding each other, which is positive for communication but from an extra-linguistic point of view it would be terrible." Again, their sociolinguistic awareness and the value they give to diversity arises.

How do they deal with variation in their own classes? BAT2 says "you cannot incorporate many varieties because students can get confused, not even in advanced courses. They thought that they knew everything and then they will realise they don't." This statement is in some ways contradictory. The instructor acknowledges that showing students different varieties is letting them know they "do not know everything", implicitly admitting that they need to know about variation to have a better understanding of what Spanish is. BAT1 states that if she were a student she would not want to learn specific items related to a variety but would want to learn a variety that is useful when travelling and communicating with people from different places. BAT2 considers that you cannot introduce too much variation to beginner students. She gradually introduces variation with more advanced students. Again, in this interview, the association of incorporating variation with confusion is present, especially when considering lower level students. The difference between the main instructional model (preferred variety) and peripheral varieties that can be used for exposure and receptive skills training is also present in this group.

As the teachers from Córdoba, instructors from Buenos Aires say they had courses which dealt with Spanish varieties in their training programs. However, none of them were trained on how to incorporate variation in their lessons or on the cultural and linguistic benefits of teaching

variation, which they think would have been necessary. BAT2 says it would be really useful to know how to incorporate variation, especially from the perceptual point of view, as it is “information which is culturally relevant”. As teachers in the rest of the interviews, they explicitly called for enhancing teacher training in the area. BAT3 states he works as an examiner for SIELE³² examinations and that even though students are told they can use any variety, he never received any training on how to deal with variation during examinations and does not know how his colleagues deal with it either: “We never had any training about this. It is assumed that we are linguists and we know what to do. There is no clear linguistic policy about this”. Again, the lack of guidance and linguistic policies regarding variation on the part of international examinations exhibits the neglect towards this topic and the lack of commitment to the supposedly pluricentric and panhispanic trend that they discursively adhere to.

As regards the presence of variation in materials, they state there is very little or no variation in the materials they use or know. BAT2 mentions a book which has one activity which includes speakers from different Latin American places but the activity in itself is not about variation nor does the book deal with varieties in a systematic way. BAT1 mentions another book which claims to be “international” but “focuses on the Peninsular variety exclusively, and excludes the second person plural form “*ustedes*”, for instance, which is used in the whole of Latin America”. They also mention that international exams such as DELE³³ and SIELE are gradually incorporating more variation in their audios, which is surprising as “before, they were totally restricted to the Peninsular variety”. However, they state that variation is only incorporated in higher levels.

The three of them deal with pronunciation differently in their classes and have varied beliefs about how this skill is best developed. BAT3 says “I am terrible at teaching pronunciation. I don’t give it too much attention as long as they can produce and identify sounds. Sometimes I do repetition, listening and working with some contrasts, the way I learnt a foreign language.” BAT2 also says that she can teach pronunciation but usually only does listening and repetition unless the students ask, “as there are so many other grammar items that need more time”. BAT1 stresses that the good thing about working in an immersion situation is that they can ask students to go out, talk as much as they can with natives. Two of them are supportive of

³² This exam, which can be taken online, certifies proficiency in the Spanish language all over the world. It is promoted by the Cervantes Institute, Universidad Autónoma de México, Universidad de Salamanca and Universidad de Buenos Aires.

³³ The Diploma of Spanish as a Foreign Language certifies proficiency in the Spanish language all over the world. It is promoted by the Cervantes Institute.

the inclusion of non-native models in class even though they do not do it themselves, whereas another one says that she prefers restricting the exposure to native models. Native-speakerism is still quite strong among teachers and also among students and students' parents, who also exert pressure through their demands.

Their position towards the RAE, the rest of the language academies and the resources they offer was also put forward. BAT3 claims that “in spite of all the criticism against their political stance, they are a necessary evil. I use dictionaries, grammar books, corpuses and the rest of the resources they provide.” He states these resources are produced by professionals and are addressed to native and non-native speakers. This instructor considers there is a distinction to be made between the language academies and the Cervantes Institute. He considers the language academies to be more associated with academics and researchers from different parts of the world, which makes it more trustworthy. On the other hand, he sees the Cervantes Institute as “a project of Marca España³⁴, of the Spanish government”, which is explicitly oriented towards hoarding as much of the business of the Spanish language from across the world as possible, and its main interests are economic. BAT1 states that it is inevitable to resort to those materials but she adapts the activities to suit her students' needs. A dilemma emerges between rejection of the hegemonic and monolithic standard put forward by these institutions and the pragmatic reality of having many more resources available to be utilised. This makes explicit the need for the systematic development of teaching materials and resources on variation.

At work, they do not feel limited as regards the variety to use or expose their students to. Similar to comments in the previously described interview, BAT2 claims she has colleagues who work for language academies which use materials published in Spain. In some of these academies, teachers are required to “adapt themselves to the book, their grammar and pronunciation, to be able to continue in the job”. BAT1 comments on similar experiences, which she finds to be logical, as the school needs to homogenise and offer a specific variety. Even though she previously said that the lack of representation of variation in the courses is indeed a problem, by accepting that the institution's linguistic policy has a purpose, she internalises and normalises what she found problematic in the first place. However, she adds a somewhat contradictory comment related to this issue: “It is impossible for me to teach a variety that is not

³⁴ Marca España originated in 2012 and then became España Global in 2018, until it was suspended in 2021. Its aim was to promote Spain in the world. The Cervantes Institute collaborated with this policy by promoting Marca España in its branches all over the world. In their own words, they aimed at “finding appropriate interlocutors from cultural industries so as to use our 50-year experience in SSL teaching to promote our culture and serve this project, which is of national interest” (Cervantes Institute, 2017).

my own. I can make reference to some of the lexis of other varieties and imitate their pronunciation but in the end, I will teach my own variety because of my convictions. That should be explained to students and worked on in class.”

5.4.3 Teachers from the Rest of Argentina (not Buenos Aires or Córdoba) Working in those Towns

Three female teachers (RAT1, RAT2 and RAT3) were interviewed in this session, which lasted around an hour. Their provinces of origin were Entre Ríos, La Pampa and Jujuy. As regards their ages, RAT1 is 38, RT2 is 38, and RT3 is 37.

Two of them say they are EFL teachers who started “selling” themselves as native Spanish speakers who offered online classes; RAT1 says “online, everyone looks for native speakers of Spanish and that is how I got into this field”. RAT3 also agreed on the importance learners give to the tutor being a native speaker: “this profession has given me the possibility to travel and teach as a native speaker, which is very enriching”. This is an important point to discuss, as in the research field I perceive we are over the native/non-native dichotomy, but, as previously mentioned, it is still very much alive and strong among teachers, students and students’ parents who “consume” these language products. Commercialisation and commodification of language teaching come into play here, as the “language comes to be valued and sought for the economic profit it can bring” (Wee, 2012, p.125). However, what these actors may not be aware of, as Heller (2010) very well says, is that this commodification “confronts monolingualism with multilingualism, standardisation with variability, and prestige with authenticity in a market where linguistic resources have gained salience and value” (p. 107). However, even within this neo capitalist logic, the assessment that actors make regarding what is more “valuable” in capitalist terms, may not be considering actual current global market demands.

When asked about varieties, they mostly focus on the geographical factor, but RAT1 mentions how our varieties have been shaped by contact with aboriginal languages and with the languages of immigrants that arrived in Argentina at different points in history. They all acknowledge how valuable varieties across the Hispanic world are. They claim that we all have an accent, but RAT1 says “in the past, it was not good to have one. You sounded like you were from the interior³⁵ when compared to the Rioplatense variety. It was considered inferior. Now,

³⁵ As previously noted in Footnote 20, among Argentinians, everything that is not Buenos Aires, the capital of the country, is considered and referred to as the interior of the country.

the internet has helped the world to open to varieties”. RAT3 states that even though there should not be inferior or superior varieties, “me, coming from the interior, my speech has always been stigmatised and mocked as the one used in the countryside, even in soap operas and movies.” It seems that teachers’ personal trajectory and exposure to situations in which they felt linguistically discriminated against, have contributed to deeper thinking and reflection on these debates. RAT2 reports to having been through similar experiences. She goes on to add that the RAE is in charge of establishing a certain canon and an “order”, which should only have the purpose of setting up a common ground for all varieties, not of creating inequality. She comments, for instance, that as a teacher in the US she saw how hard the Hispanic community is fighting for US Spanish to be recognised as a variety by the RAE, as nowadays this variety is known as Spanglish, which is a derogatory term. RAT3 comments that “the RAE is an institution from Spain. How much influence can it have on everything? Are we still colonised? Neocolonialism?”.

RAT3 refers to the standard as being the most general, intelligible, and spoken by most people. None of them considers their own variety to be standard. They agree that Buenos Aires Spanish is the Argentinian standard, as it is the most widely used in the media and cultural products “...such as soap operas. People come to Argentina with the idea that that is the standard.” When asked about their perception of the Cordobese variety, they are not sure whether to consider it standard. RAT1 says that “It is the second most spoken variety in Argentina but I don’t know if I would consider it standard.”

Interviewees say that their students show interest in variation: “Spanish is becoming more popular, so students come to class with plenty of information from the media, football and so on. They are curious and interested in variation.” When asked about their practices, RAT3 says that she teaches Rioplatense and she incorporates variation in her classes using different books and online resources, as the material does not incorporate variation and most books are published by Spain. She says the book she uses tries to focus on “neutral” Spanish and incorporates cultural sections about specific countries. Another teacher designs her own teaching materials for her students, who are mostly Brazilian, as she considers the material available is not suitable for them. RAT1 complains that some materials published in Argentina focus only on the Rioplatense variety and do not address variation, which is also problematic. Here the struggle for legitimacy between Peninsular and peripheral varieties such as the Rioplatense one emerges, together with the struggle between the Rioplatense and other Latin

American varieties. These power and legitimacy struggles may be influencing current materials design.

As regards when to introduce variation, RAT3 states that she uses a more “neutral” variety with students in lower levels and then in higher levels she starts incorporating features of her own variety, such as *voseo*³⁶. It is worth noting that this instructor uses *tuteo*³⁷ with lower level students, which is a feature used in Peninsular as well as in many Latin American varieties. RAT2 states that she does something similar: “With A1 and A2 students I may introduce some lexical variation but then with B1 or B2 students I introduce accents and regionalisms to develop their listening comprehension”. She says she focuses mostly on grammar, “as that does not vary, which helps us to be more organised and clear”. RAT1 states she introduces variation from the very beginning, as long as the audio material is slow and clear enough. She may make comments on some pronunciation features which are different from the standard, if necessary, but she considers it is important to “train their ear”. They agree that many students start the course looking to speak this idealised neutral Spanish, probably influenced by the media. The three of them consider they do not change their accent in class, but state that they speak more slowly and articulating more carefully, mainly when interacting with low level students.

This belief that grammar does not vary and that it is organised or safe to focus on non-variable elements was mentioned by several interviewees. This thought could be framed within what Lopez García (2020) calls “the structural analysis model”, which is a way of validating linguistic unity, and it is functional to language unifying ideologies which dissociate “abstract” language studies and language use. This contributes to “consolidating the belief that there is a single language, which in turn helps to impose market capitalism” (p.104). This linguistic homogenisation and unity have the commercial aim of marketing concentration to better place Spain’s linguistic products in the Hispanic market. In the same line of thought, del Valle (2014) states that postcolonial panhispanism is helping to naturalise and legitimise Spain’s presence and intervention in weaker countries across Latin America. Similarly, Lara (2015) says that panhispanic policies are just an alibi of the Spanish government to economically penetrate the Hispanic world in a neo-colonial fashion.

The idea that exposing students to variation may overwhelm them was also present in this group. For example, RAT2 says that exposing them to several accents may scare students,

³⁶ Voseo is the use of *vos* for the second-person singular and its subsequent verb conjugation forms, which is typical of Argentinian varieties and of several Latin American countries as well.

³⁷ *Tuteo* is the use of *tu* for the second-person singular and its subsequent verb conjugation forms.

so she states it is more useful to say “Ok, this is what is out there but we are going to focus on this and limit ourselves to some varieties.” A strict division between varieties is very much present. Maybe it would help to think about language knowledge as a single linguistic repertoire that learners keep on expanding and enriching, as some authors (Conteh, 2018; García & Kleifgen, 2020; Li, 2017) suggest within translanguaging and plurilingual approaches, for instance, instead of restricting learning to a single variety. Being able to use their full linguistic repertoire can be empowering for language learners and multilingual speakers.

These instructors say they had little training on dialectal variation during their courses of studies, but they have learnt on their own about these topics. Some have taken extra courses or attended conferences, which they state is useful “to be able to adapt materials and to answer questions about vocabulary, grammatical structures, accents and styles.” Like the rest of the interviewees, none of these teachers received any training on dialectal variation pedagogy and two of them said this should be included as part of the training of prospective teachers. The need and call for strengthening pre/in-service training and development emerges once again. RAT2 considers it too much to include this topic in training courses, as teachers usually do this exploration on their own. There seems to be a belief that knowing about varieties and how to work with them is an “added value” or a supplement which is not central to the SSL training and that teachers have the resources to self-train in this area. In this respect, RAT2 considers that “It is on us to go on and explore. There is always the curiosity, commitment and internet factor”. Thus, pedagogical training on how to incorporate variation is useful but not core, so it can be done away with if there are time or curriculum constraints, as there are other indispensable aspects that should be given priority, such as how to teach the grammar of the language and aspects which are thought to be non-variable and shared by all varieties; the previously mentioned structural analysis model emerges. The sociocultural and SLA benefits of variation teaching are neglected.

When talking about the ways in which pronunciation is best learnt, similarly to previous interviews, imitation and repetition are the first suggestions that participants make to their students. As RAT1 puts it: “Repetition is at the core. There are also many apps to listen to podcasts and music. Social activities that foster cultural and cross-cultural communication also help a lot.”

Participants say they resort to materials and training offered by institutions such as the Cervantes Institute. However, RAT3 states: “These institutions influence us a lot, this neo-colonialism that we are experiencing, so people say things such as ‘the RAE does not accept

that', but languages are alive and they change. It is good to get training and follow a structure, but knowing that other things exist and that languages are in constant movement is necessary too". Here we can notice how teachers are very much aware of how the "language regulating institutions" serve specific political and economic interests in a neo-colonial fashion. Signs of an active fight-back and resistance can be a fertile ground for a movement towards introducing variation systematically in the classroom. RAT1 says she has taken part in courses offered by the Cervantes Institute where diversity and multiculturalism are present; however, she states "they talk about diversity but they follow the RAE. It is just conversational, discursive. I don't know if it is true acceptance". This is an issue that has been problematised by academics. As Ponte (2020) explains, the RAE used to have as its leading motto the expression "Clean, Fix and Give Splendour", which would be highly questioned in today's world for being conservative, elitist and eurocentric. That is why it renovated its strategy and made a discursive change towards panhispanism by choosing the new motto "Unity in Diversity". As part of this change, Latin American Academies have a more protagonist role, at least discursively. Nevertheless, the RAE's role and ideological essence is kept intact; through its instruments such as dictionaries, and grammars, it keeps reinforcing the historical symbolic dominance of certain varieties over others and establishing hierarchies which foster language inequality within the Hispanic world. This, in turn, contributes to protecting the Spanish teaching market and keeping it "in the right hands".

Interviewees state they are relatively free to choose what variety to use in their courses but have had different experiences depending on the institutions they worked for. For instance, RAT1 says in one of her jobs she was training students to sit for a specific examination, so all the activities were exam oriented. RAT3 says that most of her students are from Brazil and have learned Peninsular Spanish, so she adapts her materials to fit their needs. In spite of its geographical location and cultural and economic ties, researchers (Bugel, 1999; Bugel, 2012; Bugel & Santos, 2010; Da Silva & Andi3n Herrero, 2019; Irala, 2004; Martins, 2016) have revealed that the Peninsular variety is the preferred variety in Brazilian classrooms. The intervention of the Spanish government through the Cervantes Institute has helped to solidify these preferences. Some Latin American teachers even claim to change their normal way of speaking by choice or by imposition, as many believe the Peninsular variety is more prestigious, intelligible and "neutral" than the rest.

5.4.4 Teachers from Córdoba Working in Different Parts of the World

Three female instructors from Córdoba (CAT1, CAT2, CAT3) talked about their experiences teaching SSL in Argentina and abroad. Their ages are 28, 26 and 36. They all have language related university degrees. CAT1 and CAT3 started their careers as English teachers and then turned to SSL teaching and CAT2 has always been in the field of Spanish teaching.

When considering language variation, they mostly associate it with geography, but factors such as identity, ethnicity, gender and culture were also mentioned. CAT1 says that “a variety represents a culture. Teletransporting yourself to that place and culture.” CAT2 comments that we cannot only restrict variation to geography, as in this globalised world, with people constantly moving from one place to another, borders are blurred, and personal histories need to be taken into account. This comment can be linked to Vertovec’s (2007; 2019) concept of Super-diversity applied to the area of sociolinguistics and anthropology, which refers to world migration patterns and their impact on social patterns of places with multiple language groups and on individual linguistic repertoires (Blommaert & Rampton, 2015; Malsbary, 2016). A further idea was put forward, associating the term varieties to what is different from the norm. CAT3 states that “we have a Peninsular norm and then what is different from that, what is outside, the diverse. However, varieties are just realisations of a fictitious abstract ideal.”

They establish a link between variation and accent. CAT2 says people tell you that you have an accent when you speak differently from the norm imposed by society and language manuals, “but, actually, we all have an accent in our L1 and also as L2 speakers”. CAT3 talks about her experience of moving to other provinces and being told by her classmates that she had an accent.

CAT2 teaches Spanish in Brazil, where most students learn the Peninsular variety and she tells an anecdote about this: “I am in Brazil but I speak a Spanish they consider ‘different’, as people here are usually taught the variety from Spain; all materials come from Spain. So when I speak, they tell me I do not sound like the CDs.” Bugel (1999), in her study carried out in Brazil, found that there is a 75% mismatch between instructors’ Spanish varieties and the one used in the learning materials, which can be confusing for students. Furthermore, this prevalence of the Peninsular model influences teachers’ own language use, as many suppress features of their local variety to sound closer to the textbook model. CAT2 says that in order to certify their Spanish proficiency, Brazilians sit for the international exam DELE, administered by institutions from Spain; she had to sit for it in order to be able to teach as well. Even though due to geopolitical reasons related to Brazil being part of the MERCOSUR and being part of a

continent where Spanish is the predominant language, it would be more “logical” for Brazilians to study and be exposed to Latin American varieties. However, historical political and economic interests allowed Spain to manage most of the Spanish teaching market in Brazil, with the cultural and practical contradictions that this brings about.

CAT1 talks about a conversation she had with a colleague from Spain: “He told me ‘But you don’t teach Argentinian Spanish, right?’, taking for granted that I did not. And I asked if he thought his Spanish was right and mine was wrong. What does that have to do with anything?” She shows her discomfort with her colleague’s comments and says we should work to eliminate negative stereotypes of what ‘having an accent’ is. She adds that what is important in language teaching is communication and focusing on grammar, which does not vary as much as vocabulary and colloquial speech. CAT3 adds that she feels there is “a good and a bad accent. Sometimes I feel ashamed to say I will teach my variety, as the true Spanish is from Spain, the Argentinian is less valuable.” Labov’s (1966) notions of linguistic insecurity, linguistic self-hatred and negative prestige come into play here. Beliefs about belonging to a speech community that is stigmatised as linguistically inferior and subordinate to a more standard and prestigious variety emerge.

Interviewees state that at an international level the Peninsular variety is the standard to follow: “at school we learnt how to conjugate verbs with pronouns we do not know. It is not functional. But Spanish from Spain is the world standard and Buenos Aires Spanish is the standard in Argentina.” In this case there is a problematisation of the teaching of second person pronouns *tú* and *vosotros* in Argentina, which is a feature known as *tuteo* and is used in Spain, not in our country, where the predominant feature is *voseo*. These comments can be linked to Lopez García’s (2010; 2015; 2020) historical review of teaching manuals in Argentina and how they have strengthened representations about a Spanish linguistic ideal that is very different from the local variety of the country. A slight contrast with previous groups’ sentiments about variation being mainly associated with pronunciation features is perceived in this case. CAT2 reflects on the term standard and its relationship to the words normal and common. She says that we tend to think or naturalise the idea that the standard is a general variety which is common to all speakers, but the standard is actually more associated with an imposed norm. In her own words: “it is imposed since we are a colony, since Spain is a first and we are a third world country, and there is a whole history behind, telling us why our varieties are of a lower category”. Again, issues related to neo-colonialism, Hispanism or *Hispanofonía*, linguistic inequality and symbolic dominance of some varieties over others arise.

They all claim that there are many stereotypes about which variety is better and superior or worse and inferior. For instance, CAT2 says that many people question the validity of other people's varieties and even their own variety: "Is that real Spanish that you speak?". As heard in some other interviews, the belief that the variety from Medellín, Colombia, is the best one is widespread among Colombians, Latin Americans and students. CAT1 also makes reference to people "self-declaring themselves as speakers of 'bad Spanish'. People are aware that their Spanish is wrong or inferior. And those beliefs are seen among students too." She claims that as she was born in a small town, she was always seen as "the girl from the countryside" by her classmates because of the way she spoke. She says we are raised in a world where the centrality of the norm and the standard is not questioned. This maintenance of the status quo, in turn, fuels biases and prejudice against other varieties and their speakers. Doing a form of retrospective sense making, CA3 adds that what her colleague experienced may be related to a cultural issue and not with the accent itself. She adds that Buenos Aires is the centre of the country, the land of opportunities, "so everything coming from there will be considered superior, including their language". She identifies the same tendency in Spain, where Madrid's variety is the educated norm, as opposed to varieties such as Galician, Catalan or Andalusian. She states that this is nonsense for her, as we should not be evaluated by our accent but by "the correct use of grammar and how well we use language within its norms." There are two elements to point out about this last statement: first, once again, the belief that there is a correct and unchangeable grammar and set of rules. Second, the belief that there are language norms that are accepted and shared by the Hispanic world. Even though these norms usually suspiciously coincide with certain "standard" varieties, the norms themselves, their origins, or the interests behind them, are not questioned or problematised. This situation helps to justify and perpetuate a status quo where certain varieties and their speakers hold a privileged position and others are at a disadvantage. This is identified within countries, for example when considering Rioplatense Spanish in comparison with Cordobese Spanish, and at an international level, when comparing Latin American with Peninsular varieties.

When considering the Cordobese variety, they do not think of it as standard and they state it is usually associated with stereotypes. For example, CAT1 says that when she tells people she is Cordobese, they are delighted because they love the accent, as it is associated with fun and happiness. In this respect, CAT2 says that the Cordobese variety is seen as some sort of fetish: "if you are Cordobese you have to be fun and you need to make me laugh just because of your accent." She adds it may be nice and fun to listen to the Cordobese variety in informal

contexts but in an academic context it may be considered differently; other associations and stereotypes are activated. In this sense, Lang-Rigal (2015) found that people evaluated Cordobese speakers as funny, less cultured, parochial, lazy and they have not been characterised as educated, as opposed to Rioplatense speakers, who were perceived as more competent. In her study, Lenardón (2017) found that Cordobese speakers “rated lower on the status and even solidarity dimensions and were also associated with non-professional employment” (p.126). She provided further evidence that shows how standard varieties are valued more positively than regional ones in the Spanish-speaking world.

As regards their own practices, CAT1 says she focuses mostly on functionality and on what students will find useful in everyday life: “In my personal experience, focusing too much on the book ends up being frustrating for students, as when they hear a strong local Cordobese or Mexican variety they realise they have nothing to do with what they saw in the books.” She also says that she concentrates on grammar features, “as grammar is the same for all varieties, except for some pronouns and details”. However, in class she likes showing students that there are many varieties and she tells those who only want to learn Peninsular Spanish that this position is limiting, as there is a whole different world in Latin America. She designs her own material and she also adapts materials offered in SSL Teacher groups, which usually focus on Peninsular Spanish.

Regarding at which level to introduce variation, CAT3 states her students are exposed to variation when she speaks from day one, as the material she uses presents the Peninsular variety. She considers that to be enough for her teaching context. CAT2 says that with low level students, who are usually false beginners who have had some contact with Peninsular or Mexican varieties, she focuses on the norm and on “using correct grammar, as it prevents students from bursting into tears saying they want to quit”.

When describing the SSL teaching materials, they all state that most materials do not introduce variation systematically. Some introduce audios with people from different cultures at higher levels, such as B2 and C1. CAT3 comments that in the Brazilian institution she worked for, textbooks focused on translation and repetition; there was no room for variation whatsoever. In another American institution she worked for, textbooks did not introduce much variation, but teachers themselves did by using songs and videos.

CAT1 says that she focuses on correctness, speed of delivery and diction when choosing input for her classes and not so much on speakers’ place of origin. She focuses on teaching the norm and what she considers basic first to then move on to how that may vary. Regarding neutral

Spanish, CAT2 states: “that term scares me. It’s like the expression being objective. When talking about languages, objectivity...no... identity, cultures, ethnicity, gender... Yes.” In her opinion, panhispanism and “neutral” Spanish was Spain’s last resort to try to keep their power. “First the RAE’s imposition was ‘clean, polish and give splendour’. Historically they have tried to clean Spanish because of the filthiness that arose from the use of *their* language by their colonies. In the 21st century they realise they cannot impose any more. As they cannot colonise us linguistically, they say that we are all part of the same whole.” She considers panhispanism is a marketing strategy to preserve Spain’s control over the Spanish language. Similar arguments were put forward by other interviewees, such as BAT3.

Presenting a different view, CAT3, who works in Brazil, states that Portuguese does not have the equivalent of the RAE, which has negative effects on intelligibility among speakers of world Portuguese varieties, such as Angola, Portugal and Brazil. She acknowledges that languages are alive and change, but she states that “A language is a system that has a norm. There needs to be a basis. If we do not unify, they will become different languages. We should preserve Spanish. That is also part of our identity, to defend it and to take care of it.” This view is more in line with the position of the RAE and the Language academies in that it focuses on unifying and preserving the norm, without questioning the origins of that normalisation process and how specific varieties became the desirable “standards” to aspire to.

The three interviewees claim they have been consulted by their students about what variety to focus on. CAT1 says she asks them what their objectives and needs are as regards Spanish use so that they can decide on their own what the best path is. CAT3 says that she decided with one of her students not to focus on the Rioplatense variety, as the student worked for a company with branches in Spain and Latin America.

Interviewees consider that usually variation is treated anecdotally. As regards the impact that incorporating variation may have on the development of competences, there were a range of views. CAT2 says she knows teaching variation contributes to multicultural competence but she is not sure about its impact on linguistic competence or SLA. CAT1 states that she likes incorporating variation, as she considers it contributes to students’ adaptability to different contexts. CAT3 thinks exactly the opposite: incorporating variation may be confusing and that learning a language is learning about a specific variety, culture and identity. These answers reveal how necessary training on dialectal variation teaching and pedagogy is, as teachers may have positive attitudes towards variation and may be willing to incorporate it into their practices, but if they ignore the possible SLA benefits it has and if they are not equipped with the right

tools to deal with variation teaching, the actual systematic incorporation of the topic in the classroom may never happen.

The three teachers state they had subjects in their course of studies that dealt with variation. One of them says that the courses she had on variation, one on Argentinian and another one on Latin American varieties, were really detailed. However, as was also the case with the other groups of interviewees, none of them received any training on dialectal variation pedagogy.

Interviewees have similar beliefs on L2 pronunciation acquisition. Apart from being in an immersion situation, which is the ideal learning environment, they emphasise exposure to authentic materials. CAT1 has a podcast list that she gives to her students. However, interviewees stress the importance of adapted material for low level students so that they do not get frustrated. They also mention apps to speak and receive feedback and interact with other speakers. CAT3 states that production is also important. She suggests that students record themselves and to self-assess their performance. Highlighting sounds that are different and doing articulatory work is also suggested.

As regards the role that the RAE, the Academies and the Cervantes Institute have in their practices, teachers acknowledge the power of their certifications. In this respect, CAT2 claims that she no longer follows their grammar books as she used to: “they are no longer my bible, but I tell my students that these resources exist so that they decide how to use them.” She adds that she does not attend the International Conference of the Spanish language anymore because of ideological reasons. She criticises these events as being organised to keep the status quo and further empower Spain in the control of the Spanish language market. However, she attended the conference for SSL teachers because of the value of the certification that they offered. CAT2 says that these materials give teachers reassurance, especially in contexts where teachers work all day and do not have much time to plan their classes: “having a book that gives you the magic solution is tempting”. Again, real life constraints, job-market demands, and pragmatism come into play when deciding on resources to use.

CAT1 states she is free to choose what to teach and how, as she works for an online platform. The other two interviewees state they have some limitations. For instance, the teacher who works in Brazil says that Peninsular Spanish is the norm but she includes some Argentinian songs and audios. CAT2, who is working in the US, says she was reprimanded for not using Peninsular Spanish, as the university wanted to sign an exchange agreement with a Spanish institution. Her decisions as regards the use of varieties could put the signing of the agreement

at risk. However, CAT2 did not change her practices. Through this anecdote the tension among macro, meso and micro level stakeholders and practices becomes evident: it is not just about teachers' attitudes towards variation and willingness to teach it, it is also about the tools and training that they have to do it, the institutional limitations and pressure, and students' expectations and needs, just to name a few.

5.4.5 Teachers from Other Provinces Working in Córdoba

In this session, three female instructors who are not from Córdoba but currently teach there were interviewed (OCT1, OCT2 and OCT3). Their ages are 46, 47 and 34. They have university degrees in the field of languages. They work for private academies and secondary schools, and two of them also work at university.

Regarding what they conceive a variety to be, they mostly make reference to geography but age and socio-cultural level are also mentioned. OCT1 says that they are identified in comparison to the norm and within each variety there are different dialects: “for each of these varieties or geographical spaces, for example the Rioplatense or Peninsular one, there is a norm that states what is correct and incorrect”.

They define “having an accent” as having a *tonada* or a particular melody in our speech, as that is what people from other speech communities perceive as being different from theirs. However, they state that all speakers have an accent.

When talking about standard varieties, OCT1 says “the standard is defined by the regional Language Academy, the educated norm, which is purposely chosen for education”. OCT3 adds that it is an ideal associated with how writers and academics use the language and with wider intelligibility, “the standard is the variety that all people who speak that language could understand, that we all share.” OCT3 says that each region in Argentina has its own standard educated norm. On the other hand, OCT2 considers the standard as the one defined by the Argentinian Academy of Letters and that is the norm for all provinces; however, in the field of pronunciation she is not sure whether they put forward any norm. She considers that “the phonetic and phonological aspect is one part of the norm, so teachers should correct our pronunciation in the same way they correct our grammar, syntax and vocabulary.” We can observe how notions of intelligibility, norm, standard and correctness are articulated by the interviewees, reinforcing a standard language ideology. Plus, one of them refers to the role of the “language regulating authority” to validate this stance.

They have all experienced a variety of comments about their accents. OCT3 states that when working as a SSL teacher in the UK, people would not recognise her San Luis accent as Argentinian; they would tell her “but you don’t sound Argentinian” and they would imitate the *porteño* accent instead. She felt other British Spanish teachers avoided speaking with her in Spanish because they feared they would not understand her: “only one British teacher would address me in Spanish, because she had been in contact with Latin American varieties in the past. The rest spoke in English to me and they spoke to each other using the Peninsular variety. I think because they thought they would not understand my variety”. OCT1 comments that when in Spain, she perceived people there liked the way Argentinian people sound. However, OCT3 says she had exactly the opposite experience when living in Spain, as people there feel “there are too many Argentinian immigrants”. OCT3 works in rural schools and she says many teachers there have an accent which is typical of Northwestern Córdoba, the accent of Traslasierra Valley. As regards their speech she says: “I am surprised to find teachers who have a very strong Traslasierra accent but speak very well, in a very correct way but using the ‘r’ [she produces a sibilated /r/]. I like it; it sounds educated but preserving the roots of that folk accent but making a correct use of the language at the same time”. In this comment, we can perceive the tension between having a local accent and speaking “correctly”, arising probably from a standard language ideology. The interviewee is surprised to listen to someone who does not speak what she considers the accepted standard local variety or norm but, at the same time, can sound educated, sophisticated and “correct”. Her real life experiences and interactions with speakers of local or “peripheral” varieties clash with certain stereotypes or prejudices and in a way allow her to question the previously learned hierarchies regarding Argentinian varieties or Cordobese varieties, to be more specific.

Teachers reflect on the beliefs and stereotypes associated with certain varieties, as they say that from early childhood, we are told what speaking correctly or incorrectly is, always having in mind the standard, which is close to Peninsular Spanish. They agree that the Buenos Aires variety is the one that is most valued in the country, as the economic and political power is located there; they perceive a similar phenomenon at province levels, with their capitals being the centre of power. However, one of them states that “as language specialists we need to question these views”.

Similar to what participants in the other interviews expressed, when discussing what neutral Spanish is, they associate this label with the media and interpreting. They say that it is a non-existent abstraction, and they do not know what its characteristics are. OCT1 says that “in

the end, it is the variety of the country which is in charge of dubbing movies and TV shows, so it is not neutral, as it has marks of a certain variety.” OCT2 contributes to the discussion by making reference to panhispanism, which she defines as “an ideology adopted by Spain to bring some calm and to benefit economically. I do not think they follow it. It is just talking and talking about it but no concrete actions. They only mention it in conferences; it is only discursive. But it would be fantastic that all varieties were respected and valued equally”. This view of the policy of panhispanism being only put forward in discursive terms has been recurrent across the interviews. A turn towards decentering practices in language learning could help decolonise the discourse and praxis of language learning. Having the objective of producing a real change towards eradicating colonialism in heritage, foreign and L2 education, Macedo (2021) challenges teachers to become “agents of history” by “engag[ing] in praxis where their critical reflection is concretised in knowledgeable action” (Macedo, p. 34). In the case of the teaching of Spanish variation in Argentina, this counterforce could be channelled through resources and materials design, changes in teacher training programs, and clear linguistic policies pioneered by the state to support a real change. As Lopez García (2010; 2015; 2020) argues, the pluricentric ideology which is put forward by the RAE and the Language Academies has not permeated practices in Argentina because of the economic interests of the publishing companies which manage the teaching resources market. As there are no clear linguistic policies as regards variation, publishing companies have the power to decide what is taught and how it is taught depending on their own commercial interests.

As regards their practices, two of them have worked abroad and one of them, in the UK, had to adapt aspects of her variety to the Peninsular one, which was the one students had been learning. OCT1 worked in France and had a somewhat different experience, as she says she kept her own variety and was able to communicate without any problems.

When talking about incorporating varieties in their classes, again teachers have confusing ideas about what it is to expose students to different varieties and to use one variety as a principal teaching model. As in previously described interviews, the idea that if they introduce a different variety they need to teach it in detail is present. That is why one of them says it is confusing and unrealistic to teach many varieties. OCT1 says that she has not incorporated varieties because she always had lower level students and was focusing on global comprehension: “at beginner levels students have too much information so I do not talk about variation unless they ask. At higher levels we can introduce variation through literature and movies.” On the other hand, OCT2 says that she has had a very good experience teaching

students about varieties, especially Argentinian varieties, as her students show interest in them. She shows them videos and asks them whether they can identify where the speakers are from: “I think it is a way of culturally enriching learning”.

The materials they have used usually do not incorporate variation, especially in lower levels, where there is none. They say that some books may present an audio with a different variety, but it is done only sporadically. In general, most teaching materials focus on an abstract “neutral” variety, trying to avoid regionalisms or language which is associated with specific places. It is worth reminding ourselves that the interviewees have problematised the notion of “neutral” Spanish themselves, as this artificial variety is pervasive in the media, many teaching materials, and many times it is considered the most desired by students but, at the same time, it cannot be associated with any specific speech community and brings about contradictory feelings and reactions among teachers. As Bugel (2012) states, putting forward a constructed non-existent “neutral” variety ignores any kind of sociolinguistic reality of the Spanish language, which contributes to perpetrating unfounded prejudices and stereotypes, and to reproducing traditional hispanism dynamics. This author has revealed that even though the Cervantes Institute, the RAE and the rest of the Language academies officially and discursively support a pluricentric policy, the resources that they offer provide a variationist description but the recommendations that they make are closer to old monocentrism, as they focus on formal aspects without appropriately contextualising its social use.

The three instructors consider that incorporating Spanish varieties has an impact on students’ linguistic competence. Two of them put the focus on the fact that linguistic and multicultural competencies are linked, so exposure to varieties helps develop both. OCT3 states that “auditory exposure to different varieties can be enriching, especially for students who plan to travel to different Spanish speaking countries.” Interviewees do not guide their students when choosing an accent; many of their students have studied some Spanish, usually Peninsular, so they let them choose what variety they want to imitate.

Just as all teachers expressed in the other four interviews, these instructors did not receive any training on how to teach varieties to their students. They did have courses that dealt with variation but at a descriptive level. For example, OCT2 claims “there is little material and little instruction about how to teach variation. Even teacher books lack this. They may show something very stereotypical.” All of them consider that it is important to have some training on how to pedagogically approach this area.

Among the activities that help most to develop students' L2 pronunciation, they mention exposure to the teacher and to audios, imitation and repetition. OCT1 also mentions that at certain levels you can introduce auditory discrimination activities, to reflect on the phoneme-grapheme relationship, and production activities with various degrees of independence. OCT2 thinks it is useful to expose students to non-native speakers because that is the reality they will encounter. The other two interviewees prefer to expose them to native speakers only. As for the reasons they provide, OCT1 says "I prefer native speakers because of the quality and fluency of their speech, but it is true that they will run into non-native speakers. It is also easier to find native speakers' audios." OCT3 prefers using material with native speakers, especially at lower levels, because "the non-native speaker will make mistakes and the student may learn those mistakes." The traditional monolingual bias (Ellis, 2012) and the fallacy that the native speaker speaks correctly and with no mistakes and that the non-native speaker will inevitably make mistakes arises in this last comment.

They all use the materials offered by the RAE or Cervantes Institute. They use them as study materials for themselves in order to be updated about all aspects of the Spanish language or when they have doubts and they need to consult a reliable source. OCT3 says she also uses some of the activities they suggest for students but she adapts them to the Argentine variety.

Chapter 5: Discussion of Results

In this chapter, we will recap on the research questions proposed in Chapter 1 and attempt to answer them by making reference to the results of the analysis of the data collected through the VGT, the questionnaires and the group interviews. At the same time, we will interpret these results in the light of the theoretical framework and the findings of studies reviewed in Section 1.3.

The objective of this study was to examine the language attitudes that Argentinian SSL teachers and learners have towards the Cordobese accent and to find out which may be the factors that shape those attitudes. Moreover, we wanted to find out whether these attitudes may have an impact on teachers' decisions about their practices in relation to the introduction of dialectal variation.

To this end, five research questions were formulated:

1. In Argentina, what are Spanish as a foreign language instructors' attitudes towards Spanish varieties and towards the Cordobese accent in particular?
2. What is the effect of instructors' attitudes on their decisions about what variety or varieties to teach in their classes?
3. Which other factors influence their decisions of what variety or varieties to teach in their classes?
4. Is the intersection between sociolinguistic variation and SLA reflected in curricular content, pedagogy and classroom practices as reported by the informants? If so, how and to what extent?
5. Are teachers' choices and decisions about variation instruction based on pedagogical reasons, political-ideological personal or institutional reasons or intuitions?

A short summary of the main findings will be presented in the next two paragraphs, to later on interpret in detail the findings that help to answer each research question.

The attitudes collected through the VGT show that both teachers and students rated Cordobese speakers more negatively than Buenos Aires speakers in the status and competence and linguistic superiority dimensions; on the other hand, Cordobese speakers were rated more positively than the Buenos Aires speakers in the social attractiveness dimension. When directly asked about their attitudes towards varieties, teachers and students have more positive attitudes towards the Peninsular and the Rioplatense variety than towards the Cordobese variety, which is explicitly considered a non-standard variety by many. As Cordobese Spanish is associated

with a localised variety, many participants prefer to select the Rioplatense or the Peninsular variety as a pronunciation model. Most teachers stated that they would use the Buenos Aires speakers' samples in their Spanish classes, whereas fewer teachers said they would use the samples produced by the Cordobese speakers.

Regarding teachers' reported practices, most of them do not introduce dialectal variation systematically in their classes, so the incorporation of sociolinguistic variation does not seem to be present consistently across the curriculum and pedagogical practices; the topic is usually dealt with sporadically or anecdotally. Apart from teachers' attitudes towards varieties, other factors may be influencing teachers' decisions: lack of specific training on dialectal variation, lack of specific teaching materials, time constraints, institutional limitations and international exams. Most teachers do not seem to be aware of the potential pedagogical benefits of incorporating variation and they have not been trained on how to pedagogically approach this topic. Thus, their decisions regarding variation teaching seem to be more related to personal attitudes, preferences, or intuitions and institutional or external factors rather than to pedagogical or SLA reasons.

In what follows, we will analyse and interpret the data that has helped us to answer the research questions (RQ) proposed.

6.1. RQ#1. In Argentina, what are Spanish as a foreign language students and instructors' attitudes towards Spanish varieties and towards the Cordobese accent in particular?

6.1.1 VGT

First, teachers were asked to select the province of origin of the four speakers presented in the VGT. The place of origin of the male and the female Cordobese speakers was accurately identified by 86% and 85% of teacher participants respectively, whereas the origin of the male and the female speakers from Buenos Aires was identified by 83% and 73% of teachers respectively. This high degree of identification of the Cordobese speakers is comparable to the results by Lenardón (2017). In her study, she found that judges were more accurate at identifying Cordobese than Buenos Aires speakers due to the salience of the Cordobese *tonada* or accent, especially given by the relative increased duration of the pre-tonic syllable in comparison to the tonic syllable (Berry, 2015). A different pattern was found in the case of learners' answers, as they were not able to identify the speakers' place of origin so accurately. Over 40% of students

correctly identified the origin of both Buenos Aires speakers, whereas around 26% of them could correctly identify the Cordobese speakers' origin. The fewer number of learners who were able to identify the Cordobese accent may be partly related to the lack of exposure to this specific variety. This is something that teachers themselves acknowledge when reporting their practices (see Section 1.2.5): students are interested in variation and in the Cordobese variety; however, even though it is the second most spoken variety in Argentina, it is incorporated by less than a quarter of participants. The higher identification of the Buenos Aires variety by students may also be related to the salience of the Rioplatense variety at an international level. Cestero and Paredes (2018) found in their study that this accent was the one identified most accurately (86%) and was also highly valued among students from different cities of the Hispanic world.

A VGT was used in order to indirectly gather information about participants' attitudes towards Cordobese and Buenos Aires Spanish. The VGT had items belonging to three dimensions: status and competence (social status, intelligence, skills, education), linguistic superiority (aesthetic quality, correctness, pronunciation model, persuasiveness) and social attractiveness (fun, friendliness, honesty, solidarity). As the data is not normally distributed, the Friedman test was used as a non-parametric alternative to the one-way ANOVA with repeated measures. It showed that in both teachers' and students' VGTs, there were significant differences in the ratings of 11 out of 12 items. Persuasiveness was the only item in which significant differences were not found.

In all the items of the status and competence dimension (social status, intelligence, skills, education), teachers and learners systematically rated the Buenos Aires speakers more positively than the Cordobese speakers, as seen in the means and medians of Figures 22 and 122. When comparing the ratings teachers gave to each of the speakers with each other in this dimension through the Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test, results show significant differences between all speakers except when comparing Buenos Aires samples with each other. Larger effect size differences are found when comparing Buenos Aires with Cordobese speakers: Tamara (female, BA) & David (male, Cba), Horacio (male, BA) & David (male, Cba) and Pamela (female, Cba) & Tamara (female, BA). Smaller effect size differences were found between the rest of the pairs (see Figure 29). The smallest significant difference was found when comparing the two Cordobese speakers. In the case of students' ratings to each speaker, there were significant differences only when comparing all Buenos Aires with all Cordobese speakers, not when comparing speakers from the same origin with each other, and in the four cases these were

medium to large size effect differences (See Figure 129). We see a very similar tendency in both groups, which reveals that they may have similar attitudes towards these two varieties.

When comparing the means and medians presented in Figure 22, in the linguistic superiority dimension items (pronunciation model, correctness, aesthetic quality, persuasiveness), teachers rated the Buenos Aires speakers more positively than the Cordobese speakers, especially in the items “pronunciation model” and “correctness”. In the case of students (see Figure 122), they rated Buenos Aires speakers more positively in all four items of this dimension. The Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test conducted for the teachers’ data showed significant differences when comparing the ratings given to all speakers, except the comparison between the two Buenos Aires speakers (see Figure 30). Larger effect size differences were found when comparing speakers from Buenos Aires and Córdoba, whereas smaller size effect differences were found when comparing the two Cordobese speakers. The Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test done to the ratings provided by learners showed significant differences only when comparing speakers from Buenos Aires and Córdoba, and all these differences were of medium to large size effect (see Figure 130). The patterns in the status and competence and linguistic superiority dimensions were quite similar.

If we analyse the means and medians of the ratings given to speakers in the social attractiveness dimension (honesty, solidarity, friendliness, fun) in Figure 22, we find an opposite pattern in teachers’ ratings to the ones we observed in the two previous VGT dimensions. Cordobese speakers were rated more positively than Buenos Aires speakers in all items of this dimension, the biggest difference being in the trait “fun”. The Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test showed significant differences only when comparing three pairs of speakers (see Figure 31): small to medium size effect differences for Horacio (male, BA) & Pamela (female, Cba), Horacio (male, BA) & David (male, Cba) and Pamela (female, Cba) & Tamara (female, BA). It is harder to find patterns when observing the means and medians of the ratings given to speakers by learners in Figure 122 and the Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test showed no significant differences when comparing any of the four speakers with each other in this dimension (see Figure 131).

The results in the status and competence dimension partly agree and partly disagree with Lenardon’s (2017) findings. The matched-guise in her study revealed some stigmatisation of the Cordobese variety, as speakers of this variety received lower ratings on the status and solidarity dimension. However, in the present study, Cordobese speakers were more positively rated by teachers than Buenos Aires speakers. This could be related to the fact that in the present study, there are more Cordobese teacher participants than from any other province, so affective factors

such as linguistic loyalty and pride may have had an impact on their ratings and, in turn, on the overall results. Language loyalty, which has a unifying effect, is exercised by speakers of a stigmatised variety, who reserve its use for family and less formal situations (Martinez Franco, 2019). However, Cordobese speakers were also predominant among Lenardon's participants. In her study, participants were not teachers but lay people, which may also be a source of difference, as teachers are linguistically trained and usually have more sociolinguistic awareness and may value varieties differently because of their training and experience.

Results are partly in line with those of Lang-Rigal (2015), who found that Argentinians reproduce the stereotype of the Cordobese speaker as lazy, less cultured, funny and parochial, whereas the Buenos Aires speaker is seen as more competent but also boring and selfish. As Lang-Rigal (2015) states, many studies have found a strong link between the standard variety and cognitive value and competence or status features, whereas other varieties are usually positively evaluated in terms of their affective value (identity, integrity, local value, solidarity and social attractiveness).

The Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test was run in order to compare the rating given to each VGT sample by teachers and students. There were no significant differences in any of the three dimensions in the ratings given to Horacio and Tamara, the Buenos Aires speakers (see Figures 165 and 170) nor to the male Cordobese speaker (see Figure 166). Conversely, there were significant differences in the three VGT dimensions in the rating given to Pamela, the Cordobese female speaker. In the status and competence dimension the size effect of the difference according to Cohen (1988) criteria was small; small to medium size effect differences were found in the Linguistic Superiority and Social Attractiveness dimensions. When comparing the median ratings (see Figure 168), they reveal that students rated this speaker more negatively than teachers in all three dimensions. We could speculate that these differences may be related to students' lack of familiarity with the Cordobese variety, as shown by lower rates of identification of their place of origin, but further research should be done to explore these aspects more deeply among students.

6.1.2 Attitudes Collected through Direct Methods

6.1.2.1 Attitudes towards the Cordobese Variety and Argentinian Varieties Other than BA

The less positive attitudes that teachers have towards the Cordobese variety are also present in the comments they made when stating whether their own variety was considered

standard or not and also when defining what a standard variety is for them, as shown in Section 1.19.3. When providing their interpretations of “standard”, some informants provided examples, among which they mentioned the Buenos Aires and Peninsular varieties; when providing examples of non-standard varieties, they mention Cordobese and other regional Argentine varieties. A few informants from Córdoba state that their variety can be considered standard only within their province and in comparison to other local Cordobese varieties, but it is not considered standard in the rest of the country or the world. Some even make reference to situations where they were discriminated against on the basis of their accent. However, when asked about the most pleasant Argentinian varieties, the Cordobese variety was the most chosen one both by students and by teachers. Llull and Pinardi (2014) also found a strong preference for the Cordobese variety among people from Buenos Aires when asked about Argentinian varieties they liked. Cordobese teachers reported they also feel a positive attitude towards their accent, especially in informal situations. This is similar to Lang-Rigal’s (2015) findings, as she shows that there is a stereotypical image of the Cordobese speaker as a funny person who is favoured regarding solidarity but not linguistic competence, as their variety is considered non-standard. Even though Lenardón (2017) found that Cordobese speakers see their accent as a symbol of local pride, this trend was not explicitly evident in the data of the present study. Further below we will discuss the potential chronological shift of attitudes, where “explicit” attitudes start to become more accepting, but implicit ones still lag behind.

Some speakers from provinces other than Buenos Aires state that their accent is not standard because it is different from the Rioplatense variety, is regional, has an accent, is uneducated, deviates from the norm, is difficult to understand, has unknown sounds, is unfamiliar to students, or lacks prestige. Some Cordobese teachers claim their variety is not taken seriously as it is considered funny, incorrect or vulgar. Most speakers feel that people have a positive attitude towards their accent; however, these sometimes contrast with their own attitudes to their own varieties. Negative comments about the Cordobese variety were made by Cordobese teachers also by some who are not from Córdoba but work there, which reveals some linguistic self-hatred (Labov, 1966; Mesthrie, 2002), which coexists with previously mentioned feelings of linguistic loyalty. This linguistic insecurity that can be perceived among some speakers from Córdoba and other regions from Argentina may be related to a historical analysis made by Lopez García (2010; 2015; 2020) of Spanish teaching materials in the last decades. She states that because in Argentina most Spanish as an L1 materials are produced by private publishing companies and even foreign companies which are not regulated by the state, they put

forward language ideals that are very different from the local varieties of the country. Moreover, local Argentinian varieties are not visualised nor valued as they should, which fuels linguistic insecurity among Argentinians. Our teacher participants, who are 40 years old on average, have been most likely raised and educated with these materials; these language ideologies may have permeated their own beliefs and practices up to the present time. We can draw a parallel with the standard language ideology that prevails in many foreign languages, English included (Jenkins, 2015; Lippi-Green, 2012).

6.1.2.2 Attitudes towards the Buenos Aires variety

Seventeen students chose the Buenos Aires variety as the most prestigious variety in the country. Most of the reasons they provide have to do with the influence or power of its speakers or the city, such as mass media, economic concentration, capital of the country, and variety of politics and education. These results could be connected with Gutiérrez Bøjmer and Borzi (2018), who found that more than half of Buenos Aires speakers believe their variety is the best language model.

Among teachers there are contradictory feelings and attitudes towards this variety. It is the one that received the most votes for best pronunciation model for their classes (84) and as the most prestigious Argentinian variety (66) among those who did make a choice in this point. Many Buenos Aires speakers state in the questionnaire and in the interviews that they perceive positive attitudes from other people because of their fluency, their clear pronunciation and their “lack of accent”. They acknowledge the symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991; Kramsch, 2020) that this variety has at a regional level because of its presence in the media and official matters. This is in consonance with Lull and Pinardi’s (2014) results, who found that speakers from Buenos Aires are proud of their variety, they identify themselves with it, they prefer to listen to it on the media and are more reluctant to change their accent. However, some teachers, especially *porteños*, feel that people from the rest of the country do not like them, which is something that Lull and Pinardi (2014) also found, as many of their participants felt their variety was perceived to be the most correct and the most “annoying” one at the same time.

Some participants also say that their accent is not positively perceived at an international level, for instance by speakers from Spain. They provide anecdotes of academic and social situations in which they were discriminated against because of their accent. This concurs with what Rojas (2014) found when studying linguistic attitudes of Chileans who live in Santiago, Chile’s capital. He found that attitudes change depending on whether the perspective is national

or international. They highly value their variety when comparing it to northern, southern or rural Chilean varieties; however, they show intense low self-esteem when considering their variety internationally, as they identify their ideal model of correctness with the Peninsular variety, which is something the next section will explore.

6.1.2.3 Attitudes towards the Argentinian, the Peninsular and other world varieties

As regards teachers' reactions to the Argentinian variety, 47 of them chose it as the most pleasant one, after Colombian Spanish. 23 students also chose it as the most pleasant Spanish variety to hear. The reasons provided by students include comments about the richness of the culture, familiarity and pleasant sounds. Participants also find Argentinian Spanish easily recognisable, calming, popular and exotic. Comparably, Bugel & Santos (2010) discovered that SSL learners in Brazil prefer speakers of Rioplatense Spanish, as they consider them sincere, friendly and warm. They consider Peninsular Spanish speakers to be hardworking, reliable and intelligent, and they see them as speakers of the original and most prestigious form of the language.

Among teachers who chose the most prestigious world variety (82 out of 192), most of them (51) chose Peninsular Spanish. Most students (37 out of 59) made the exact same choice. These results are analogous to those obtained by other researchers when studying Spanish students and teachers' attitudes in different parts of the world, such as Shekhovtsova (2019) in Russia, Song and Wangi (2017) in Chiha and Svetozarovová (2020) in Slovakia, Czech Republic and Poland.

Teacher participants link this variety with the origin of Spanish, and describe it as more traditional, correct, cultured, valid and pure. Historical and political reasons such as colonialism are mentioned, together with the power exerted by institutions such as the Real Academia Española and the Cervantes Institute. However, only 16 participants chose it as the most pleasant world variety. Jové Navarro (2019) reported comparable trends among Spanish teachers in Barcelona, where they believe that the Castilian variety is the best and most prestigious one in the Hispanic world, which exposes their lack of sociolinguistic competence and their need for a more plurinormative perspective in their training. Quesada Pacheco (2019) traced comparable attitudes and prejudices among speakers of 20 different Spanish speaking capitals, who greatly praise the variety from Spain and consider it the most correct one. When Bugel (2012) explored Rioplatense speakers' attitudes towards their own variety, she found that even though the local

accent is more liked because it carries emotional value, which reveals linguistic loyalty, the Peninsular variety is viewed as having more symbolic, economic and geo-political value. Among Brazilian teachers, Da Silva and Andi6n Herrero (2019) revealed a strong preference for northern-central Peninsular Spanish. Bandiola Gonzalez (2020) also found that students in Brazil value the Madrid variety most highly because of the prestige and status that Spain and its teaching materials have. Likewise, Irala (2004) reported that SSL teachers in Brazil think the Peninsular variety is the most prestigious and privileged in terms of cultural capital. These beliefs about the Peninsular variety are also shared by its speakers, as Cestero and Paredes (2018) described in their study, in which over 90% of Madrid participants claimed Castilian is the best pronunciation model. These attitudes may be related to the presence, power, and protagonist role of the Spanish government in Brazil through the Cervantes Institute and Spanish publishing companies, as Martins (2016) also attested.

The Colombian variety is regarded by some teachers to be the most prestigious one. It is described as being clearer, more formal, articulated, slower and having a better pronunciation. Most (49) chose Colombian Spanish as the most pleasant one. Rojas (2013) also revealed that Chileans hold positive attitudes towards the Colombian variety and have negative or contradictory feelings towards Peruvian and Argentinian varieties. Mexican Spanish is mentioned by some teachers in our study; as they find it more educated, formal, intelligible, less accented, easier to imitate and closer to the standard. This variety was mentioned by most students as the best language model to imitate. Some associate it with the concept of “neutral” Spanish, a variety that is usually heard in the media, in dubbed TV shows and movies.

The similarities between teachers and students' attitudes may be partly related to beliefs being passed on from teachers to students during instruction. This can act in conjunction with other ways through which language ideologies are spread, such as the media, governmental and educational institutions. Some authors talk about the Pygmalion effect, a term which is used to refer to the influence of teachers' expectations on students' results. According to this view, teachers' actions and expectations from learners have a direct impact on student's attitudes, expectations, classroom behaviour and achievement (Banes et al., 2016; Falomir, 2014; Gorski, 2011; Huguet & Lasagabaster, 2007). Therefore, if teacher's attitudes towards dialectal variation are positive, this may enhance dialectal variation practices and outcomes. Vazquez (2008) and Leung (2022) also state that attitudes are not inherited, they are transmitted and they are learned during the socialisation process that happens in the classroom.

6.2. RQ#2. What is the effect of instructors' attitudes on their decisions about what variety or varieties to teach in their classes?

Apart from the VGT, the response to the question about whether teachers would use the samples in their classes can also reveal some attitudes towards the Cordobese and Buenos Aires varieties. The more positive attitudes towards the Buenos Aires variety are revealed in these answers, as 74% and 68% of participants said they would use Tamara's (female, BA) and Horacio's (male, BA) samples in their classes respectively, whereas the percentages for Pamela (female, Cba) and David (male, Cba) were 48% and 44% respectively. Another hint in the same direction can be identified when we observe that only 31 teachers claim to use audios taken from Cordobese mass media or artists, whereas 133 use audios produced by Buenos Aires speakers. This sharply contrasts with teachers' own exposure to the Cordobese variety, as 156 teachers said they were in contact with this variety on a daily basis.

Considering Spanishes from different countries, participants chose the one they thought to be the best pronunciation model for their classes (see Figure 43). The Argentinian variety was chosen by 87 participants. Some participants (37) did not want to choose a specific pronunciation model and claimed any variety could be used. When selecting which Argentinian variety is the best pronunciation model for their classes, in Figure 52 we can see that most teachers (84) chose Buenos Aires Spanish. Again, a further 59 teachers did not want to choose a specific variety, as any variety could be used, depending on students' needs or teaching context.

Apparently, very few teachers hold the nativeness principle³⁸, as 94% of them say students should aim at comprehensible, not native-like pronunciation. Moreover, most of them do not think that teachers should only be native speakers or should only speak standard varieties. Most teachers and students state that there are no superior and inferior varieties, and that students should be exposed to a range of standard, non-standard, native and non-native varieties. Nevertheless, there seems to be a mismatch between the previously reported reactions and the answers shown in Figure 103: most teachers agree with the claim that students can choose any variety as a model, as long as it is a standard one. Here we can spot another contradiction, as participants claim that teachers do not necessarily need to be speakers of a

³⁸ The Nativeness assumes that "speakers will be both intelligible and comprehensible if they match a native model, but this is only implicit. Explicitly, intelligibility and comprehensibility are extraneous to a view that prioritizes nativeness" (Levis, 2020).

standard variety but students do need to use a standard variety as a model to imitate, even though they can and should be exposed to a range of varieties. Similar to what could be inferred from the interviews, a monolithic bias is present in these results. Most interviewees believe that Cordobese Spanish is a non-standard variety, and that Buenos Aires Rioplatense is the national standard. Even though teachers acknowledge the cultural value of variation, the belief that there is one standard national variety which is more widely valued because of its symbolic power and which, in consequence, should be the one that their students need to learn is present in many responses. This may be compared to the normalising impact of the classroom setting that Mougeon & Rehner (2019) describe in French classes in Canada. Teachers of French showed a marked preference for standard forms, even higher than the frequencies found among higher class speakers.

These seemingly contradicting results could be linked to what McKenzie and Carrie (2018) revealed about language attitudes towards Northern English. When questioned directly, participants seemed to have a more positive attitude towards this variety, whereas more negative attitudes were revealed through implicit data collection methods. This discrepancy between explicit and implicit attitudes may be showing an attitude change in progress leading to more tolerance towards Northern English. We could speculate that a similar phenomenon may be taking place in the language attitudes that Argentinian Spanish teachers have towards the Cordobese variety. Even though the VGT and teachers' reported practices show a bias towards the Buenos Aires variety, in the interviews and the answers teachers gave to open questions about language variation they showed positive attitudes towards the inclusion of language varieties in their classes and they also showed great awareness of the cultural value they have. This may mean an attitudinal change may be taking place and more tolerance towards variation and the Cordobese variety may be developing among participants.

Half of the teachers have experienced teaching Spanish abroad and many of them studied in foreign countries. In teachers' responses it seems that their personal trajectories and their exposure to situations of linguistic discrimination abroad may have helped them to develop a deeper thinking and reflection on debates about variation and Spanish linguistic reality. Andi3n Herrero (2014) found that Spanish teachers who moved away from their dialectal region showed more reflexive attitudes towards variation and towards the decentralisation of Peninsular varieties as the main teaching model. However, as several participants said in the interviews and some in the open ended questions, in some countries, for example Brazil or the US, some teachers have felt forced to use a variety which was not their own, such as the Peninsular one,

because of institutional requirements or to accommodate to the materials. The choice of varieties to teach is a complex one, as abundant elements lie behind these decisions, as we will continue to discover.

6.3. RQ#3. Which other factors influence their decisions of what variety or varieties to teach in their classes?

Most teachers, 83%, state that they are free to choose the variety or varieties to teach in their courses. The rest of them mention institutional limitations, such as syllabus and course objectives, exams, time constraints or specific institutional regulations.

Even though teachers may not feel limited, more than half of them (100) state that the syllabus they teach does not include dialectal variation, which can be a limiting factor in itself. Thus, it is up to them to prepare the materials, plan the way this topic will be dealt with, make room for it in the syllabus and devote class time to this area, which can be an overwhelming and time consuming task. In the Argentinian context, where the economic situation and the historically low wages that teachers receive usually force them to work in multiple places, this may be impracticable unless teachers get some sort of pedagogical support.

International exams may also be a limiting factor when it comes to teaching dialectal variation, as 32% of teachers (61) mentioned that their students are getting ready to sit for one and variation does not seem to be a priority in these kinds of exams. Which exams are students preparing to take? The CELU was mentioned by 43 teachers, followed in frequency by the DELE (18), SIELE (11) or others (14) such as the DUCLE. It has been found by Díaz García (2016) that neither Spanish dialectal variation or sociolinguistic competence are adequately assessed in international examinations used in Latin America and Spain, as there is an excessively predominant role of a main variety in comparison to peripheral ones. The CELU examination only uses samples of “standard” Rioplatense, whereas in the rest of the exams analysed, there is a predominance of Northern-central Peninsular Spanish. Otero (2011) also identified a predominance of this variety in the DELE exam and an under-representation of the Hispanic world diversity. In a more recent study of four international exams, Amorós Negre and Moser (2019) concluded that geolectal diversity is present in the exams, but only the CELU examination gives more evidence of a more genuine change towards plurinormativity, as it shows willingness to acknowledge the endonormativity and linguistic autonomy of Argentina, in comparison to eurocentric and Peninsular Spanish oriented views that the other exams exhibit.

However, even though this exam may exhibit a change when observing it from an international perspective, standard Rioplatense is still the one that is chosen throughout, and variation at the local level does not seem to be acknowledged yet. Andi6n Herrero & Criado de Diego (2019) analysed oral assessment in the SELE, SIELE and CELU and also found that plurinormativity practices are not widespread among examiners or exam developers.

The textbooks teachers use may also influence variation teaching decisions. The majority of teachers (110) use one or several published textbooks in their courses. The most mentioned one is *Voces del Sur*, used by 91 teachers, followed by *Aulas del Sur* (37), *Aula Internacional* (36), and a range of books published by the Spanish company Difusi6n (21). Out of the 30 books mentioned by teachers, only six are produced by Argentinian publishing companies. The rest are published mostly by Spain (15), the US, Brazil or the UK. In the books that they use, 50% of teachers said that the main variety is the Rioplatense one, followed by the Peninsular variety, mentioned in 32% of the cases. When the book presents variation, it is related mostly to lexis, followed by pronunciation and grammar. Authors such as Garcelli et al. (2018), Guerv6s (2009), Requena and Tissera (2018), Santiago (2015), Sippel (2017) report that in the Spanish textbooks they analysed, variation is not addressed in a systematic and planned way, especially variation in Spanishes of the Americas, and that the Peninsular features are the most predominant ones, even though they are only produced by a minority. If the geographical and social variation present in the Hispanic world is not reflected in the materials, plurinormativity cannot be properly addressed using these resources only.

The need for exams and materials that reflect the pluricentric and heterogeneous nature of the Hispanic world is evident. A preferred variety should be chosen as the main model to follow and other peripheral varieties need to be incorporated, especially with the aim of developing receptive or passive skills, which will boost learners' communicative competence, as suggested by D6az Garc6a (2016) and Santiago (2015).

Even though there may be materials that offer a panhispanic perspective, as Jov6 Navarro (2019) argues, the problem still remains in the attitudes that teachers hold towards their own varieties and the ones that the textbook proposes. This is probably related to another factor that might be influencing teachers' decisions: lack of training in dialectal variation per se. Most teachers, 87% of them, hold a tertiary or undergraduate university degree (78) a postgraduate degree (62) or are in the process of completing a postgraduate degree (27). Besides, 74% of them have had specific training in Spanish teaching either in Argentina or abroad. Many of those who studied abroad did so in Spain. Thus, it may not be that teachers are not well trained because

they are not qualified enough; the problem might be in the teaching training programs themselves, that do not train them properly in the pedagogy of Spanish dialectal variation and may not be providing them with enough research evidence about its relevance for learning. Even though most of them did receive training on how to teach different macro skills, more than half of teachers say that they were not formally trained on Spanish dialectal variation. Less than 30 teachers had formal instruction on how to pedagogically approach dialectal variation in their courses, so they might not feel confident enough to incorporate this topic. Almost all of them (175) agree that it is necessary for teachers to be trained in this area, revealing possible ways forwards in curriculum design.

Even though teachers may have positive attitudes towards the teaching of variation, there seems to be a deficiency in the training they receive, especially in how to pedagogically approach the topic, as authors such as Vitório (2017) expressed. Teachers play a role in determining their students' beliefs and attitudes towards varieties, hence, the importance of training them in the field of Spanish variation teaching as Cestero and Paredes (2018) and Shekhovtsova (2019) also argue. As Banes et al. (2016) suggests, if the linguistic attitudes of prospective teachers are ignored, this may have a negative impact on their future students as regards their self-worth, their identity and their learning processes and outcomes. Thus, reflecting upon variation and language ideologies is necessary during teacher training programs. Apart from the need for more specific training pointed out by our participants, some of the PRECAVES XXI studies described in Section 1.3.3 have noted that the higher the participants' education level, the more they believe in equality among varieties, which supports the theory that instruction may help change linguistic attitudes.

Lastly, it is necessary to mention that most teachers acknowledge the advantages of incorporating dialectal variation in relation to multicultural awareness and SLA. However, several also make reference to the disadvantages of doing so. Some are worried about overwhelming students with irrelevant information, especially at lower levels. Time constraints, lack of teaching materials and lack of training in how to approach this area are also mentioned. Uncertainty about the best way to introduce variation can also be seen in the variety of answers about the level at which variation should be introduced (see Figure 99); instructors decide not to expose students to variation based on intuitive assumptions that link greater variation with higher difficulty. Requena & Tissera (2018) also listed arguments teachers adduce to justify the exclusion of dialectal variation in the curriculum, such as lack of training in sociolinguistics, time constraints, lack of teaching materials, and concerns about introducing variation too early

in the language acquisition process. Nevertheless, avoiding variation may prevent students from accessing authentic instances of language use and may deprive them from experiencing the diverse and intricate reality of Spanish. Exposure to dialectal variation at different proficiency levels can produce gains in perception, production and on the development of sociolinguistic competence as studies such as Brosseau-Lapr e et al. (2013), Escalante (2018), Schmidt (2018, 2019) and van Compernelle (2012) describe. Moreover, variation should be present from basic instruction levels, as Fairclough (2006) also advises; the introduction of dialectal features should be graded, being more general at lower levels and more complex as students advance, showing them how language varies depending on speakers and communicative situations, as suggested by D az Garc a (2016).

6.4. RQ#4. Is the intersection between sociolinguistic variation and SLA reflected in curricular content, pedagogy and classroom practices as reported by the informants? If so, how and to what extent?

Most teachers feel the varieties they expose their students to are relevant to the teaching context and the course objectives. Most of them report teaching the Rioplatense variety (53%), followed by the Cordobese (14%), neutral (14%) and Peninsular (7%) ones.

151 instructors feel their students are interested in dialectal variation (pronunciation, lexis, and grammar, respectively) and believe that it is important for them to be able to identify different varieties. Most of them (112) also consider that exposing students to speakers of various standard and non-standard accents and to native and non-native models (106) is the best kind of input for L2 pronunciation acquisition. However, these beliefs are not clearly reflected in their reported practices.

Teachers perceive that their students are mostly interested in Argentinian varieties, especially the Rioplatense and Cordobese ones, the Colombian, the Peninsular, and the Mexican varieties. However, when asked about whether they explicitly teach dialectal variation, only 69 of them say they do. The rest of them do it sporadically, when students ask for it, or if the textbook proposes it. Some state that they take the opportunity of introducing some notions about variation when their students make use of a regionalism. When they do incorporate variation, most (166) incorporate pronunciation differences, followed by vocabulary (92) and grammar (87) in activities that focus on perceptual skills. The most mentioned sources where they get their audios from are mass media or artists from Buenos Aires (133), mass media or

artists from other Latin American countries (120), followed by textbooks (100) and mass media or artists from Spain (61). Only 31 teachers say they use audios taken from Cordobese mass media or artists.

This may be partly due to their beliefs about what being a communicatively competent L2 speaker is. Most focus mainly on the development of linguistic competence and none of them mention knowledge or familiarity with dialectal variation as part of their definition. However, the role of the sociolinguistic component in L2 learners' communicative competence has been highlighted by numerous researchers (Dörnyei, 2013; Long & Geeslin, 2018; Spada, 2007) and should not be overlooked.

128 teachers (67%) ask their students about their preferences regarding the accent to learn; 66% of teachers state they change the teaching material in order to meet those needs. In order of frequency, their students want to learn Rioplatense, Peninsular, Latin American and Cordobese Spanish. However, when students were asked whether their teachers had asked them about their preferences regarding varieties, 73% of them said they had not. It is possible that students' needs could be better catered for. Moreover, most materials they report to use do not include varieties such as the Cordobese one. In one of its documents, the Cervantes Institute (2012), even though it tends to be just a discursive position, makes reference to how key it is that teachers address their students' needs by making them aware of linguistic variation (Andión Herrero, 2013).

Most teachers (172) report that their students are free to choose the variety that they want in class and during exams, and most students confirmed this as well. Only 73 teachers state that they guide their students when deciding on an accent to imitate, sometimes by asking them about their needs and future contexts of use. They help students to make a decision based on their personal objectives and preferences by showing them some of the options they have and by discussing the different possibilities. A few of them claim to guide them because it is an institutional requirement to speak a certain variety.

One point that may be worth paying attention to is the fact that only 56 out of the 192 teachers say they do not change their normal way of speaking in class. The rest do change it, sometimes to speak slower and in a more articulate way, especially when teaching lower level students, to avoid vernacular expressions and to speak in a more standard or neutral way. Many teachers who speak "non-standard" varieties modify their speech because of the stigmatisation of their variety and because they try to fit the model put forward by the textbook, while speakers of Northern-central Spain or Colombian Spanish do not, as described by Martínez Franco

(2019). Bugel (2012) found that in Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay there seems to be a bias towards a constructed non-existent neutral variety which is encouraged to be used over local ones in SSL teaching. As Lopez García (2020) argues very well, even though there might be some attempts to give value to local and regional varieties other than the Peninsular norm through the creation of the CELU exam, for instance, these actions are not enough. They cannot counteract the fact that people in Argentina are educated in the L1 with the New Panhispanic Linguistic Policy which puts forward a “global model monocentrically regulated, whose transmission instruments are uniform and tend to erase diversity marks” (p.116). This is instrumented through “teaching training programs and through the textbook market, which create speakers who are willing to assume and consume a foreign standard” (p.116). Small changes may be insufficient against these deeply entrenched values that teachers hold, which in turn keep reproducing the same linguistic representations and attitudes in their own practices.

The mismatch between models offered by materials and models used by instructors can be confusing and in some cases can force teachers to suppress the features of their speech that belong to their local variety, as some participants reported. Bugel (1999) also states that the predominant variety in the materials used in Brazil is the Peninsular one, which contradicts the varieties used by most teachers. This author concludes that ignoring variation contributes to the perpetuation of unfounded linguistic prejudices and stereotypes and to the reproduction of traditional hispanism dynamics. At an international level, there seems to be a deficiency in the teaching of dialectal variation in SSL classes and a need to explicitly highlight the benefits it can have in SLA, as Burns (2018), Shenk (2014) and Gallego & Conley (2013) argue when exploring the issue in the US.

Questionnaire and interview responses indicate that teachers show a high degree of metalinguistic awareness and knowledge of the importance of dialectal variation instruction. However, these do not translate into actual teaching practices. As was the case in the results of Barkányi & Fuertes Gutiérrez (2019), there seem to be gaps between the theoretical knowledge that teachers have, their linguistic attitudes and their teaching practices. Similarly, Andión Herrero (2013) found that Spanish teachers around the world consider variation to be an important topic for their courses, in practice it is not systematically dealt with due to insufficient training, appropriate materials and methodological and pedagogical guidance. Moneris Oliveras (2015) reached similar conclusions in a study carried out in Canada.

6.5. RQ#5. Are teachers' choices and decisions about variation instruction based on pedagogical reasons, political-ideological personal or institutional reasons or intuitions?

The answer to this question is extremely complex and as we advanced in the study we realised that we would not be able to give a definite answer to such complex phenomena through this modest investigation. However, we decided to leave this question in an attempt to draw some general salient points and possibly encourage further lines of research.

As can be seen from the responses to the previous research questions, many factors coexist, are in tension and may be playing a part at the same time. From the analysis of the VGT results and the reported practices we can state that teachers' language attitudes may be influencing their decisions, as the Buenos Aires variety is more positively valued, especially in the status and competence and linguistic superiority dimensions, and it is the preferred variety in the classroom. Even though among participants Cordobese teachers are the most numerous ones, their variety is not the preferred teaching model. These attitudes are shared by most participants from both groups, so they must have a common core or similar origins. We did find personal preferences towards certain accents but the regularities that we found in the groups point to issues beyond the person; they mostly point to higher levels.

The data collected constantly reminds us that language attitudes cannot be analysed in a vacuum, as they themselves are learned and moulded by language ideologies that are present in all the public and private activities participants take part in since the moment they start socialising. Teachers' language attitudes cannot be considered entirely personal, as they are learned and they are influenced by the language policies put forward, either explicitly or implicitly, in the different institutions teachers work for, for instance.

The language academies (RAE, ASALE) and institutions such as the Cervantes Institute, which manage most of the Spanish teaching business worldwide, usually exert a strong influence on language schools and teachers through their guidelines, dictionaries, grammar books, textbooks, training courses and conferences. This is one of the ways in which language ideologies reproduce and expand, and are passed on to students as well, helping to keep the status quo. Even though these historically prestigious and authoritative institutions discursively adhere to a policy of "Unity in Diversity" with "apolitical" and fraternal ends (Ponte, 2020), their resources still put forward a highly monolithic and eurocentric perspective which serves Spain's political and economic interests. As Moreno-Fernández (2000) and Bugel (2012) point

out, these institutions encourage the use of a single academic norm through a monocentric and endonormative standardisation which is built upon a reality that is multi-normative; del Valle (2007b) called this New Panhispanic linguistic policy *Hispanofonía*. Within this “variation-hostile” global context that has the Northern-Peninsular educated variety in its centre and that puts forward as valid teaching models seven other “standard” varieties (of which Buenos Aires is one of them), there is little room for more “peripheral” and local varieties, such as the Cordobese one, to be acknowledged and valued in equal terms. As long as the changes are only proposed in discursive terms, we are just strengthening neo-colonial dynamics where the symbolic dominance and the symbolic capital of standard varieties reinforce linguistic inequalities and politically and economically benefits the same historically privileged actors.

Moreover, some institutions participants work for have clear regulations regarding the varieties to teach. In the materials used and the international exams they offer also specific varieties predominate, which are usually closer to the Peninsular or the Standard Buenos Aires ones, and variation is not dealt with systematically if at all. Nonetheless, as stated by Díaz García (2016), the choice of a single teaching norm may cause stigmatisation of other varieties if awareness is not raised about the role of languages reflecting cultural and social diversity.

Teacher participants seem to have high metalinguistic awareness, which differs from the lack of sociolinguistic theoretical knowledge that some studies report (Bugel, 2012; Jové Navarro, 2019). The data revealed that instructors acknowledge the cultural value and some of the SLA benefits of incorporating variation. However, there seems to be a gap between their explicit attitudes towards variation teaching and theoretical knowledge on one end, and actual pedagogical practices on the other, as Bárkányi & Fuertes Gutiérrez (2019) also found in their study. This gap may be due to lack of adequate teaching materials, appropriate pedagogical training on how to systematically incorporate variation and time and contextual constraints deriving from institutional language policies, for instance. Thus, we could state that the SLA pedagogical reasons for including variation in their classes were not found to be very influential in the teachers’ decision-making process in this study.

Intuitions may also be playing a part in their decision making, as many claim to feel that it might be overwhelming and confusing for students to be exposed to variation, especially at lower level courses, so they decide to leave variation aside. Nevertheless, these claims are based on beliefs and not on actual SLA research findings, as we have seen in previous paragraphs. Teachers seem to be quite lonely in the enterprise of teaching variation. They need more institutional support, teaching materials and training on variation pedagogy. They also ought to

familiarise themselves with the potential benefits variation teaching can have on SLA to be able to systematically incorporate this topic in their courses; this scaffolding should be framed within clear linguistic policies that give equal value to all varieties and that validate and encourage decentering practices at a local and at an international level. This support could start to challenge the conceptualisation of Spanish as a monolithic entity in which the standard is emphasised and the peripheral varieties are undervalued (cf. Canagarajah 2022).

Chapter 6: Implications, Limitations and Final Remarks

In this section, reference will be made to some implications of the present study, together with some limitations that I have observed. Some final concluding comments will be made as well.

It is hoped that the results from the present study will make a contribution to the area of world Spanishes by helping denaturalise learned linguistic attitudes towards varieties. This may contribute to the deconstruction of attitudes which many times we take for granted and consider “harmless”, but have substantial impact on the way we approach our practices and necessarily need to be addressed. There are bigger issues behind, related to historical prejudices, hierarchies, linguistic inequality, language ownership, neo-colonialism, political economy, and symbolic dominance, which require action at an institutional and governmental level in order to have a real impact on the way things currently are.

The pervasive monolingual *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1991) in Western education systems “reflects the ideologies of linguistic uniformity engrained the formation of European nation states” (O’Rourke, 2011b, p. 1.7), which contributes to excluding and marginalising minority languages and varieties from high functional domains. We need substantial changes at meso and macro education levels, as individual changes are not enough to fight against such a strong, historical, conservative eurocentric status quo perpetrated by powerful institutions, publishing companies and governments, through a myriad of resources and instruments.

The project intends to raise awareness among institutions, course directors, language policy makers, instructors and learners about the pedagogical and cultural value of respecting and acknowledging language variation and the need to incorporate this topic in the curriculum to start implementing a change. The study aims to highlight the fact that exposure to variation alone is not sufficient to eradicate negative linguistic attitudes towards certain varieties. A process of deconstruction and denaturalisation of attitudes and practices is necessary among teachers, which may positively influence students’ attitudes as well. To contribute to this end, an awareness raising package that will be available to teacher participants will be developed once this study is over in order to provide some directors regarding why introducing variation might be beneficial in terms of multicultural competence and SLA and how this could be gradually implemented in our courses.

It is crucial to reflect upon the fact that certain varieties or linguistic variants are not inherently “unpleasant”, “incorrect”, “parochial” or “non-standard” with respect to others

because of their linguistic characteristics, but that there are historical, political and socio-economic reasons that have placed certain stigmatised varieties in a disadvantageous position in comparison to the so called “standard” “correct” or “prestigious” ones. What is worse, there are certain powerful institutions such as the RAE and the Cervantes Institute which keep on reinforcing and perpetuating those inequalities among Spanish varieties by embracing plurinormativity and variation solely on discursive terms, as keeping the status quo economically benefits the same governments, institutions and publishing companies which have had the “ownership” and monopoly of the Spanish teaching business since colonial times.

Explicitly and systematically discussing the value of varieties and their link to the speaker identities is key. According to Ellis (1994) the psycholinguistic processes of noticing, comparing and integrating are the ones that promote language acquisition. Siegel (1999) states that noticing and comparing tend not to occur naturally for L2 learners in cases where a stigmatised variety and a standard variety are involved. Thus, attention needs to be directed to these L2 forms during instruction, so that they are eventually integrated into the learners’ interlanguage. More research is still needed in order to have some more reliable data on when it is best to introduce variation in the L2 classroom, even though some authors like Fairclough (2006) state that it should be present from basic instruction levels. Díaz García (2016) suggests to grade the incorporation of dialectal features, choosing general features at the beginning and then gradually making students aware of more detailed aspects of variation as students’ proficiency increases.

Teacher training programs should include courses that describe Spanish varieties and they should inform future instructors about both the potential SLA and cultural benefits of systematically incorporating variation in SSL courses. At the same time, these courses should give prospective teachers the tools to pedagogically approach the topic in the future, discussing possible methodologies, materials, materials design, and teaching strategies. The key role of language input and exposure for the development of linguistic abilities has been stressed by many researchers (Flege et al., 2006; Leung, 2014; Moyer, 2011; Saito, 2015; Schoonmaker-Gates, 2017). In the field of phonetics, input multiplicity and high variability training research (Cheng et al., 2019; Thomson, 2018; Zhang et al., 2021a; Zhang et al., 2021b) have had some promising results about their impact on perception, production or both, and this is something that instructors should be made aware about in order to inform their practices. At the same time, multiple studies have focused on the cultural benefits of the explicit, systematic incorporation of variation to Spanish teaching and on how it can help to modify learners’ language attitudes, producing

positive effects on L2 acquisition as well (Cobo de Gambier, 2011; Hansen Edwards et al., 2021).

It is also expected that by identifying Spanish teachers' attitudes and practices when it comes to teaching Spanish varieties, the study can offer helpful information for the teaching training field to better prepare future teachers by fostering a greater understanding of and respect for language variation. This information may serve to empower teachers and course developers and encourage them to make more research-informed decisions about their pedagogical practices. It can also help them to demand more training and materials about this topic to the institutions they work for and to the organisations that offer conferences, training and materials.

The data collected for this study relies on teachers' reported practices, as I did not have access to the actual SSL classes delivered by Argentinian teachers due to restrictions enforced during the Covid-19 pandemic. One possible way to expand and enrich the findings of this study would be to observe classes and analyse whether reported practices match actual practices, or whether new trends and unattended aspects of interest emerge during observation. The number of participants could also be increased, especially that of student participants, in order for findings to be more generalisable.

For this study we collected language attitudes indirectly by resorting to a VGT which included four speakers of the two most spoken Argentinian varieties. It could be argued that we could have included more varieties and also more speakers, making the VGT much longer. However, as this is a study focusing on how language attitudes interact and impact SSL teaching, the VGT is just one part of the study, which provided data that would later on be compared to and analysed in conjunction with explicit attitudes and reported practices obtained through questionnaires and focus group interviews. The VGT was chosen because of the benefits of being able to present longer, spontaneous audio texts as stimuli, and also due to limitations to use other instruments because of remote data collection, as explained in section 1.18.3.

In future projects, an Implicit Association Test could be used instead. This technique can allow us to gather information about implicit language attitudes by trying to capture automatic associations between concepts and evaluations or stereotypes, which cannot be accessed through other instruments. These implicit attitudes could later be compared with language attitudes collected indirectly through the VGT and through direct techniques such as questionnaires and group interviews from the present study. Mismatches between implicit and explicit attitudes may give hints about attitudinal changes in progress in a certain linguistic community, for instance.

As the project relies on data belonging to three main sources (VGT, questionnaire and focus-group interviews) in order to understand how language attitudes collected indirectly relate to explicit language attitudes and reported practices, the amount of data is quite extensive and further and deeper analysis could be carried out. Even though objections can be raised, the strength in this approach is being able to connect and draw parallels or highlight contradictions between each of these dimensions, which are usually studied separately.

Thus, the data collected for this project itself can be further analysed from different angles which exceed the scope of this study. For example, observing whether there are correlations between the place of origin of the teachers (Córdoba, Buenos Aires or the rest of Argentina) and their attitudes towards varieties and their practices may help us find out more about language representations in the country and how they may influence practices in different Argentinian regions. We could also explore whether specific biographical data such as participants' age or their dialectal variation educational background correlates with their language attitudes. We could explore their correlation with indirectly collected attitudes (coming from the VGT) and with explicit attitudes collected through items in the questionnaire, such as questions related to standard-language ideology and nativeness principle. Further comparisons between the two groups of participants, teachers and students, could be made to be able to establish more parallelisms between them in relation to issues such as hierarchies among Spanish varieties, standard language ideology, symbolic dominance, political economy and neo-colonialism, among others. One element that could add to this discussion would be carrying out focus groups interviews with SSL students so that they can expand on these themes.

Further exploring why, for instance, women were systematically rated more positively by teachers in the status and competence dimension items of the VGT is another possible line of research. We might be able to find out whether gender stereotypes might also be influencing teachers' linguistic attitudes and even teaching decisions regarding materials.

Another possible line of research could delve deeper into the tensions there are regarding SSL variation teaching at micro, meso, and macro education levels in Argentina. Gathering more details regarding explicit and implicit linguistic policies adhered to by language institutions, curriculum designers, publishing companies, and local governments, for instance, could help us detect and trace language ideologies that circulate in educational environments, and in turn influence variation teaching practices.

Incorporating variation in a systematic and planned way has both political and pedagogical implications: political, because by including varieties we are acknowledging and

validating them, which can help empower those varieties and their speakers and can help generate more linguistic equity and change the status quo; pedagogical, as there is evidence to support the claim that input multiplicity can have a positive impact on the development of students' L2 phonology and sociocultural competence.

Language attitudes and ideologies cannot be ignored; on the contrary, they need to be explicitly addressed and reflected upon, especially in institutions where those attitudes and ideologies are replicated, reproduced and amplified to other areas of society, such as the case of schools. Understanding that behind language attitudes there are multiple political and economic factors that have historically helped construct them and reproduce them with clearly identifiable interests may help us realise that things do not need to be the way they are; even though it will take time and effort, we can effect decentering changes that can impact the reality of all those varieties and speech communities that have historically been left to occupy a disadvantaged position in the peripheries.

We expect that by raising awareness about the importance of incorporating sociolinguistic variation in the L2 classroom, this project helps SSL actors to propose actual tangible changes into their daily practices, by slowly deconstructing and trying to overcome this discursive, neo-colonial, panhispanic pretence. This would imply truly valuing Spanish variety and diversity not just discursively, as institutions like the RAE and the Cervantes Institute currently do, but through real actions that have an impact on linguistic justice and equality among languages, varieties and linguistic communities. There still is a long path ahead and plenty of work to do. We are willing to keep going forward and be part of a genuine, concrete and much needed change.

Appendix 1: Information Sheet

You have been invited to take part in the research study “Argentinian Spanish as a Second Language Instructors’ Attitudes towards the Cordobese Accent and its Implications on Acquisition”. The study is carried out by the researcher Andrea Canavosio (student ID: 19022860), and supervised by Dr. Alex Leung (main supervisor) and Dr. Robert McKenzie (second supervisor) in the context of the PhD in Linguistics offered by Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK. It aims to collect information about Spanish as a Foreign Language teachers’ perceptions and practices.

This study does not carry any risks. You will be able to complete the questionnaire through a computer or phone. You will be asked to listen to four one-minute audio samples and complete a scale. Then you will be asked to respond to a questionnaire about language varieties and teaching practices. It will take you around 30 minutes to complete your participation, which will be totally anonymous, voluntary and non-remunerated. You can withdraw your participation at any time that you consider it appropriate without providing any reasons. You can ask to access the information at any time. The confidentiality of your personal data is guaranteed, and your anonymity will be preserved in any scientific publication or any other research project for which the data may be eventually used.

Should you have any doubts or questions about your participation in the project, please get in contact with the researcher: andrea.canavosio@unc.edu.ar andrea.canavosio@northumbria.ac.uk, tel: +54 9351 2415086 or with the researcher’s main supervisor: alex.ho-cheong.leung@northumbria.ac.uk.

INFORMED CONSENT

Project Title: Argentinian Spanish as a Second Language Instructors' Attitudes towards the Cordobese Accent and its Implications on Acquisition

Principal Investigator: Andrea Canavosio

Student ID No. (if applicable): 19022870

If you would like to take part in this study, please read the statement below and click 'I agree'

I understand the nature of the study, and what is required from me. I understand that after I participate I will receive a debrief providing me with information about the study and contact details for the researcher. I understand I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason for withdrawing, and without prejudice. I agree to provide information to the investigator through a questionnaire and/or interview and I understand that my contribution will remain confidential. I also consent to the retention of this data under the condition that any subsequent use also be restricted to research projects that have gained ethical approval from Northumbria University.

I agree to the University of Northumbria at Newcastle recording and processing this information about me. I understand that this information will be used only for the purpose(s) set out in the information sheet supplied to me, and my consent is conditional upon the University complying with its duties and obligations under the Data Protection Act 2018 which incorporates General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR). You can find out more about how we use your information here [Privacy Notices](#)

I agree

Name:

Date:



**Northumbria
University**
NEWCASTLE

Participant code:

PARTICIPANT DEBRIEF

Name of Researcher: Andrea Canavosio

Name of Supervisor (if relevant): Dr. Alex Leung

Project Title: Argentinian Spanish as a Second Language Instructors' Attitudes towards the Cordobese Accent and its Implications on Acquisition

1. What was the purpose of the project?

In this study I am trying to see how Spanish as a foreign language teachers feel about the Cordobese variety in comparison to the Buenos Aires and Peninsular ones. I want to know whether their attitudes towards these varieties is in a way influencing their practices as regards the varieties they are teaching and exposing their students to.

2. How will I find out about the results?

Once the study is completed and the data analysed (around 12 months after your participation) the researcher will email you a general summary of the results.

3. If I change my mind and wish to withdraw the information I have provided, how do I do this?

If you wish to withdraw your data, then email the investigator named in the information sheet within 1 month of taking part and given them the code number that was allocated to you (this can be found on your debrief sheet). After this time it might not be possible to withdraw your data as it could already have been analysed.

The data collected in this study may also be published in scientific journals or presented at conferences. Information and data gathered during this research study will only be available to the research team identified in the information sheet. Should the research be presented or published in any form, all data will be anonymous (i.e. your personal information or data will not be identifiable).

All information and data gathered during this research will be stored in line with the Data Protection Act and will be kept for as long as publication requirements permit. During that time the data may be used by members of the research team only for purposes appropriate to the research question, but at no point will your personal information or data be revealed. Insurance companies and employers will not be given any individual's personal information, nor any data provided by them, and nor will we allow access to the police, security services, social services, relatives or lawyers, unless forced to do so by the courts.

If you wish to receive feedback about the findings of this research study then please contact the researcher at andrea.canavosio@northumbria.ac.uk

This study and its protocol have received full ethical approval from the Faculty of Arts, Design and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. If you require confirmation of this, or if you have any concerns or worries concerning this research, or if you wish to register a complaint, please contact the Chair of this Committee stating the title of the research project and the name of the researcher.

Appendix 2: Teachers' Questionnaire

BIOMETRIC INFORMATION - CONTACT WITH SPANISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES

Q2.1. Nombre y apellido (si no quiere revelar su nombre, escriba un apodo):

Q2.2. Correo electrónico:

Q2.3. Edad (por favor ingrese el número):

Q2.4. Género con el que se identifica:

Femenino

Masculino otro

prefiero no decirlo

Q2.5. País de nacimiento:

Argentina

Otro (por favor, especifique)

INFORMED CONSENT

Q1.1.

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Proyecto: La enseñanza de ELSE en Argentina

Investigadora principal: Andrea Canavosio

Número de estudiante: 19022870

Cada participante que haya completado el cuestionario en su totalidad, una vez concluido el estudio, recibirá acceso a material didáctico diseñado a partir de los resultados obtenidos.

Si acepta participar de este estudio, lea por favor los siguientes párrafos y presione "De acuerdo".

Comprendo la naturaleza del estudio y la información que requiere de mí. Comprendo que luego de mi participación, recibiré un resumen con información sobre el estudio y con los detalles de contacto de la investigadora. Entiendo que soy libre de retirarme del estudio en cualquier momento sin razón ni perjuicio alguno. Accedo a proporcionar información a través de un cuestionario y/o entrevista y sé que los datos provistos serán confidenciales. Accedo a que almacenen la información con la condición de que se use para proyectos de investigación aprobados por el comité de ética de la Universidad de Northumbria.

Acepto que la Universidad de Northumbria en Newcastle almacene y procese la información que brindo. Entiendo que estos datos solo serán usados para los fines detallados en la ficha de información a la que tuve acceso, y que mi consentimiento está condicionado a que la universidad cumpla con las obligaciones estipuladas en la Ley de Protección de Datos 2018, que incorpora las Regulaciones Generales de Protección de Datos (GDPR). Puede acceder a más detalles sobre cómo usamos su información en el siguiente link: [Privacy Notices](#)

De acuerdo

BIOMETRIC INFORMATION - CONTACT WITH SPANISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES

Q2.1. Nombre y apellido (si no quiere revelar su nombre, escriba un apodo):

Q2.2. Correo electrónico:

Q2.3. Edad (por favor ingrese el número):

Q2.4. Género con el que se identifica:

Femenino

Masculino otro

prefiero no
decirlo

Q2.5. País de nacimiento:

Argentina

Otro (por favor, especifique)

Q2.6. Provincia de nacimiento:

Q2.7. Lugar donde vive actualmente:

Q2.8. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido ahí? Elija responder en meses o en años (solo uno de los dos) y especifique cuántos, por favor.

Meses

Años

Q2.9. ¿Cuál es su lengua nativa? Si tiene más de una, indíquelas, por favor.

Español

Francés

Inglés

Italiano

Portugués

otra (por favor, especifique)

Q2.10. Si el español no es su lengua nativa, ¿A qué edad empezó a aprenderlo? (responda en número de años)

Q2.11. Complete el siguiente cuadro sobre su conocimiento de idiomas:

	NIVEL DE PROFICIENCIA			
	nada	bajo	intermedio	alto
Español	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Portugués	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Italiano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Francés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otro (especifique) <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otro (especifique) <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.12. Complete la siguiente tabla sobre sus viajes a otros países donde se habla español:

	DURATION			REASONS		
	less than a month	more than a month	more than a year	work	study	holidays
País 1 <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
País 2 <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
País 3 <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>					

Q2.13. ¿Qué variedades de español del mundo (de qué países) escucha en su vida cotidiana, ya sea en persona o a través de los medios de comunicación? Indique los países, por favor.

- Andorra
- Argentina

- Bolivia
- Chile
- Colombia
- Costa Rica
- Cuba
- Ecuador
- El Salvador
- España
- Estados Unidos
- Guatemala
- Guinea Ecuatorial
- Honduras
- Méjico
- Nicaragua
- Panamá
- Paraguay
- Perú
- Puerto Rico
- República Dominicana
- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- Otro (por favor, especifique)

2.14. ¿Qué variedades de español argentino (de qué provincias) escucha en su vida cotidiana, ya sea en persona o a través de los medios de comunicación? Indique las provincias, por favor.

- Buenos Aires
- Catamarca
- Chaco
- Chubut
- Córdoba
- Corrientes

- Entre Ríos
- Formosa
- Jujuy
- La Pampa
- La Rioja
- Mendoza
- Misiones
- Neuquén
- Río Negro
- Salta
- San Juan
- San Luis
- Santa Cruz
- Santa Fe
- Santiago del Estero
- Tierra del Fuego
- Tucumán

**MESSAGE TELLING THEM THAT THERE WILL BE AUDIO CLIPS
FOLLOWING**

Q3.1.

En la siguiente página va a escuchar a cuatro hablantes y responder unas preguntas.



VGT HORACIO

Q4.1. Escuche el siguiente audio y responda las siguientes preguntas. Para usted, ¿De qué provincia es esta persona?

Explore more music & audio like
Horacio
on SoundCloud.

Hear more on
SoundCloud

[Privacy policy](#)

PhD research study - Horacio

Q4.2. ¿Cómo suena esta persona? Elija un punto entre los dos extremos. El punto medio (4) es "neutro".

trabajador calificado	<input type="radio"/>	trabajador no calificado						
culto	<input type="radio"/>	no culto						
inteligente	<input type="radio"/>	no inteligente						
divertido	<input type="radio"/>	no divertido						

solidario	<input type="radio"/>	no solidario						
honesto	<input type="radio"/>	no honesto						
persuasivo	<input type="radio"/>	no persuasivo						
buen modelo de pronunciación	<input type="radio"/>	no buen modelo de pronunciación						
clase alta	<input type="radio"/>	clase baja						
amable	<input type="radio"/>	no amable						
correcto al hablar	<input type="radio"/>	no correcto al hablar						
habla agradable	<input type="radio"/>	habla no agradable						

Q4.3. Usaría este audio en sus clases de ELSE?

NO TAL VEZ SÍ

VGT DAVID

Q5.1. Escuche el siguiente audio y responda las siguientes preguntas. Para usted, ¿De qué provincia es esta persona?

Explore more music & audio like
David
on SoundCloud.

 Hear more on
SoundCloud

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Q5.2. ¿Cómo suena esta persona? Elija un punto entre los dos extremos. El punto medio (4) es "neutro".

culto	<input type="radio"/>	no culto						
habla agradable	<input type="radio"/>	habla no agradable						
amable	<input type="radio"/>	no amable						
solidario	<input type="radio"/>	no solidario						
inteligente	<input type="radio"/>	no inteligente						
divertido	<input type="radio"/>	no divertido						
correcto al hablar	<input type="radio"/>	no correcto al hablar						
clase alta	<input type="radio"/>	clase baja						
honesto	<input type="radio"/>	no honesto						
buen modelo de pronunciación	<input type="radio"/>	no buen modelo de pronunciación						
persuasivo	<input type="radio"/>	no persuasivo						
trabajador calificado	<input type="radio"/>	trabajador no calificado						

Q5.3. Usaría este audio en sus clases de ELSE?

NO TAL VEZ SÍ

VGT PAMELA

Q6.1. Escuche el siguiente audio y responda las siguientes preguntas. Para usted, ¿De qué provincia es esta persona?

Explore more music & audio like
Pamela
 on SoundCloud.

[Hear more on SoundCloud](#)

[Privacy policy](#)

PhD research study - Pamela

Q6.2. Para usted, ¿Cómo suena esta persona? Elija un punto entre los dos extremos. El punto medio (4) es "neutro".

buen modelo de pronunciación	<input type="radio"/>	no buen modelo de pronunciación						
amable	<input type="radio"/>	no amable						
solidaria	<input type="radio"/>	no solidaria						
culta	<input type="radio"/>	no culta						
divertida	<input type="radio"/>	no divertida						
trabajadora calificada	<input type="radio"/>	trabajadora no calificada						
honestas	<input type="radio"/>	no honestas						
clase alta	<input type="radio"/>	clase baja						
inteligente	<input type="radio"/>	no inteligente						
persuasiva	<input type="radio"/>	no persuasiva						
habla agradable	<input type="radio"/>	habla no agradable						
correcta al hablar	<input type="radio"/>	no correcta al hablar						

Q6.3. Usaría este audio en sus clases de ELSE?

NO	TAL VEZ	SÍ
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

VGT TAMARA

Q7.1. Escuche el siguiente audio y responda las siguientes preguntas. Para usted, ¿De qué provincia es esta persona?



Q7.2. Para usted, ¿Cómo suena esta persona? Elija un punto entre los dos extremos. El punto medio (4) es "neutro".

trabajadora calificada	<input type="radio"/>	trabajadora no calificada						
solidaria	<input type="radio"/>	no solidaria						
amable	<input type="radio"/>	no amable						
buen modelo de pronunciación	<input type="radio"/>	no buen modelo de pronunciación						
culta	<input type="radio"/>	no culta						
clase alta	<input type="radio"/>	clase baja						
persuasiva	<input type="radio"/>	no persuasiva						
habla agradable	<input type="radio"/>	habla no agradable						
correcta al hablar	<input type="radio"/>	no correcta al hablar						
inteligente	<input type="radio"/>	no inteligente						
honestas	<input type="radio"/>	no honesta						
divertida	<input type="radio"/>	no divertida						

Q7.3. Usaría este audio en sus clases de **ELSE**?

- NO TAL VEZ SÍ
-

THE STANDARD AND OPINIONS ON PARTICIPANTS' OWN SPANISH
VARIETY AND OTHERS

Q153. ¡COMPLETASTE EL 50%!

Q8.1. ¿Cómo definiría el concepto de "español estándar"?

Q8.2. ¿Qué acento diría que tiene usted (de qué lugar)?

Q8.3. ¿Considera que la variedad del español que habla es una variedad "estándar"? Por favor, explique brevemente su respuesta.

Sí

No

Q8.4. ¿Qué opinión tiene la gente de la variedad que usted habla?

POSITIVA ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ NEGATIVA

Q8.5. Explique brevemente su respuesta, por favor.

--

Q8.6. Cuando piensa en las variedades del español de diferentes países del mundo, ¿Cuál o cuáles considera más prestigiosas? Si su respuesta es "ninguna", escríbalo y explique brevemente por favor.

	COUNTRY	WHY?
1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
3	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Q8.7. ¿El acento español de qué país o países considera más agradable al oído?

	COUNTRY
1	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>

Q8.8. ¿El acento español de qué país considera que es el mejor modelo de pronunciación para su clase de ELSE? Por favor, explique brevemente.

	COUNTRY	WHY?
1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Q8.9.

De las variedades argentinas, ¿Cuál o cuáles considera más prestigiosas (de qué provincias)? Por favor, explique brevemente. Si su respuesta es "ninguna", escríbalo y explique brevemente por favor.

	PROVINCE	WHY?
1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Q8.10.

¿El acento español de qué provincia Argentina considera que sea el mejor modelo de pronunciación para su clase de ELSE? Por favor, explique brevemente.

	PROVINCE	WHY?
1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

¿El acento de qué provincia o provincias argentinas considera más agradable al oído?

1

2

3

Q8.12. ¿Qué son para usted las variedades del español (cómo las definiría)?

Q8.13. ¿Cómo definiría al "español neutro"?

Q8.14. ¿Conoce el concepto de "panhispanismo"? Si lo conoce, defínalo brevemente, por favor.

Sí

No

Q8.15. No hay acentos del español superiores o inferiores a los demás.

acuerdo **desacuerdo**

Q152. Explique brevemente qué significan los conceptos "superior" e "inferior" para usted en este contexto.

TEACHER TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE

Q9.1. Indique nivel de educación formal alcanzado:

- Secundaria
- Terciaria o universitaria de grado incompleto. ¿Qué título?
- Terciaria o universitaria de grado completo. ¿Qué título?
- Posgrado incompleto. ¿Qué título?
- Posgrado completo. ¿Qué título?

Q9.2. ¿Tuvo formación en enseñanza de ELSE?

- Sí, completé una carrera o curso.
- Sí, pero no completé la carrera o curso.
- No

Q9.3. Indique por favor el nombre de la carrera o curso que realizó y el nombre de la institución donde lo hizo:

Q9.5.

¿Tuvo entrenamiento formal sobre variación dialectal del español? Puede seleccionar más de una opción.

- Sí, hice un curso específico sobre dialectos del español como parte de mi carrera de grado.
- Sí, hice un curso específico sobre dialectos del español como parte de mi carrera de posgrado.
- Sí, pero la variación dialectal fue solo una de las unidades de un curso que tuve en la carrera.
- No, fui autodidacta (leí artículos, libros y/o estudios sobre el tema).
- No, pero me gustaría hacerlo.
- No, lo considero innecesario.
- Otro (por favor, especifique)

Q9.4. ¿Tuvo entrenamiento formal sobre cómo enseñar la pronunciación de diferentes dialectos a estudiantes de ELSE? Puede seleccionar más de una opción.

- Sí, hice un curso de posgrado.
- Sí, era parte de mi carrera de profesorado de ELSE.
- No, fui autodidacta (leí artículos, libros y/o estudios sobre el tema).
- No, pero me gustaría hacerlo.
- No, lo considero innecesario.
- Otro (por favor, especifique)

Q9.6. Tuvo entrenamiento formal sobre cómo enseñar diferentes habilidades o áreas del español? Indique las opciones que correspondan en su caso:

- Leer
- Escribir
- Escuchar
- Hablar
- Gramática

- Vocabulario
- Pronunciación
- Ningún tipo de entrenamiento
- Otro (por favor, especifique)

Q9.7. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha enseñado ELSE? Elija responder en meses o en años (solo uno de los dos) y especifique cuántos, por favor.

- Meses
- Años

Q9.8. ¿Ha enseñado ELSE en otro país además de la Argentina? De ser así, indique en qué países, por favor.

- Sí
- No

Q9.9. ¿Qué niveles ha enseñado? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- A1 (Acceso - Usuario básico)
- A2 (Plataforma - Usuario básico)
- B1 (Intermedio - Usuario independiente)
- B2 (Intermedio alto - Usuario independiente)
- C1 (Dominio - Usuario competente)
- C2 (Maestría - Usuario competente)

- Escuela Primaria (1)
- Escuela Secundaria (2)
- Universidad o Instituto Terciario – Profesorados y/o traductorados de idiomas, Grados y Licenciaturas en idiomas (3) -
- Universidad o Instituto terciario - Cursos generales de idiomas ofrecidos al público en general o cursos de idiomas para fines específicos
- Instituto Cervantes
- Academia de Idiomas, Escuela de Español o similar
- Clases particulares
- Otro (por favor, especifique)

BELIEFS ABOUT PRACTICES - IMPACT ON LEARNING - LEARNING AND TEACHING GOALS

Q10.1. Enseñar sobre diferentes dialectos del español tiene algunas ventajas. Si está en alguna medida de acuerdo con la afirmación, por favor mencione alguna(s) ventaja(s).

acuerdo **desacuerdo**

Q10.2. Ventajas:

Q10.3. Enseñar sobre diferentes dialectos del español tiene algunas desventajas. Si está en alguna medida de acuerdo con la afirmación, ¿Qué desventajas?

acuerdo **desacuerdo**

Q10.4. Desventajas:

Q10.5. Existe una relación entre la exposición a diferentes acentos y la competencia intercultural de los alumnos (la capacidad de participar de manera efectiva en diferentes culturas e interactuar y trabajar con personas de distintas procedencias en nuestro país o afuera).

acuerdo **desacuerdo**

Q10.6. Considero importante incluir actividades que estimulen el desarrollo de actitudes positivas hacia las variedades locales del español en la clase de ELSE.

acuerdo **desacuerdo**

Q10.7. Considero que la exposición a distintos acentos en la clase de ELSE es una manera de darle valor a las diversas comunidades hispanohablantes y de fomentar la tolerancia a otras culturas.

acuerdo **desacuerdo**

Q10.8. Considero que la exposición a distintos acentos en la clase de ELSE mejora la competencia lingüística de los estudiantes (habilidades de escuchar y hablar).

acuerdo **desacuerdo**

Q10.9. La variación dialectal se debería introducir en cursos avanzados de ELSE, no en cursos iniciales ni intermedios.

acuerdo **desacuerdo**

Q10.10. La variación dialectal debería incorporarse en cursos de todos los niveles de ELSE sin importar el nivel.

acuerdo desacuerdo

Q10.11. ¿Cuál debería ser el objetivo de los estudiantes de ELSE?

Pronunciación (casi) nativa

Pronunciación comprensible

Q8.16. Se puede elegir cualquier acento español como modelo para la clase de ELSE mientras sea un acento estándar.

acuerdo desacuerdo

Q10.13. ¿Cuál acento piensa que sus estudiantes de ELSE deberían tomar como modelo a imitar? Elija una sola opción y justifique brevemente su elección en el recuadro.

Cordobés (Córdoba, Argentina)

Rioplatense (Buenos Aires)

Peninsular (Centro-Norte de España)

Otro

Q10.12. Los alumnos deberían ser expuestos a variedades estándares y no estándares en la clase de ELSE.

Acuerdo Desacuerdo

Q10.14. Es importante que los estudiantes de ELSE identifiquen diferentes acentos del español.

Acuerdo Desacuerdo

Q10.15. ¿Qué variedad(es) del español no enseñaría? ¿Por qué?

Q10.16. Considero que el entrenamiento en variación dialectal es necesario para docentes de ELSE y para estudiantes de profesorado de ELSE.

Acuerdo Desacuerdo

Q10.17. Solo docentes que hablan una variedad estándar deberían enseñar ELSE.

Acuerdo Desacuerdo

Q10.18. Solo docentes con una pronunciación nativa o casi nativa deberían enseñar ELSE.

Acuerdo Desacuerdo

Q10.19. ¿Qué variedades del español siente que está capacitada/o para enseñar? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Rioplatense (Buenos Aires)
- Peninsular (Centro-Norte de España)
- Cordobesa (Córdoba, Argentina)
- De otros países latinoamericanos
- Neutra

Otra (especifique)

Q10.20. ¿Qué tipos de variación siente que puede enseñar? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Vocabulario
- Pronunciación
- Gramática
- Ninguna

BELIEFS ABOUT L2 ACQUISITION

Q11.1. En su opinión, ¿Qué conocimientos o capacidades implica tener competencia comunicativa en una lengua extranjera?

Q11.2. ¿Cómo aprende un estudiante a pronunciar en una L2?

Q11.3. ¿Qué tipo de *input* o exposición es la mejor para la adquisición de la pronunciación en una L2?

Indique la opción que considera adecuada.

**a hablantes de
un mismo
acento
estándar**

**a hablantes de
varios acentos
estándares**

**a hablantes de
acentos no
estándares**

**a hablantes de
varios acentos
estándares y
no estándares**

Q11.4. ¿Qué tipo de *input* o exposición es la mejor para la adquisición de la pronunciación en una L2?

Indique la opción que considera adecuada.

**a modelos de
hablantes nativos**

**a modelos de
hablantes no nativos**

**a modelos de
hablantes nativos y
no nativos**

TEACHERS' REPORTED PRACTICES IN THE CLASSROOM

Q154. ¡COMPLETASTE EL 80%!

Q12.1. ¿Sus estudiantes muestran interés por diferentes variedades del español?

- Sí
- No

Q12.2. ¿Variedades de qué países y/o provincias les interesan?

Q12.3. ¿Qué tipo de variación les interesa? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Pronunciación
- Vocabulario
- Gramática

Q12.4. ¿Qué variedad del español considera que enseña actualmente en sus clases de ELSE?

- Rioplatense (Buenos Aires)
- Cordobesa (Córdoba, Argentina)
- Peninsular (Centro-Norte de España)
- Neutra
- Otra (por favor, especifique)

Q12.5. Las variedades a las que mis alumnos son expuestos son relevantes por el contexto en donde usarán la lengua y están acorde a sus objetivos de aprendizaje.

Acuerdo Desacuerdo

Q12.6. ¿Trabaja de manera explícita las variaciones dialectales en sus clases de ELSE?

- Sí, siempre.
- Trato de evitarlas.
- Solo si el contexto lo propicia.
- Solo si lo propone el libro de texto.
- Solo de manera anecdótica.
- Solo si los estudiantes preguntan.

Q12.7. ¿Qué variedades presenta (de qué lugares)?

Q12.8. ¿Qué tipo de variación presenta? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Pronunciación
- Vocabulario
- Gramática

Q12.9. ¿Usa un libro de texto en sus clases de ELSE?

- Sí
- No

Q12.10. ¿Qué libro utiliza?

Q12.11. ¿Qué variedad del español se presenta de manera predominante en el libro que utiliza?

- Rioplatense (Buenos Aires)
- Peninsular (Centro-Norte de España)
- Otra (por favor, especifique)

Q12.12. ¿Qué tipo de variación dialectal trabaja el libro de texto? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Pronunciación
- Vocabulario
- Gramática
- ninguna

Q12.13. ¿Qué otros acentos además del predominante se presentan en el material audiovisual del libro? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Rioplatense (Buenos Aires)
- Peninsular (Centro-Norte de España)
- Cordobés (Córdoba, Argentina)
- De otros países latinoamericanos
- Otros (especifique)

Q12.14. ¿De dónde obtiene los audios para las actividades de su clase de ELSE? Por favor, indique las fuentes que utiliza:

- Libro de texto
- Radios, programas de TV, audiolibros, canciones y/o podcasts de Buenos Aires
- Radios, programas de TV, audiolibros, canciones y/o podcasts de Córdoba
- Radios, programas de TV, audiolibros, canciones y/o podcasts de España
- Radios, programas de TV, audiolibros, canciones y/o podcasts de otros países latinoamericanos
- Catálogo de voces hispánicas
- Biblioteca de dialectos del español
- Atlas lingüísticos - ¿Cuál?

Q12.15. ¿Qué tipo de actividades incluye sobre variedades de acentos en sus clases de ELSE? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Ninguno
- Percepción (escucha comprensiva)
- Producción (habla)

Q12.16. ¿Incluye actividades sobre variación léxica y/o gramatical del español?

- Sí
- No

Q12.17. ¿Pregunta a sus estudiantes qué acento del español necesitan o prefieren aprender?

- Sí

No

Q12.18. ¿Cambio el material de clase para satisfacer las necesidades o preferencias de sus estudiantes sobre el acento a aprender?

Sí

No

Q12.19. ¿Sus estudiantes pueden usar la variedad que prefieren en sus clases y exámenes de ELSE?

Sí

No

Q12.20. ¿Qué acentos percibe que quieren aprender sus estudiantes? Ordénelos según frecuencia (arrastrar y soltar).

Rioplatense (Buenos Aires)

Peninsular (Centro-Norte de España)

Cordobés (Córdoba, Argentina)

De otros países latinoamericanos

Otros (especifique)

Q12.21. ¿Guía a sus estudiantes de ELSE en su elección de un acento a imitar? Por favor, explique brevemente.

Sí

No

Q12.22. Si advierte el uso de un regionalismo en el habla de sus estudiantes durante una actividad, ¿Cuál es su reacción?

Nada

Lo corrijo

Les hago una aclaración o sugerencia

Otro

Q12.23. ¿Modifica de alguna manera su forma normal de hablar durante sus clases de ELSE? Puede seleccionar más de una opción.

No modifico mi forma normal de hablar en mis clases.

Sí, para hablar con un acento más estándar/neutral, no tan vernáculo/regional.

No cambio mi acento pero evito expresiones vernáculos y regionalismos.

Sí, uso la variedad que utilizan mis estudiantes.

A veces cambio mi habla para imitar otros acentos y mostrarles a mis alumnos cómo suenan.

Sí, hablo más despacio y de manera más articulada, sobre todo con estudiantes de niveles bajos.

Q12.24. ¿Cuál es la edad promedio aproximada de sus estudiantes de español?
(indique el número, por favor)

EXTERNAL FACTORS THAT AFFECT TEACHING PRACTICES AND DECISIONS

Q13.1. ¿Puede decidir libremente qué variedades dialectales enseñar y exponer a sus estudiantes en su lugar de trabajo?

- Sí
 No

Q13.2. Si su respuesta fue negativa, ¿Qué limitaciones institucionales hay? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Exámenes
 Programa de estudios y objetivos del curso
 Falta de tiempo
 Otro (especifique)

Q13.3. ¿Cuáles son las razones por las que sus estudiantes quieren aprender español? Ordénalas según frecuencia.

por trabajo / negocios

por estudio

para rendir un examen de proficiencia en ELSE

por turismo

por interés hacia otras culturas

para comunicarse con familia y/o amigos

otra

Q13.4. ¿Sus estudiantes están preparándose para rendir un examen que certifica su competencia en ELSE?

- Sí
 No

Q13.5. Si su respuesta es afirmativa, ¿Cuál examen? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- CELU (Certificado de Español: Lengua y Uso)
 DELE (Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera)
 SIELE (Servicio Internacional de Evaluación de la Lengua Española)
 Otro (por favor, especifique)

Q13.6. ¿La variación dialectal está incluida en el programa del curso de ELSE que enseña?

- Sí
 No

Q13.7. ¿Qué tipos de variación se incluyen en el programa del curso que dicta? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Pronunciación
 Vocabulario

- Gramática
- Ninguna

Q13.8. ¿Variedades de qué países o provincias están incluidas en el programa? Puede indicar más de una opción.

- Rioplatense (Buenos Aires)
- Cordobesa (Córdoba, Argentina)
- De otros países latinoamericanos
- Peninsular (Centro-Norte de España)
- Otra (por favor, especifique)

INTERVIEW

Q14.1. ¿Le gustaría que la/o entreviste de manera virtual sobre este mismo tema? Si indica que sí, la investigadora se contactará por correo electrónico para combinar un día y horario conveniente para usted.

- Sí
- No

ASK TEACHERS TO SHARE STUDENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE LINK WITH THEIR STUDENTS

Q15.1. Un último favor: le agradecería si puede compartir el siguiente link con los estudiantes de español que tuvo en el pasado y/o con los que tiene actualmente para que respondan un cuestionario sobre su experiencia como estudiantes de ELSE. ¡MUCHAS GRACIAS!

andeanorthumbria521.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_enzEacr5tWEpmjc

TEACHER'S QUESTIONNAIRE (Spanish Version)³⁹

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Gender: female / male / other / prefer not to say
4. Birth country:
5. Birth province:
6. Birth city/town:
7. Where do you currently live?
8. How long have you lived there?
9. Which is (are) your native language(s)?
10. If Spanish is not your native language, how old were you when you started learning it?
11. Did you learn other languages apart from Spanish? Which ones, for how long and where?
.....
12. Complete the following chart:

LANGUAGE	LEVEL OF PROFICIENCY					
	nothing	very low	low	intermediate	high	very high
Spanish						
English						
French						
Portuguese						
German						
?						

³⁹ This is a translation of the interactive online version that was uploaded to Qualtrics in Spanish.

?						
---	--	--	--	--	--	--

13. Trips to other countries where Spanish is Spoken. Yes / No

Country	Duration	Aim

14. Are you in touch with Spanish speakers from other countries? Yes / No. If yes, from where?

Andorra Bolivia Chile El Salvador Honduras Mexico Nicaragua Colombia
 Costa Rica Cuba Ecuador Spain Guatemala Guinea Ecuatorial Panamá Paraguay
 Perú Puerto Rico Dominican Republic Uruguay US Venezuela Other

15. Are you in contact with other Argentinian Spanish varieties? Yes / No If yes, from which provinces? Write down all the provinces.

16. I have regular contact with Cordobese speakers. **Yes/no**

17. I have regular contact with Speakers from Bs As. Yes/no

18. Which Spanish accents can you identify? a. b. c. d. e.

Listen to four speakers (Horacio, Pamela, David and Tamara) and answer the questions for each of them:

HORACIO Audio link [Horacio](#)

Which accent does the person speak?

Which country do you think the speaker is from? Which province?

How do you think this speaker sounds?

upper-class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	lower class
intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not intelligent
educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not educated
skilled worker	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	unskilled worker

pleasant	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not pleasant
correct	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not correct
appropriate pronunciation model	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not appropriate pronunciation model
persuasive	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not persuasive

friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not friendly
funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not funny
solidary	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not solidary
honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not honest

Would you use this audio for your classes with your students?

PAMELA Audio link [Pamela](#)

Which accent does the person speak?

Which country do you think the speaker is from? Which province?

How do you think this speaker sounds?

upper-class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	lower class
intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not intelligent
educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not educated
skilled worker	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	unskilled worker

pleasant	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not pleasant
correct	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not correct
appropriate pronunciation model	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not appropriate pronunciation model
persuasive	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not persuasive

friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not friendly
funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not funny
solidary	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not solidary
honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not honest

Would you use this audio for your classes with your students?

DAVID Audio link [David](#)

Which accent does the person speak?

Which country do you think the speaker is from? Which province?

How do you think this speaker sounds?

upper-class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	lower class
intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not intelligent
educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not educated
skilled worker	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	unskilled worker

pleasant	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not pleasant
correct	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not correct
appropriate pronunciation model	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not appropriate pronunciation model
persuasive	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not persuasive

friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not friendly
funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not funny
solidary	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not solidary
honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not honest

Would you use this audio for your classes with your students?

TAMARA Audio link [Tamara](#)

Which accent does the person speak?

Which country do you think the speaker is from? Which province?

How do you think this speaker sounds?

upper-class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	lower class
intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not intelligent
educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not educated
skilled worker	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	unskilled worker

pleasant	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not pleasant
correct	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not correct
appropriate pronunciation model	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not appropriate pronunciation model
persuasive	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not persuasive

friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not friendly
funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not funny
solidary	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not solidary
honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not honest

Would you use this audio for your classes with your students?

19. How would you define the concept of “standard Spanish”?
20. Which Spanish accent do you think you speak?
21. Do you think your Spanish variety is a “Standard variety”? **YES-NO** Why? (standard being a variety that is considered prestigious and it is taken as a model, norm or reference)

- 22.** What opinion do other people have about the Spanish variety you speak? (positive 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 negative) Please, explain.
- 23.** In which countries is Spanish spoken more correctly?
- a.
 - b.
 - c.
- 24.** When considering world Spanish varieties, which ones do you consider most prestigious? Please explain your answer.
- a.
 - b.
 - c.
- 25.** Spanish accent from which countries do you consider most pleasant?
- a.
 - b.
 - c.
- 26.** Spanish accent from which country do you consider the most appropriate pronunciation model?
- 27.** Within Argentinian varieties, which ones do you consider most prestigious? Please explain your answer.
- a.
 - b.
 - c.
- 28.** In which Argentinian provinces is Spanish spoken more correctly?
- a.
 - b.
 - c.
- 29.** Which Spanish accent do you think is more correct, Buenos Aires Spanish or Cordobese?
- 30.** Spanish accent from which Argentinian province do you consider most pleasant?
- 31.** Spanish accent from which Argentinian province do you consider the most appropriate pronunciation model?
- 32.** What are, in your opinion, Spanish varieties? How would you define them?
- 33.** There are no superior and inferior Spanish accents. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree

- 34.** It is ok to choose any Spanish accent as a classroom model as long as it is a standard accent. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 35.** Did you have any formal training in Spanish dialectal variation? Tick the one(s) that apply to you.
- Yes, I took a Spanish dialects course as part of my undergraduate or graduate university studies
 - Yes, as part of a course during my university studies.
 - No, I was self-taught in the field (I read research works, books, or articles about this)
 - No, but I would like to do it.
 - No, I consider it unnecessary.
 - Other?
- 36.** Were you formally trained in teaching pronunciation dialectal variation to Spanish learners?
- Yes, I took a postgraduate course.
 - Yes, it was part of my teaching training program.
 - No, but I would like to do it.
 - No, I consider it unnecessary.
- 37.** Did you receive training for teaching specific skills and specific areas of the Spanish language? Please, tick the ones that apply to you. Listening – reading – writing – speaking – grammar – lexis - pronunciation – other
- 38.** How many years have you been teaching Spanish as a Foreign language?
- 39.** Have you taught Spanish in another country apart from Argentina? If yes, where?
- 40.** What levels have you taught?
- A1 (Acceso - Usuario básico)
 - A2 (Plataforma - Usuario básico)
 - B1 (Intermedio - Usuario independiente)
 - B2 (Intermedio alto - Usuario independiente)
 - C1 (Dominio - Usuario competente)
 - C2 (Maestría - Usuario competente)
- 41.** Where do you currently teach?
- Centro de Educación Primaria
 - Centro de Educación Secundaria
 - Universidad – Grados, Licenciaturas, etc. en lenguas
 - Universidad – Centro de Idiomas, Centro de Lenguas, Grados y Licenciaturas de otras especialidades

Escuela Oficial de Idiomas
Instituto Cervantes
Academia de Idiomas, Escuela de Español o similar
Clases particulares
Otro (por favor, especifique)

42. Level of education

secondary school

undergrad education - Complete? which degree?

graduate education - Complete? which degree?

43. Formal teacher training

No

Yes ___ - Complete? Please name the institution:

44. There are advantages to teaching/raising students' awareness about dialectal variation. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree. If you agreed, which ones?

45. There are some negative points to exposing students to different Spanish accents. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree Please, explain.

46. There is a link between exposure to accent variation and intercultural competence (the ability to function effectively across cultures, to think and act appropriately, and to communicate and work with people from different cultural backgrounds – at home or abroad)? Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree

47. Is it important to include activities that foster the development of positive attitudes towards local varieties? Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree

48. Exposing students to different accents makes students more tolerant of other cultures. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree

49. Exposing students to different accents is a way to give value to different Spanish speaking communities. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree

50. Exposing students to different accents improves students' Spanish proficiency (listening and speaking skills). Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree

51. Dialectal variation should be introduced in advanced courses, not in beginner or intermediate ones. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree

52. Dialectal variation should be introduced in all courses, no matter the students' level. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree

- 53.** What Spanish varieties do you expect your students to identify at beginning levels? Intermediate? Advanced?
- 54.** What should students' goal be as regards second language pronunciation? Native-like pronunciation - Intelligible pronunciation
- 55.** Students should be exposed to standard and non-standard accents in the classroom. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 56.** Students should only be exposed to standard accents in class. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 57.** Students should choose a standard accent to imitate when speaking. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 58.** Foreign students prefer learning a standard variety. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 59.** Which accent do you think students should aim at? Cordobese accent - Buenos Aires accent - Northern Central Spanish accent - any - other. Why?
- 60.** Is it important for students to be able to identify different accents of Spanish? Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 61.** Which accent(s) of Spanish do you believe students need to be exposed to? Why?
- 62.** Which Spanish varieties wouldn't you teach? Why?
- 63.** Training in dialectal variation is essential for Spanish teachers or teachers-to-be. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 64.** Only teachers who speak a standard accent should teach Spanish. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 65.** Only teachers who have a native-like pronunciation should teach Spanish. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 66.** I feel qualified to teach different Spanish varieties. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 67.** In your opinion, what is it to be communicatively competent in an L2?
- 68.** How do students learn to pronounce in an L2?
- 69.** Which are the optimal conditions to learn to pronounce an L2? What kind of input/exposure is the best for L2 pronunciation acquisition? All of the same standard accent / varying standard and non-standard accents / several standard accents / native models / non-native speakers.
- 70.** I feel comfortable dealing with Spanish variation in class. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree. Which kind of variation? Lexical – pronunciation – morpho-syntax

- 71.** My students show interest towards different Spanish accents. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7
Disagree
- 72.** I expose my students to non-standard Spanish accents. YES/NO Which ones?
- 73.** The varieties students are exposed to in class are relevant for them in terms of the context they will use the language in and their learning objectives. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 74.** Do you explicitly address dialectal variation (lexical-phonological-morphosyntactic) awareness in your lessons? I try to avoid it / if context allows / if the textbook proposes it / only anecdotally / only mention the existence of other varieties / if students ask / if there is extra time/ always. What varieties do you introduce (from which places)?
- 75.** Do you use a coursebook? If the answer is yes, which one? Does the coursebook use a specific variety predominantly? Which one? Are any other accents included in the audiovisual material? Does it address lexical and morpho-syntactic variation?
- 76.** Where do you get the input for your classes from? tick the ones you use. Coursebook - Buenos Aires radios - movies or tv shows (examples) - online tv channels - Cordobese radio - tv series - shows or movies (examples) Spanish radios - movies or tv shows - songs/singers (who?) - audiobooks (which?) - linguistic Atlases - Hispanic voices catalogue - Spanish corpus - Spanish Dialectal library - podcasts, which? - other Latin American radios - tv shows and movies - authentic material
- 77.** What type of activities do you include related to accent variation? None. Production (speaking)? Perception (listening)?
- 78.** Do you include activities related to lexical and/or morpho-syntactic variation? YES / NO
- 79.** I ask my students about their needs/preferences as regards the target accent they are aiming for. YES / NO
- 80.** I change the course material to meet my students' needs/preferences as regards accent. YES / NO
- 81.** I know where to look for material to expose my students to different Spanish accents. YES / NO
- 82.** Which activities do you think are the best to introduce students to different accents of Spanish?
- 83.** It is ok for my students to use any accent they want in class and during exams. YES / NO

- 84.** Which accent do your students want to speak? Rioplatense. Cordobese. Peninsular. Other (which?). Any. I don't know. I don't ask. How do you know?
- 85.** I tell my students to choose an accent to imitate. YES / NO
- 86.** I guide my students in choosing an accent to imitate. YES / NO Please, explain.
- 87.** If you encounter the use of a regionalism while assessing your students in oral tasks, what is your strategy? nothing - correct - make a suggestion - other
- 88.** My Spanish accent influences the way I grade my students in oral tasks. Agree 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Disagree
- 89.** I modify my normal way of speaking when teaching Spanish as an L2 classes. YES / NO
- If the previous answer was yes, in which way and for what purpose?
- to make it more standard/neutral Spanish, not so vernacular.
- I don't change the accent but avoid vernacular lexis and grammar
- to accommodate to my students' variety
- Sometimes I change to imitate another accent to exemplify it
- I speak slower and more articulate with low level students
- 90.** Which Spanish variety (lexis, pronunciation, morpho-syntax) do you think you are currently teaching? Why?
- 91.** Where I work, I am free to make curricular decisions about which varieties to teach and expose my students to. YES – NO - If not, which institutional limitations are there? Tests - curriculum - time constraints - course objectives - other
- 92.** My students' main reasons for studying Spanish are.... future jobs - exams - to communicate with foreigners - to travel - to learn another culture - for pleasure - I don't know - other...
- 93.** Are you students aiming to sit for a Spanish proficiency certification test? YES - NO
Which one?
- 94.** Where do you currently teach? Tick the ones that correspond to you:
- Centro de Educación Primaria
 - Centro de Educación Secundaria
 - Universidad – Grados, Licenciaturas, etc. en lenguas
 - Universidad – Centro de Idiomas, Centro de Lenguas, Grados y Licenciaturas de otras especialidades
 - Escuela Oficial de Idiomas
 - Instituto Cervantes

Academia de Idiomas, Escuela de Español o similar

Clases particulares

Otro (por favor, especifique)

95. Dialectal variation is part of the course syllabus that I teach. Tick variation that is included in the syllabus: lexical - phonetico-phonological - morphosyntactic - none - Varieties from which countries and/or provinces are included in the syllabus?

96. Are you willing to be interviewed about this same topic?

Appendix 3: Students' Questionnaire

Español (América Latina) ▾

INFORMED CONSENT

Q1.1.

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Proyecto: El aprendizaje de español para extranjeros en Argentina

Investigadora principal: Andrea Canavosio

andrea.canavosio@northumbria.ac.uk

Número de estudiante: 19022870

Si acepta participar de este estudio, lea por favor los siguientes párrafos y presione "De acuerdo".

Comprendo la naturaleza del estudio y la información que requiere de mí. Comprendo que luego de mi participación, recibiré un resumen con información sobre el estudio y con los detalles de contacto de la investigadora. Entiendo que soy libre de retirarme del estudio en cualquier momento sin razón ni perjuicio alguno. Accedo a proporcionar información a través de un cuestionario y/o entrevista y sé que los datos provistos serán confidenciales. Accedo a que almacenen la información con la condición de que se use para proyectos de investigación aprobados por el comité de ética de la Universidad de Northumbria.

Acepto que la Universidad de Northumbria en Newcastle almacene y procese la información que brindo. Entiendo que estos datos solo serán usados para los fines detallados en la ficha de información a la que tuve acceso, y que mi consentimiento está condicionado a que la universidad cumpla con las obligaciones estipuladas en la Ley de Protección de Datos 2018, que incorpora las Regulaciones Generales de Protección de Datos (GDPR). Puede acceder a más detalles sobre cómo usamos su información en el siguiente link: [Privacy Notices](#)

De acuerdo

BIOMETRIC INFORMATION - CONTACT WITH SPANISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES

Q2.1. Nombre o apodo:

Q2.2. Correo electrónico:

Q2.3. Edad:

Q2.4. Género con el que se identifica:

Femenino

Masculino otro

prefiero no decirlo

Q2.5. Ocupación:

estudiante

empleada/o

trabajador(a)
independiente

jubilada/o

desempleada/o

Q2.6. País y ciudad de nacimiento:

Q2.7. País y ciudad donde vive actualmente:

Q2.8. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido ahí? Responda en meses o en años y especifique cuántos, por favor.

Q2.9. Indique nivel de educación formal alcanzado:

- Secundaria
- Terciaria o universitaria de grado incompleto. ¿Qué título?
- Terciaria o universitaria de grado completo. ¿Qué título?
- Posgrado incompleto. ¿Qué título?
- Posgrado completo. ¿Qué título?

Q2.10. ¿Cuál es su lengua nativa? Si tiene más de una, indíquelas, por favor.

- Alemán
- Francés
- Inglés
- Italiano
- Portugués
- otra (especifique)

Q2.11. Complete el siguiente cuadro sobre su conocimiento de idiomas:

	NIVEL DE PROFICIENCIA			
	nada	bajo	intermedio	alto
Español	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Portugués	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inglés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Italiano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Francés	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otro <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otro <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.12. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha estudiado español? Responda en meses o en años y especifique cuántos, por favor.

Q2.13. Por favor indique el país y la ciudad en donde ha estudiado español. Si lo hizo en más de un lugar, indíquelo por favor.

País y ciudad

País y ciudad

Q2.14. ¿Dónde estudia o ha estudiado español? Puede seleccionar más de una opción.

- Instituto privado de idiomas
- Profesor(a) particular
- Universidad o terciario
- Clases in-company
- Otro (especifique)

Q2.15. ¿Para qué situaciones utiliza el español fuera de la clase? Puede seleccionar más de una opción.

- para hablar con amigos y/o familiares
- para comunicarme en la escuela/universidad
- por trabajo
- para escuchar música, radio, podcasts, ver videos, películas y/o series
- para leer por placer
- para hacer tareas y estudiar para exámenes
- no utilizo el español fuera de la clase

Q2.16. ¿Cuántas horas por semana escucha, lee, escribe o habla en español fuera de la clase?

- 0
- 1-2
- 2-4
- 5-6
- 7 o más

Q2.17. ¿Ve o escucha audios en español fuera de la clase? Si es así, Por favor, indique las fuentes que utiliza:

- No veo ni escucho español fuera de la clase
- Radios, programas de TV, audiolibros, canciones y/o podcasts de Buenos Aires
- Radios, programas de TV, audiolibros, canciones y/o podcasts de Córdoba
- Radios, programas de TV, audiolibros, canciones y/o podcasts de España
- Radios, programas de TV, audiolibros, canciones y/o podcasts de otros países latinoamericanos
- Catálogo de voces hispánicas
- Biblioteca de dialectos del español
- Atlas lingüísticos - ¿Cuál?

Q2.18. Complete la siguiente tabla sobre sus viajes a otros países donde se habla español:

	DURATION			REASONS		
	less than a month	more than a month	more than a year	work	study	holidays
País 1 <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
País 2 <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>					
País 3 <input type="text"/>	<input type="radio"/>					

Q2.19. ¿Qué variedades de español del mundo (de qué países) escucha en su vida cotidiana, ya sea en persona o a través de los medios de comunicación? Indique los países, por favor.

- Andorra
- Argentina
- Bolivia
- Chile
- Colombia
- Costa Rica
- Cuba
- Ecuador
- El Salvador

- España
- Estados Unidos
- Guatemala
- Guinea Ecuatorial
- Honduras
- Méjico
- Nicaragua
- Panamá
- Paraguay
- Perú
- Puerto Rico
- República Dominicana
- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- Otro

Q2.20. ¿Qué variedades de español argentino (de qué provincias) escucha en su vida cotidiana, ya sea en persona o a través de los medios de comunicación? Indique las provincias, por favor.

- Buenos Aires
- Catamarca
- Chaco
- Chubut
- Córdoba
- Corrientes
- Entre Ríos
- Formosa
- Jujuy
- La Pampa
- La Rioja
- Mendoza
- Misiones
- Neuquén
- Río Negro
- Salta
- San Juan

- San Luis
- Santa Cruz
- Santa Fe
- Santiago del Estero
- Tierra del Fuego
- Tucumán

MENSAJE AVISANDO QUE VAN A ESCUCCHAR AUDIOS

Q3.1.

En la siguiente página escuchará cuatro hablantes y responderá unas preguntas.



VGT DAVID

Q4.1. Escuche el siguiente audio y responda las siguientes preguntas. Para usted, ¿De qué provincia es esta persona?

Explore more music & audio like
David
on SoundCloud.

Hear more on
SoundCloud

[Privacy policy](#)

PhD research study · David

Q4.2. Para usted, ¿Cómo suena esta persona? Elija un punto entre los dos extremos.

solidario	<input type="radio"/>	no solidario						
culto	<input type="radio"/>	no culto						
clase alta	<input type="radio"/>	clase baja						
persuasivo	<input type="radio"/>	no persuasivo						
habla agradable	<input type="radio"/>	habla no agradable						
correcto al hablar	<input type="radio"/>	no correcto al hablar						
trabajador calificado	<input type="radio"/>	trabajador no calificado						
inteligente	<input type="radio"/>	no inteligente						
divertido	<input type="radio"/>	no divertido						
buen modelo de pronunciación	<input type="radio"/>	no buen modelo de pronunciación						
amable	<input type="radio"/>	no amable						
honesto	<input type="radio"/>	no honesto						

VGT HORACIO

Q5.1. Escuche el siguiente audio y responda las siguientes preguntas. Para usted, ¿De qué provincia es esta persona?

Explore more music & audio like
Horacio
on SoundCloud.

Hear more on
SoundCloud

[Privacy policy](#)

PhD research study - Horacio

Q5.2. ¿Cómo suena esta persona? Elija un punto entre los dos extremos.

persuasivo	<input type="radio"/>	no persuasivo						
habla agradable	<input type="radio"/>	habla no agradable						
inteligente	<input type="radio"/>	no inteligente						
buen modelo de pronunciación	<input type="radio"/>	no buen modelo de pronunciación						

divertido		no divertido
trabajador calificado	<input type="radio"/>	trabajador no calificado
solidario	<input type="radio"/>	no solidario
honesto	<input type="radio"/>	no honesto
correcto al hablar	<input type="radio"/>	no correcto al hablar
amable	<input type="radio"/>	no amable
culto	<input type="radio"/>	no culto
clase alta	<input type="radio"/>	clase baja

VGT PAMELA

Q6.1. Escuche el siguiente audio y responda las siguientes preguntas. Para usted, ¿De qué provincia es esta persona?

Explore more music & audio like
Pamela
on SoundCloud.

Hear more on
SoundCloud

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PhD research study - Pamela

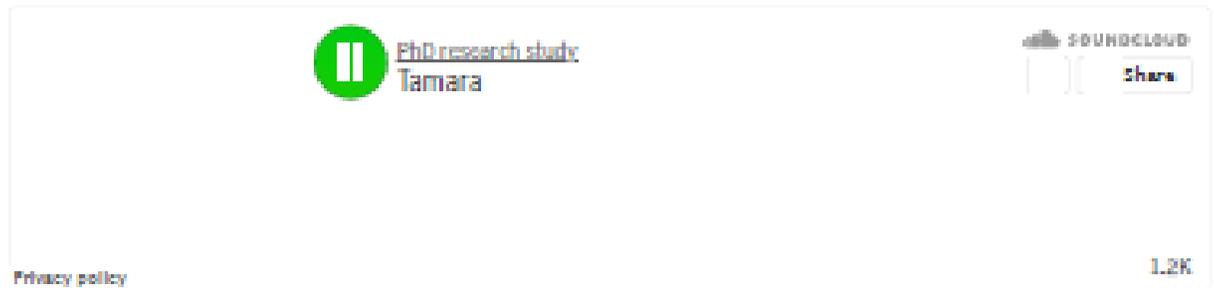
▼

Q6.2. Para usted, ¿Cómo suena esta persona? Elija un punto entre los dos extremos.

buen modelo de pronunciación	<input type="radio"/>	no buen modelo de pronunciación
honestas	<input type="radio"/>	no honestas
inteligente	<input type="radio"/>	no inteligente
persuasiva	<input type="radio"/>	no persuasiva
divertida	<input type="radio"/>	no divertida
clase alta	<input type="radio"/>	clase baja
amable	<input type="radio"/>	no amable
habla agradable	<input type="radio"/>	habla no agradable
solidaria	<input type="radio"/>	no solidaria
correcta al hablar	<input type="radio"/>	no correcta al hablar
trabajadora calificada	<input type="radio"/>	trabajadora no calificada
culta	<input type="radio"/>	no culta

VGT TAMARA

Q7.1. Escuche el siguiente audio y responda las siguientes preguntas. Para usted, ¿De qué provincia es esta persona?



PhD research study
Tamara

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1.2K

PhD research study - Tamara

Q7.2. Para usted, ¿Cómo suena esta persona? Elija un punto entre los dos extremos.

habla agradable	<input type="radio"/>	habla no agradable						
amable	<input type="radio"/>	no amable						
solidaria	<input type="radio"/>	no solidaria						
correcta al hablar	<input type="radio"/>	no correcta al hablar						
divertida	<input type="radio"/>	no divertida						
honestas	<input type="radio"/>	no honesta						
culta	<input type="radio"/>	no culta						
trabajadora calificada	<input type="radio"/>	trabajadora no calificada						
inteligente	<input type="radio"/>	no inteligente						
persuasiva	<input type="radio"/>	no persuasiva						
buen modelo de pronunciación	<input type="radio"/>	no buen modelo de pronunciación						
clase alta	<input type="radio"/>	clase baja						

THE STANDARD AND OPINIONS ON PARTICIPANTS' OWN SPANISH VARIETY AND OTHERS

Q164.

¡COMPLETASTE EL 60%!

Q8.1. En su opinión, ¿Hay diferentes variedades de español?

- Sí
- No
- No lo sé

Q8.2. Si su respuesta fue sí, ¿Qué aspectos son diferentes entre las variedades del español?

Q8.3. Nombre, por favor, algunos acentos del español.

Q8.4. ¿Puede identificar algunas diferencias entre distintos acentos del español?

- Sí. Por favor ejemplifique alguna(s) diferencia(s).
- No

Q8.5. ¿Cuál acento diría que habla usted (de qué país y/o ciudad)?

Q8.6. ¿Por qué eligió ese acento para imitar?

Q8.7. ¿Qué opinión tiene la gente de la variedad que usted habla?

POSITIVA **NEGATIVA**

Q8.8. Explique brevemente su respuesta, por favor.

Q8.9. Cuando piensa en las variedades del español de diferentes países del mundo, ¿Cuál o cuáles considera más prestigiosas?

	COUNTRY	WHY?
1	<input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>	<input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>

	COUNTRY	WHY?
2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
3	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Q8.10. ¿El acento español de qué país o países considera más agradable al oído?

	COUNTRY
1	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>

Q8.11. ¿El acento español de qué país considera que es el mejor modelo de pronunciación para imitar? Por favor, explique brevemente. "Ninguna" también es una opción.

	COUNTRY	WHY?
1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Q8.12.

De las variedades argentinas, ¿Cuál o cuáles considera más prestigiosas (de qué provincias)? Por favor, explique brevemente. "Ninguna" también es una opción.

	PROVINCE	WHY?
1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Q8.13.

¿El acento de qué provincia o provincias argentinas considera más agradable al oído?

	PROVINCE
1	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>
3	<input type="text"/>

Q8.14. ¿El acento español de qué provincia argentina considera que es el mejor modelo de pronunciación para imitar? Por favor, explique brevemente.

	COUNTRY	WHY?
1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Q8.15. ¿Si le dan la oportunidad de estudiar español en un país de habla hispana, cuál o cuáles elegiría?

- Andorra
- Argentina
- Bolivia
- Chile
- Colombia
- Costa Rica
- Cuba
- Ecuador
- El Salvador
- España
- Estados Unidos
- Guatemala
- Guinea Ecuatorial
- Honduras
- México
- Nicaragua
- Panamá
- Paraguay
- Perú
- Puerto Rico
- República Dominicana
- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- Otro (especifique)

Q8.16. ¿Qué son para usted las variedades del español (cómo las definiría)?

Q8.17. No hay acentos del español superiores o inferiores a los demás.

acuerdo ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ desacuerdo

Q8.18. Se puede elegir cualquier acento español como modelo a imitar mientras sea un acento estándar.

acuerdo ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ desacuerdo

SPANISH LEARNING AND EXPERIENCE

Q9.1. ¿Qué variedad del Español piensa que le están enseñando o le enseñaron?

- Rioplatense (Buenos Aires)
- Cordobesa (Córdoba, Argentina)
- Peninsular (Norte-Centro de España)
- Neutra
- Otra (especifique, por favor)

Q9.2. ¿De qué país es su profesor(a) de español?

- No lo sé
- Argentina
- Otro (especifique, por favor)

Q9.3. ¿Qué variedad del Español habla su profesor(a) de Español?

- No lo sé
- Rioplatense (de Buenos Aires)
- Cordobesa (de Córdoba, Argentina)
- Peninsular (del Norte-Centro de España)
- Neutra
- Otra (especifique, por favor)

Q9.4. ¿Le gusta aprender español?

Sí ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ No

Q9.5. ¿Escucha distintas variedades del español por su cuenta?

Sí ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ No

Q9.6. ¿Le gusta escuchar distintas variedades del español?

Sí No

Q9.7. ¿Le pregunta a su profesor(a) de español sobre distintas variedades?

Sí No

BELIEFS ABOUT IMPACT ON LEARNING - LEARNING GOALS

Q165.

¡COMPLETASTE EL 90%!

Q10.1. Aprender sobre diferentes dialectos del español tiene algunas ventajas. Si está en alguna medida de acuerdo con la afirmación, por favor mencione alguna(s) ventaja(s).

acuerdo desacuerdo

Q10.2. Ventajas:

Q10.3. Aprender sobre diferentes dialectos del español tiene algunas desventajas. Si está en alguna medida de acuerdo con la afirmación, ¿Qué desventajas?

acuerdo desacuerdo

Q10.4. Desventajas:

Q10.5. Escuchar y saber sobre los acentos del español me ayuda a interactuar y trabajar con personas de distintas procedencias y culturas.

acuerdo desacuerdo

Q10.6. Considero importante que en mi clase de español hagamos actividades que estimulen el desarrollo de actitudes positivas hacia las variedades locales del español.

acuerdo desacuerdo

Q10.7. Considero que la exposición a distintos acentos en la clase ayuda a mejorar mi español (habilidades de escuchar y hablar).

acuerdo desacuerdo

Q10.8. ¿Cuál es su objetivo en cuanto a la pronunciación del español?

Pronunciación (casi) nativa

Pronunciación comprensible

Q10.9. Es importante poder identificar diferentes acentos del español.

Acuerdo Desacuerdo

Q10.10. Solo docentes con una pronunciación nativa o casi nativa deberían enseñar español.

Acuerdo Desacuerdo

STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES IN THE CLASSROOM

Q11.1. ¿Sus compañeras/os muestran interés por diferentes variedades del español?

Sí No

Q11.2. Si su respuesta fue afirmativa, ¿Variedades de qué países y/o provincias les interesan?

Q11.3. Si su respuesta fue afirmativa, ¿Qué tipo de variación les interesa? Puede seleccionar más de una opción.

- Pronunciación
- Vocabulario
- Gramática

Q11.4. ¿Qué variedad del español considera que le enseñan en sus clases de español?

No lo sé

- Rioplatense (de Buenos Aires)
- Cordobesa (de Córdoba, Argentina)
- Peninsular (del centro-norte de España)
- Neutra
- Otra (especifique)

Q11.5. ¿En sus clases, le enseñan sobre otras variedades del español?

- Sí. Especifique variedades de qué lugares, por favor.
- No
- No lo sé

Q11.6. ¿Qué tipo de diferencias sobre variedades le enseñaron? Puede seleccionar más de una opción.

- Pronunciación
- Vocabulario
- Gramática

Q11.7. ¿Qué tipo de actividades realizaron? Puede seleccionar más de una opción.

- escuchar e identificar diferentes acentos
- comparar y describir diferentes acentos
- imitar acentos

Q11.8. ¿Su profesor(a) le consultó sobre qué acento del español necesita o prefiere aprender?

- sí
- No

Q11.9. ¿Su profesor(a) cambió el material de clase para satisfacer sus necesidades o preferencias sobre el acento a aprender?

- sí
- No

Q11.10. ¿Puede usar la variedad de español que usted elija en sus clases y exámenes?

- Sí
- No

EXTERNAL FACTORS

Q12.1. ¿Por qué razones estudia español? Puede elegir más de una opción.

- por trabajo
- por estudio
- para rendir un examen internacional de español
- para comunicarme con mi familia y/o amigos
- para aprender sobre otra cultura
- para viajar
- porque me gustan las lenguas extranjeras
- otra (por favor, especifique)

Q12.2. ¿Piensa rendir algún examen internacional de español en el futuro?

- No
- Sí, el CELU (Certificado de Español: Lengua y Uso)
- Sí, el DELE (Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera)
- Sí, el SIELE (Servicio Internacional de Evaluación de la Lengua Española)
- Sí, otro (especifique por favor)

Students' questionnaire (English version)

1. **Name:**
2. **email address:**
3. **Age:** number option only
4. **Which gender do you identify with?** female / male / other / prefer not to say
5. **Occupation:** student - employee - self-employed - retired - out of work -
6. **Birth country:**
7. **Birth city/town:**
8. **Level of education reached**

Incomplete secondary school (1)

Complete secondary school (2)

Incomplete undergrad education (3) - Which degree?

Complete undergrad education (4) Which degree?

Incomplete graduate education (5) Which degree?

Complete graduate education (6) Which degree?

9. Are you currently studying Spanish? Yes / No

10. Country and city where you are studying Spanish now and/or studied Spanish in the past. (possibility of more than one)

11. Institution where you are studying or studied Spanish: private tutor (1) - private institute (2) university (3) in-company (4) other

12. What is (are) your native language(s)?

13. Please complete the following chart about your knowledge of languages:

LANGUAGE	LEVEL OF PROFICIENCY					
	nothing	very low	low	intermediate	high	very high
Spanish						
English						
French						
Portuguese						
German						
Italian						
?						

14. How old were you when you started learning Spanish? (give number option only)
15. How long have you been studying Spanish? less than a year - 2-4 years - 5 or more
16. Which variety of Spanish do you think you speak (from which country and city)?
17. Which Spanish variety do you think you are currently being taught? Options?
18. Do you know which country your teacher is/was from?
19. Which accent does/did she/he speak?
20. Do you like studying Spanish?
21. How many hours per week do you spend using Spanish outside the classroom...?
 0 1-2 3-4 5-6 7 or more
 friends, family, school, work, listening to music, radio and podcasts, watching movies, tv series, online videos, pleasure reading, doing homework, studying for exams.
22. Trips to countries where Spanish is Spoken. Yes / No

Country	Duration	Aim
	less / more than a month	work / study / tourism / other

23. Are you in touch with Spanish speakers? If yes, from where?

Andorra Argentina Bolivia Chile El Salvador Honduras Mexico Nicaragua
 Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Ecuador Spain Guatemala Guinea Ecuatorial Panamá
 Paraguay Perú Puerto Rico Dominican Republic Uruguay US Venezuela Other

24. Are you in contact with Argentinian Spanish varieties? If yes, from which provinces? (poner todas las provincias)

VERBAL-GUISE TEST

No hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas, solo busco respuestas sinceras.

Escuche a los cuatro hablantes (Horacio, Pamela, David y Tamara) y luego responda las preguntas sobre cada hablante. Escuchará cada audio solo una vez. Puede ir respondiendo el cuestionario mientras escucha.

HORACIO Audio link [Horacio](#)

Which accent does the person speak?

Which country do you think the speaker is from? Which province?

How do you think this speaker sounds?

upper-class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	lower class
intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not intelligent
educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not educated
skilled worker	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	unskilled worker

pleasant	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not pleasant
correct	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not correct
appropriate pronunciation model	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not appropriate pronunciation model
persuasive	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not persuasive

friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not friendly
funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not funny

solidary	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not solidary
honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not honest

PAMELA Audio link [Pamela](#)

Which accent does the person speak?

Which country do you think the speaker is from? Which province?

How do you think this speaker sounds?

upper-class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	lower class
intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not intelligent
educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not educated
skilled worker	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	unskilled worker

pleasant	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not pleasant
correct	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not correct
appropriate pronunciation model	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not appropriate pronunciation model
persuasive	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not persuasive

friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not friendly
funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not funny

solidary	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not solidary
honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not honest

DAVID Audio link [David](#)

Which accent does the person speak?

Which country do you think the speaker is from? Which province?

How do you think this speaker sounds?

upper-class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	lower class
intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not intelligent
educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not educated
skilled worker	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	unskilled worker

pleasant	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not pleasant
correct	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not correct
appropriate pronunciation model	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not appropriate pronunciation model
persuasive	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not persuasive

friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not friendly
funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not funny

solidary	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not solidary
honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not honest

TAMARA Audio link [Tamara](#)

Which accent does the person speak?

Which country do you think the speaker is from? Which province?

How do you think this speaker sounds?

upper-class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	lower class
intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not intelligent
educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not educated
skilled worker	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	unskilled worker

pleasant	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not pleasant
correct	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not correct
appropriate pronunciation model	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not appropriate pronunciation model
persuasive	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not persuasive

friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not friendly
funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not funny

solidary	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not solidary
honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not honest

Self-report questionnaire

Beliefs and cognition

25. In your opinion, are there different varieties of Spanish? Yes / No / I don't know.

If the answer is yes, in which aspects do they differ?

26. Which Spanish accents can you identify?

27. Can you identify pronunciation differences between accents? yes / no Please, exemplify.

28. Do you like or do you prefer any variety of Spanish? Yes / No / I don't know

If yes, which country's variety do you prefer?

Andorra Argentina Bolivia Chile El Salvador Honduras Mexico Nicaragua
Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Ecuador Spain Guatemala Guinea Ecuatorial Panamá
 Paraguay Perú Puerto Rico Dominican Republic Uruguay Venezuela US Spanish
 Other _____

29. Imagine that you have the opportunity to learn Spanish in another country, which country would you choose?

Andorra Argentina Bolivia Chile El Salvador Honduras Mexico Nicaragua
Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Ecuador Spain Guatemala Guinea Ecuatorial Panamá
 Paraguay Perú Puerto Rico Dominican Republic Uruguay Venezuela US Spanish
 Other _____

Please explain your choice

30. When considering world Spanish accents, which one or which ones do you consider most prestigious? (Put the list and give them the option to put 3 in order of importance) Please, briefly explain your choice.

31. Within Argentinian accents (from different provinces), which one or which ones do you consider most prestigious? (Put the list and give them the option to put 3 in order of importance) 1. 2. 3. Please, briefly explain your choice.

32. Which Spanish accent would you say you speak?

33. What opinion do you have of the Spanish accent that you speak?
34. What opinion do other people have about the Spanish accent you speak?
35. I have regular contact with speakers from Córdoba. 1-7
36. I have regular contact with Speakers from Bs As. 1-7
37. Do you think there are countries where Spanish is spoken more correctly? YES/NO
If the answer is yes, please, mention where. 1.2.3.
38. Do you think there are Argentinian provinces where Spanish is spoken more correctly? Yes/No Please, list them. 1.2.3.
39. When considering Spanish from Spain, Buenos Aires Spanish or Cordobese, do you think any is more correct than the other? YES/NO If your answer is yes, how would you order them in terms of correctness?
40. Spanish accent from which country do you consider most pleasant? (list)
41. Spanish accent from which Argentinian province do you consider most pleasant? (list)
42. I think knowing about different accents helps me communicate better with people from different cultures. 1-7
43. Is it important to have class activities that foster the development of tolerance and positive attitudes towards local accents? 1-7
44. Listening to different Spanish accents improves my Spanish proficiency (listening and speaking skills). 1-7
45. My goal as regards Spanish pronunciation is to speak like a Native (someone who has spoken Spanish since he or she was a baby) 1-7
46. My goal as regards Spanish pronunciation is to be able to communicate. 1-7
47. There are no superior and inferior Spanish accents. Agree/disagree 1-7
48. class, I listen to speakers with different accents. Yes / No / I can't tell
49. Can you identify some accents you listen to in class?
50. In class, I was taught about different Spanish varieties. YES/NO If yes, differences about pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, all?
51. In class, I did activities related to accent variation. If yes, which ones (options)?
identifying different accents - comparing - imitating - listing characteristics or describing
-
52. Only teachers whose first language is Spanish should teach this language. Agree/disagree 1-7

53. I ask my teacher about different Spanish accents. Yes/No
54. I listen to different Spanish accents on my own. Yes / No
55. Do you use a specific accent as your pronunciation model to imitate? Yes / No - Which one? (options?) Why did you choose that accent?
56. I like listening to different accents of Spanish. 1-7
57. My classmates show interest towards different Spanish accents. 1-7
58. What are, in your opinion, Spanish varieties (how would you define them)?
59. There are some positive points to exposing students to different Spanish accents. 1-7 Which?
60. There are some negative points to exposing students to different Spanish accents. 1-7 Which?
61. My teacher asked me about needs/preferences as regards the target accent I am aiming for. Yes/No
62. My teacher changed the course material to meet my needs/preferences as regards accent. Yes/No
63. In class, I can use any accent I want. Yes/No
64. It is ok to choose any Spanish accent as a model as long as it is a standard accent. Agree/Disagree
65. Is it important for you to be able to identify different accents of Spanish? Why?
66. My main reason(s) for studying Spanish is.... future jobs, exams, to communicate with foreigners, to communicate with family, to learn another culture, for pleasure, to travel, other...
67. Are you aiming to sit for a Spanish proficiency certification test? Yes/No - Which one? (options) CELU - DELE - SICELE

Appendix 4: Instructions for Speakers

SPANISH VERSION

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Usted ha sido invitado a participar del estudio “Actitudes hacia el acento cordobés y sus implicancias en la adquisición del español como segunda lengua”. Esta investigación es llevada a cabo por la investigadora Mgtr. Andrea Canavosio y supervisada por el Dr. Alex Leung y el Dr. Robert McKenzie, en el contexto del Doctorado en Lingüística que ofrece la Universidad de Northumbria, Newcastle upon Tyne, Reino Unido.

La investigación no conlleva ningún riesgo. Le tomará aproximadamente 15 minutos completar su participación. Será totalmente anónima, voluntaria y no remunerada. Usted puede rechazar su participación en cualquier momento que lo considere pertinente, sin explicación ni perjuicio alguno. Se garantiza la confidencialidad de todos sus datos personales, su eventual utilización en forma anonimizada en medios de divulgación científica y en otros proyectos de investigación. Su participación consistirá en realizar una grabación de su voz dando indicaciones con un mapa durante un minuto y medio aproximadamente. Esta grabación luego será escuchada por otros participantes del estudio.

Usted podrá acceder a los resultados de las investigaciones una vez que hayan concluido por medio de correo electrónico. Por cualquier consulta o duda, por favor comunicarse con la investigadora: andrea.canavosio@unc.edu.ar andrea.canavosio@northumbria.ac.uk, tel: +54 9351 2415086 o con el supervisor del doctorado: alex.ho-cheong.leung@northumbria.ac.uk.

Yo declaro haber comprendido la información recibida sobre la investigación, haber podido plantear dudas y haberlas resuelto a mi conformidad. Accedo a participar de manera voluntaria del estudio.

Por favor, complete la línea punteada con su nombre y apellido.

¿Qué elementos necesita tener para realizar la grabación?

Un LUGAR TRANQUILO Y SIN RUIDOS, una COMPUTADORA, un MICRÓFONO de alta calidad y un GRABADOR PROFESIONAL DE LA VOZ. Si no tiene acceso a una computadora, puede utilizar un celular y unos auriculares con un micrófono de alta calidad (puede utilizar el micrófono que viene en los auriculares de su celular también para hacer la grabación en su PC).

DATOS PERSONALES

Nombre completo:

Fecha de nacimiento:

Ciudad de nacimiento:

País de nacimiento:

Ciudad de residencia en los últimos 5 años:

Profesión:

PROCEDIMIENTOS:

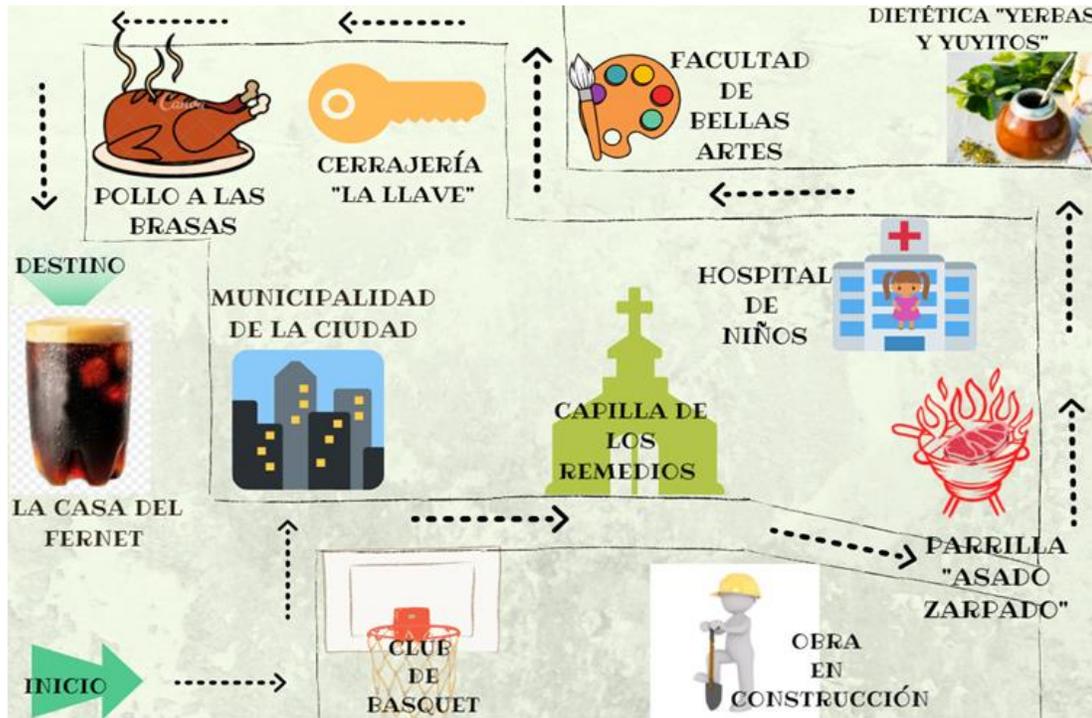
1) En su computadora o en su teléfono celular acceda a un grabador profesional de la voz. De no tener uno instalado, desde su PC puede bajar el programa Audacity de manera gratuita en el siguiente enlace <https://www.audacityteam.org/download/> para hacer grabaciones de alta calidad. Desde su teléfono Android o iPhone puede bajar un grabador profesional de la voz de su preferencia en el caso de que su dispositivo no cuente con uno. Ya sea que realice la grabación en su PC o con su dispositivo móvil, utilice el micrófono de un headset o el micrófono de los auriculares de su celular para una mejor calidad de audio.

2) Asegúrese de estar en un lugar tranquilo, sin ruidos ni distracciones durante la grabación.

3) Estudie por unos momentos el mapa que se encuentra a continuación. Luego grábese dando instrucciones para llegar desde el INICIO hasta el DESTINO, mencionando TODOS los lugares que están en el camino. Trate de hablar lo más naturalmente posible, como si estuviera en la calle dándole indicaciones a alguien que le preguntó al pasar, ya que nos interesa captar su acento cordobés auténtico. El audio debería durar entre 60 y 75 segundos.

4) Cuando termine, escuche la grabación para asegurarse de que está completa, que mencionó todos los lugares del mapa y que la calidad del sonido es buena.

5) Por último, envíe este formulario Word completo y el archivo de audio por correo electrónico a andrea.canavosio@unc.edu.ar y andrea.canavosio@northumbria.ac.uk



ENGLISH VERSION

INFORMED CONSENT

You have been invited to provide a voice sample for the study “Attitudes towards the Cordobese accent and their impact on the acquisition of Spanish as an L2”. This research project is carried out by the researcher Andrea Canavosio, MA, who is supervised by Dr Alex Leung and Dr. Robert McKenzie. The project is framed within the PhD in Linguistics offered by the University of Northumbria in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK.

Your contribution to this research does not imply any risks. It will take you around 15 minutes to complete. It will be completely anonymous, voluntary and non-remunerated. You can withdraw your participation at any moment you may desire, without providing any reasons and without it having any consequences. Confidentiality of your personal data is guaranteed. Data will be anonymised if used in other research projects and publications.

Your contribution will consist in recording your voice while giving directions on a map during around a minute and a half. This recording will then be listened to by participants of the study. You will be able to access the results of the study via email once the project is finished. If you have any questions or doubts, please get in contact with the researcher: andrea.canavosio@unc.edu.ar andrea.canavosio@northumbria.ac.uk, tel: +54 9351 2415086 or with the main supervisor of the PhD: alex.ho-cheong.leung@northumbria.ac.uk.

I declare having understood all the information received regarding the research project, having been able to ask questions and having cleared them out. I accept to voluntarily contribute to the study.

[Please, complete your name and second name on the dotted line]

What do I need to do the recording?

A QUIET PLACE with no noise, a COMPUTER, a high quality MICROPHONE, and a PROFESSIONAL VOICE RECORDER. If you have no access to a computer, you can use a mobile phone and high quality headphones to do the recording (you can also use the microphone that comes with your mobile phone to record yourself using a PC).

PERSONAL DATA

Full name:

Date of birth:

City of birth:

Country of birth:

Place of residence in the last five years:

Occupation:

PROCEDURES:

1) In your PC or your mobile phone open the professional voice recorder program or app. If you do not have any installed, you can download the software Audacity for free in the following link <https://www.audacityteam.org/download/> in order to make high quality recordings. From your Android or iPhone you can download a professional voice recorder of your preference in case your phone did not have one already. Whether you are recording using your computer or your PC, use the microphone of a headset or the microphone of your headphones for a better quality recording.

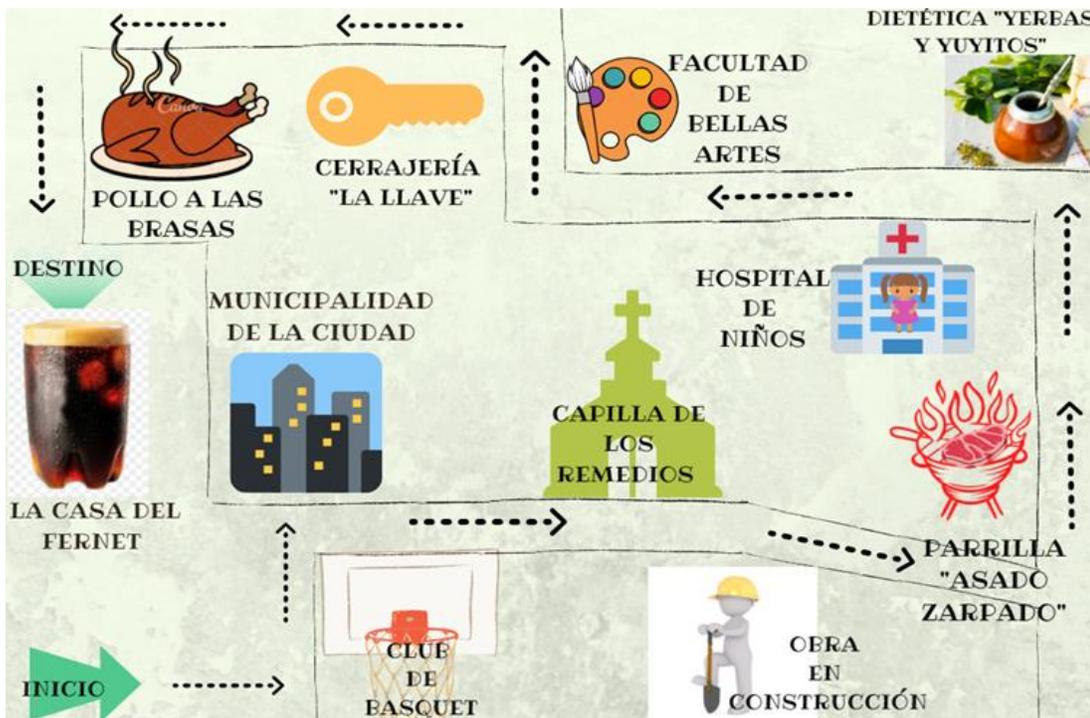
2) Make sure you are in a quiet place, with no noise or distractions during the recording session.

3) Study the map below for a few moments. Then record yourself giving instructions to get from the starting point (INICIO) to the destination (DESTINO), making sure you mention ALL

the places that are on the way to the destination. Try to speak as naturally as possible, as if you were in the street giving directions to someone who asked you how to get there, as we are interested in capturing your genuine accent. The audio should be around 60 and 75 seconds long.

4) When you finish recording yourself, listen to the audio to make sure it is complete, that you mentioned all the places that appear on the map, and that the quality of the sound is good.

5) Finally, complete this form and send it, together with the audio via email to the following addresses: andrea.canavosio@unc.edu.ar y andrea.canavosio@northumbria.ac.uk



Appendix 5: Preliminary VGT Version

Spanish Version

seguro/a de sí mismo/a	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no seguro/a de sí mismo/a
líder	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no líder
clase baja	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	clase alta
inteligente	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no inteligente
culto/a	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no culto/a
trabajador(a) calificado	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	trabajador(a) no calificado

elocuente	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no elocuente
habla agradable	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	habla no agradable
correcto/a al hablar	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no correcto/a al hablar
buen modelo de pronunciación	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no buen modelo de pronunciación
claro/a	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no claro/a
Expresivo	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no expresivo

Amistoso	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no amistoso
Divertido	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no divertido
amable	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no amable
gracioso/a	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no gracioso/a
solidario/a	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no solidario/a
honesto/a	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	no honesto/a

English version

confident	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not confident
leader	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not leader
lower class	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	upper class
intelligent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not intelligent
educated	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not educated
skilled worker	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	unskilled worker

eloquent	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not eloquent
pleasant speech	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not pleasant speech
correct when speaking	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not correct when speaking
good pronunciation model	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not good pronunciation model
clear	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not clear
expressive	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not expressive

friendly	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not friendly
fun	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not fun
kind	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not kind
funny	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not funny
solidary	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not solidary
honest	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7	not honest

Appendix 6: Interview Questions

Spanish Version

OPINIONES SOBRE VARIEDADES DEL MUNDO Y ARGENTINA

1. ¿Qué son las variedades del español?
2. ¿Qué es para ustedes “tener un acento”? ¿Ustedes tienen uno?
3. ¿Qué es el español estándar? ¿Bs As? Cba? ¿La tuya?
4. ¿Algún momento en el que alguien hizo un comentario negativo o positivo sobre tu manera de hablar?
5. ¿Hay variedades superiores o inferiores a otras?
6. ¿Les parece que sería deseable que todo el mundo hispano hablara la misma variedad? ¿Cuáles serían los aspectos negativos y positivos? ¿Y en nuestro país?
7. ¿Qué es el panhispanismo?
8. ¿Qué es el español neutro? qué características tiene (en términos lingüísticos)

Tiempo: 0:15

CONTACTO CON VARIEDADES - EXPERIENCIA DOCENTE - PRÁCTICAS

9. ¿Les parece importante enseñar sobre variación dialectal? ¿Las trabajan en sus clases? ¿De qué forma? ¿En qué momento las introducen? ¿De manera sistemática o anecdótica? ¿Por qué? ¿Tienen tiempo? ¿Qué tipo de ejercicios proponen (identificar-imitar-diferenciar-describir)?
10. ¿El material que usan incluye actividades sobre variedades? ¿Qué tipo?
11. ¿Cuándo se deberían introducir las variedades a los alumnos (nivel)?
12. ¿Qué efecto/impacto tiene este tipo de instrucción (en variedades)? competencia lingüística - tolerancia - competencia pluricultural -
13. ¿Qué modelo de pronunciación del español les parece que sus estudiantes tienen que usar? ¿Por qué? -Cba-BA-Peninsular-neutro-
14. ¿Qué modelo usan ustedes en sus clases? estándares y no-estándares? ¿A cuáles? ¿Nativos y no-nativos?
15. ¿Les parece que deben apuntar a un acento “estándar” o una local? ¿Por qué?
16. ¿Ayudan a sus estudiantes a elegir un acento a imitar? ¿Qué factores consideran?
17. ¿Sus alumnos muestran interés por las variedades o prefieren enfocarse en una en particular?
18. ¿Cambian un poco su forma de hablar normal en sus clases? ¿Para qué?

Tiempo: 0:25

ENTRENAMIENTO/CAPACITACIÓN DOCENTE SOBRE VARIEDADES

19. ¿Les parece importante recibir entrenamiento sobre variación dialectal como parte de su formación?
20. ¿Se sienten en condiciones/ capacitados para enseñar variación dialectal del español? Si no, ¿qué tipo de capacitación sería útil para ustedes?
21. ¿Los profesorados o cursos para enseñar ELE te preparan para enseñar variación? ¿Qué les enseñaron a ustedes? ¿Cómo enseñar? ¿Cómo presentar variedades? exponer a tus SS?
22. ¿Hay material disponible para enseñar variedades?

CÓMO APRENDEN LOS ESTUDIANTES

23. ¿Cómo se aprende a pronunciar en una L2? ¿Qué tipo de input / exposición es la mejor para aprender a pronunciar? acentos estándares - no estándares - nativos - no-nativos
24. ¿Ustedes enseñan pronunciación? ¿Qué enseñan? ¿Símbolos? ¿De manera sistemática?
25. ¿Les parece que exponer a los SS a distintas variedades tiene algún impacto en la adquisición de la fonología del español?

Tiempo: 0:45

FACTORES EXTERNOS QUE INFLUYEN EN NUESTRAS PRÁCTICAS

26. ¿Qué rol tiene la RAE, el Instituto Cervantes y las academias de la lengua en la enseñanza de español como 2da lengua? ¿Qué recursos utilizan que provengan de estas instituciones? diccionarios - gramáticas - libros de texto - seminarios - conferencias - blogs de consulta
27. ¿Qué variedad dialectal se presenta en el programa que enseñan?
28. ¿Tienen libertad de decidir sobre las variedades a enseñar?
29. ¿Qué factores influyen en la elección de variedad o variedades a utilizar? - lineamientos de la institución - curriculum - exámenes internacionales que van a rendir sus alumnos - libro de texto - materiales disponibles - preferencias de sus SS
30. ¿Han tenido conflictos con colegas o con estudiantes sobre variedades?
31. ¿Les gustaría hacer algún otro comentario?

Muchas gracias por su tiempo y su colaboración con la investigación.

English Version

OPINIONS ON STANDARD / PRESTIGE SPANISH VARIETIES FROM ARGENTINA AND THE WORLD

1. What are Spanish varieties?
2. What is “to have an accent”? Do you have one?

3. What is a standard variety? Would you say the Buenos Aires variety is a “standard” one? What about the variety spoken in Córdoba? And the one you speak?
4. Tell me about a time when somebody made a positive or negative remark about your Spanish variety.
5. Do you think there are Spanish varieties which are inferior or superior to others?
6. Would it be desirable that the whole Spanish speaking world spoke the same Spanish variety? Why? what would the benefits be? What would the drawbacks be? If we had to speak the same variety in the world, which variety should we all speak? What about in our country?
7. What is Panhispanism?
8. How would you define or describe “neutral Spanish”? What are its linguistic characteristics? Is it useful to use it as a model in the SFL class?

Time: 0:15

CONTACT WITH VARIETIES TEACHER TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE - PRACTICES

9. How do you deal with variation in your classes? Do you deal with it systematically (every class- every week)? Does the teaching material you use propose activities on variation or includes different varieties? Do you have time? Which kind of exercises do you do (listening and identifying different accents - describing characteristics of a specific accent - imitating accents)?
10. Does the material you use include activities on dialectal variation? If so, what kind of activities?
11. When do you think varieties should be introduced (level)?
12. What do you think the impact of receiving this training is? linguistic competence (speaking/listening) - multicultural competence - tolerance -
13. Which accent/pronunciation model do you think Spanish students should aim at? Cordobese accent - Buenos Aires accent - Northern Central Spanish accent - “neutral” Spanish
14. What pronunciation models do you use in your classes? Do you expose your students to “standard” and “non-standard” accents? Which ones? Do you expose your students to native and non-native speakers?
15. Do you think students should imitate a standard or a local accent? Why?

16. Do you help your students when choosing a model to imitate? What factors should be considered?
17. Do you feel students are interested in different Spanish varieties or they want to focus just on one?
18. Do you change your normal way of speaking in class?

Time: 0:25

DIALECTAL VARIATION TEACHER TRAINING

19. How important do you consider training in dialectal variation to be for Spanish teachers?
20. Do you feel qualified / that you had enough training to teach about Spanish variation / different dialects to your students?
21. Do teaching training courses prepare you to deal with variation in the Spanish class? What were you taught about variation? Were you taught how to teach it / how to expose your students to it / present varieties in class?
22. Is there teaching material about variation?

BELIEFS ABOUT L2 ACQUISITION

23. How do students learn to pronounce in an L2? (exposure - repetition - reading aloud - copying models - recording themselves - learning phonetic symbols and theory about phonetics and phonology- etc)
24. Which are the optimal conditions to learn to pronounce an L2? What kind of input/exposure is the best for L2 pronunciation acquisition? All of the same standard accent / varying standard and non-standard accents / several standard accents / native models / non-native speakers? Do you teach pronunciation? What do you teach? Symbols? Systematically?
25. Which role do you think exposure to different varieties has on L2 phonological acquisition?

Time: 0:45

EXTERNAL FACTORS THAT AFFECT TEACHING PRACTICES AND DECISIONS

26. What is the role of the RAE, the Cervantes Institute, and the language academies in the teaching of SFL? Which services or resources created by them do you use (dictionaries / grammar books / training courses-seminars / conferences)?
27. What language variety/varieties are presented by your language program?

28. How free are you to make curricular decisions as regards including Spanish accent varieties?
29. What influences your decisions as regards the teaching of variation (planning and materials)? Institutional policies of the place you work? Curriculum? International exams your students are preparing for? Textbook? Materials available? Your students' preferences or expectations?
30. Have you had any conflicts or arguments either with colleagues or with students because of Spanish varieties?
31. Would you like to make any other comment?

Appendix 7: Exploration of the 12 Items in the Teachers' VGT

1. Status and Competence

The first dimension to be analysed is status and competence. Four items of the VGT correspond to this dimension. We will now see how the 192 participants rated the samples on perceived social status, intelligence, skills and level of education.

Social Status

As regards social class, on average, all speakers were rated more towards the high social class end (1) than towards the lower social class end (7) of the continuum. However, Horacio (2.90) and Tamara (2.78), the Buenos Aires speakers, were rated as belonging to a higher social class than the Cordobese Speakers, David (3.98) and Pamela (3.72) (see Figure 1). The average rating for David was almost neutral, showing that he was the one who received the most ratings towards the lower social class end.

Figure 1

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Social Class

Social Class			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,90	1,081	192
Tamara (BA Female)	2,78	1,124	192
David (CBA Male)	3,98	1,116	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,72	1,146	192



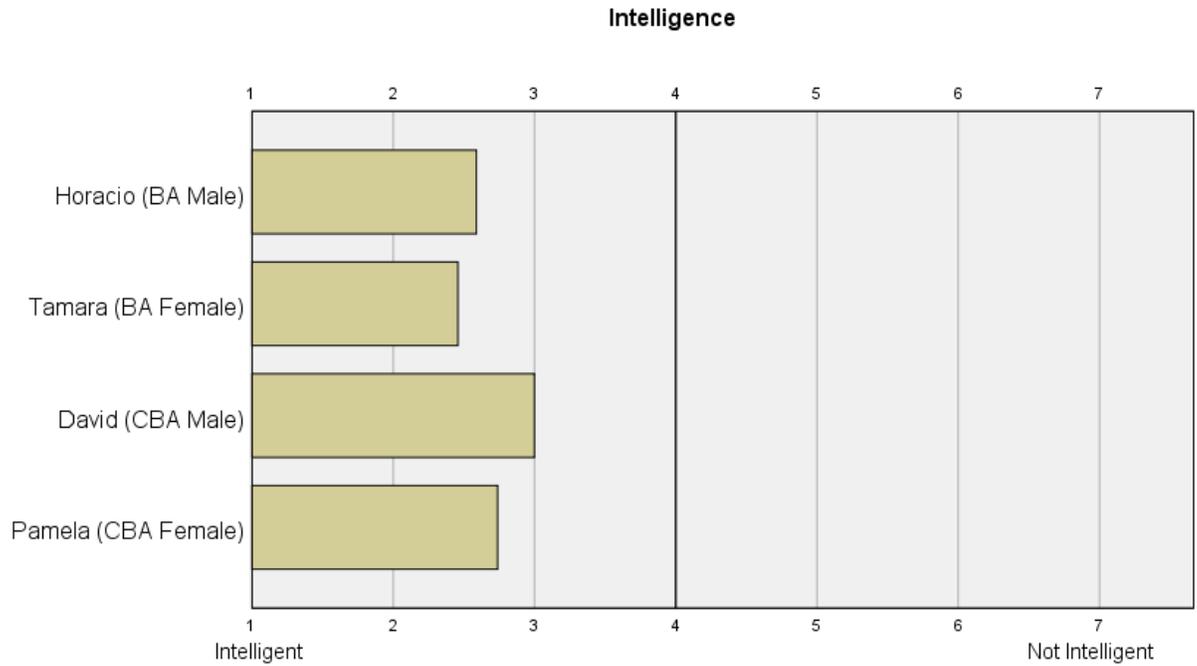
Intelligence

When rating speakers according to their intelligence, a similar tendency to the results in perceived social status took place, as shown in Figure 2. In general terms, all speakers were rated more towards the intelligent (1) than towards the non-intelligent end (7). However, Tamara (2.46) was rated as the most intelligent one, followed by Horacio (2.59), and by the two speakers from Córdoba, Pamela (2.74) and David (3.00). Again, even though on average they were all perceived as being more intelligent than not, David was perceived to be the least intelligent of all.

Figure 2

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Intelligence

Intelligence			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,59	1,212	192
Tamara (BA Female)	2,46	1,298	192
David (CBA Male)	3,00	1,278	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	2,74	1,320	192



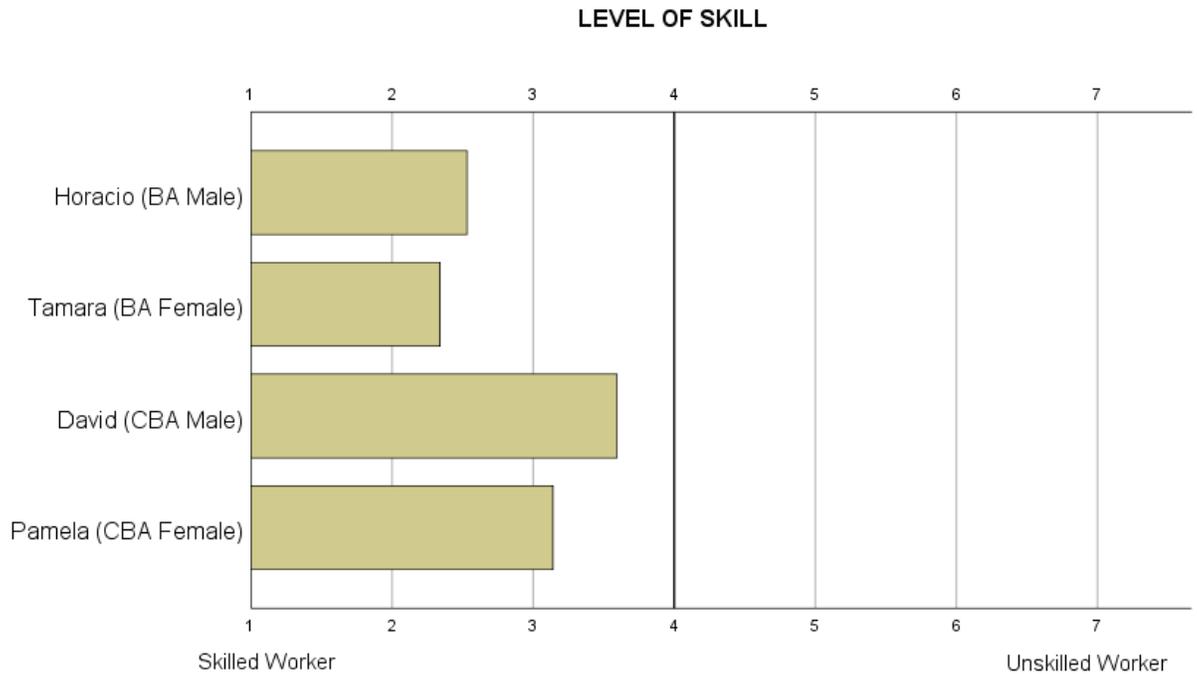
Level of Skill

When answering whether they considered the speakers to be skilled or unskilled workers, a similar tendency as the one registered in the previous two items occurred. As shown in Figure 3, all speakers on average were perceived as being more skilled (1) than not (7), but, again, the most skilled worker was perceived to be Tamara (2.34), followed by Horacio (2.53), Pamela (3.14), and lastly by David (3.59), who was perceived to be the least skilled speaker.

Figure 3

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Level of Skill

LEVEL OF SKILL			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,53	1,232	192
Tamara (BA Female)	2,34	1,234	192
David (CBA Male)	3,59	1,354	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,14	1,344	192



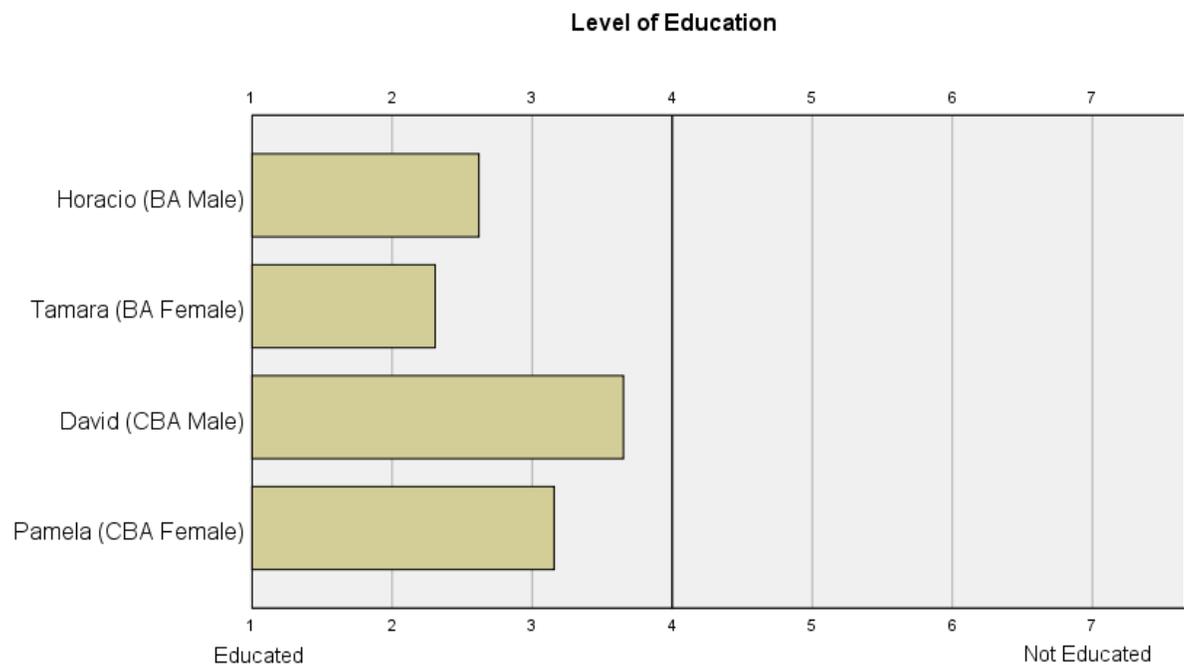
Level of Education

The last item in the dimension of Status and Competence was Level of Education. Once again, the tendency repeats itself, as observed in Figure 4. Even though in general terms all participants were perceived to have a higher level of education (1) as opposed to a lower level of education (7), there were differences. The most educated speaker was perceived to be Tamara (2.31), followed by Horacio (2.62) and Pamela (3.16). David (3.65) was perceived to be the least educated speaker.

Figure 4

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Level of Education

Level of Education			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,62	1,235	192
Tamara (BA Female)	2,31	1,272	192
David (CBA Male)	3,65	1,421	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,16	1,356	192



In sum, for the Status and Competence dimension, the speakers from Córdoba systematically received more negative ratings (closer to 7) than the speakers from Buenos Aires. The male speaker from Córdoba was the one who received the worst ratings in all fields.

Linguistic Superiority

A further set of four items of the VGT were used to rate speakers in the dimension of linguistic superiority. The items were aesthetic quality, correctness, appropriate model of pronunciation and persuasiveness.

Aesthetic Quality

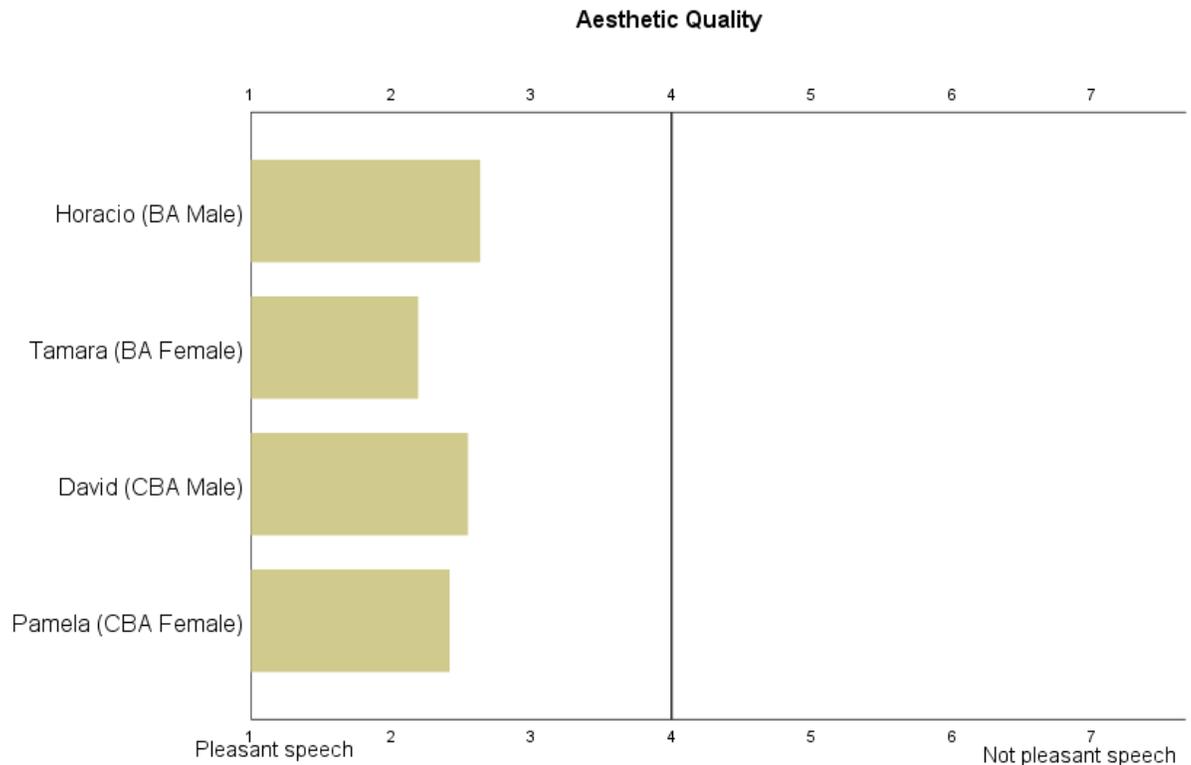
The first item in the linguistic superiority dimension is aesthetic quality. In Figure 5 we can see the way participants rated speakers depending on how pleasant they considered their speech to be. All speakers were generally rated as having more pleasant speech (1) than not (7). The most pleasant speakers were the female ones, Tamara (2.19), from Buenos Aires, followed by Pamela (2.42), from Córdoba. The one who followed in aesthetic quality was David (2.55), male speaker from Córdoba. The sample which was considered least pleasant was Horacio's (2.64), the male speaker from Buenos Aires.

Figure 5

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Aesthetic Quality

Aesthetic Quality

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,64	1,433	192
Tamara (BA Female)	2,19	1,326	192
David (CBA Male)	2,55	1,380	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	2,42	1,370	192



Speech Correctness

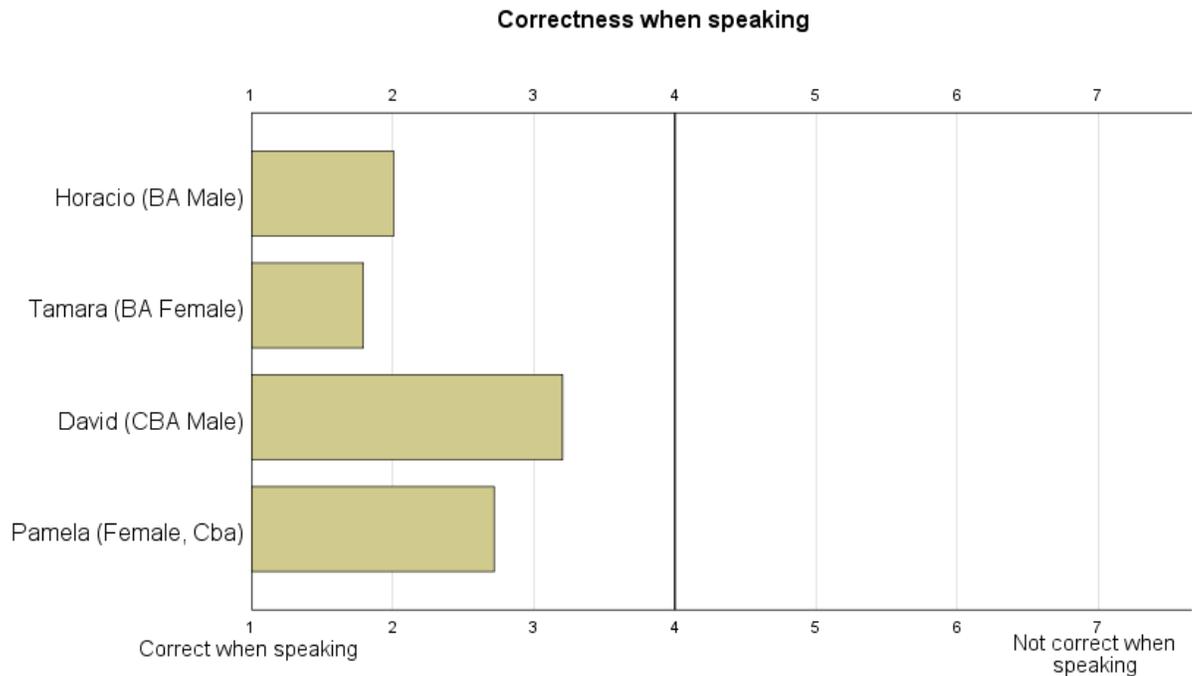
In the second item of this dimension, described in Figure 6, participants rated speakers depending on how correct they considered their speech to be. The four speakers were generally considered to speak more correctly (1) than not (7). However, there were differences between them. The speakers from Buenos Aires, first Tamara (1.79) and then Horacio (2.01), were the ones whose speech was rated as most correct. Pamela (2.72), the female speaker from Córdoba, followed in the correctness rating. The person whose speech was considered least correct of all was David's speech (3.20), the male Cordobese speaker.

Figure 6

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Correctness

Correctness when Speaking

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,01	1,187	192
Tamara (BA Female)	1,79	1,157	192
David (CBA Male)	3,20	1,590	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	2,72	1,523	192



Pronunciation Model

The next item to analyse in this dimension makes reference to whether participants considered the samples to be good pronunciation models or not. As described in Figure 7, once again, all speakers were generally rated more positively (1) than not (7). Similar to the rating in the item of correctness, the female and male speakers from Buenos Aires were the ones considered to be the best pronunciation models. The female Cordobese speaker came in third, followed by the male Cordobese speaker, who, once again, received the most negative rating.

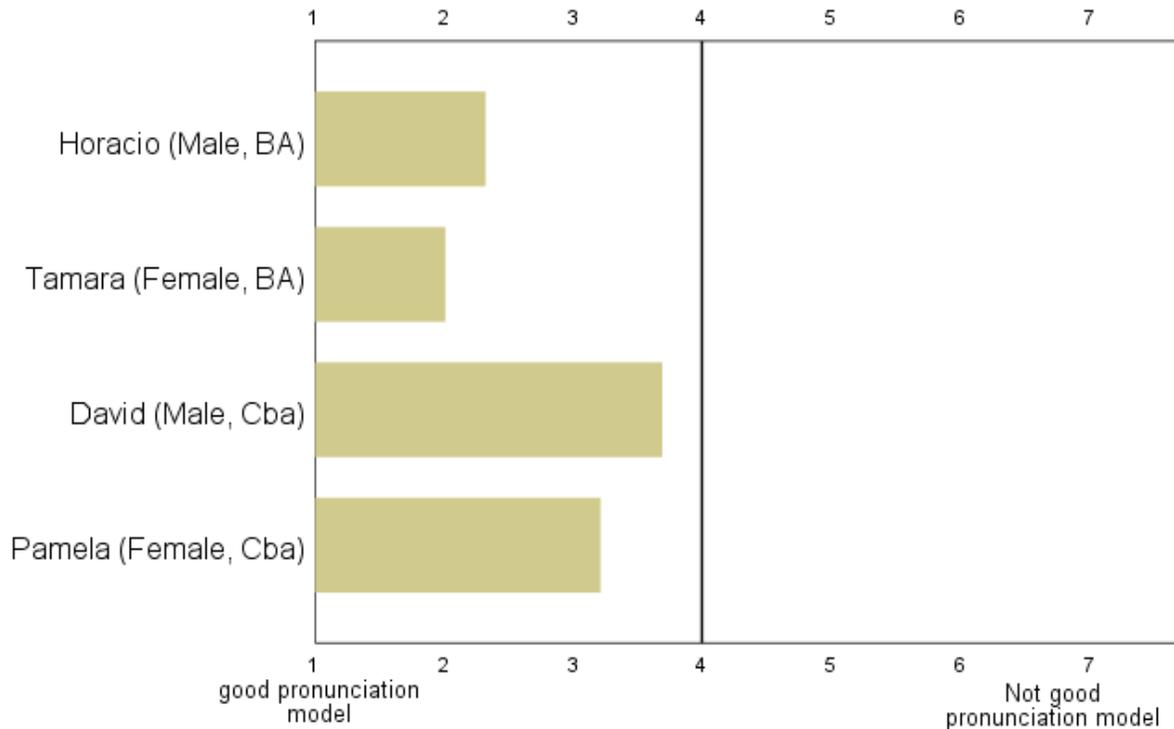
Figure 7

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Model of Pronunciation

Pronunciation model

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,32	1,388	192
Tamara (BA Female)	2,01	1,249	192
David (CBA Male)	3,69	1,623	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,21	1,562	192

Pronunciation model



Persuasiveness

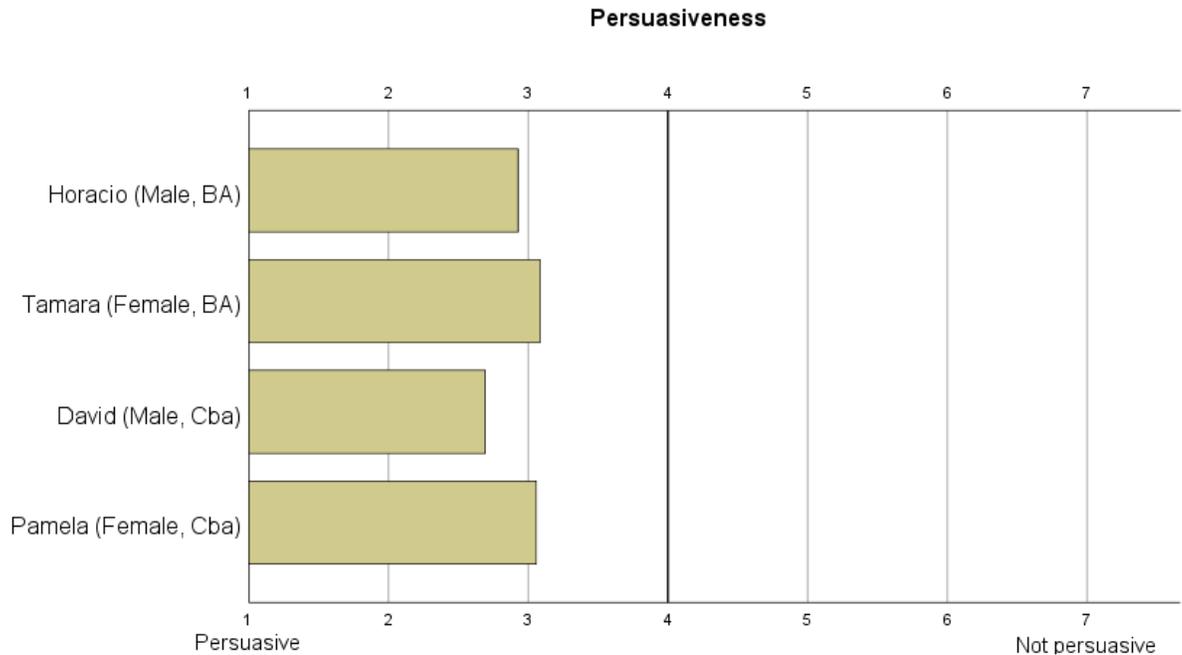
The last item in this dimension aimed at participants deciding how persuasive they thought each speaker was. In this case, the two male speakers, first the Cordobese one (2.69) followed by the Buenos Aires one (2.93), were considered to be the most persuasive speakers (see Figure 8). The least persuasive speakers were the female ones: in third place we find Pamela (3.06), followed by Tamara (3.08).

Figure 8

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Persuasiveness

Persuasiveness

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,93	1,427	192
Tamara (BA Female)	3,08	1,550	192
David (CBA Male)	2,69	1,427	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,06	1,480	192



In the case of this dimension there is a clear difference between the ratings given to Cordobese and Buenos Aires speakers when considering the items of correctness when speaking and pronunciation model. In these two items, once again the Cordobese male speaker received the most negative ratings, followed by the female Cordobese speaker. The rating given to speakers in the persuasiveness and aesthetic quality items do not follow these patterns.

Social Attractiveness Dimension

The third and last dimension that made up the VGT was social attractiveness. It had four items: fun, friendliness, honesty and solidarity.

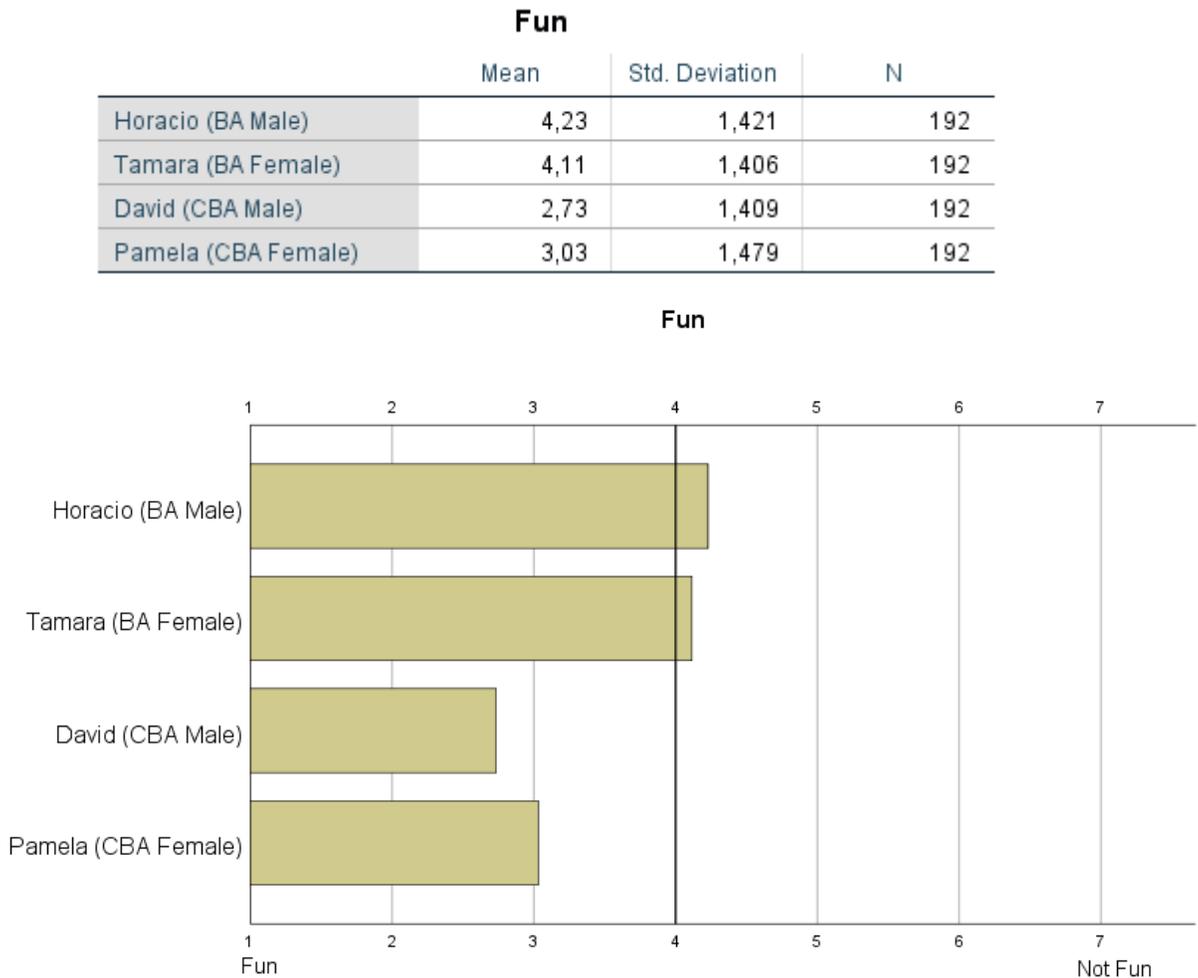
Fun

In this item, participants rated speakers considering how fun they found them, as observed in Figure 9. In this case, when considering general means, Cordobese speakers were rated more positively (1) than negatively (7), whereas the opposite happened for Buenos Aires speakers. David (2.73) was the one considered to be the most fun. He was followed by Pamela (3.03), Tamara (4.11) came in third, but her rating was more towards the negative end. The least

fun of all the speakers was Horacio (4.23). These results are in accordance with the stereotype that exists in Argentina that puts forward an image of Cordobese people as being fun, happy or humorous.

Figure 9

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Fun



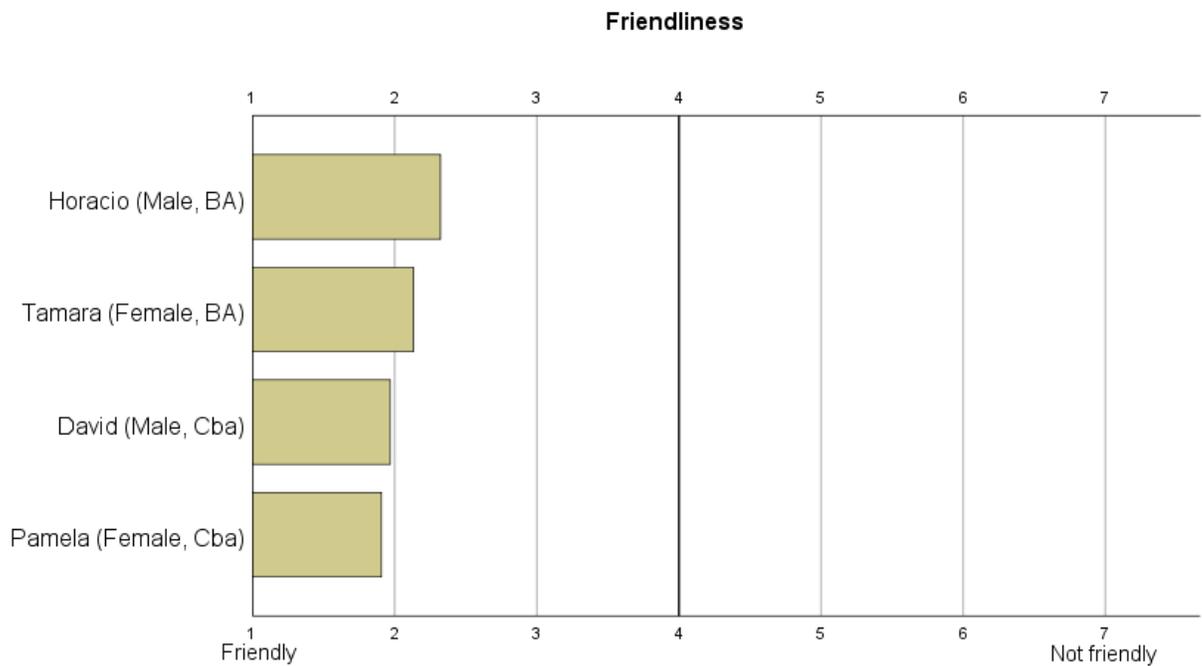
Friendliness

Another item in the social attractiveness dimension was friendliness, described in Figure 10. In general terms, all speakers got a rating that was more positive (1) than negative (7). Pamela (1.91) was considered to be the friendliest. She was followed by David (1.97). Third in the rating was Tamara (2.13). Lastly, the speaker who was considered to be the least friendly of all was Horacio (2.32). Cordobese speakers were considered more friendly than the ones from Buenos Aires.

Figure 10

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Friendliness

Friendliness			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,32	1,249	192
Tamara (BA Female)	2,13	1,227	192
David (CBA Male)	1,97	1,269	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	1,91	1,158	192



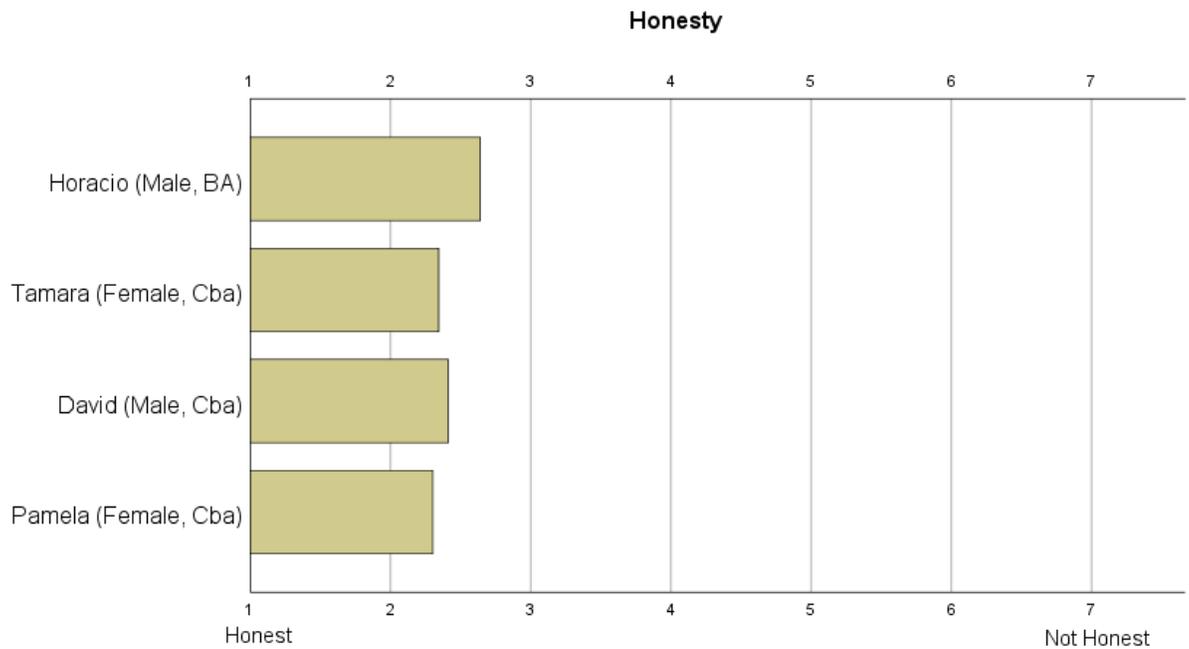
Honesty

Honesty was another item of this dimension. In Figure 11 we can see that even though all speakers were rated more positively than negative, there were differences. The most honest speakers were perceived to be the two female ones, Pamela (2.30), followed by Tamara (2.34). In third place came David (2.41) and the least honest was considered to be Horacio (2.64).

Figure 11

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Honesty

Honesty			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,64	1,270	192
Tamara (BA Female)	2,34	1,325	192
David (CBA Male)	2,41	1,411	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	2,30	1,343	192



Solidarity

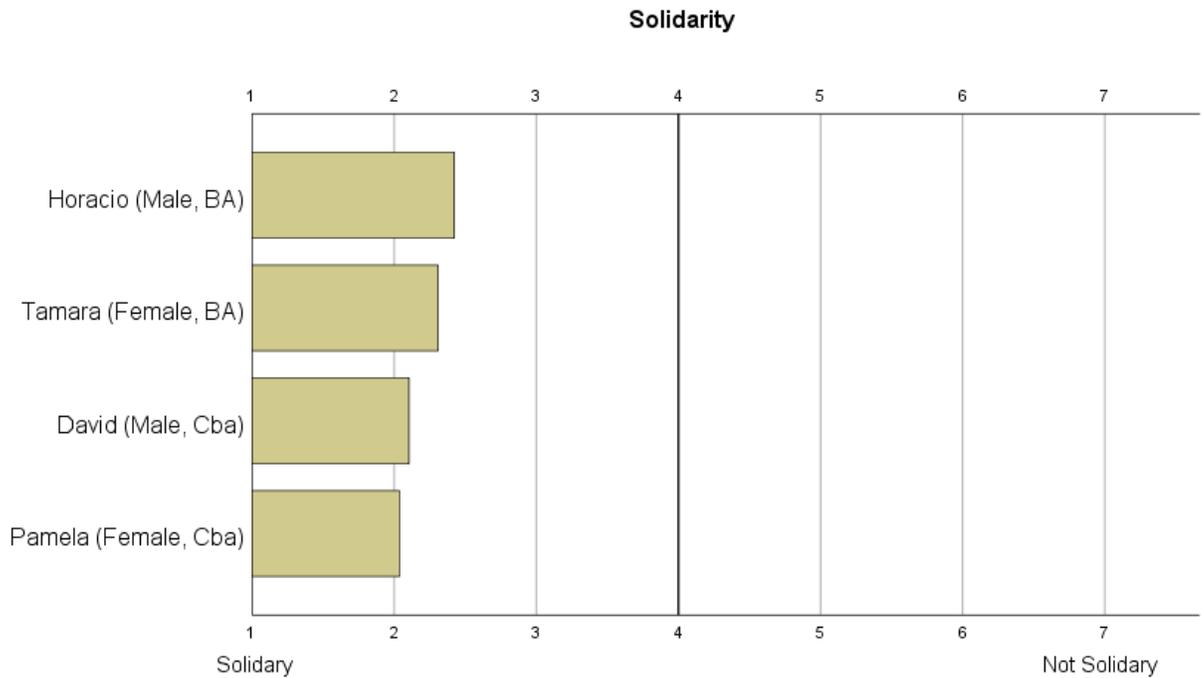
The last item to be analysed within the social attractiveness dimension is solidarity (see Figure 12). Its pattern is quite similar to the results in the item of friendliness. Once again, all speakers were generally considered to be more helpful (1) than not (7). However, the most positively rated in this item was Pamela (2.04), followed by David (2.10). In third place came Tamara (2.31). The least helpful was considered to be Horacio (2.42).

Figure 12

Teachers' Ratings of Speakers' Solidarity in the VGT

Solidarity

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,42	1,316	192
Tamara (BA Female)	2,31	1,255	192
David (CBA Male)	2,10	1,388	192
Pamela (CBA Female)	2,04	1,271	192



In the social attractiveness dimension, a pattern which is opposite to the one reported for the status and competence dimension is identified. Both speakers from Córdoba were rated more positively than the speakers from Buenos Aires in this dimension, and the male sample from Buenos Aires was the one which systematically received the most negative ratings of all four.

Appendix 8: Exploration of the 12 Items in the Students' VGT

Status and Competence Dimension

Status and competence is the first dimension analysed. Four items correspond to this dimension. We will now see how the 59 students rated the samples on perceived social status, intelligence, skills and level of education.

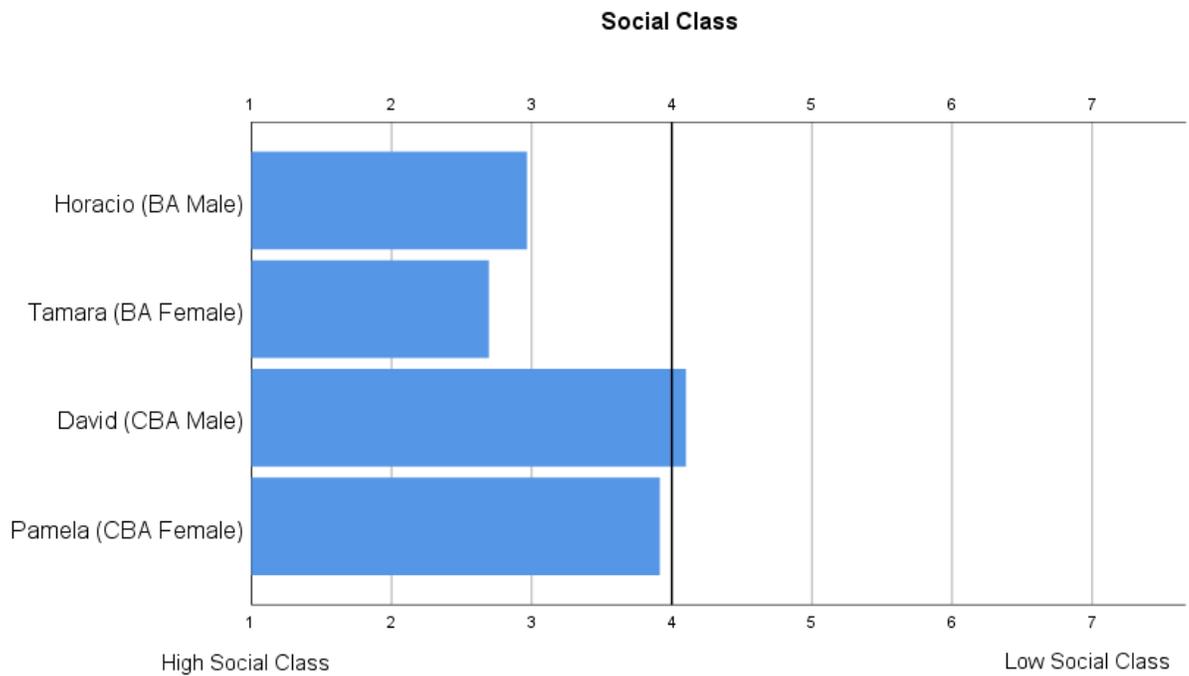
Social Status

In the item of Social Status, on average, three speakers were rated more towards the high class end (1) than towards the low-class end (7). David (4.10) was rated more towards the low-class end and Pamela was rated almost mid position (3.92). On the other hand, Tamara (2.69) and Horacio (2.97), the Buenos Aires speakers, were rated as belonging to a higher class than their Cordobese counterparts (see Figure 13).

Figure 13

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Social Class

	Social Class		
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,97	1,497	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,69	1,235	59
David (CBA Male)	4,10	1,528	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,92	1,466	59



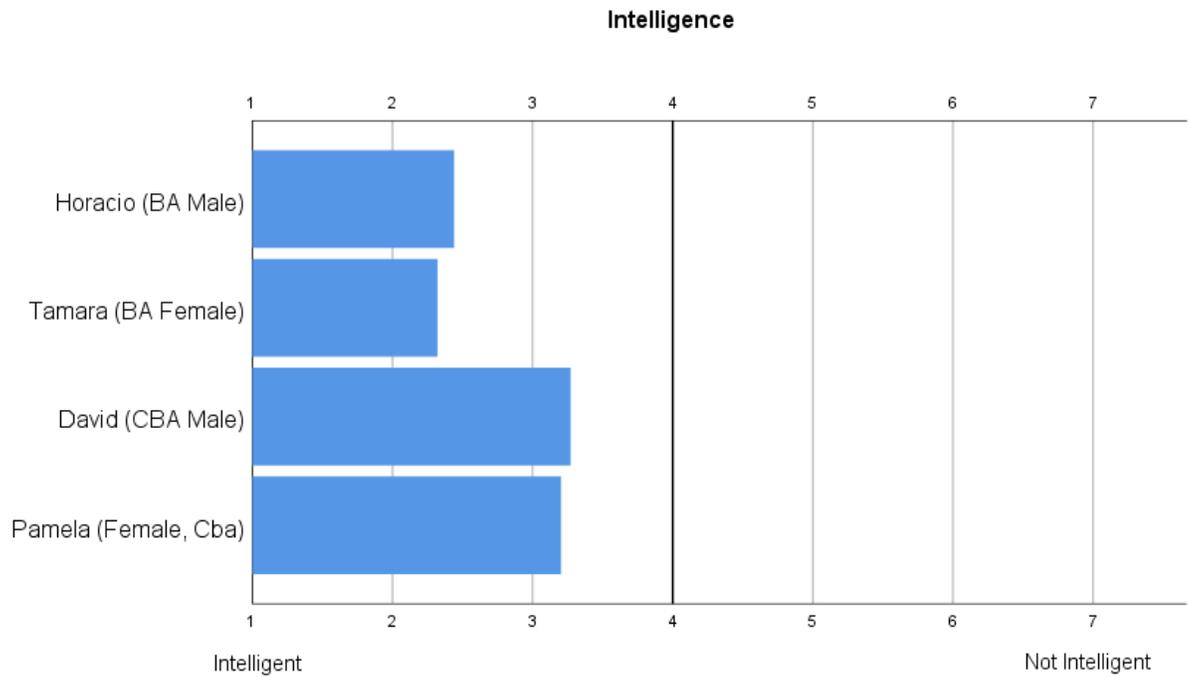
Intelligence

As regards intelligence, on average, all speakers were rated more towards the more intelligent end (1) end than towards the non-intelligent (7) end of the continuum. However, Horacio (2.44) and Tamara (2.32), the Buenos Aires speakers, were rated as being more intelligent than the Cordobese Speakers, David (3.27) and Pamela (3.20) (see Figure 14). The average rating for David's sample was the closest to the negative end, showing that he was considered to be the least intelligent of all.

Figure 14

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Intelligence

Intelligence			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,44	1,277	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,32	1,383	59
David (CBA Male)	3,27	1,388	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,20	1,436	59



Perceived Level of Skill

On average, all speakers were rated more towards the more skilled end (1) than towards the non-skilled end (7). However, once again, Horacio (2.46) and Tamara (2.47) were rated as being more skilled than David (3.81) and Pamela (3.69) (see Figure 15). The rating for David’s sample was the closest to the negative end, showing that he was considered to be the least skilled of all.

Figure 15

Students’ Ratings of Speakers’ Level of Skill

Level of Skill			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,46	1,291	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,47	1,344	59
David (CBA Male)	3,81	1,645	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,69	1,556	59



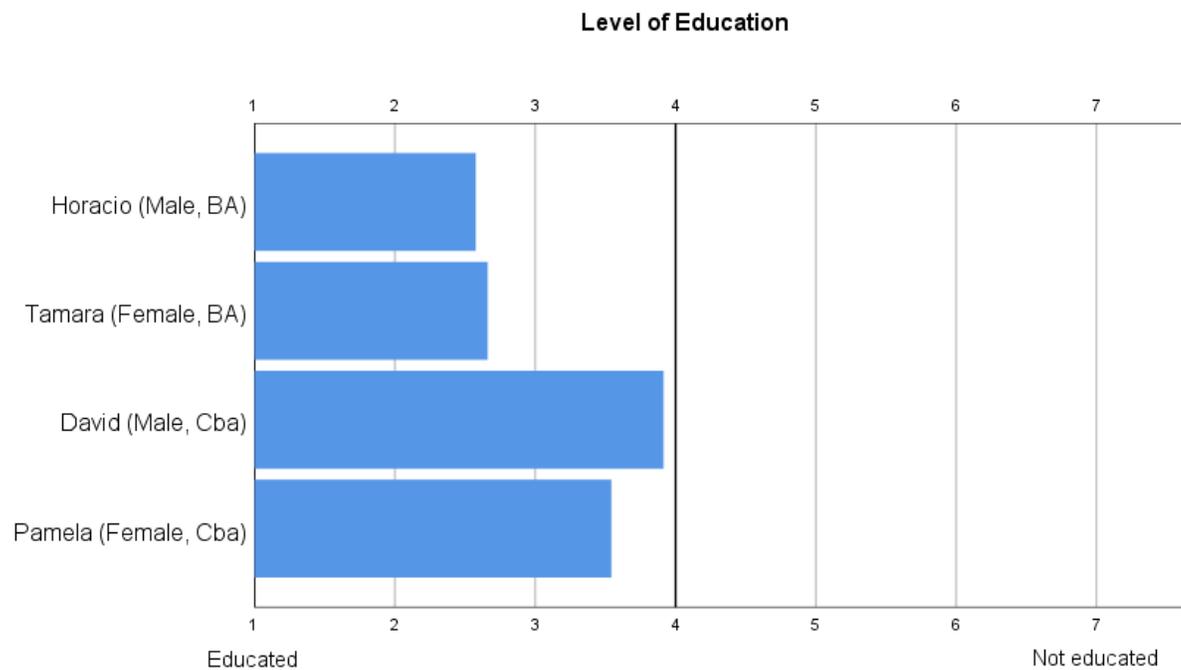
Level of Education

When analysing the rating given to speakers' Level of Education, on average, all speakers were rated more towards the more educated end (1) end than towards the non-educated end of the continuum (7). However, Horacio (2.58) and Tamara (2.66), from Buenos Aires, were rated as being more educated than the Cordobese Speakers, David (3.92) and Pamela (3.54) (see Figure 16). The rating for David's sample was the closest to the negative end, showing students considered him to be the least educated of all.

Figure 16

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Education

Level of Education			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,58	1,522	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,66	1,504	59
David (CBA Male)	3,92	1,715	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,54	1,601	59



In sum, for the status and competence dimension, the Cordobese speakers were systematically rated lower than the Buenos Aires speakers by students. Furthermore, the male Cordobese speaker received the lowest in all four items; he was considered as belonging to the lowest class and as being the least intelligent, educated and skilled of all. These results mirror the reactions teachers had in this dimension as well.

Linguistic Superiority Dimension

Student participants rated speakers on a further four VGT items which made up the dimension of linguistic superiority. The items of this dimension were aesthetic quality, correctness, appropriate pronunciation model and persuasiveness.

Aesthetic Quality

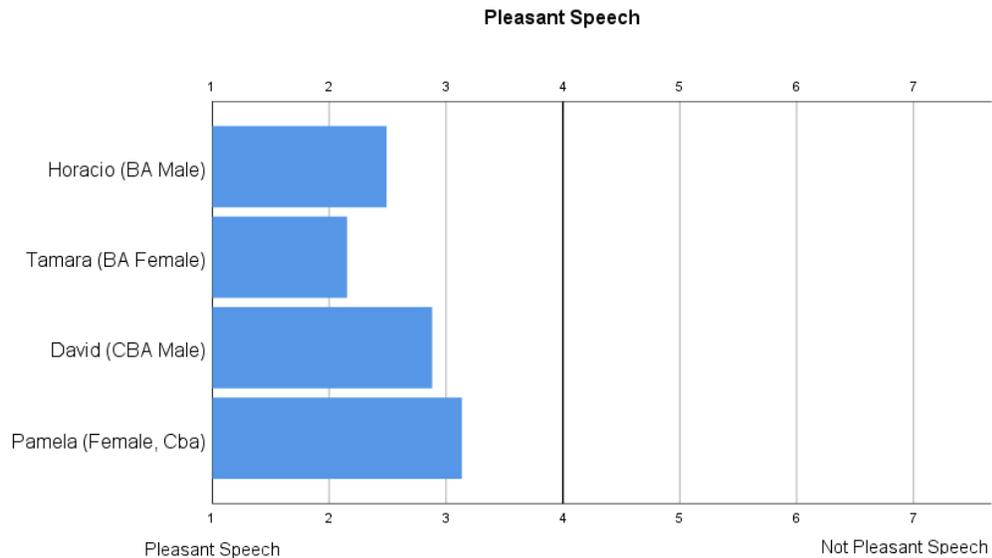
The first item analysed in this is aesthetic quality, or how pleasant students found the speech in the samples. Figure 17 describes the rating that the speakers received in this VGT trait. All speakers were generally rated as having a more pleasant speech than not. The most pleasant ones were the two speakers from Buenos Aires, Tamara (2.15) and Horacio (2.49). David (2.88) came in third place, followed by Pamela (3.14), who was rated as having the least pleasant speech of all.

Figure 17

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Aesthetic Quality

Pleasant Speech

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,49	1,419	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,15	1,297	59
David (CBA Male)	2,88	1,609	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,14	1,666	59



Speech Correctness

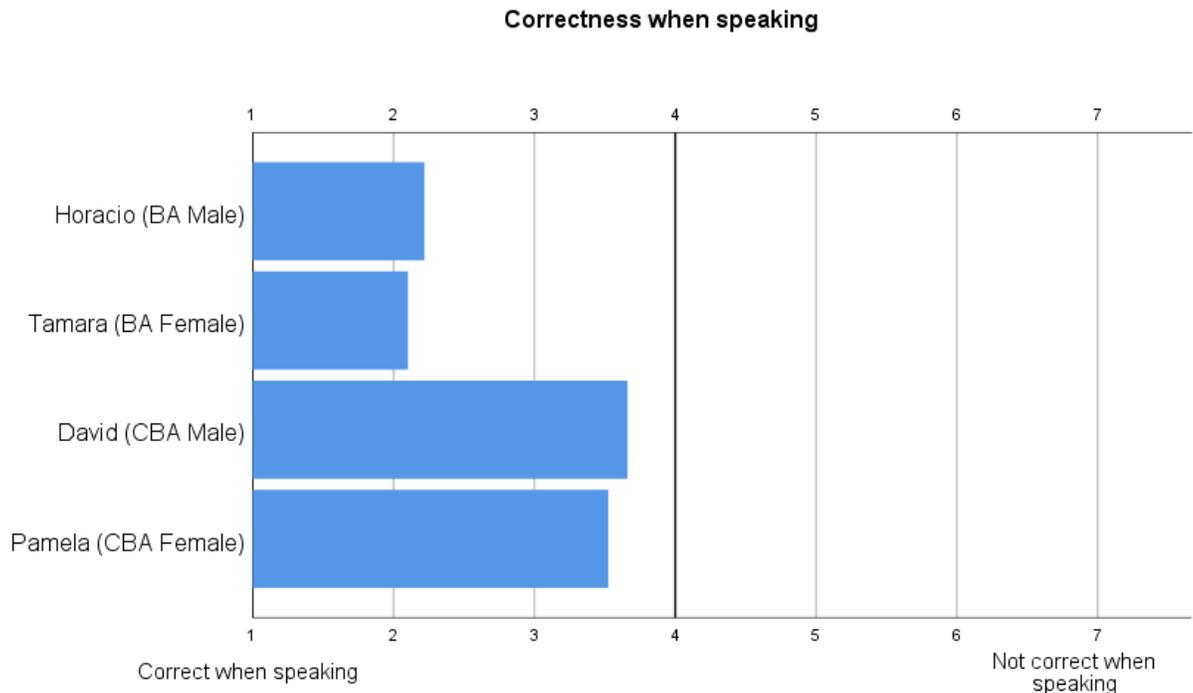
Correctness when speaking is the second item belonging to this dimension. Figure 18 describes the rating that speakers received in this trait, depending on how correctly they were considered to speak. All were generally rated more towards the correct end (1) than the not correct end (7). However, the two speakers from Buenos Aires, Tamara (2.10) and Horacio (2.22), were considered to be the ones who spoke most correctly, and the two speakers from Córdoba, David (3.66) and Pamela (3.53) were the ones who spoke least correctly. Once again, David was the one who was rated most negatively.

Figure 18

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Speech Correctness

Correctness when speaking

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,22	1,340	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,10	1,373	59
David (CBA Male)	3,66	1,728	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,53	1,665	59



Pronunciation Model

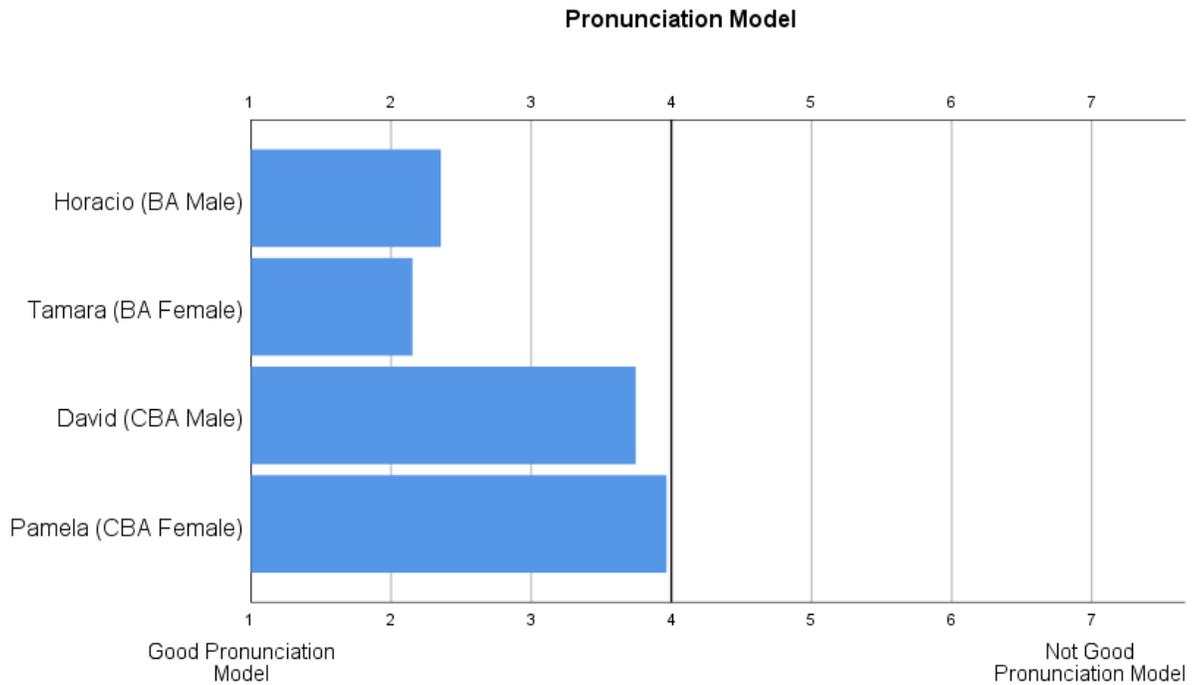
The third item belonging to this dimension was the Pronunciation Model, as presented in Figure 19. Students decided how good they considered each sample to be in terms of pronunciation model. As in several previously described items, all speakers were generally rated more towards the positive (1) than the negative end (7). However, once again, the two speakers from Buenos Aires were considered to be the best pronunciation models, and the two speakers from Córdoba were the ones who were not as good a pronunciation model. In this case, Pamela, the female Cordobese speaker was the one rated most negatively of all.

Figure 19

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Pronunciation Model

Pronunciation Model

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,36	1,595	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,15	1,495	59
David (CBA Male)	3,75	1,748	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,97	1,866	59



Persuasiveness

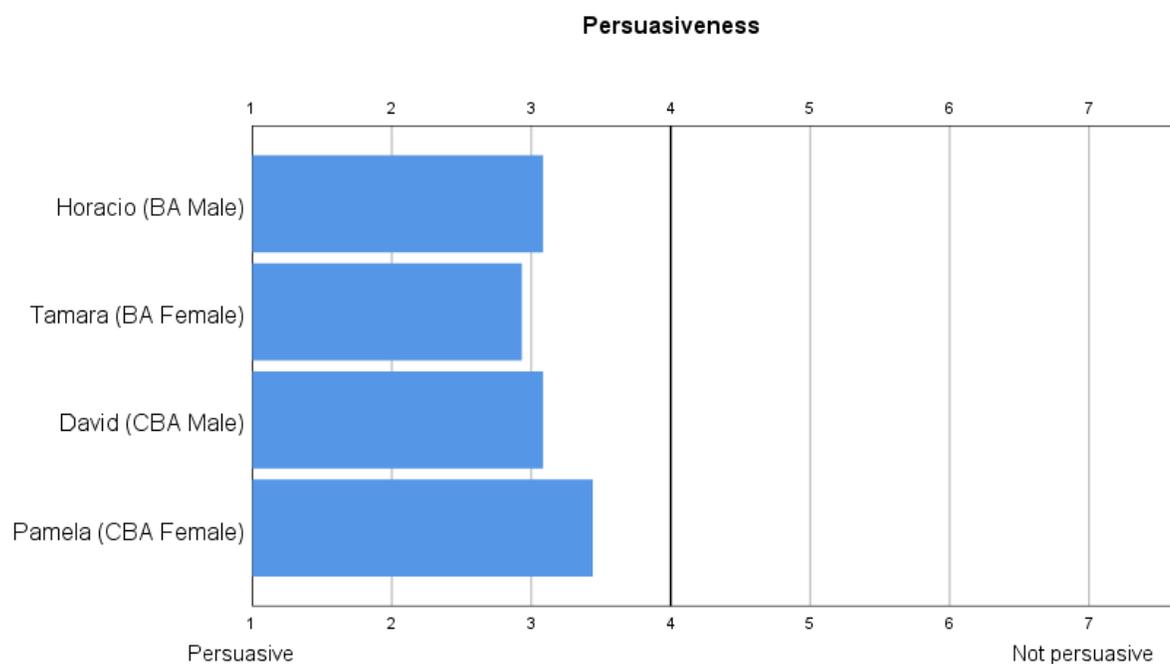
The last item in the dimension is persuasiveness. In Figure 20, the way participants rated speakers depending on how persuasive they considered their speech to be is presented. All speakers were generally rated as being more persuasive than not. The most persuasive one was Tamara (2.93). The average of the two male speakers is exactly the same, 3.08. The least persuasive speaker was considered to be Pamela (3.44).

Figure 20

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Persuasiveness

Persuasiveness

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	3,08	1,745	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,93	1,731	59
David (CBA Male)	3,08	1,546	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,44	1,664	59



In sum, students rated Buenos Aires speakers more positively than Cordobese speakers in the Linguistic Superiority dimension, especially in the items “aesthetic quality”, “speech correctness” and “pronunciation model”. These results are similar to the ones in the teachers’ VGT, except for the item aesthetic quality.

Social Attractiveness Dimension

The last dimension that students rated speakers in was Social Attractiveness, made up of four traits: fun, friendliness, honesty and solidarity.

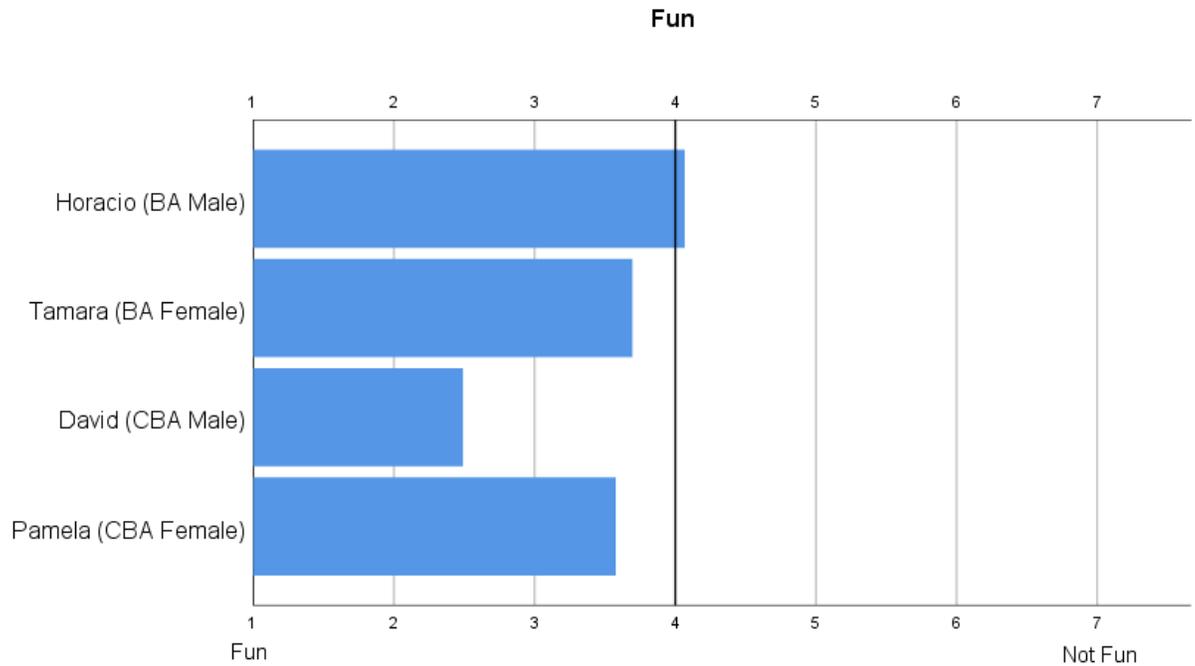
Fun

The first trait in dimension is perceived fun. In Figure 21, we see how students rated speakers depending on how fun they considered them to be. All speakers were generally rated as being more fun than not, except for Horacio (4.07), who was the only one rated more towards the not fun end. The speaker perceived to be the most fun was David (2.49), followed by Pamela (3.58) and Tamara (3.69).

Figure 21

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Fun

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	4,07	1,780	59
Tamara (BA Female)	3,69	1,715	59
David (CBA Male)	2,49	1,394	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	3,58	1,600	59



Friendliness

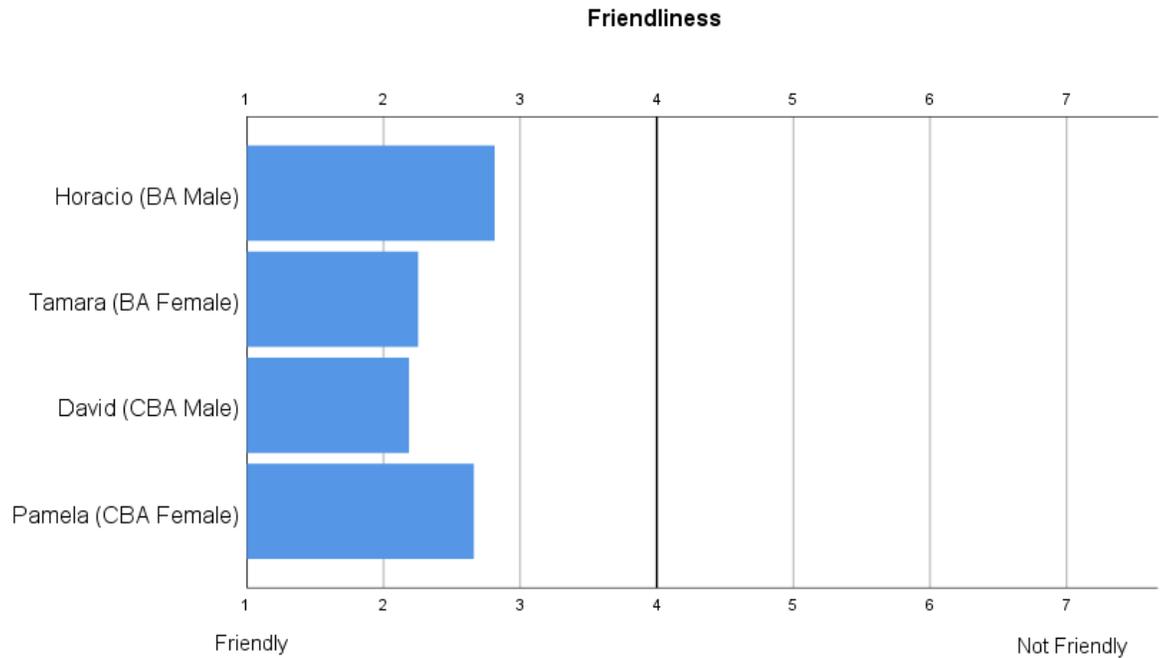
The second trait in the Social Attractiveness dimension is friendliness. The values presented in Figure 22 show the way student participants rated speakers depending on how friendly they found speakers to be. All were generally rated more towards the friendly end (1) than the not friendly end (7). However, David (2.19) was considered to be the friendliest of all. Tamara (2.25) came in second in the friendliness rating, followed by Pamela (2.66) and lastly by Horacio (2.81).

Figure 22

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Friendliness in the VGT

Friendliness

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,81	1,624	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,25	1,421	59
David (CBA Male)	2,19	1,332	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	2,66	1,422	59



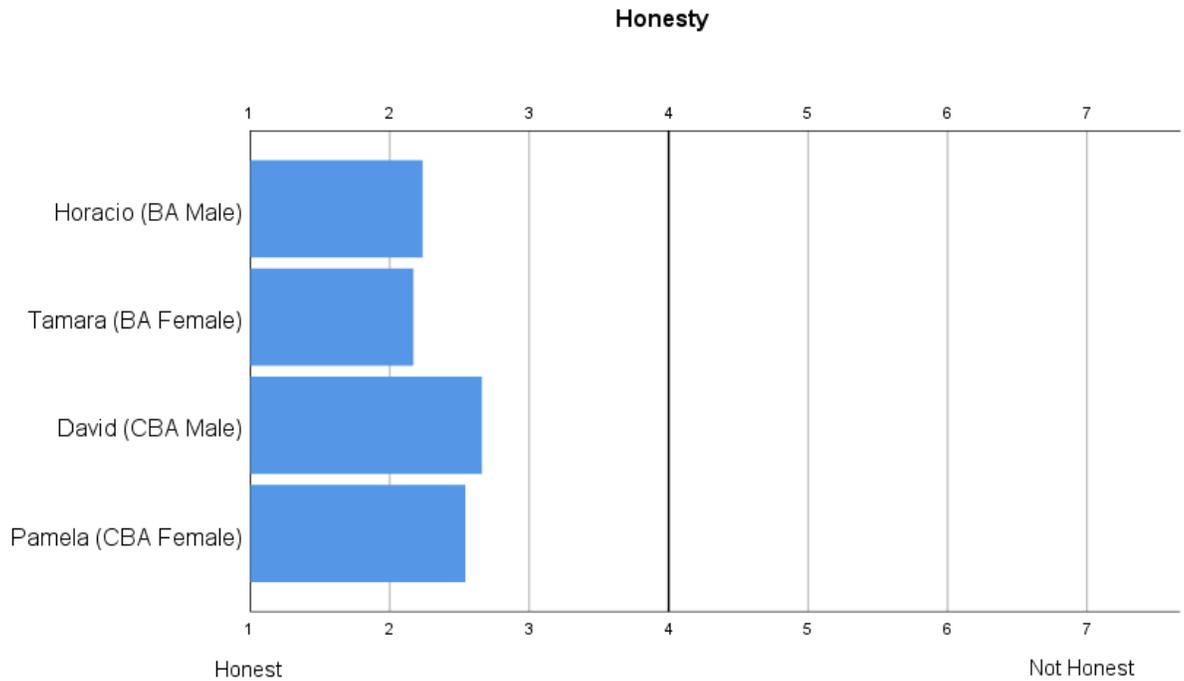
Honesty

Honesty is the third item belonging to the Social Attractiveness dimension. Figure 23 describes the rating speakers received in this trait. All speakers were generally rated more towards the honest (1) than the not honest end (7). However, the two speakers from Buenos Aires, Tamara (2.17) and Horacio (2.24), were considered to be the most honest, and David (2.66) and Pamela (2.54) the ones who were rated as being the least honest.

Figure 23

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Honesty

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,24	1,343	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,17	1,289	59
David (CBA Male)	2,66	1,422	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	2,54	1,454	59



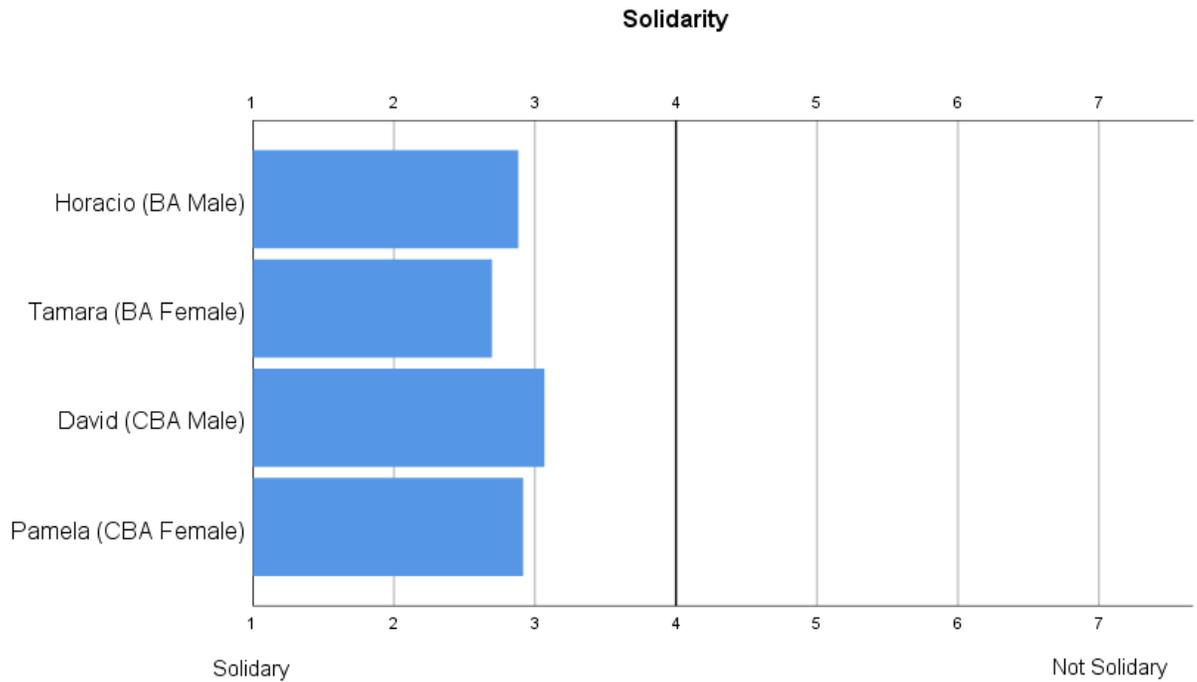
Solidarity

The last item in the Social Attractiveness dimension is solidarity, as shown in Figure 24. As in many of the previously described items, all speakers were generally rated more towards the positive end of the continuum (1) than the negative end (7). In this trait, similarly to what happened with the honesty ratings, Tamara (2.69) was found to be the most positively rated in terms of solidarity. She was followed by Horacio (2.88), Pamela (2.92) and David (3.07).

Figure 24

Students' Ratings of Speakers' Solidarity in the VGT

Solidarity			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Horacio (BA Male)	2,88	1,620	59
Tamara (BA Female)	2,69	1,622	59
David (CBA Male)	3,07	1,596	59
Pamela (CBA Female)	2,92	1,512	59



In sum, no clear pattern can be identified in the ratings provided by students in this dimension. However, it could be pointed out that for the honesty item, the Buenos Aires speakers were perceived to be more honest than the Cordobese speakers, whereas for the fun item, the Cordobese speakers were perceived to be more fun than the Buenos Aires speakers.

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