

SEMELHANÇAS E DIFERENÇAS NA AVALIAÇÃO DAS VARIEDADES DE ESPANHOL DE FUTUROS PROFESSORES E POPULAÇÃO GERAL. DADOS DE GRANADA (ESPANHA)

SEMEJANZAS Y DIFERENCIAS EN LAS EVALUACIONES DE VARIEDADES DEL ESPAÑOL DE FUTUROS PROFESORES Y POBLACIÓN GENERAL. DATOS DE GRANADA (ESPAÑA)

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE EVALUATIONS OF SPANISH VARIETIES OF FUTURE TEACHERS AND GENERAL POPULATION. GRANADA DATA (SPAIN)

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RESUMO: Com a metodologia de pesquisa de opinião proposta pelo PRECAVES XXI, são comparadas as atitudes e crenças dos futuros professores de espanhol granadinos e da sociedade da qual originam. Os futuros professores de espanhol melhoram a visão sobre as variedades do espanhol que trazem de seu contexto social, mas há aspectos nos quais não conseguem romper totalmente com a herança recebida, especialmente os dois grupos estudados que apresentam resultados semelhantes no grau de reconhecimento das variedades, na alta consideração sobre a variedade do centro e do norte da Península Ibérica e na baixa avaliação sobre sua própria variedade.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Avaliação linguística. Variedades do espanhol. Granada. PRECAVES XXI.

RESUMEN: *Con la metodología de la encuesta de PRECAVES XXI se comparan las actitudes y creencias de los futuros profesores de español granadinos y la sociedad de la que provienen. Los futuros profesores de español mejoran la visión de las variedades del español que traen de su entorno social, pero hay aspectos en los que no logran romper del todo con la herencia recibida, en especial los dos colectivos estudiados muestran resultados similares en el grado de reconocimiento de las variedades, en la alta consideración de la variedad del centro y norte de la península ibérica y en la baja evaluación de la variedad propia.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Evaluación lingüística. Variedades del español. Granada. PRECAVES XXI.*

ABSTRACT: *I compare the beliefs and attitudes of future teachers of Spanish from Granada towards the varieties of Spanish using the PRECAVES XXI survey. We also extend the study to the society from which they come. The future teachers of Spanish have a more positive vision of the varieties of Spanish than their social environment, but there are aspects that remain from*

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their social inheritance. The two groups (students and their environment) show similar results in the degree of recognition of the varieties, in the high esteem of the variety from the center and north of the Iberian Peninsula, and in the low evaluation of their own variety.

KEYWORDS: *Linguistic evaluation. Varieties of Spanish. Granada. PRECAVES XXI.*

Introduction

The relationship between sociolinguistics and language teaching encompasses several aspects. One of the fundamental plots is the social assessment of languages, varieties and specific linguistic phenomena. As García Marcos (2015, p. 83) observes, “judgments and opinions about linguistic facts become part of ourselves, our worldview and, ultimately, the culture in which we operate; also of the ideology to which we identify”. The evaluations, therefore, affect the entire population, although their study is, perhaps, more relevant with regard to the so-called prestigious transmitters, as pointed out by Manjón-Cabeza (2000), because it will significantly influence the social group, since, if we follow Moreno Fernández (1998, p. 189), “prestige can be defined as a process of granting esteem and respect to individuals or groups that gather certain characteristics and that lead to the imitation of behaviors and beliefs of these individuals or groups”.

The list of prestigious transmitters can be very varied, as highlighted by García Marcos and Fuentes González (1996), however it cannot be lacking in teaching professionals.

The usual in this area is the study of attitudes and beliefs of the prestigious group, but in this work we want to go further and we want to see the similarities and differences that teachers have with regard to the social base from which they come.

We will therefore focus on the comparison between the social body and a group that we consider especially important: the future Spanish teachers, both in their consideration as their mother tongue and in their aspect as a foreign language.

In addition, these are future teachers inserted in one of the varieties of Spanish that we can describe as one of the most problematic from the point of view of linguistic assessments: the Andalusian.

It is known that, after the establishment of the capital in Madrid, and due to several socio-historical transformations, the process of linguistic normalization led to the pattern of Castilian Spanish. Thus began a process of stigmatization of other European varieties that has reached our days.

Proof of these negative considerations are the classifications given to the Andalusian by the people of Madrid, as reflected in the data of Yraola (2014) or of the people of Toledo, as can be seen in Manjón-Cabeza (2000) or Crespo and Manjón-Cabeza (1996) .

Stigmatization, associated with the geographical proximity of the standard variety and modern processes of globalization or the influence of the mass media, is leading to a process of convergence (VILLENA PONSODA, 2006) with the pattern or process of assimilation as others want (MORENO CABRERA , 2000), which tends to accentuate negative considerations in relation to this variety. It must be remembered that the convergence processes are more advanced in the eastern part of Andalusia than in the western part.

The main objective of this work is, therefore, to determine to what extent the future teachers of Granada perpetuate or modify the evaluations that the Grenadians as a whole have about the varieties of Spanish and, mainly, about their own.

Methodology

The sample from which this study begins is composed of 182 people from Granada, distributed as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 - Sample characteristics

Students		N	General population		N
Sex	Women	66	Sex	Women	45
	Men	23		Men	48
Subtotal		89	subtotal		93

Source: Devised by the author.

As can be seen in Table 1, there are two groups that form the basis for comparison: future Spanish teachers, with 89 individuals, and a sample of the general population, with 93 respondents.

The sample of future professors was composed entirely of young university students from Granada, with a degree in Hispanic Philology. Although this diploma does not officially have a professional profile focused on teaching, in practice, these students preferentially cover the teaching of the different subjects of the Spanish language and literature in secondary education and the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language. Although the general sample is socially stratified according to the parameters of PRESEEA2 (Sociolinguistic Spanish Study

Project in Spain and America), this time we cannot use the social variables because the student sample is not stratified. Only the sex or gender variable is shown in Table 1, for illustrative purposes only, to highlight that, in the case of students, the sample is mainly made up of women, due to the social attribution of education in Spain.

It should also be noted that, for future teachers, it is necessary at some point to distinguish between the initial students of the undergraduate course, who did not have specific formation in varieties of Spanish (49 students) compared to 40 students in the final years of the undergraduate course, who they would have taken different subjects directly related to Spanish varieties.

For this research, we followed the questionnaire of the PRECAVES XXI project (Project for the Study of Beliefs and Attitudes towards the 21st century Spanish varieties). For a detailed explanation of the questionnaire, it is recommended to consult Cestero Mancera and Paredes García (2018) and Santana Marrero (2018), authors that I summarize in the following paragraphs to explain the research.

This project adopts a cognitive or mentalist approach (Cestero Mancera and Paredes García, 2015), which implies that we study attitudes based on the reactions that a series of linguistic stimuli provokes in the subjects, following the technique of false pairs.

There are two major blocks of questions: those that serve to characterize the informant and those that aim to probe the evaluations in relation to the proposed recordings. The first block of content consists of questions that request information from the informant: sex, age, education, profession, mother tongue, country of birth, etc.

The second block contains twelve questions designed to get to know the subjects' opinions in the recordings that are proposed to them. This part begins with an open general question that asks about the region in which, in the opinion of the informant, Spanish is best spoken - if there is one - and then there are three sections from which you want to obtain information about the following aspects:

1) Direct evaluation of the variety: it seeks to know which affective and cognitive judgments the subjects have about the recordings heard, which linguistic characteristics they like more or less and what degree of proximity exists between their modality and the heard.

2) Indirect evaluation of the variety based on personal characteristics and social status attributed to the subject who listen to the recording.

3) Indirect assessment of the variety based on the perception that respondents have about this region or country and its culture.

In relation to the recordings heard by the interviewees, there are sixteen recordings of approximately two minutes each, two for each of the eight varieties of Spanish proposed by Moreno Fernández (2009, p. 79); one is a sample of the discourse without prior planning and the other is a sample of a read text. These samples are randomly ordered to avoid mechanical responses and all were recorded by men and women of high socio-cultural level from each of the regions considered. Half of the sample evaluated male lines and the other half evaluated female lines.

If we consider that each informant evaluates sixteen records, we obtain that, for this study, we started from the analysis of 2912 records.

For the analysis of the results, basic analyzes of absolute data and percentages were used. On some occasions, significance tests were carried out to try to prove whether any of the variables involved significantly influence the assessments. These variables were:

- a) Group to which the interviewee belongs: social sample or future teachers (in some cases, it was subdivided according to whether or not they had formation in Spanish varieties).
- c) Evaluated speech (oral or read)
- d) Evaluated voice (female voice or male voice)

For significance tests, we used the statistical analysis program IBM SPSS 20, specifically the determination of Pearson's χ^2 using contingency tables.

Results

Regarding the prestige of the varieties, the data appear in Table 2.

Table 2 - Region or area where Spanish is best spoken. Absolute data or percentages

	Students		Population	
	n	%	n	%
Castile and northern Spain	35	39,33	58	62,37
Andalusia	7	7,87	11	11,83
America	4	4,49	0	0,00
Spain	3	3,37	4	4,30
In all equally	37	41,57	19	20,43
Did not answer	3	3,37	1	1,08
Total	89	100,00	93	100,00

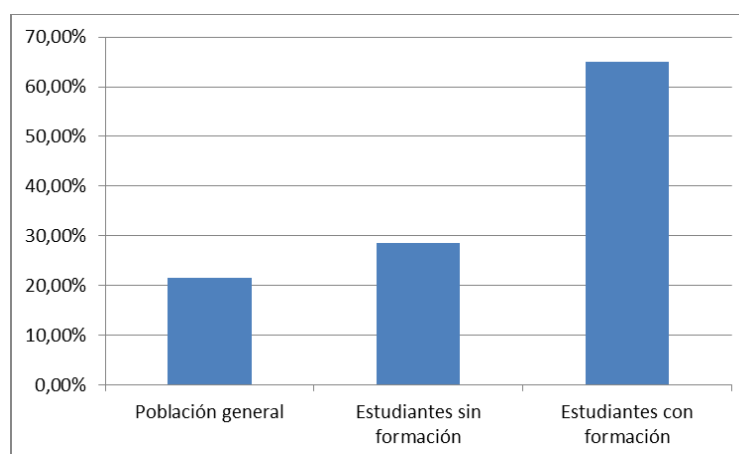
Source: Devised by the author.

As shown in Table 2, the two groups note that the best variety is Spanish Castilian (39.33% of the total for students and 62.37% of the total for the social sample). The other options, within which they establish modal hierarchies, are clearly minority, although the localist itching appears to be greater in the general sample (11.83%) than in students (7.87%).

It is worth noting the difference in the percentages, of both groups, who think they cannot highlight a variety better than another, since the percentage of future teachers who do not establish hierarchies is twice (41.57%) the percentage that appears in the social sample (20.43%).

If we refine something further and take into account the existence of two groups among students, we can see that the differences (p value = 0.000) between the general population and students are still significant, but now we see a more subtle evolution, as it remains evident in Figure 1.

Figure 1 - Graph: percentages of equal consideration between varieties according to the group²



Source: Devised by the author.

From the data reflected in Figure 1, it can be deduced that the formation received directly influences the trend towards a more equitable evaluation of the varieties, since, as we progress in language formation, the hierarchical view tends to decrease. Although the jump is much more pronounced in students who have received specific formation in Spanish varieties.

As for the identification of varieties, the research allows free association, so that, for clarity, we have established four degrees of identification. Thus, as can be seen in Tables 3 and 4, we distinguish cases of exact association or correctness, such as when, for example, *Uruguay*

² We read on the image subtitles: Population / Students with no formation / Students with formation

or *Buenos Aires* are taken as a Rioplatense variety; the wrong answers, as when *Argentina* is known as the Caribbean variety; generics, especially when *Latin America*, Spanish America and the like appear for any American variety, but also when Spain was chosen as a Spanish variety. Obviously, the option of not responding is also observed.

The results for students are recorded in Table 3, while the results for the social sample are shown in Table 4.

Table 3 - Identification of recordings of the set of varieties (students).
Absolute data and percentages.

VARIETY		n / %	VARIETY		n / %
Castilian	Recordings	177	Andean	Recordings	175
	Correct	129 / 72,88%		Correct	43 / 24,57%
	Wrong	9 / 5,08%		Wrong	63 / 36,00%
	Generic	38 / 21,47%		Generic	63 / 36,00%
	did not answer	1 / 0,56%		did not answer	6 / 3,43%
Canary	Recordings	173	Chilean	Recordings	172
	Correct	77 / 44,51%		Correct	9 / 5,23%
	Wrong	72 / 41,62 %		Wrong	97 / 56,40 %
	Generic	14 / 8,09%		Generic	58 / 33,72 %
	did not answer	10 / 5,78%		did not answer	8 / 4,65%
Mexican	Recordings	175	Rioplatense	Recordings	176
	Correct	55 / 31,43%		Correct	142 / 80,68%
	Wrong	58 / 33,14%		Wrong	13 / 7,39%
	Generic	53 / 30,29%		Generic	18 / 10,23%
	did not answer	9 / 5,14%		did not answer	3 / 1,70%
Caribbean	Recordings	178	Andalusian	Recordings	177
	Correct	42 / 23,60%		Correct	135 / 76,27%
	Wrong	70 / 39,33%		Wrong	11 / 6,21%
	Generic	60 / 33,71%		Generic	25 / 14,12%
	did not answer	6 / 3,37%		did not answer	6 / 3,39%

Source: Devised by the author.

Table 4 - Identification of the records of the set of varieties (social sample). Absolute data and percentages

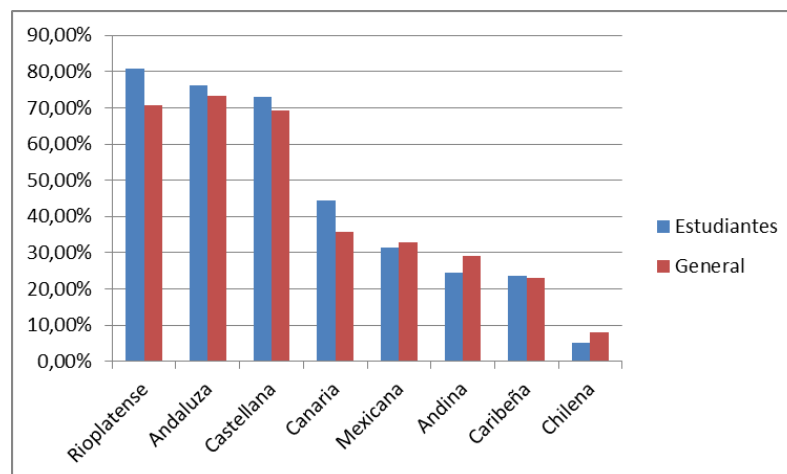
VARIETY		n / %	VARIETY		n / %
Castilian	Recordings	185	Andean	Recordings	185
	Correct	128 / 69,19		Correct	54 / 29,19
	Wrong	8 / 4,32%		Wrong	71 / 38,38
	Generic	46 / 24,86%		Generic	56 / 30,27
	did not answer	3/1,62		did not answer	4 / 2,16
Canary	Recordings	184	Chilean	Recordings	183
	Correct	66 /35,87%		Correct	14 / 7,65
	Wrong	86 /46,74 %		Wrong	108 / 59,02
	Generic	25 /13,59 %		Generic	51/ 27,87
	did not answer	7 /3,80 %		did not answer	10 / 5,46
Mexican	Recordings	182	Rioplatense	Recordings	184
	Correct	60 / 32,97		Correct	130 / 70,65
	Wrong	63 / 34,62		Wrong	26 / 14,13
	Generic	53 / 29,12		Generic	25 / 13,59
	did not answer	6 / 3,30		did not answer	3 / 1,63
Caribbean	Recordings	186	Andalusian	Recordings	184
	Correct	43 / 23,12		Correct	135 / 73,37
	Wrong	84/ 45,16		Wrong	16 / 8,70
	Generic	55 / 29,57		Generic	33 / 17,93
	did not answer	4 / 2,15		did not answer	-

Source: Devised by the author.

Tables 3 and 4 show wide disparities in the identification of varieties. If we order the degree of exact identification of the two groups surveyed from the largest to the smallest, we will obtain figure 2.

Figure 2 - Graph: percentages of exact recognition of varieties according to group³

³ We read on the graph: Side subtitle – Students; General / Lower subtitles: Rioplatense; Andalusian; Castilian; Canary; Mexican; Andean; Caribbean; Chilean



Source: Devised by the author.

It can be seen, in figure 2, that the results are similar in percentages in the two groups, with a slight tendency towards greater accuracy among students. In both groups, the proper variety (Andalusian), a prestigious variety nearby (central and northern Spain) and a prominent American variety are well recognized; in this case, the rioplatense variety, with a high percentage of recognition, certainly due to the identification of the refined and deaf pronunciation of the central palatal phoneme. At the opposite extreme, there is the degree of identification of the Chilean variety, which shows only a degree of identification of 5.23% among future teachers and 7.65% in the social sample. These data are so scarce that it is impossible to apply them to the Chilean records of statistical tests, since only from now on we will reason with the exact attributions.

We can ask ourselves what factors can influence the success of the recordings. To try to determine them, we created contingency tables for each variety (with the exception of the Chilean) with the factors of the group, spontaneous or read speech and male or female voice.

Given the little difference in the recognition of the groups (already shown in tables 3 and 4 and in figure 2), this factor was not significant in any case. It must be recognized that the opposite could be expected a priori: better language formation would influence recognition, but this is not the case.

However, in many cases, the spontaneity of the speech and voice assessed was significant. We simplified the data in Table 5.

Table 5 - Factors that influence the correctness of the variety

Variety		Speech	Voice
Castilian	students	✓ (s)	✓ (m)

	general		✓ (m)
Andalusian	students	✓ (s)	✓ (m)
	general		✓ (m)
Canary	students	✓ (s)	
	general	✓ (s)	
Mexican	students	✓ (s)	✓ (f)
	general	✓ (s)	✓ (f)
Caribbean	students	✓ (s)	
	general	✓ (s)	
Andean	students		
	general		✓ (f)
Rioplatense	students	✓ (s)	
	general		

Source: Devised by the author.

Table 5 shows the factors (Speech and Voice) crossed with the varieties, with a distinction between groups of students and general sample. A ✓ was used to indicate cases in which the p-value of Pearson's χ^2 test <0.05 , that is, cases in which the factor significantly influences the variation. The variant of the factor that positively affects recognition is in parentheses. In the case of speech, it has always been spontaneous speech (s), while in the voice there are cases of influence of the male voice (m) and the female voice (f).

It seems easy to explain that spontaneous speech is better identified, because reading tends to erase the characteristics of the variety. The type of speech influences students more, since it influences six of the seven varieties evaluated by future teachers, while it affects the general group less, since it influences only three of the seven evaluated varieties.

The voice seems to influence a little less and not always in the same direction, because the male voice influences the better recognition of the nearby varieties (Castilian and Andalusian), while the female voice is more recognized in the more distant ones.

Now, we will focus on considerations about their own variety: it is well recognized by both groups and we are interested in verifying the degree of identification of the interviewees and their degree of appreciation for the variety.

The high degree of recognition of the variety is reflected in table 6.

Table 6 - Recognition and errors of Andalusian recordings

	Students	General
RECORDINGS EVALUATED	1406	1488
ADALUSIAN RECORDS	177	184
CORRRCT	135	135
WROGN	11 Spain (7) America (4)	16 Spain (10) America (6)
GENERIC	25	33
DID NOT ANSWER	6	0
ANDALUSIAN FALSE (not generic)	48 Canaries (28) Castile (9) Chile (9) Caribe (1) México (1)	63 Canaries (29) Chile (17) Castile (7) Caribe (1) México (3) Rioplatense (4) Andean (2)

Source: Devised by the author.

From the analysis of table 6, it can be said that the two groups present very similar results. Perhaps a slight tendency of the general group to identify American recordings with the Andalusian variety can be pointed out, although the important thing at the moment is that the two groups considered show a high identification to the Andalusian variety of recordings in the Canaries.

A fundamental question in the research, especially in the case of Andalusia, is the degree of identification or proximity to the voice heard. A range of six options is offered, ranging from "totally different" to "totally identical". The results for the two groups studied are shown in Table 7.

Table 7 - Identity of the interviewees with the voices of Andalusia evaluated

Students (n = 135)	General population (n = 133) ⁴
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⁴ This data is explained because there are two surveys that have not been completed at this point, although they are correctly identified as Andalusian..

NOT IDENTICAL	14,81%	NOT IDENTICAL	16,54 %
Totally different	1,48%	Totally different	3,00%
Quite different	5,93%	Quite different	8,27%
Slightly the same	7,41%	Slightly the same	5,26%
IDENTICAL	85,19%	IDENTICAL	83,46%
Slightly different	30,37%	Slightly different	18,80%
Quite the same	46,67%	Quite the same	52,63%
Totally identical	8,15 %	Totally identical	12,03%

Source: Devised by the author.

The similarity between both groups is clear if we look at Table 7, because the identity with the Andalusian speech heard with 85.19% for future teachers and 83.46% for the general group dominates. This indicates that there is a gap between traditional Andalusian scholars, who tend to point out excessive differences in variety (hence the name *Andalusian speeches* is often used to name Andalusian) compared to the population that usually identifies itself by ear, although it is not from the same province. Perhaps it should be noted that the general social group shows greater identification, because there are more cases in which they consider the voice heard to be completely identical (12.03%) or exactly the same (52.63%) than the cases of students, with 46.67% and 8.15%, respectively.

The research calls for affective and cognitive judgments about the recordings heard. There are eleven scales, rated from one to six, of the pleasant-unpleasant or slow-fast type.

In general, although we will clarify later, the ratings are good, almost always above 3.5, which is the midpoint of the scale. The varieties best classified cognitively by the two groups are Castilian, Canary and Caribbean. The least valued are the Andean, Andalusian and Mexican. On the other hand, the most emotionally valued are the Caribbean, the Canaries and Andalusia, while the least ranked were Castilian and Andean.

As the questions are many and the exhaustive analysis would take a long time, we present some evaluation results that we consider representative of the whole. These are two scales of direct evaluation: rural-urban, cognitive and beautiful-ugly, of affective character. Together with these scales, in the same table 8, we offer the results of indirect assessment scales related to the cognitive consideration of rural-urban areas: consideration of the region as backward-advanced and consideration of culture as innovative-traditional.

Table 8 - Cognitive and affective assessments of varieties

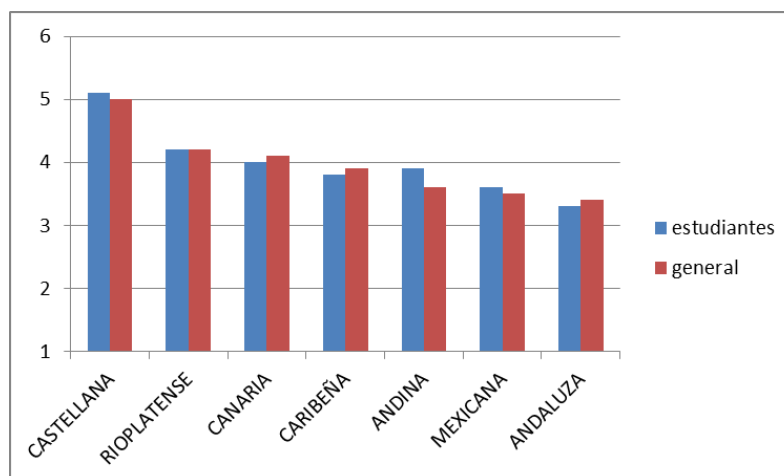
	Urban	Beautiful	Advanced area	Innovative culture
CASTILIAN	5,1 / 5,0	3,7 / 4,0	4,8 / 4,7	4,1 / 3,9
ANDALUSIAN	3,3 / 3,4	4,0 / 4,1	4,4 / 4,3	4,0 / 3,4
CANARY	4,0 / 4,1	4,3 / 4,2	4,4 / 4,4	4,2 / 3,7
MEXICAN	3,6 / 3,5	4,6 / 3,9	3,6 / 2,9	3,1 / 2,7
CARIBBEAN	3,8 / 3,9	4,5 / 4,1	3,4 / 3,2	2,7 / 2,7
ANDEAN	3,9 / 3,6	3,9 / 3,7	3,0 / 2,8	2,9 / 2,4
RIOPLATENSE	4,2 / 4,2	4,2 / 3,8	4,1 / 3,5	3,8 / 3,1

Source: Devised by the author.

Table 8 shows only the positive poles of the scales. It should be remembered that, on the four scales presented, the evaluation ranges from one to six, so the intermediate point is 3.5, that is, above it tends to be a positive evaluation, while below this score the evaluation becomes negative.

Regarding the fundamental consideration of hearing heard as rural or urban, the differences stand out if we transfer the data from Table 8 to Figure 3.

Figure 3 - Graph: Considering the voices evaluated as urban⁵



Source: Devised by the author.

⁵ We read on the graph: Lateral subtitles – students; general / Lower subtitles: Castilian; Rioplatense; Canary; Caribbean; Andean; Mexican; Andalusian.

In this figure 3, you can easily see how the most urban by far is Castilian. The most rural is the Andalusian. It should be noted that it is the only variety that both groups place below the intermediate assessment point (3.5). On the other hand, it seems that the differences in the assessment of urbanity between future teachers and the general sample are not very significant.

The same does not happen with the affective consideration of the beautiful-ugly of the voices heard, since there are some marked differences in the assessment of the two groups interviewed. It is true that the evaluations always tend to be positive (more for the pole of the beautiful than the ugly), but students tend to evaluate American varieties much better than European ones. This can be seen easily in Table 8, when we observe that, for example, students assign a rating of 4.6 to Mexican speeches, while the social sample lowers the rating to 3.9. Something similar happens for all American varieties. On the contrary, it is still remarkable that future teachers who described Castilian speeches as more urban consider this variety less beautiful than their social environment (3.7 against 4.0).

In indirect evaluations, both in consideration as an advanced or backward region and in advanced or traditional culture, the division between the consideration of Europe as an advanced region and culture and America as traditional and backward is present. The Rio da Prata region occupies an intermediate place in this regard.

It is very interesting to note the differences observed in the evaluation of the speeches of Andalusia (direct evaluation), which tends to be negative, in comparison with the more positive evaluation of the region in which the speakers register. The explanation seems to follow the path of stigmatizing the linguistic variety unrelated to that of the territory of which it is a part.

The PRECAVES XXI survey has three questions of scale that directly assess the statements heard, according to socioeconomic parameters, since they refer to the qualification at work, income level and education of the people who speak. The average of the results of the two groups is shown in Table 9.

Table 9 - Socio-economic assessments of statements

Variety	Work	Income	Studies
Castilian	2,38 / 2,26	2,39 / 2,34	3,67 / 3,56
Canary	2,04 / 2,02	2,10 / 2,00	3,41 / 3,23
Mexican	1,69 / 1,71	1,80 / 1,79	2,82 / 2,67
Caribbean	1,98 / 1,81	2,10 / 1,84	3,36 / 2,93
Andean	1,86 / 1,68	1,95 / 1,67	3,21 / 2,80

Rioplátense	2,04 / 1,86	2,03 / 1,96	3,29 / 2,95
Andalusian	1,82 / 1,71	1,95 / 1,90	2,99 / 2,82

Source: Devised by the author.

For the correct interpretation of Table 9, it should be noted that the average point of Employment and Income is 2 (scale of 1 to 3) and that of Studies is 2.5 (scale of 1 to 4). From the analysis of the values offered in Table 9, we can say that the evaluation trends are similar in the two groups studied. Very high socio-economic parameters are granted to users of the Castilian variety, high to the Canary Islands and low to the rest, that is, to the Americans and to the variety itself. However, there are some differences in the assessment that should be highlighted:

a) Students differ from the social environment in their high regard for the American variety, Rioplátense, certainly because they associate it with the urbanity represented by the city of Buenos Aires.

b) The social sample tends to attribute a worse assessment of all varieties in the three socioeconomic characteristics.

c) The evaluation of the studies is, in general, high, certainly because the speeches are from educated speakers of the respective varieties, so that there isn't any case where it is less than half, which contrasts with the evaluations of income and professional qualification in which there are numerous cases of low values.

It was observed that in all the evaluations there are three varieties that tend to be less valued, the own and two American varieties: the Mexican and the Andean. Historical stigmatization can explain the poor self-evaluation, but the negative evaluation of two varieties, on the other hand, very close to each other, must have other social explanations that, certainly, pass through the direct knowledge of the variety through contact with the immigrant communities of that region. In the case of Granada, the Ecuadorian and Bolivian communities are relatively numerous and, unfortunately, it is possible that xenophobic conditioning acts in the worst assessment trend in Andean Spanish, which speakers do not distinguish well from Spanish in Mexico.

Conclusions

The main objective of this study is the comparison between future Spanish teachers and the society from which they come. We found differences and similarities.

Among similar ones, we must highlight the degree of recognition of the varieties. Students and the general sample have very few differences when it comes to recognizing varieties well or poorly. It is still somewhat surprising, because prospective teachers must have more contact with the Spanish varieties than the social sample. Perhaps a variety teaching plan in which orality has little presence can explain this fact.

The high identification with the Andalusian variety of both groups is also very similar. This may seem obvious, but we cannot fail to highlight it, as there are scholars and politicians who emphasize the differences between the Andalusians. At least in the field of evaluations, future teachers and their social context identify with the statements of the recordings.

The most expected, but not least surprising, similarity is the highest consideration in almost all aspects of the variety of central and northern Spain: the lines that identify with this region are considered much more urban than the others and their Speakers are related to high pay, skilled jobs and high levels of study. Contrary to the high regard for the northern variety, there is a low evaluation of the variety itself. It seems evident that the standard variety status of European Spanish from the northern Spanish variety explains these assessments.

These important similarities between the two groups must not make us forget the differences. The most important is the dissonance in establishing hierarchies between varieties. Future Spanish teachers tend to dampen the hierarchical view of the varieties they bring from their social environment, especially after their academic passage through subjects with specific content.

We believe that this fact is parallel to other related ones, mainly the better affective and cognitive evaluation of American varieties by the group of students. The results of the social sample always follow the path of reducing the consideration of American varieties. Among these reductions in value, the valuation with a tendency to negativity of the Andean varieties and, to a lesser extent, the Mexican stands out. Perhaps we can point out here that xenophobic considerations are reflected in groups of immigrants from some American countries.

In short, future Spanish teachers improve the vision of the Spanish varieties that have been forged in their social environment, but there are aspects in which they are unable to completely break with the inheritance received.

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