

Attitudes Towards the Minority Variety Caló in the South of Spain. A Sociolinguistic Study.

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Abstract

Caló is a variety spoken by the Spanish Calé (i.e. the Roma). It belongs to a group of languages referred to as “Para-Romani”, characterized by Romani vocabulary, but largely non-Romani morphology, phonology and syntax, in the case of Caló deriving from Spanish.

According to previous research carried out – with focus on the vocabulary and the grammar of this variety – Caló is on its way to extinction. However, there is an expressed interest in reintroducing a form called “Romanó-Caló”.

Attitudes play an important role in minority language maintenance as well as in order for a revitalization project to be successful. The aim of this study is to measure the attitudes that both Calé and non-Calé have towards Caló and Caló speakers, a type of study never carried out in the past. The methods applied are both direct and indirect. In total, 231 informants listened to different recordings of voices acting as either a “Spanish speaking person” or a “Caló speaking person”, a technique referred to as ‘matched guise’, answering questions related to the voices on attitude scales. Furthermore, 182 of the informants rated their agreement or disagreement to positive and negative items towards Caló and its speakers on a Likert scale.

The results of the analysis indicate that the attitudes differ towards Caló and Caló speakers, depending on the informant’s (a) ethnicity (b) contact with Caló as well as with Caló speakers, and (c) gender. It is those who – in their own opinion – belong to the ethnic group Calé, as well as those who claim that they have some contact with the variety and its speakers, who show positive attitudes in both parts of the study. The women also show more positive attitudes than the men. It is also possible to note positive attitudes towards the variety and its speakers among the subjects with a high level of knowledge of Caló words, as well as among those with the highest willingness to use Caló.

These observations suggest that a revitalization project of the variety Caló has a clear chance of being successful.

Keywords: Caló, Para-Romani, Romani, attitudes, ethnic identity, minority languages, multilingualism, language death, language revitalization, language acquisition.

1 Introduction

In southern Spain people still speak the Roma variety Caló, but what do people think of it? How is it regarded by its speakers and others, and is there any hope for it? These questions, among others, are the focus of this article.¹

The variety Caló belongs to a group of languages referred to as *Para-Romani*, characterized by Romani vocabulary, but largely non-Romani morphology, phonology and syntax, in the case of Caló deriving from Spanish. Much research has been carried out regarding the vocabulary and the grammar of this variety (Borrow 1851; A.R.S.A 1888; McLane 1977; Leigh 1998; Payán Sotomayor 2001). The conclusions drawn in those studies indicate that Caló is on its way to extinction. However, there is an expressed interest in reintroducing the variety, in a form called “Romanó-Kaló” (Diputación de Málaga, also cf. Leigh 1998, 265; Ramírez-Heredia 1993b, 35). In order for a revitalization project to be successful, the attitudes towards the variety being reintroduced have to be positive (Tsunoda 2000, 60). Furthermore, both the children and the adults must show an interest in the variety and a desirability to learn it (Hudson & McConvell 1984, 34; Wurm 1997, 48). Another important aspect is the close identification to it, as well as feeling proud of it (Rouchdy 1989, 94). One of the objectives of studying endangered linguistic varieties is for the results of such study to be used in a project of revitalization, which serves as a starting point for the present investigation, an investigation that also fills an important gap in research concerning the variety Caló and its speakers.

2 The variety Caló

Caló, also written *Kaló*, is the variety spoken by the Roma in Spain, Portugal and South America. The word “kaló” derives from Romani and means “black”, which is the source of the variety’s name (Bakker 1995, 126). As indicated above, Caló belongs to a group of varieties referred to as *Para-Romani* which have as a common characteristic that much of the thematic vocabulary originates from Romani while the phonology, syntax and morphology are influenced by the dominating language in the region where it is spoken. For example, in McLane’s study, carried out in Andalusia, 68% of the vocabulary used by the speakers of Caló was found to be of Indian origin and only 22% originated from Spanish (1985, 188). The reason why mostly referential expressions were kept from Romani, and structures like inflections and conjugations were lost, was that Romani lost its basilectal functions to that of identity-flagging and secret communication. “Consequently, only those structures that were functional for these purposes were replicated – notably referential expressions. Other structures [...] were abandoned” (Matras 2002, 248). This process of language shift, making the speakers to change from the grammar of Romani to that of Spanish, then gave rise to Caló (Bakker 1999, 203). When this language shift took place, and if that was what happened, nobody knows for sure. However, in the 17-th century the Spanish author Delrío wrote in his book that the language of

¹ This article is based on the results presented in *Actitudes hacia la variedad caló y sus hablantes. Un estudio sociolingüístico de las opiniones de adolescentes andaluces*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis. Forthcoming 2015. An English text presenting the methodology used in the same investigation is to be found in the article “Methods to Predict the Future of Linguistic Minority Varieties”.

the Gypsies “was a vernacular invented by them to replace their native tongue, which they had forgotten” (Bakker 1995, 141 apud Pabanó 1915, 179 our translation). Bakker also writes that the earliest sources of Caló - one word list published by Hill in 1921, but likely to date from the 17th century, and Bright’s publication from 1818- suggest that already in the 18th century Iberian Romani was a Para-Romani language, and he continues: “and, if Delrío can be trusted, already around 1600” (1995, 144).

More recent research all point to the fact that the variety Caló is on its way to complete extinction. McLane wrote in 1977 about the need to gather information about varieties on their terminal stages, and that the objective of her study was to “provide additional data on the process by examining the remnants of a language [i.e. Caló] which appears to be in its final step toward extinction, having been reduced to a vocabulary of two hundred items” (303). Some twenty years later, Leigh interviewed Roma in the city of Seville and came to the conclusion that the Caló vocabulary is decreasing from generation to generation (1998, 265). The informants in the latter study only recognized 55 nouns, 19 verbs and some conjunctions, pronouns and adverbs of Caló. However, in 2005 Adiego published interesting results from his fieldwork carried out in three parts of Spain (Cataluña, Aragón and Castilla). He found “pure Romani words never attested before or only documented in unreliable sources, typical Caló items of unknown etymology, and so on”. He continues with “more fieldwork should be carried out to record this wealth of material” (2005).

3 Revitalization projects

There exist various revitalization programs, spanning from full blast immersion programs of languages that are “weakening” (Tsunoda 2005, 2002), to just making people aware of a variety that is either no longer spoken fluently by anyone in a community or that is completely extinct. One method used for the latter example is called the “place name method” where the revival involves replacement of place names in the majority language with their traditional equivalents (Tsunoda 2005, 210). According to this view, if place names are kept in a variety, it is still alive.

As explained above, the revitalization project of Caló involves “a new form” of it (Leigh 1998, 265), which, according to Ramírez-Heredia, is expected to be the normalized language of the Spanish Roma, adapting the grammatical rules of Romani but respecting the uniqueness of Caló that has been preserved to this day (1993b, 39. Our translation). Between 1993 and 1995 Ramírez-Heredia published seven parts of a “Roma Grammar” in the magazine *ITchatchipen*, he also wrote the language manual *Primer Manual de Conversación en Romanó-kalo* (2001), published by La Unión Romaní. For any revitalization program to be successful, it is important that the activists are integrated and assimilated into not only the majority society but that they also have maintained some cultural and linguistic traits from the minority variety being introduced. If this is not the case, they cannot act as cultural agents between the minority and the majority groups (Huss 1999, 27). Edwards points out that the lack of contact with the minority groups has been the reason why many revitalization projects have failed in the past (1985, 27). In the case of Caló, the minds behind the revitalization project of the variety Romanó-Caló are, and mentioned above, Ramírez-Heredia, a former member of the European

Parliament and or Romani ethnic origin, as well as “La Unión Romaní” which is part of the International Romani Union, acknowledged by the United Nation.

In order to obtain a positive bilingual identity, which would be one of the objectives reintroducing a minority variety in society, the individual has to have a positive linguistic identity of him- or herself, in regards with both languages (Bijvoet 1998, 38). Trudgil explains the following:

Language, as we have seen, is not simply a means of communicating messages. It is also very important as a symbol of identity and group membership. To suggest to children that their language, and that of those with whom they identify, is inferior in some way is to imply that *they* are inferior. This, in turn, is likely to lead either to alienation from the school and school values, or to a rejection of the group to which they belong. [...] it may appear to imply that particular social groups are less valuable than others. (Trudgil 1995, 184-185)

In other words, the language plays an important role in the creation of an ethnic identity and group belonging. The Calé belong to a minority, and we fully agree with what Eriksen says, that these linguistic revitalization movements can be “the beginning of a new and positive minority identity” and mark the end of stigmatization and discrimination (Eriksen 1991).

4 Hypothesis and objectives of this study

One of the questions to be answered in this investigation is finding out who shows positive attitudes towards the variety Caló and its speakers. One way to explore who identify themselves with the variety is finding out which informants show solidarity with it and its speakers, reason why this is the most important objective in this study. It is the members who identify themselves with the minority group that are motivated to learn and use the variety spoken by it (Giles & Coupland 1991, 152-54).

Despite the fact that Borrow already in 1851 stated that Caló was in its last phase of existence, our hypothesis is that it does continue to be used (cf. Adiego 2005). Our second hypothesis is that the most positive attitudes towards the variety and its speakers will be found in the group claiming that they belong to the minority group Calé, as well as those who claim that they have a relation to Caló, and furthermore, that precisely these informants show the strongest level of solidarity with the Caló-speaking figures in the match-guise test.

Already in 1997, the Romano Institute of Social and Cultural Services organized a meeting with the objective to recuperate the variety Romanó-Kaló and bring it to schools. According to our opinion, the language manual published by La Unión Romaní turns to the younger generations (judging by its content and drawings). In other words, the recuperation project focuses on adolescents, reason why they are the focus in this study. The principal objectives of this study, and that are being focus on in this paper, are to find out:

- How the attitudes differ between the cities in which the study took place
- How the attitudes differ regarding the ethnic group the informant belongs to

- How the attitudes differ regarding the relation the informant has with the variety and its speakers
- How the attitudes differ regarding the two dimensions status and solidarity

5 Methodology

Only a brief explanation of the methods used will be presented in this paper. Both direct and indirect methods were used to measure the attitudes of both Calé and non-Calé towards the variety Calé and its speakers. In the first part of the questionnaire, in which an indirect method was used, 231 informants listened to eight recordings of voices acting as either a *Spanish speaking person/figure* or a *Calé speaking person/figure*, a technique referred to as *matched guise*. The voices used were four (each one acting as both figures); one male and one female Calé as well as one male and one female payo (non-Calé), the latter two having the function of control voices. Firstly, the informants were asked to write down their three first impressions of the speaker. This exercise was followed by nine short questions related to the recorded voices, to which the subjects expressed their answers on attitude scales. Five of these questions were related to the solidarity dimension, four to the status dimension.² As far as the alternatives on the Likert attitude scale go, five pre-coded answers were used (one of which being neutral, placed to the very right). The informants were also asked to match each voice with one of twelve “passport pictures” of people from different ethnic groups, printed on a separate sheet. The same photos were used for all eight voices. The objective with this test is to see if the informants differ between the two figures spoken by the same voice.³ After having finished with the matched guise test and the tasks related to it, the informants answered questions regarding the variety or varieties of language(s) spoken at home (and by whom), as well as if he or she had any knowledge or contact with any language or variety, apart from Spanish. The “variety Calé” and “Calé-speaker(s)” were not mentioned in any of these parts of the questionnaire. 182 informants continued with the part that followed, which consisted of direct methods (in this part, the control group did not participate). 30 items were presented to the informants, of which 20 were positive and negative statements towards Calé and Calé-speakers. As with the voices, a five-choice pre-coded Likert attitude scale was used to capture the attitudes.

In order to be able to divide the informants into different subgroups depending on their level of acceptability to name specific object in Calé, 15 drawings of different objects were presented to the informants together with the question “Is it acceptable to call this object

² According to Ryan, Giles & Sebastian, the solidarity and status dimensions are two forces responsible for the vitality of a variety: “These evaluative dimensions relate to the sociostructural determinants in that the distinction of standard/nonstandard primarily reflects the relative social status or power of the groups of speakers and the factors contributing to the solidarity value of a variety are precisely those forces responsible for its vitality. [...] [T]he variant reserved by a speech community for informal uses [in a diglossia situation] within ingroup interactions enjoys less social prestige than the variant appropriate for formal and outgroup occasions. [...] Associated with ascriptions of high social class are additional status attributions for ‘high’ variety speakers of associated competence characteristics such as intelligence, expertise, ambition and confidence. [The solidarity dimension] [...] reflects the social pressures which operate to maintain language varieties, even in the absence of social prestige. The language [...] of one’s family life, intimate friendships and informal interactions [...] comes to represent the social group with which one identifies” (Ryan et al. 1982:8-9).

³ The results connected to this exercise are not presented in this article.

[Caló-word]?” The same pre-coded Likert attitude scale was used as for the previous parts. In addition, the informants were tested on their knowledge of some Caló-words, as well as being asked whether it being “useful” to know how to speak Caló. Various statistical methods were used in the majority of the different parts in order to establish whether the results were statistically significant.

6 The schools visited, the informants and the variables

Since the objective of the study is to find out what attitudes both Calé and non-Calé adolescents have towards a specific variety, the purposive sampling technique was used when choosing the informants. In order to be able to include a large number of adolescents, and to be able to measure their attitudes in a controlled environment, it was necessary to find schools that would participate, schools in which Calé were registered. Several schools in Seville and Jerez de la Frontera were contacted and we were invited to three High Schools in Jerez de la Frontera, two in Seville. Two of the schools in Jerez de la Frontera were situated in working class areas populated by different ethnic groups, both schools in Sevilla were situated in an area referred to as “las Tres Mil Viviendas” (“the Three Thousand Dwellings”) in which a large group of Calé reside. A total of 108 informants participated in Jerez de la Frontera, 74 in Seville, adding up to a total of 182 in both cities. The vast majority of the informants were students in the third and fourth year of Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO), meaning that they were between 14 and 15 years of age. Some students from the second year also participated. As a control group, 49 students of the same age groups as those presented above were chosen from a school in Fuengirola, situated on The Costa del Sol. According to the teachers, none of the registered students were of Calé origin, nor did any of them mention in the questionnaire having contact with Caló or Caló-speakers.

In total, 231 informants listened to the recorded voices and answered the questionnaire. The control group was not divided into different variables, however, the 182 informants from Jerez de la Frontera and Seville were divided into seven variables, three of which were based on the answers given by the informants in direct questions, being: gender, city and ethnicity. The two subgroups within city are “Seville” and “Jerez de la Frontera”, the two within ethnicity “Calé” and “other”. A fourth variable was based on the informants’ knowledge of some Caló-word that they were tested on. The majority, forming the first subgroup, had a poor knowledge of the words, receiving only a maximum of three correct translations into Spanish (or vice versa). Only 43 informants were able to translate four or more words correctly, thus forming the second subgroup within this variable. In the latter part of the questionnaire, the informants gave their opinion whether it being acceptable to use Caló words for 15 different objects (described above). This variable consists of two subgroups, those who accepted up to six of the objects and those who accepted seven or more of the objects being named with Caló words. As many as 151 informants only accepted a maximum of six objects being referred to with Caló-words, thus forming the first subgroup. What’s especially interesting to note is that the 26 informants who make up the other subgroup accepted that all, or nearly all, the objects were referred to with Caló-words. Depending on how the informants answered the open questions regarding their contact with and/or knowledge of other varieties

or languages apart from Spanish, in combination with how they answered one of the items which stated “I like to, or would like to, speak Caló”, they were put into three different subgroups within the variable “relation to Caló”; ‘with relation to Caló’, ‘wanting to learn Caló’, and ‘no relation to Caló nor wanting to learn it’. Finally, the last variable in the study is based on the answer given to the question “Do you think it is (or would be) useful to speak Caló?” into which the informants have been divided in three subgroups; ‘yes’, ‘no’ and ‘uncertain’. In table 1 that follows, the above mentioned variables are presented:

Table 1. The variables, its subgroups and the number of informants within them.

Variable	Subgroup	Number of informantes	Percentage of subgroup	TOTAL
Relation to Caló	No relation nor wanting to learn it	68	37,4%	182
	Wanting to learn it	69	37,9%	
	With relation	45	24,7%	
Ethnicity	Other	151	84,4%	179
	Calé	28	15,6%	
Gender	Men	88	48,4%	182
	Women	94	51,6%	
City	Jerez	108	59,3%	182
	Sevilla	74	40,7%	
Usefulness to speak Caló	Uncertain	32	18,2%	176
	No	79	44,9%	
	Yes	65	36,9%	
Knowledge of Caló	Up to 3 words correct, ≤ 3 words	132	75,4%	175
	4 words or more correct, ≥ 4 words	43	24,6%	
Acceptability to call x Caló	Accepting up to 6 objects, ≤ 6 objects	151	85,3%	177
	Accepting 7 or more objects, ≥ 7 objects	26	14,7%	

In some few cases the total of informants does not add up to 182, which is due to the fact that the proper information was not given in the questionnaire.

7 Results

7.1 *The indirect method*

We will start with the results related to the indirect method used, the matched guise test, i.e. when the informants listened to eight recorded voices to which they had to answer several questions. In this paper the focus will firstly be on the results related to the Caló-speaking and the Spanish-speaking figures performed by the male and female Calé, thus only mentioning the results related to the control voices when necessary. What interests us is whether the informants perceive the two figures spoken by the same voice as different. Secondly, the focus will be on the results related to the solidarity and status dimensions examined in this part of the test.

The first exercise the informants were asked to do was to write down the first three impressions they had when listening to each voice, being either “a Spanish speaking voice” or “a Caló speaking voice”. A total of 3.251 readable impressions to all eight voices have been divided into 18 categories (including its subcategories), which was decided on after several attempts to reach a manageable number of categories, as well as being categories of importance to the study. Impressions of no importance have been classified in the category ‘other’ (meaning ‘other impressions of no interest for the study’), which include for example comments about the gender or the age of the voice, as well as “he/she speaks a lot/slowly/fast” etcetera. 21 percent of these 3.251 impressions were put into this category ‘other’. However, the two categories with the largest amount of impressions are ‘solidarity/personality’ and ‘status’. 41 percent of the impressions have been categorized in the first of these, 19 percent in the latter. The majority of the categories have two subcategories, one with positive the other with negative impressions. For example, impressions like “friendly” and “bitter” both belong the category ‘solidarity/personality’, the first one being positive, the second negative. In the section that follows, the results in relation to the above mentioned categories, solidarity/personality and status – with their respective subcategories positive and negative – will be presented for the two figures performed by the Calé-speakers (the categories abbreviated SOL+, SOL- as well as STA+, STA- from here on). The numbers in each cell represent the percentage of the total of the impressions written in relation to that specific figure by the informants within that subgroup. In the column “DIF” the difference in percentage units between the results for the two figures is presented, and again, within the same subgroup of informants. We start with the category ‘solidarity/personality’ and the female Calé voice. Each variable has been numbered and each subgroup within that variable has been given a letter.

Table 2. The female Calé voice (the andaluza) and the results in relation to ‘solidarity/personality

Variable	Subgroup		Solidarity+			Solidarity-		
			Spanish figure	Caló figure	DIF.	Spanish figure	Caló figure	DIF.
1			SPA-FIG	CALÓ-FIG		SPA-FIG	CALÓ-FIG	
Relation to Caló	A	None	37,4	31,7	5,7	9,1	8,7	0,4
	B	Learn yes	50,8	50,3	0,5	12,7	9,6	3,1
	C	With relation	36,7	43,4	6,7	11,1	4,0	7,1
2								
Ethnicity	A	Other	44,6	42,4	2,2	12,4	7,9	4,5
	B	Calé	34,9	46,8	11,9	4,6	4,2	0,4
3								
Gender	A	Men	36,3	32,2	4,1	11,6	11,1	0,5
	B	Women	47,8	51,6	3,8	10,6	4,7	5,9
4								
City	A	Jerez	53,1	48,1	5,0	12,8	8,5	4,3
	B	Sevilla	23,4	31,8	8,4	8,1	6,7	1,4
5								
Usefulness to speak Caló	A	Uncertain	47,7	40,0	7,7	13,6	8,3	5,3
	B	No	40,7	38,9	1,8	11,4	7,0	4,4
	C	Yes	44,4	48,6	4,2	10,2	7,5	2,7
6								
Knowledge of Caló	A	≤3 words	39,7	37,9	1,8	14,2	9,1	5,1
	B	≥4 words	52,4	56,5	4,1	3,6	3,0	0,6
7								
Acceptability to call x Caló	A	≤6 objects	38,4	37,7	0,7	12,2	9,4	2,8
	B	≥7 objects	61,5	66,6	5,1	5,8	-	5,8
8								
Fuengirola		All	43,0	28,4	14,6	6,1	4,9	1,2

Four different combinations exist: (1) a majority of impressions SOL+ for the Spanish-speaking figure (‘Spa-fig’), with a majority of impressions SOL- for the same figure. This combination is contradictory and will not be taken into consideration. (2) a majority of SOL+ impressions for the Spa-fig with a majority of SOL- impressions for the Caló-speaking figure (‘Caló-fig’). In this case we can claim that there is a preference for the Spa-fig. (3) a majority of both SOL+ and SOL- for the Caló-fig, again a contradictory combination which will not be taken into account. Lastly, (4) a majority of SOL+ impressions for the Caló-fig in combination with a majority of SOL- for the Spa-fig. With this combination we can claim that there exists a preference for the Caló-fig. When this last combination of impressions occur, the cells in the table are marked in grey for those specific figures. Looking at the results in the table, we notice that combination number 4 occurs in several subgroups within their respective variable, namely 1C, 2B, 3A, 4B, 5C, 6B and 7B. In other words, it is the Caló-speaking figure that is preferred within this category by the informants who claim that they have a relation to Caló; by those who claim that they belong to the ethnicity Calé; by the women; by the informants from Seville; by those who claim that it’s useful to speak Caló; by those with the best knowledge of the Caló-words tested; and finally by those who accept to name seven or more objects in Caló. Some interesting differences of percentage points (DIF) between the two figures can be found, the first within the subgroup ‘ethnicity Calé’ (2B) in which we find an increase of as many as 11,9 percentage points of SOL+ impressions and in favor of the Caló-figure. Within the control

group ‘Fuengirola’ (8) the difference of SOL+ impressions between the figures is 14,6 percentage points, but in this case in favor of the Spanish-speaking figure. In table 3 that follows, the results from the male Calé voice will be presented, related to the category ‘solidarity/personality’. When a preference for a specific figure is found, the cells are marked in grey.

Table 3. The male Calé voice (the andaluza) and the results in relation to ‘solidarity/personality’

Variable	Subgroup		Solidarity+		DIF.	Solidarity-		DIF.
			Spanish figure	Caló figure		Spanish figure	Caló figure	
1			SPA-FIG	CALÓ-FIG		SPA-FIG	CALÓ-FIG	
Relation to Caló	A	None	31,6	25,0	6,6	7,4	7,3	0,1
	B	Learn yes	44,7	47,2	0,5	10,5	10,5	-
	C	With relation	21,0	24,7	3,7	14,5	3,5	11,0
2								
Ethnicity	A	Other	36,1	34,2	1,9	9,2	6,7	2,5
	B	Calé	22,0	32,5	10,5	17,1	7,5	9,6
3								
Gender	A	Men	28,2	21,5	6,7	9,8	8,1	1,7
	B	Women	40,1	43,4	3,3	11,2	6,6	4,6
4								
City	A	Jerez	41,0	39,3	1,7	12,0	6,0	6,0
	B	Sevilla	23,4	22,1	1,3	8,1	9,6	1,5
5								
Usefulness to speak Caló	A	Uncertain	33,3	33,3	-	7,1	7,1	-
	B	No	36,0	31,2	4,8	12,0	8,8	3,2
	C	Yes	32,5	37,2	4,7	9,8	4,4	5,4
6								
Knowledge of Caló	A	≤3 words	30,1	31,9	1,8	10,4	6,9	3,5
	B	≥4 words	43,0	39,5	3,5	10,1	6,6	3,5
7								
Acceptability to call x Caló	A	≤6 objects	32,8	30,7	2,1	10,8	8,0	2,8
	B	≥7 objects	41,5	45,8	4,3	9,4	4,2	5,2
8								
Fuengirola	All		31,7	24,8	6,9	2,0	2,8	0,8

As with the results to the female voice presented in table 2 above, four different combinations exist. We find a preference for the Spa-fig in two of the subgroups, those from Sevilla (4B) and in the control group, ‘Fuengirola’(8). It is interesting to note that the informants in the control group show such preference for the figure that speaks Spanish without Caló-words, even though the difference between the amount of SOL- impressions between the figures is not very big (only 0,8 percentage points). It was also within this control group that we found the biggest difference of SOL+ impressions between the figures spoken by the female Caló-voice, and in favor of the Spa-fig. Continuing, we notice a strong preference for the Caló-fig within the following subgroups; (1C) those with a relation to Caló, (2B) those who belong the ethnicity Calé, (3C) the women, (5C) those who claim that it’s useful to speak Caló, (6A) those who have a knowledge of up to three Caló-words, (7A), the informants who have the highest acceptability to name objects with Caló-words.

To sum up these results, we notice that the most frequent combination of the first impressions given by the informants, and within the category ‘solidarity/personality’, is a majority of SOL+ impressions for the Caló-fig and a majority of SOL- impressions for the Spa-fig, meaning that there is a strong preference for the voices’ Caló-figures. In the majority of the cases, these results are to be found within the same subgroups of informants for both voices, namely those who have a relation to Caló as well as those who, according to themselves, belong to the ethnicity Calé. Furthermore, the women and the informants that claim it being useful to speak Caló as well as those who accept seven or more object to be named with Caló-words show this strong preference for these Andalusian voices speaking with Caló-words. It is noticeable that having a relation to Caló and/or belong to the ethnic group that speaks the variety are important factors to feel solidarity with the same. Also, the fact to accept Caló-words – more than others– to name different objects as well as believing it useful to speak Caló are two important factors when assigning positive impressions that fall within this category whilst listening to the Caló-figures. In table 4, the results from the category ‘status’ will be presented, starting with the female Calé-voice.

Table 4. The female Calé voice (the andaluza) and the results in relation to ‘status’

Variable	Subgroup		Status+			Status -		
			Spanish figure	Caló figure	DIF.	Spanish figure	Caló figure	DIF.
1			SPA-FIG	CALÓ-FIG		SPA-FIG	CALÓ-FIG	
Relation to Caló	A	None	5,0	1,6	3,4	13,1	16,7	3,6
	B	Learn yes	4,2	-	4,2	7,6	10,3	2,7
	C	With relation	4,4	2,0	2,4	8,9	14,1	5,2
2								
Ethnicity	A	Other	4,6	0,6	4,0	9,7	13,6	3,9
	B	Calé	4,6	4,2	0,4	9,3	14,9	5,6
3								
Gender	A	Men	6,2	1,1	5,1	11,0	15,6	4,6
	B	Women	3,1	1,0	2,1	8,7	11,6	2,9
4								
City	A	Jerez	3,1	0,4	2,7	5,1	6,8	1,7
	B	Sevilla	7,2	2,2	5,0	18,0	25,2	7,2
5								
Usefulness to speak Caló	A	Uncertain	2,3	-	2,3	9,1	15,0	5,9
	B	No	5,7	1,3	4,4	10,7	14,0	3,3
	C	Yes	4,3	1,4	2,9	8,5	13,0	4,5
6								
Knowledge of Caló	A	≤3 words	4,2	1,1	3,1	9,6	14,0	4,4
	B	≥4 words	6,1	1,0	5,1	9,8	13,1	3,3
7								
Acceptability to call x Caló	A	≤6 objects	4,7	1,0	3,7	10,2	14,9	4,7
	B	≥7 objects	3,8	1,6	2,2	7,7	6,4	1,3
8								
Fuengirola		All	0,9	2,4	1,5	21,0	31,7	10,7

As with the tables 2 and 3 above, four different combinations exist, and when a preference is found for a specific figure in relation to the impressions within the category ‘status’ those cells are marked in grey. The combination a majority of STA+ comments for the Spa-fig and a majority of STA- for the Caló-fig is found in all but two subgroups (7B and 8). It is quite clear

that the informants show a preference for the variety that is not the minority one in the study, interpreted by the Spa-fig, when writing comments that fall within the status category. In a society where more than one variety/language exist, the one that receives less prestige is the minority one. We continue with the male Calé-voice and the impressions within the status category.

Table 5. The male Calé voice (the andaluz) and the results in relation to 'status'

Variable	Subgroup		Status+			Status -		
			Spanish figure	Caló figure	DIF.	Spanish figure	Caló figure	DIF.
1			SPA-FIG	CALÓ-FIG		SPA-FIG	CALÓ-FIG	
Relation to Caló	A	None	4,2	6,2	2,0	5,3	14,6	9,3
	B	Learn yes	6,5	2,8	3,7	4,7	4,9	0,2
	C	With relation	10,5	4,7	5,8	13,2	8,2	5,0
2								
Ethnicity	A	Other	6,8	4,6	2,2	6,4	10,4	4,0
	B	Calé	7,3	5,0	2,3	12,2	2,5	9,7
3								
Gender	A	Men	6,3	3,0	3,3	5,6	14,8	9,2
	B	Women	7,2	5,9	1,3	8,6	3,9	4,7
4								
City	A	Jerez	8,7	4,4	4,3	4,4	5,5	1,1
	B	Sevilla	3,6	4,8	1,2	11,7	15,4	3,7
5								
Usefulness to speak Caló	A	Uncertain	2,4	7,1	4,7	12,0	4,8	7,2
	B	No	7,2	4,0	3,2	4,8	10,4	5,6
	C	Yes	8,1	4,4	3,7	8,1	9,7	1,6
6								
Knowledge of Caló	A	≤3 words	4,7	5,4	0,7	8,5	10,8	2,3
	B	≥4 words	12,6	2,6	10,0	3,8	5,3	1,5
7								
Acceptability to call x Caló	A	≤6 objects	4,7	4,6	0,1	7,5	9,7	2,2
	B	≥7 objects	17,0	4,2	12,8	5,7	6,2	0,5
8								
Fuengirola		All	6,9	4,8	2,1	15,8	16,2	0,4

As we can see in table 5, in the majority of the subgroups there is a preference for the Spa-fig, i.e. a combination of a majority of STA+ impressions for the Spa-fig together with a majority of STA- impressions for the Calé-fig. However, this preference for the Spa-fig when the male Calé-voice speaks is not as strong as when the female Calé-voice speaks (the latter findings presented in table 4). In this paper, we have focused on only two of the total of 18 categories in which the first three impressions towards the voices have been divided. However, status and solidarity are two socio-psychological powers that function in all social relations and in the formation of groups (Bijvoet 1998, 34).

Before continuing with the results from the next part of the questionnaire, we would like to combine the results for the two Calé-voices in relation to the status/personality index. In the majority of the cases we find the same subgroups of informants that express a higher grade of solidarity with the two (i.e. both) voices' Calé-figures in comparison with their Spanish-speaking figures, these informants are those with a relation to Caló; those who belong to the ethnicity Calé; the women; those who in a positive way evaluate the usefulness of

speaking Caló and those who show the highest level of acceptancy to name objects in Caló-words. We can also come to the conclusion that those who show solidarity with the variety Caló also do so with its speakers (Giles, Hewstone, Ryan & Johnson 1987, 585-590). The subgroup that differs the most between the two figures regarding the solidarity index are those who belong to the ethnicity Calé (subgroup 2B in the tables), favoring the speakers' Calé-figures, results that are of special interest. To show solidarity with a variety does not mean that one shows the same preference for it within the status index. As mentioned above, it is the majority language or variety of a region or country that one connect with status. It is true that the Calé-voices used in this matched guise test speak the Andalusian variety of Castilian, a variety probably considered by many as dialectal. However, it is likely that the informants perceive this variety as close to the standard Castilian variety due to the fact that the other variety spoken by the voices, i.e. by the Calé-figures, is a minority variety and a stigmatized such. As just discussed, this preference towards the Spanish-speaking figure when the female Andalusian voice performs, within the status index, is to be found in all the subgroups (except in the control group). The same results are to be found in connection with the male Calé-voice, however, not as noticeable within all the subgroups of informants. Another interesting finding, and within the status index, is that the male Cale-voice has received a higher amount of STA+ impressions for both figures, compared to those of the female Calé-voice, results to be found within all but two subgroups. The difference is quite big within some subgroups, e.g. those with a relation to Caló (1C) have written STA+ impressions for the male Spa-fig that adds up to a total of 10,5%, the same impressions add up to a total of 4,4% for the female voice. The results within the subgroup of informants that accept the highest amount of objects to be named Caló-words (7B) is 17% of STA+ for the male Spa-fig, only 3,8% for the female figure. These results point to the fact that a man who speaks the Andalusian variety of Castilian is evaluated higher within the status index than when a woman speaks the same variety. However, it is important to point out that these results are based on an open question in the questionnaire, and that the categorization of the impressions have been performed by us, hence, no statistical program has been used when drawing the conclusions reason why none of the above are statistically significant. Nevertheless, according to Garret, Coupland & Williams (2003, 196), these key words can give us more detailed information and also with more depth about the informants attitudes than can mere attitude scales, reason why we have included them in the study.

In the section that follows, the results from the nine questions asked when the informants were listening to the voices will be presented. A short explanation will be given on how to read the tables. The results for the solidarity index and the status index are presented separately. Within each index, the mean, which falls between 1-4, is given in relation to each figure. This mean is based on the results from the attitude scale where a result below 2,5 signify that the informants show a positive attitude towards the figure, while a result above 2,5 signify that the attitudes are negative. Right below that result, we include the standard deviation (SD). However, since we focus on statistically significant results in this section, the digits presented in the columns 'significant difference' are of most interest.⁴ This digit, or digits, refer to the number(s) of the

⁴ The significance level used is $p < 0.05$. 71% of the results in this section reach this level. We also present results that have a tendency, i.e. $0,05 < p < 0,1$. 30% of the results reach this level. Tendency levels are marked with a small circle above the results, e.g. "2^o"

question(s) towards which the attitudes differ between the two figures, and where these differences are statistically significant, i.e. when there is a strong preference for a specific figure related to that/those question(s). Five of the nine questions are related to the solidarity dimension, four to the status.⁵ When the preference is to be found for a specific figure, and in all the questions within either the solidarity or the status index, the box will be marked ‘ALL’. We will start with the female Calé-voice and the results in the different variables and subgroups. Within the variable ‘City’, three subgroups exist; Seville, Jerez de la Frontera and Fuengirola. The latter one is the control group whose results are only presented within this variable. The informants from Seville and Jerez de la Frontera are divided into the other variables (not taking the city into consideration).

Table 6. The female Calé-voice and the results in relation to the nine questions

	SOLIDARITY INDEX				STATUS INDEX			
			Significant difference				Significant difference	
	Spanish figure	Caló figure	Preference Spanish	Preference Caló	Spanish figure	Caló figure	Preference Spanish	Preference Caló
Relation to Caló								
None (DE)	2,25 ,62	2,27 ,71	1	4	2,62 ,68	2,78 ,70	ALL°	
Learn yes (DE)	2,18 ,73	2,04 ,66		4; 5	2,48 ,62	2,72 ,68	ALL	
Relation (DE)	2,10 ,69	1,89 ,65		ALL°	2,44 ,57	2,58 ,63	1	
Ethnicity								
Other (DE)	2,19 ,68	2,11 ,69		4	2,54 ,68	2,72 ,70	ALL	
Calé (DE)	2,13 ,69	1,91 ,61		4; 5	2,44 ,42	2,60 ,58	1; 2°	
Gender								
Men (DE)	2,24 ,64	2,22 ,72		4	2,59 ,59	2,81 ,67	ALL	
Women (DE)	2,13 ,72	1,96 ,68		ALL	2,46 ,67	2,61 ,68	ALL	
City								
Jerez (DE)	2,07 ,63	1,99 ,63		4	2,51 ,65	2,69 ,68	ALL	
Seville (DE)	2,34 ,72	2,23 ,74		4; 5	2,55 ,62	2,74 ,68	ALL	
Fuengirola (DE)	2,28 ,79	2,41 ,88	1; 2		2,84 ,48	3,1 ,5	ALL	

⁵ The five questions related to the solidarity index are; (1) Do you like the person that speaks?; (2) Would you trust this person?; (3) Would you like to have the person as your neighbor?; (4) Is the person funny?; (5) Would you like to have the person as your friend? The four questions related to the status index are (1) Does (or did) the person that speaks have good grades in school?; (2) Is the person god looking?; (3) Is the person intelligent?; (4) Is the person responsible?

	SOLIDARITY INDEX				STATUS INDEX			
	Spanish figure	Caló figure	Significant difference		Spanish figure	Caló figure	Significant difference	
			Preference Spanish	Preference Caló			Preference Spanish	Preference Caló
Usefulness to speak Caló								
Uncertain (DE)	2,15 ,62	2,26 ,62	1; 3°		2,48 ,66	2,52 ,64	1°	
No (DE)	2,23 ,66	2,18 ,67		4	2,56 ,60	2,80 ,65	ALL	
Yes (DE)	2,13 ,72	1,87 ,69		ALL	2,52 ,67	2,66 ,73	3	
Knowledge of Caló								
≤3 words (DE)	2,23 ,72	2,18 ,68		4	2,53 ,69	2,70 ,69	ALL	
≥4 words (DE)	2,05 ,52	1,79 ,60		ALL	2,52 ,46	2,70 ,66	ALL°	
Acceptability to call X Caló								
≤6 objects (DE)	2,26 ,68	2,19 ,68		4	2,59 ,63	2,76 ,68	ALL	
≥7 objects (DE)	1,78 ,54	1,52 ,39		ALL	2,22 ,57	2,38 ,65		

Within the solidarity index we find that there is a preference for the Calé-fig, a preference that is found in all the questions ('ALL'), within five subgroups. I.e., the informants have shown such a strong preference for the Calé-fig that the results are statistically significant within the whole index, found in the following subgroups; the women; those who have a relation to Caló; the informants with the highest level of knowledge of Caló-words; those who consider it being useful to speak Caló; and the informants with the highest acceptability to name objects with Caló-words. Some subgroups have shown a preference for the same figure, results that come out statistically significant in one or two of the questions. Ten subgroups find the Calé-fig being "funny", in three subgroups the informants would like the figure to be their "friend"; those from Sevilla; those who belong to the ethnicity Calé; and those who would like to learn Caló. It is of importance to stress that when working with statistical methods, the smaller the groups of informants, the smaller the chances are for the results to reach levels of statistical significance. Therefore it is interesting to notice that the subgroup 'ethnicity Calé', with only 28 informants, show such preference for the Calé-fig and wanting her to be their "friend". Only on five occasions, the informants show a preference for the Spa-fig within the solidarity index, and only on one or two of the questions; those with no relation to Caló, those from the control group Fuengirola and those who feel insecure whether it is useful to speak Caló, results that may not be surprising. Concentrating on the status index, we find a strong preference for the Spa-fig that is shown in all the questions in the index on no less than twelve occasions. In some cases, the preference is to be found in one or two questions only, but the preference is still for the Spa-fig. In table 7 we will look at the results related to the male Calé-voice.

Table 7. The male Calé-voice and the results in relation to the nine questions

	SOLIDARITY INDEX				STATUS INDEX			
			Significant difference				Significant difference	
	Spanish figure	Caló figure	Preference Spanish	Preference Caló	Spanish figure	Caló figure	Preference Spanish	Preference Caló
Relation to Caló								
None (DE)	2,68 ,66	2,62 ,75			2,68 ,66	2,77 ,70	ALL°	
Learn yes (DE)	2,38 ,71	2,28 ,64			2,47 ,73	2,57 ,56	1; 3	
Relation (DE)	2,49 ,74	2,28 ,75		ALL°	2,62 ,60	2,53 ,64		2
Ethnicity								
Other (DE)	2,51 ,70	2,43 ,72			2,57 ,70	2,64 ,65	ALL°	
Calé (DE)	2,64 ,75	2,54 ,75		2°	2,67 ,51	2,57 ,61		2
Gender								
Men (DE)	2,57 ,70	2,58 ,73			2,63 ,63	2,80 ,60	ALL	
Women (DE)	2,48 ,72	2,32 ,69		4	2,54 ,71	2,47 ,63	1	2°
City								
Jerez (DE)	2,33 ,62	2,26 ,63		5°	2,45 ,64	2,54 ,59	1; 3 4°	
Seville (DE)	2,81 ,73	2,72 ,75			2,77 ,69	2,77 ,68		
Fuengirola (DE)	2,55 ,7	2,59 ,69			2,79 ,54	2,9 ,6	3°	
Usefulness to speak Caló								
Uncertain (DE)	2,63 ,67	2,64 ,65			2,57 ,72	2,65 ,62		
No (DE)	2,52 ,68	2,59 ,72			2,64 ,62	2,76 ,67	1; 3	
Yes (DE)	2,48 ,77	2,26 ,73		ALL°	2,52 ,74	2,48 ,58		
Knowledge of Caló								
≤3 words (DE)	2,58 ,74	2,52 ,74			2,65 ,72	2,67 ,67	1	
≥4 words (DE)	2,39 ,59	2,21 ,61		ALL°	2,39 ,52	2,54 ,53	ALL°	
Acceptability to call X Caló								
≤6 objects (DE)	2,56 ,69	2,52 ,72			2,63 ,68	2,68 ,64	1; 3°; 4°	
≥7 objects (DE)	2,28 ,76	2,04 ,60		1; 4°; 5°	2,27 ,62	2,44 ,59	ALL	

The attitudes related to the male Calé-voice are not as strong as to the female voice. The Calé-fig is the preferred one on the solidarity index by the informants who have a relation to Caló; those with the highest knowledge of Caló; those who find it useful to speak Caló; and by those who show the highest acceptability to name objects with Caló-words. The first three subgroups show a preference that is noticeable on the whole index, the last have shown a preference on three of the five questions. The women would like to have the Calé-fig as a “friend”, and those who belong to the ethnicity Calé claim that they “trust” the same figure. Continuing with the

status index, we notice that the Spa-fig is the preferred one, and on the whole index, within five subgroups. A less strong preference, i.e. on between one to three questions, is to be found within seven subgroups. What's interesting to notice is that the Calé-fig is considered "good looking" by the women, by the ethnicity Calé and by those with a relation to Caló. Three of the subgroups show no specific preference for any of the figures within this index.

To sum up the results for both the female and the male Calé-voices within the solidarity index, we observe that the preferred figures are the Calé-ones. The preference is noticeable on the whole index, and for both voices, in three subgroups; those with a relation to Caló; those with the highest level of knowledge of Caló; and those considering it being useful to speak Caló. When a less strong preference for both figures is found, it is interesting to mention that within the subgroup 'ethnicity Calé' the preference is related to questions like "friend" and "trust". Remember that due to the low amount of informants in this subgroup it is difficult to reach levels that are statistically significant. The Spa-fig is only preferred within the solidarity index when the female voice speaks, and by the subgroups that have no relation to Caló, by those who don't know if it's useful to speak Caló and by the control group. Regarding the status index, it remains quite clear that the preferred figure is the Spa-fig, results found within the vast majority of the subgroups.

The two dimensions *social status* and *group solidarity* have a universal importance for the understanding of the attitudes towards languages in contrast (Ryan, Giles & Hewstone 1988, 1072), reason why we present the results from both the three first impressions written by the informants and the nine questions in relation to the voices in table 8 that follows (results presented above in tables 2-7).

Table 8. The results in connection with both the *solidarity/personality* and the *status* index. Light grey=preference for the Calé-figure, dark grey=preference for the Spanish-figure. ●=test 1 (*the first three impressions*) ●●=test 2 (*the questions*) ●●●=both tests. *preference for the Spanish-speaking figure is noted in the increase of SOL+-comments.

Variable	Subgroup	Solidarity/personality index				Status index			
		Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Relation to Caló	None							●●●	●●
	Learn yes							●●●	●
	With relation	●●●	●●●					●	
Ethnicity	Other							●●●	●●●
	Calé	●	●					●	
Gender	Men							●●●	●●●
	Women	●●●	●					●●●	
City	Jerez							●●●	●
	Seville	●			●			●●●	
Usefulness to speak Caló	Uncertain						●	●	
	No							●●●	●
	Yes	●●●	●●●					●	●
Knowledge of Caló	≤3 words		●					●●●	
	≥4 words	●●●	●●					●●●	●●●
Acceptability to call X Caló	≤6 objects							●●●	●
	≥7 objects	●●●	●						
FUENGIROLA				●*	●			●●	●

Glancing at the table, we easily see which of the two figures that is preferred by the informants within the different variables and its respectively subgroups. When the preference for the figure has been found in the test *the first impressions*, it is marked with one point (●). As explained above, a specific combination of positive and negative comments must be found in order for those results to be taken into account. When a preference is found in the test *nine questions* it is marked with two points (●●). In table 8, we only present results that are statistically significant, and when a preference has been found within the whole index (i.e. within all the questions). When the preference is found in both tests it is marked with three points (●●●). In other words, the selection of the above presented results has been very strict. The results in connection to the Calé-figures are presented in the light gray areas, in the dark grey areas the results to the Spanish-figures are found. Looking at the four columns to the left in the table, where the results within the solidarity/personality index are found, we see a preference for the Calé-speaking figures. Only the subgroup Seville show a preference for the male Spanish-speaking figure in one of the tests, and the control group (Fuengirola) show some preference for both Spanish-speaking figures, results that are expected within in particularly the control group since no informants have a relation to Caló or Calé-speakers. Those who show a strong preference to both Calé-figures (i.e. performed by both voices), a preference that is found in both tests, are the informants with a relation to Caló, and those who believe it being useful to speak Caló. Turning to the female voice, we find the same strong preference for her Calé-figure

in the subgroup ‘women’ as well as those with the best knowledge of the Caló-words and those with the highest acceptability to name objects with Caló-words. These same three subgroups show a preference for the male Caló-figure, with the difference that this preference is found in just one of the tests. One of the subgroups with the smallest amount of informants are those who belong the ethnicity Calé, making it difficult for the results within this group to reach statistically significant levels on the whole index in the test *nine questions*. However, this subgroups show a strong preference for both Calé-figures in relation to the questions “friend” and “trust” (results that reach levels of significance). They also favor the Calé-figure for both voices in the test *three first impressions*. Turning to the four columns to the very right in the table, we find the results related to the status index. It is very clear which of the figures that is preferred within this index; the Spanish-figures spoken by both the male and the female voice. This preference is not as strong in those who have a relation to Caló, nor in those belonging the ethnicity Caló.

7.2 Indirect method

182 of the informants, i.e. those from Seville and Jerez de la Frontera, continued with the section in which the indirect method was presented. The informants responded to 30 items by filling in a pre-coded attitude scale (the same one used for the indirect method, *nine questions*), 20 of which were related to the variety Caló and the ethnicity Calé. Ten of the items were positive, ten negative.⁶ Statistical tests have been employed to verify if the attitudes differ between the subgroups of informants within their respective variable.⁷ Hence, what interests us is to find out if a specific subgroup of informants show attitudes that differ from the other subgroup(s). The ideal would be to present each items and its results separately, but due to the lack of space the information in table 9 reflect the results from all of the 20 items. The breaking point between a positive and a negative attitudes is 2.5.

⁶ The positive items were: I like (or would like) to speak Caló; I like (or would like) to have a teacher that speaks Caló apart from Spanish; I like (or would like) to have a friend that speaks Caló; More television news should be presented in Caló; The government should hire more people that speak Caló; All Spaniards should understand Caló; It would be good for the country if everyone knew how to speak Caló; In school Caló should be taught to those who speak it at home; Caló is more beautiful than Spanish; Caló enriches our culture. The negative items were: The people who speak Caló should live in their own communities; I like (or would like) to learn English more than Caló; It is better for those who speak Caló to receive their education only in Spanish; The children who only speak Spanish are more intelligent than those children who also speak Caló; Speaking Caló is a sign of bad education; The people who speak Caló have a low cultural level; A person that speaks Caló most likely comes from a poor family; Speaking Caló is a sign of “ruralness”; You cannot trust a person that speaks Caló; The Caló-speaking people are less productive in work.

⁷ The result in the test is statistically significant if it reaches a p-value less than 0,05. A p-value between 0,05 and 0,1 indicates that there is a tendency of significance. When comparing the results between three subgroups within a variable the p-value is more strict; lower or equal to 0,17 for it to be significant, lower or equal to 0,33 for it to fall into a tendency of significance. These results are found in the column “Sig. Dif”, short for Significant Difference, in the table. When found, the cell is marked in grey. When there are three subgroups, the results in connection to that specific subgroup is compared to the results in the subgroups “to the right”. I.e., The results from 1B is compared to those from 1C; those from 1C to those from 1A, those from 1A to those of 1B, etc.

Table 9. The mean, which falls between 1-4, for all the items. An average <2,5 signifies having a positive attitude towards Caló and Caló-speakers. Thus, an average >2,5 signifies having a negative attitude .

Variable	ALL	Relation with Caló			Ethnicity		Gender	
Subgroup	0	1A None	1B Learn	1C Relation	2A Other	2B Calé	3A Men	3B Women
Mean	2,2	2,4	2,0	2,0	2,2	1,9	2,3	2,1
Sig. dif.		,000↔	,476↔	,000↔	,000		,012	

0 ALL; Jerez de la Frontera and Seville
1 Relation to Caló; 1A No relation, nor wanting to learn it, 1B Wanting to learn it, 1C With relation to Caló
2 Ethnicity; 2A Other, 2B Calé
3 Gender; 3A Men, 3B Women

Variable	City		Usefulness to speak Caló			Knowledge of Caló		Call objects	
Subgroup	4A Jerez	4B Seville	5A Uncert	5B No	5C Yes	6A ≤3words	6B ≥4words	7A ≤6obj.	7B ≥7obj.
Mean	2,1	2,2	2,1	2,4	1,9	2,2	2,0	2,2	2,0
Sig. dif.	,223		,001↔	,000↔	,005↔	,001		,027	

4 City; 4A Jerez de la Frontera, 4B Seville
5 Usefulness to speak Caló; 5A Uncertain, 5B No, 5C Yes
6 Knowledge of Caló; 6A Up to three words correct, 6B Four or more words correct
7 Acceptability to call X Caló; 7A Up to six objects, 7B Seven or more objects

In the first column, ‘All’, we find the results from all the informants before being divided into different variables. As we can see, even though being close to 2,5, the attitudes shown fall within the positive spectrum since the average result is 2,2. Focusing on the different variables and its subgroups, we find that the lowest means are found in the subgroup that have a relation to Caló (1C), as well as those who want to learn it (1B). I.e. these subgroups have shown attitudes that are more positive in comparison with the informants that have no relation to the variety (1A). Continuing with the next variable, we find that those belonging to the ethnicity Calé (2B) value the Caló-variety and its speakers more positive than do the other informants (2A), results also found in the indirect method. Even though the attitudes of the men (3A) fall within the positive spectrum, the attitudes of the women (3B) are slightly more positive, results that are repeated from the first part of the questionnaire. No difference of attitudes is found within the variable ‘city’ (4). Those who are feeling insecure whether it being useful to speak Caló (5A) have shown more positive attitudes than those believing it not being useful (5B). However, the informants with the most positive attitudes towards the items, and within this variable, are those believing it being useful (5C). Having the best knowledge of the Caló-words (6B) presented to the informants also means having the most positive attitudes towards the same variety. Lastly, we find that those who show the highest level of acceptance of naming objects with Caló-words (7B) also show the most positive attitudes within this test.

As we’ve seen in the table above, some subgroups of informants show more positive attitudes than others, results that are expected taking into account the results in relation to the voices (the indirect method). We mustn’t forget that it is the average results of all the items that have been commented on above, what perhaps is of special interest is focusing on specific items to which certain informants have shown extra positive attitudes, i.e. the most positive attitudes of all the variables and subgroups related to that specific item. The results presented below are

such items, all being statistically significant within each subgroup of informants. The first two items are negative towards Caló and its speakers, hence, the lower the results the more positive the attitudes. The opposite goes for the three positive items that follow, i.e. the higher the results the more positive are the attitudes towards it (results being between 1 and 4, with the breaking point 2,5).

1. The informants who show the strongest disagreement to the item *The children who only speak Spanish are more intelligent than those children who also speak Caló* are those who have a relation to Caló (variable ‘relation to Caló’), those who claim belonging to the ethnicity Calé (variable ‘ethnicity’) –both with a mean of 1,5– as well as the informants with the best knowledge of Caló (variable ‘knowledge of Caló’) – with a mean of 1,4.
2. The Calé (variable ‘ethnicity’) disagree strongly to the item *The people who speak Caló should live in their own communities*, the mean being as low as 1,3.
3. The Calé (variable ‘ethnicity’) agree strongly to the item *I like (or would like) to have a teacher that speaks Caló apart from Spanish* with an average of 3,4.
4. In relation to the item *I like (or would like) to have a friend that speaks Caló*, it is the informants belonging to the ethnicity Calé and those with the best knowledge of Caló that show the most positive attitudes, the average being 3,5 in both subgroups.
5. The informants showing the highest interest in learning Caló (item *I like, or would like, to speak Caló*) are those belonging to the ethnicity Calé, with a mean of 3,4.

In the above given examples, the variable that stand out the most is ‘ethnicity’ and the subgroup ‘Calé’. These informants are the ones that show the most positive attitudes towards Caló and Caló-speakers when focusing on results that stand out related to the items.

8 Conclusions

In some communities of Roma, a special vocabulary derived from Romani – which is inserted in the majority language– is preserved. The established term for this phenomenon is Para-Romani (Matras 2002, 242-43). Caló, the variety toward which we have investigated attitudes in this study, is a Para-Romani variety. During the last two centuries, numerous news about the gradual disappearance of the variety have been publishes. However, Leigh states that there is an interest in promoting a “new form of Caló” by some Calé associations (1998, 265). These language revitalization movements can mark an end to a long history of discrimination and stigmatization and thus prove to be the beginning of a new positive identity for those belonging to the minority group who speak these minority varieties. Several aspects are important for a revitalization project to work, one of them being the attitudes towards the variety and its speakers.

The methods used in the present study to measure the informants’ attitudes were both direct and indirect. The direct techniques include the *items* which are different ideas related to Caló and its speakers, to which the informants have expressed their opinions on an attitude scale. The informants also listened to eight different recordings of voices, an indirect technique referred to as *the matched guise test*. The same person performs as two different guises, one

being the “Spanish-speaking figure”, the other the “Caló-speaking figure”. The questionnaire consisted of three different parts related to this indirect method, the result from two of these parts being presented in this paper; the *first three impressions* expressed by the informants as well as the *nine questions* (five related to the solidarity/personality index, four to the status index), questions to which the informants have given their answers on an attitude scale. This indirect technique has the advantage that respondents generally do not perceive the purpose of the study, thus the risk of receiving socially accepted answers being avoided (Ryan, Giles & Hewstone 1988, 1072). The technique also makes it possible to control variables that are of no interest for the study, e.g. the quality of the voice, since the same person records the same text in two varieties or languages. The voices being used in the present study were one male and one female Calé as well as one male and one female non-Calé. The results presented in this paper have focused on the Calé-voices and the two figures performed by them (the non-Calé having function of control voices). The attitudes towards the two different figures interpreted by the same voice are being compared in order to conclude if they differ and if there is a preference for a specific one. What is of interest in the study is finding out whether specific subgroups of informants within the different variables show attitudes that differ from the others. Statistical methods have been used in all the sections, except for *the three first impressions* reason for it being qualitative information. However, a specific combination of both positive and negative impressions in relation to the two figures must be found in order for the results to be considered, hence, strict rules have been employed for the results in connection to these three impressions to be mentioned.

The two dimensions with which we have worked with are *social status* and *group solidarity*, the first one making the distinction between standard and non-standard varieties, the latter one being responsible for the vitality of a variety (Ryan, Giles & Hewstone 1988, 1072). A total of 231 informants participated in the study, 49 belonging to the control group, 182 of them belonging to the principal group of informants, the latter group being divided into the seven variables used in the study.

The four main objectives in the study were to find out whether the attitudes differ between the different cities in which the study took place; if the attitudes differ between the ethnic group to which the informants themselves have given the information that they belong to; if the attitudes depend on the relation the informant has to the variety and its speakers; and lastly whether there is a difference between the attitudes related to the status and the solidarity index (other secondary objectives were considered in the main study, reason why results related to these other variables have been mentioned in this paper).

It is undoubtable that the attitudes differ towards the two figures interpreted by the voices. Starting with the attitudes related to the status/personality index and the different cities in which the study took place, we find that those informants belonging to the control group (Fuengirola) show solidarity with the Spanish-speaking figures of the voices. This strong preference towards the same figures is not to be found in Seville or Jerez de la Frontera, cities in which the main group of informants reside. These results were expected since none of the informants within the control group belong to the ethnicity Calé, nor do they have any relation to it. Continuing with the different subgroups of informants, i.e. those 182 from Seville and Jerez de la Frontera, we find a strong preference for the Calé-figures, in comparison to the Spanish-speaking figures, spoken by the male and female Calé. This preference is detected in

the informants with a relation to Caló as well as those belonging to the ethnicity Calé.⁸ A stronger preference is found within the subgroup relation to Caló, possibly owing to the fact that those that make up the subgroup ethnicity Calé are scarce, making it difficult for these results to reach levels of statistical significance. What is important to point out is that when the control voices perform the Calé-figures, the preference within these two subgroups of informants is towards the Spanish-speaking figures. There is no doubt that some factors play an important role when showing solidarity to the Calé-figures performed by the Calé-voices, namely having a relation to the variety and its speakers, as well as belonging to the ethnicity group where it is spoken.

Focusing on the results obtained within the status index, this preference is switched to the Spanish-speaking figure (of the female Calé-voice, results statistically significant). What the speakers of endangered languages or varieties share is having a low status within their own region (Dorian 1993, 575-579). Perhaps the results found in this study reflect that situation. Furthermore, results frequently found in other studies demonstrate the distinction between “standard” varieties (being the Spanish-speaking figure in this test) – evaluated more positively in the prestigious dimension–, and “non-standard” varieties (being the Calé-figure) – evaluated positively on the social attractiveness dimension (cf. Garret, Coupland & Williams 2003, 67). We also want to emphasize the comment made by Ryan, Giles and Sebastian, concerning the fact that the distinction between standard and non-standard varieties are to be found in values connected to the social status but that the vitality of a variety depends on the values of solidarity shown toward it (1982, 8). In other words, the positive attitudes found within certain subgroups of informants in this study, towards the Calé-figures spoken by the Calé, contribute to the vitality of Calé.

Regarding the results in connection to the items, and looking at the average results, we find the same preference towards the Calé-figures as above, namely within those who belong to the ethnicity Calé as well as those with a relation to Caló (focusing on the variables ‘ethnicity’ and ‘relation to Caló’), all results being statistically significant. In general, all informants show a positive attitude towards the variety and its speakers in this part of the questionnaire, however, in some cases we find results that stand out in comparison to the other 16 subgroups, i.e. results being among the most positive ones found in connection to specific items. For example, those with the highest interest in learning Caló, as well as wanting a teacher speaking the variety, are the informants belonging to the ethnicity Calé. The same subgroup of informants show the most positive attitudes towards having a friend speaking Caló.

With these results we believe having fulfilled with the principle objectives of this study, which show a precarious situation, although with a possible future for a revitalization project to be successful. Two aspects that play an important role for a revitalization project to be successful is identify oneself with the variety as well as feeling proud of it (Rouchdy 1989, 94). To show solidarity is also an important aspect for the project to end well (Anonby 1999, 36-37). The results presented and discussed above all point in these directions.

Our hypothesis was that both the informants belonging to the ethnicity Calé as well as those having a relation to the variety show the most favorable attitudes towards Caló

⁸ The subgroup who have a relation to Caló belong to the variable ‘relation to Caló’, The subgroup ‘ethnicity Calé’ belong to the variable ‘ethnicity’.

and its speakers, as well as them showing a higher grade of solidarity towards these figures than do the other subgroups of informants. Hence, we can claim that such hypothesis have been proven.

The motivation motive for a minority group to learn his or her variety is integrative (Gardner 1982, 134), thus strengthening their minority identity. Holding a strong integrative reason for learning the variety is important for the outcome of learning the same, which in turn presupposes positive attitudes towards its speakers. Apart from the subgroups of informants presented above, we have found that some show stronger solidarity than others towards the male and female Calé-figures (and within their respective variable), hence the variety Caló, namely; the women, those who believe it being useful to speak Caló, those who have the best knowledge of Caló and those with the highest level of acceptancy to name objects using Caló-words. This kind of preference towards a minority variety arises when it functions as a symbol of group identity (Giles, Hewstone, Ryan & Johnson 1987, 587). It seems possible that the informants presented above have a higher grade of integrative motivation than the others when coming to learn the non-standard variety Caló, which in turn would result in a prosperous learning outcome.

Despite the results from previous investigations, which point to the fact that Caló is on its way to extinction, the results found in this study show that certain groups in society show positive attitudes toward the variety and its speakers, factors that, as we have seen, are decisive for a revitalization project to be successful. Adiego (2005) came to the conclusion in his study regarding the Caló-vocabulary, that despite the critical situation in which Caló is to be found, it is still possible to find lexical treasures. We hope that those conclusions drawn by Adiego, in conjunction with ours in this study, will augur well for the future of Caló. However, it is not possible to leave this responsibility to the minority group that speaks it, a revitalization project also needs governmental support. In the introduction to this paper, we mentioned the interest of reintroducing the variety, in a form called “Romanó-Kaló”. We would also like to mention that a standardization project of Romani is taking place, carried out by the “Linguistic Commission of the International Romani Union”. In 2008 the Roma Cultural Institute Foundation launched the work on a teaching method of a standardized form of Romani. This “Roma Culture Institute” was created by the Ministry of Culture in Spain, with the objective to develop and promote not only the culture and history of the Roma, but also “the language of the Roma” [“el idioma de los gitanos”] (Jiménez González 2009, 157).

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