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32

Aspects of Latin American Spanish Dialectology

In honor of Terrell A. Morgan

Edited by
Manuel Díaz-Campos
and Sandro Sessarego

John Benjamins Publishing Company

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In honor of Terrell A. Morgan

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INTRODUCTION

Contemporary research on Latin American Spanish dialectology

Manuel Díaz-Campos and Sandro Sessarego
Indiana University / University of Texas at Austin

1. In honor of Terrell A. Morgan

Terrell A. Morgan, a phonologist and dialectologist, has worked at the Ohio State University (OSU) since 1984, and has touched countless lives both within the field of Hispanic Linguistics and beyond, in his many years of fieldwork, as well as teaching students and teachers across the Spanish-speaking world in person and through the textbooks and learning resources he has developed. Terrell completed a PhD in Hispanic Linguistics at the University of Texas at Austin in 1984. His areas of research include phonology, phonetics, and theoretical linguistics and his academic contributions are extensive. He has delivered more than 110 seminars and conference presentations across the U.S. and around the world, in countries as far-flung as England, New Zealand, Canada, Colombia, Spain, Uruguay, Guatemala, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Peru, and Mexico. He has a published textbook and instructor's manual (Morgan 2010a,b), as well as two edited volumes: *Theoretical Analyses in Romance Linguistics*, with Professor C. Laeufer (Laeufer & Morgan, 1992), and *Language and Language Use: Studies in Spanish*, with Professors Lee and VanPatten (Morgan, Lee, & VanPatten, 1987). He has also contributed to the field with a number of peer-reviewed articles, covering topics as diverse as *voseo*, syllable structure, hypercorrection, consonant clusters, and intonation.

Both a dedicated teacher and an amazing scholar, Terrell has spent much of his career developing a firsthand knowledge of social and regional variation across the Spanish speaking world. For more than twenty years, he has run a study abroad program for teachers in Spain and Latin America. He has collected data in a number of countries, and has studied unique features that are not always mentioned in the available literature in Hispanic Linguistics.

Although we are not aware of any plans for Terrell's imminent retirement, we wanted to assemble this Festschrift as a means of celebrating a valuable part of the Hispanic Linguistics community. It is our hope that this book would serve

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to express our gratitude to an amazing advisor, who has dedicated his career to teaching graduate and undergraduate students, performed key research in the field, and helped to further pedagogy in the classroom through his texts, seminars, and websites. He has directed numerous dissertations, taught countless classes, and has played a direct role in the lives of hundreds of students. Even since leaving OSU, both of the editors have turned to Terrell for advice whenever we were faced with a major life decision. We both continue to appreciate his willingness to listen, to give thoughtful advice, and to serve as a mentor long after his official academic duties have ended. As such, it seems only fitting that we would create this book in his honor, tying together key ideas that have motivated his own research, including issues of pedagogical development and sociolinguistic variation.

The scholars included in this volume are students, advisees, colleagues, and friends of Terrell Morgan, who gladly accepted our invitation to participate. Terrell was the dissertation director of a number of them, including Karen López-Alonzo, Christina García, Daniela Salcedo, Amanda Boomershine, Sandro Sessarego, and Manuel Díaz-Campos. He also participated, as a member, in the dissertation committees of Whitney Chappell and Mark Hoff, and has maintained a professional and academic relationship with the rest of the authors whose studies have been included in this Festschrift: Patricia Lunn, Alicia Cipria, Scott Schwenter, Diane R. Uber, Stephanie Forgash, Rajiv Rao, David Korfhagen, and Shaw Gynan.

Since Terrell is an expert dialectologist, who has analyzed a number of grammatical, social, and pedagogical aspects of the Spanish language, we decided to put together a volume on Spanish dialectology that would address some of the main areas of study he researched during his career. For this reason, the present book consists of three main parts, each of which comprises articles concerning fields Terrell investigated during the past forty years: (I) Aspects of morphosyntactic and pragmatic variation; (II) Production, perception, and sound system contact-driven restructuring; (III) Language ideologies, business, and pedagogical implications.

2. Chapter content

The chapters in this book focus on contemporary sociolinguistic approaches to Spanish dialectology. Each of the authors draws on key issues in sociolinguistics today, combining theoretical approaches to empirical data collection. Overall, these chapters address topics concerning language variation and change, sound production and perception, contact linguistics, language teaching, language policy, and ideologies. The authors urge us, as readers of linguistic studies, to take a stand on important issues, and to continue applying theory to praxis so as to advance the frontier of research in the field.

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Part I is dedicated to morphosyntactic and pragmatic variation. It begins with Karen López-Alonzo's chapter on power negotiation in Nicaraguan Spanish during a children's baseball practice. It deals with the use of forms of address in Nicaragua, looking specifically at tendencies of *voseo* and *ustedeo* (Christiansen & Chavarría, 2010). From an observational standpoint, the author is concerned with usage in a number of social contexts (both symmetric and asymmetric ones), and she compares these tendencies to Costa Rican usage, as well as other South and Central American trends more broadly. Her analysis focuses on determining when *usted* or *vos* are used, how they vary across discourse, and how speakers' emotions or discursive goals tie back to this variation. Theoretically, the article provides an in-depth look at Nicaraguan forms of address and proposes a framework of use based on the symmetry of the relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor, as well as the directionality of speech acts (i.e., directed toward superior, equal, or subordinate interlocutors). The author shows that second person pronominal variation in Nicaragua is regionally and contextually complex and can contribute to a better understanding of forms of address across the Spanish-speaking world.

Along similar lines of research, the second chapter, by Diane R. Uber, focuses on forms of address in the language of marketing as it is used in Montevideo, Uruguay. The author examines variation in the use of *tuteo, voseo,* and *ustedeo*. In particular, the paper combines politeness theory and conversation analysis to problematize categorical descriptions of *ustedeo* as formal and *voseo* as especially informal (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). She concludes that, although *vos* is the most-used and less formal form of address, there are instances of pronoun switching that depend on changes in stance, as well as on other identity-based issues, which toe the line between solidarity and formality. On the whole, this chapter helps shed light on pronominal variation, showing that rather than relating exclusively to politeness, the use of different forms is significantly influenced by a number of attitudinal factors, as conceived by marketing operators attempting to influence the consumption habits of a variety of local costumers.

The third chapter, by Scott Schwenter and Mark Hoff, illustrates morphosyntactic variation through the phenomenon of *se lo(s)/la(s)*, observing independent variables that predict usage of either the normative singular or "anomalous" plural form when expressing a plural indirect and singular direct object (Company, 1992). The study utilizes data from two major Mexican online corpora to provide an in-depth description of a complex pattern of variation that dialectological accounts have dismissed based on authorial intuition and prescriptive norms. The chapter explores the rate of *se lo* and *se los* usage in this dialect and uses a mixed-effects logistic regression to show the predictive power of accessibility of the referent to explain the results. This allows the authors to problematize previous accounts of the dependent variable, and proposes variation as rooted in pragmatic hypercorrection.

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In Chapter 4, Christina García investigates the periphrastic structure *dar* + gerund, which is frequently attested in the highlands of Ecuador (Niño-Murcia, 1995). Using elicitation tasks developed from real-world scenarios, the study relies on the intuition of a native speaker to determine felicitous contexts for the *dar* + gerund form, demonstrating that the form leads to a conventional implicature. This suggests that the agent of the periphrasis is one of multiple individuals responsible for completing a task, and raises questions for future research concerning the nature of the task and the required animacy of the agent. This article helps bring a restricted regional variable under theoretical analysis, determining the function it serves, while providing a roadmap for similar studies of pragmatic variation.

The section on production, perception and sound system contact-driven restructuring begins with a paper by Amanda Boomershine and Stephanie Forgash. The authors analyze the perception of three Chilean allophones of /tʃ/, namely: the normative [tʃ] variant, the stigmatized [ʃ] variant, and the innovative [ts] variant. Their main question revolves around the way that hearers classify these sounds in natural speech with respect to certain qualities (e.g. attractive, friendly, educated), and how variation in stimuli and in social factors affects perception. From a theoretical standpoint, the authors' consideration of this under-studied Chilean Spanish variable provides valuable insights into the evolving relationship between variation in production and in perception, further serving to paint a picture of the development of the [ts] variant, and its continued distinction from the stigmatized [ʃ] (Vivanco, 1999).

In chapter six, Gibrán Delgado-Díaz, Iraída Galarza and Manuel Díaz-Campos describe the perceptions toward variable production of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/ in Puerto Rico (Emmanuelli, 2000). This study uses a matched-guise and an interview task to determine direct and indirect attitudes of 16 Puerto Rican speakers of Spanish from San Juan. The article contributes to a theoretical understanding of rhotic production by describing allophonic variants using acoustic methodology and by providing an analysis of the speakers' attitudes associated with them. Results show that men tend to rate non-normative variants more highly than women, and that indexical fields play a role in capturing a range of attitudes related to both production and perception, as speakers associate positive and negative social meanings with rhotic variants. This study encourages future analysis of attitudes to more clearly establish the boundaries of Puerto Rican variants as perceived by non-Puerto Rican speakers, and sets up a template for attitude studies that can be applied across the Spanish-speaking world.

In chapter seven, David Korfhagen, Rajiv Rao, and Sandro Sessarego analyze the discourse-phonology interface in the pitch and intonational tendencies of four Afro-Hispanic varieties (Rao & Sessarego, 2018). The authors propose a contact-induced reconfiguration in the prosodic system of these dialects, which

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would have been originally driven by advanced L2 acquisition processes resulting in the transmission of less complex prosodic targets to following generations of speakers. The authors raise further questions regarding the way that these intonational alterations are represented across a wider range of speech contexts, including across various types of utterance and pragmatic goals, to determine how far-reaching these L2 learning tendencies permeated into these varieties.

This section is closed by Whitney Chappell's study on the sound system of Nicaraguan Spanish in contact with Miskitu. The author explores the peculiar features of Miskitu-dominant Spanish speakers from Biwi, a community on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. In particular, the author identifies in this sound system the transfer of Miskitu phones and the reconfiguration of a number of variable phonological rules. The author then provides a cross-dialectal analysis of these specific phonological features to highlight the uniqueness of their coexistence in the sound system of this contact variety (Lipski, 1994).

The section on language ideologies, business and pedagogical implications begins with Alicia Cipria's examination of the concept of "neutral", or standard Spanish, with reference to major marketing and business firms (Preston, 2002). She argues that there are major geo-political and ideological reasons behind the decisions taken to dub English-made shows into Spanish, tying back to larger issues of globalization and language stigma. From an applied perspective, this investigation shows that the ways actors speak are influenced by linguistic ideologies concerning prestige and supposed universal intelligibility. From a more theoretical point of view, Cipria opens the door to future studies, which can use her overview of the field as a means of delving into language attitude and perception research. Overall, she helps lay bare the problematic concept of linguistic "neutrality," and exposes both reasons and justifications behind its existence.

Another study focusing on ideologies is the one by Daniela Salcedo, who analyzes the state of language policy and education in Peru. She examines three recent publications concerning this topic to offer an account of the logic behind certain educational strategies implemented by the Peruvian government over the past decade (Heros, 2012; Coronel-Molina, 2015; Andrade & Zavala, 2019). In so doing, she urges the reader to notice how biased and discriminatory certain governmental attitudes are, pointing out that the consequences of these political ideologies are educational practices that systematically exclude large sectors of the Peruvian population, often the poorest groups and indigenous speakers.

Shaw Gynan analyzes the developing situation of Guaraní-Spanish bilingual education in Paraguay, looking at data from the early 2000s and comparing it to more recent results to show both the effectiveness of Guaraní modality education and the changes made in recent years to focus more exclusively on Spanish literacy. The author provides a detailed background of the development of Guaraní usage in

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Paraguay, as well as its position both socially and legally over the last few decades (Gynan, 2007). Referencing data from various studies, Gynan shows that Spanish modality education has led to a state of *semilingualism*, where speakers have a good comprehension of both languages but low levels of writing skills, caused by changes in the educational system between 2003 and 2013. The chapter contributes to a large body of work regarding indigenous language instruction in the classroom, and sets forth the importance for the new political administration in the country to move away from outdated Spanish immersion pedagogy in favor of fostering Guaraní literacy, so as to increase the prestige of the language and to ensure its continued vitality.

Patricia Lunn closes this section by adding a different perspective on educational matters. In particular, she analyzes some key problems concerning current (outdated) ways of teaching grammar. She argues that there have not been significant changes in how grammar is introduced into the Spanish language classroom for many years, and that linguists have the duty to incorporate research findings in the way they teach grammar classes (Bull, & Lamadrid, 1971). She hones in specifically on copulas, tense, and mood, which are often taught with inaccurate acronyms and lists of rules that do not reflect actual dialectal variation, and potentially confuse key issues of usage. Lunn's main goal in this chapter is to lay out popular, conventional explanations of phenomena alongside instances of variation that prove as exceptions, so as to point out flaws in these often-used approaches. Students, she argues at one point, want reliable rules (often following them at the expense of accuracy), but many of the rules that can be found on grammar websites do not actually account for real usage. This article contributes to an ongoing conversation regarding the introduction of linguistic elements to the instruction of grammar. According to Lunn, linguists are central to shaping the way that new teachers and students think about and learn these topics.

The twelve aforementioned contributions originated from a number of scholars, either distinguished academics or promising researchers, who have offered a variety of perspectives on current Latin American Spanish dialectology. We greatly appreciate the opportunity to have worked alongside all of them. We are pleased to have provided a medium through which their findings can be disseminated while honoring the career of Terrell Morgan, a wonderful friend, advisor and human being.

We would like to thank our assistant editor, Matthew Pollock, for his countless hours of hard work in helping to organize this project, communicating with authors, and for his good eye in making content and stylistic observations. We would also like to thank the numerous reviewers who contributed to the quality of this volume by making insightful recommendations, including Salvatore Callesano, Malte Rosemeyer, Jim Michnowicz, Dale Koike, Patricia Amaral, Francisco Ordóñez,

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SECTION I

Aspects of morphosyntactic and pragmatic variation

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CHAPTER 1

Between *vos* and *usted*

A sample of power negotiation in Nicaraguan Spanish during a baseball practice

Karen López Alonzo
Baylor University

This chapter examines how Nicaraguan Spanish speakers alternate between *vos* and *usted* to index power negotiations in (a)symmetric exchanges during a baseball practice. The variation in pronominal exchanges shows directionalities: certain pronoun usage can mitigate, demonstrate solidarity, or empower commands. I research (1) the direction (*voseo*/*ustedeo*) of mitigation of the message, (2) the relationship (symmetric/asymmetric) of alternation between *vos* and *usted*, and (3) how uses of *ustedeo* are redefined from established definitions of "formality." This study has a pragmatic focus based on courtesy theory. *Vos* and *usted* alternate actively, offering innovative practices as acts of power. Speakers use polite alternatives when familiarity and affect are negotiated through the use of *voseo* or *ustedeo* as a pragmatic value of the request.

Keywords: Nicaragua, baseball, *voseo*, *ustedeo*, forms of address, power

1. Introduction

Nicaraguan Spanish is identified as *voseante*, where, besides *usted, vos* is the most common pronominal form used (Christiansen & Chavarría, 2010, p. 61). However, in a more recent study in a rural area in the south of Nicaragua, in a border town with Costa Rica, the use of the pronominal trio has been demonstrated as a result of contact with increasing tourism (Michno, 2017). At the same time, the alternation between these pronouns is pragmatically relevant, in need of studies in this area of the Spanish speaking-world. Consequently, this article provides an example of those exchanges and analyzes the meanings of these pronominal interactions among speakers in a baseball practice in Boaco, Nicaragua.

Many studies have been dedicated to the analysis of the pronominal alternation between *voseo* and *tuteo* (Carricaburo, 1997; Moser, 2010; Hernández, 2002;

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Parodi, 2003; Moyna & Rivera-Mills, 2016). These addressing forms are greatly relevant because of its diverse uses and morphosyntactic gamete among Spanish speakers. The study of national *voseo*, as explained by Benavides (2003), shows clarity in the formality of the use of *vos* as informal and the use of *usted* as formal. This is well-reported in Argentinian Spanish, in which case, *usted* is described to be used for respect or in formal contexts, opposed to the closeness and familiarity context where *vos* is used (Boretti & Rigatuso, 2004, p. 146). Nevertheless, there are pronominal alternations between *vos* and *usted,* where pragmatic innovation can be found and the established norms of formality and politeness in Spanish can be questioned. Both pronouns offer more than a simple exchange among formalities; they become indexical of power negotiations, for which directionalities can be observed. In these cases, the use of a particular pronoun can mitigate, express solidarity, or empower the request. Thus, the lack of observations and studies reporting the relevance of these pronominal exchanges and its pragmatic innovations motivate this article. In addition, this sample of Nicaraguan Spanish has the intention to open new spaces for analysis about the values of politeness in the pronominal alternation, particularly in Central America. At the same time, the objective of this study goes beyond a simple review of the distribution of *voseo* and studies the pragmatic values that the alternation between *voseo* and *ustedeo* present. Also, *voseo* and *ustedeo* alternations are understudied in comparison to *voseo* and *tuteo* alternations studies.

This paper's research questions are as follows: In which direction (towards *voseo* or *ustedeo*) is the message mitigated in Nicaraguan Spanish; In what type of relationships (symmetrical/asymmetrical) does the alternation between *vos* and *usted* occur; and last, can the use of *ustedeo* be redefined, where its functions act differently from the established function of formality?

The countries recognized as *voseantes* in Central America are Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Costa Rica. However, in Guatemala, El Salvador and Costa Rica, the pronouns *vos* and *tú* compete. With that said, in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Costa Rica, the trinomial system where *tú* is part of the pronominal repertoire has been identified. Thus, in these countries, the uses of *tú* and *vos* bring different functions (Moser, 2015). On the contrary, Nicaragua has a binary system (*vos* and *usted*), although *tú* has been reported in written Spanish, in exchanges with foreigners (Christiansen & Chavarría, 2010; López Alonzo, 2016; Michno, 2017), and in friendly written communication between middle class individuals (Lipski, 2000, p. 66). Additionally, in Nicaragua, the pronoun *tú* occupies an intermediate space of formality (López Alonzo, 2016). Gómez Sánchez & Jungbluth (2015, p. 252) have confirmed this and argue that in Central America, particularly in El Salvador, the use of *tú* also has "an intermediate position between *vos* (the solidarity closeness form) and *usted* (thus showing respect)."

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The data in this article come from observations of the interactions during a baseball practice, while shadowing a child in Boaco, Nicaragua in December 2011. This work contributes with observations and analysis of the use and alternation between *vos* and *usted* as indexical of power negotiations in the relationship of speakers of Nicaraguan Spanish. From these pronominal exchanges (*vos* and *usted*), relevant factors that influence these exchanges in asymmetrical relationships are examined. This study presents symmetrical and asymmetrical negotiations between children and the coach. At the same time, these participants offer a masculine space, ruling out any possibility of influences for pronoun use based on gender.

2. Framework

In order to respond to the questions, this study focuses on the pragmatic concepts of politeness, following the arguments given by Blum-Kulka (1990). At the same time, it follows the politeness theory by Brown & Gilman (1972) in order to observe the pronominal uses in symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships. To understand alternations between *voseo* and *ustedeo,* this article explores politeness (Brown & Gilman, 1972; Blas Arroyo, 1994, 1995) through the theory of the mitigation of pronouns presented by Blum-Kulka (1990). Her theory provides an explanation about the direct modes of requests and the direction of the mitigation between the pronouns, the symmetric and asymmetric relationships between speakers and the contexts for each use. Blum-Kulka (1990) argues that the politeness theory by Brown and Gilman (1989) offers a fundamental understanding of how politeness functions. They propose that it can be studied as a formula of affection that influences politeness; therefore, demonstrating less affection will result in being less polite (p. 284). This idea will guide this paper while observing the directionality of the pronoun when mitigating indexes affection and politeness.

Blum-Kulka (1990) arguments that the direct or indirect way to express a request and to mitigate a message with politeness conform to two dimensions that interact. The author provides three perspectives about the direct mode of a request, which has the act of control as a goal during the interaction (266). The first is "*direct mode,*" done through explicit requests; the second is "*conventionally indirect mode,*" expressed by asking questions; the third is "*non-conventionally indirect mode,*" which is given through the use of clues. These modes allow observations on the uses of politeness through strategic manipulation. Additionally, the author talks about the importance of the weight of the culture for what it is allowed to be expressed in terms of emotions (265). In the case of Costa Rica presented by Moser (2006, 2008), the demonstration of affection can be expressed by the use of *ustedeo*, while the case of needing to mitigate the command is done with the use of *voseo*.

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In this regard, Blum-Kulka (1990, p. 265) explains that in order to understand the direct mode of speaking, it is necessary to know if that culture takes that direct mode as polite or impolite. This argument can help identify which use is considered polite in the case of pronominal alternation in Nicaragua, seeing that in Costa Rica, the shift to *voseo* creates that mitigated effect in the request.

Considering the direct mode of speaking in politeness, this work observes the results where there are acts of control, following the examples presented by Blum-Kulka (1990) between a father and child. She found that *impolite* referred to an aggravated situation where the father raised his voice; *neutral* happened in a discourse where unmarked politeness was shown through the clues that the father gave the child through an indirect message; *solidarity politeness* presented mitigated directness, where the parent softened the request by the use of a word that expressed affection; *clues* were expressed via nonconventional indirectness, which is not the most polite option to control the child's behavior; and *conventional indirectness* simply represented a discourse that followed social conventions, such as the use of "would like" in the parent's request to the child (p. 271–273).

From these previous options, the author also found that in order to express politeness, parents chose solidarity by using mitigated direct forms, or the conventional mode of politeness with indirect ways (p. 274). In addition, she found that every request had a goal, and for that, she divided the act of control in the family discourse into six types of goals, from requests to permissions from parents (p. 274). Then, she described the various shifts as follows:

> parents shift in their speech to children from neutral, direct forms of control, licensed by the informality of the event, to more polite, mitigated forms that extend affect, reverting much less frequently to conventional indirect modes of politeness. (p. 284–285)

These observations are key to this study. Based on these arguments, section 5 analyzes the directionality of the mitigation and the affection through the use of *ustedeo* and *voseo* in the interaction of the participants from Boaco, Nicaragua.

3. Previous studies

This section reviews studies from other varieties of Spanish that discuss the function and directionality of the alternation between *voseo* and *ustedeo*. Costa Rica presents the most relevant data for this work because of descriptions on how mitigation is expressed through the use of a particular pronoun.

Two types of alternations have been reported in this country: type I from *ustedeo* to *voseo*; and type II from *voseo* to *ustede*o (Moser, 2008). Alternation type I

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deals with a pronominal exchange that is not arbitrary; the mitigation is determined through the obligatory use of *voseo*, which functions as mitigation of the command (Moser, 2008, p. 130, pp. 138–139). Meanwhile, the use of *voseo* can also function as an intensifier in the request, acting as a softer use in the *voseante* imperative than in the *ustedeante* form (p. 139). This is explained in the pragmatic interactions due to the fact that *usted* is the most common pronoun in daily use. In addition, *ustedeo* is understood in Costa Rica as a symmetry of relationships among equals, and in asymmetric relationships, for example, a boss and his/her employee, to keep a politeness quality. Type II alternations happen during *voseante* conversations; this shift to *ustedeo* from *voseo* is not given as much attention as in type I, but this shift signals formal and informal addressing.

This functionality of the pronouns in Costa Rica provides examples that allow questioning the directionality of the mitigation through the use of the pronouns *vos* and *usted.* In the case of Nicaragua, *voseo* is the common form of treatment in the country among equals and in familiarity contexts, contrary to the preferred *ustedeo* in Costa Rica. For this reason, this study fills a gap in the literature that has been missing about Nicaragua. In order to discuss the data from Nicaragua, section 3.1 reviews other studies dealing with uses, functions, and implications of these pronominal alternations.

3.1 *Voseo* versus *ustedeo*

To understand the level of politeness in an interaction, it is fundamental to review the functions of both pronouns in previous studies. *Vos* has functions in both symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships. Symmetrically, this pronoun is commonly used as a sign of familiarity, but it can also function asymmetrically signaling a power position when is high in a hierarchy. In Argentina is used in intimate and familiarity relationships, while increasing use of *voseo* has displaced the use of *usted* (Ferrari, 2015, p. 273). More currently, the use of *vos* has dominated conversations among families in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Central America, and Chiapas, México in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Rojas Blanco, 2003, p. 147). In the case of Nicaragua, Rey (1996) explains that *voseo* expresses solidarity among equals and is patriarchal; therefore, in interactions between men, this form is salient. On the other hand, *ustedeo* has proved to carry diverse uses. It is commonly known to have a formal function in asymmetrical relationships. However, *ustedeo* in many countries expresses familiarity in symmetrical relations where there is no much social distance, typically among family members and friends, as it is reported in Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Venezuela and Colombia (Ferrari, 2015, p. 274).

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There are a series of functions with the use of *voseo* and *ustedeo* related to speakers indexing emotions and attitudes. Pronouns can express affection or lack of it, as well as attitudes, such as when a speaker expresses that someone is sounding pretentious. In Costa Rica, *voseo* does not have a pretentious use and it lacks affectivity in its use (Villegas, 1963, p. 613). Then, if *voseo* in this country signifies a lack of affection, the use of *ustedeo* may indicate affection, more so when it is accompanied by a "motherese" voice. Also, *ustedeo* possesses a polysemic character (Moser, 2015). As mentioned in the introduction, the generalized definition of *usted* describes its use in asymmetrical relationships as a sign of respect. However, Moser (2015) and Ferrari (2015) have demonstrated that this pronoun can be used in symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships in more than one country. The use of *ustedeo* is important in the hierarchy of relationships that can happen among siblings of different ages or between mother and child (Ferrari, 2015; Moser, 2011). *Ustedeo* seems to signal emotions, as it can express affection and reproach, as reported in Peninsular and American Spanish by Ferrari (2015, p. 275). There is, however, a distinction of the use of empathic *usted* when mothers talk to their children in American Spanish (Ferrari, 2015, p. 275). Rojas Blanco (2003) also confirms the polysemic character of *ustedeo* in Costa Rica by providing a list of functions given by his speakers: "to manifest respect, reproach, resentment, when feeling angry and, even when giving advice to someone that they normally address with *vos*" (p. 148–149, my translation). Like Rojas Blanco (2003), Ferrari (2015) confirms that the use of *usted* in symmetrical relationships serves to reprimand or to express affection. In sum, the use of *ustedeo* in Costa Rica allows the speaker to express affection in close relationships, as well as in both symmetric and asymmetric relations. Furthermore, in terms of the symmetry in the relationships, it is important to view the position of the speaker. As a result, in this study, speakers are viewed in a horizontal line where both are equal for symmetry. In opposition, during asymmetry, speakers are in a vertical line that can be ascendant (speaker is talking to a person of power) or descendent (speaker is in a power position talking to a subordinate).

With the pronominal functions previously discussed, it is now important to review their alternations that illuminate the present study. Costa Rican studies are fundamental to the present analysis, not only because the country is territorially close to Nicaragua, but also because these studies offer an important point of comparison and contrast of the forms of address and their uses in Nicaragua. Studies by Moser (2006, 2008) are essential to the explanations of pronominal use, power relations, and the direction of mitigation. Her examples are pragmatically representative and clarify how the use of *ustedeo* covers a diversity of contexts, from conversations in a highly informal context to a formal context; in contrast, the use of *voseo* is restricted to informal situations (Moser, 2006, p. 99). After carrying out

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interviews following interactions with her participants, the author confirms her interpretation about *voseo* having a mitigation effect, "as less strong than '*ustedeo*,' in imperatives" (Moser, 2006, p. 111, my translation). She demonstrates the presence of the diminutive and a sweet tone accompanying the use of *ustedeo* in asymmetrical exchanges between a grandmother and her grandchild. She also explains that the shift from *ustedeo* to *voseo* happens in the imperative when requesting something as *voseo*, in this case, represents a function that softens the imposition in the request. Therefore, *ustedeo* carries affection, but in the moment of the request, the use of *voseo* mitigates the command, indicating politeness in the interaction. The shift from *ustedeo* to *voseo* in familiarity contexts of a middle and high socioeconomic group in San Jose, for whom conversations are normally *ustedeantes*, are not simply alternations. She argues that they are a variation between *ustedeante* and *voseante* forms that are not arbitrary, thus an act is chosen by the speaker (Moser, 2006, p. 113).

4. Methodology

The data here presented is qualitative and has been taken from fieldwork observations in Boaco, Nicaragua in December 2011. This data is part of a larger data set that studied the uses of the pronominal trio by observations of children and their interactions. During this fieldwork, I focused on shadowing two children: a six-year-old girl and a seven-year-old boy, both from a middle socioeconomic class. However, in this study, I only discuss and analyze the observations from the seven-year-old boy, because his observation provided a context that allowed interactions with power negotiations during symmetric and asymmetric exchanges. At the same time, his interactions were in a baseball field with only male players, ruling out gender influence in the use of pronouns. These observations provide the interactions of the boy with his peers and his coach.

These observations were completed with the permission of the parents and the coach. I shadowed the children and recorded their pronominal uses during interactions by hand, since the aim of the study was to observe pronominal uses. The results for this particular child during his baseball practice provided a unique context and observation, which allowed me to focus on his interactions here in this study. During this observation, all conversations were first written in a notebook, then all pronominal exchanges and notes were transcribed into a document. The boy interacted with his peers, who were between seven and ten years old, and with his 32-year-old coach. The data they provide demonstrates alternation between *voseo* and *ustedeo* and their negotiations during the practice, which are symmetrical with his peers and asymmetrical with the coach.

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This study has several limitations, including not having an audio recording of the data and analysis dedicated to one interaction of the child with his baseball team. However, the results offer relevant samples to analyze politeness in requests through pronominal alternation in Nicaraguan Spanish. These samples also allow for observation of the directionality of *voseo* and *ustedeo* alternation by the mitigation or empowering of the request. These examples are not intended to make a claim, but they do open possibilities for a bigger study and initiate discussions about the functions and uses of *voseo* and *ustedeo* by these Nicaraguan speakers. This study provides samples of the polysemic character of *ustedeo*, from its innovative uses beyond the formal and normative uses. It also gives examples of the direction of the mitigation through the alternation between these forms. All in all, this study contributes to studies of *voseo* and *ustedeo*, Central American Spanish and, most importantly, the understudied Nicaraguan Spanish variety.

4.1 Data analysis

The data presented in this paper have been taken from participant interactions during fieldwork. In order to protect the anonymity of the participants, names are not revealed in any document. Instead, only roles are given for speakers in their interactions, as well as their social information, including age and socioeconomic background. Once transcribed, the pronouns and their forms were codified with a subscript code that reads as the following: *tú* pronoun, its verb conjugations and clitics as ($_{T}$); *vos* pronoun, its verb conjugations and clitics as ($_{V}$); *usted* pronoun, its verb conjugations and clitics as ($_{U}$).

5. Results and discussion

In Nicaragua, *ustedeo* is widely used in formal and socially distant contexts. In addition, as mentioned in section 2.1, the use of *usted* shows familiarity in symmetrical relationships. Nonetheless, the variation between *voseo* and *ustedeo* shown in the examples that follow is pragmatically innovative, as these uses can vary the function of the request from mitigation to empowerment or solidarity. This section offers the results of both symmetrical interactions between the seven-year-old male participant and his peer in the field and asymmetrical interactions between the boy participant and the coach, as well as the coach with the other children on the team. In terms of the conventional uses of these pronouns and forms, the child used *ustedeo,* signaling respect to his superior, his coach, who is older than him; and *voseo* of solidarity with his peers.

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5.1 Interactions during baseball practice

During the practice the child used *voseo* with his peers:

(1) a. *vení*$_V$
come$_V$
b. *jugá*$_V$
play$_V$
c. *salite*$_V$
get out$_V$
d. *tirá*$_V$
throw$_V$
e. *mirá*$_V$
look$_V$
f. *vos*$_V$ *chavalo, armemos otro, pues*
you$_V$ pal, let's put together another one, then.

All the children addressed each other using *voseo*. In this interaction, the coach presents the most interesting alternations between *voseo* and *ustedeo* when talking to the children. For example, to get the children's attention, he starts by using *voseo*, then switches to *ustedeo,* saying that he is upset because of the bad behavior of a child, who used inappropriate language. In this instance the coach tells the child who is misbehaving:

(2) a. *ya le*$_U$ *dije que cambie*$_U$ *ese vocabulario, usted*$_U$ *es bien vulgarcito*
I told$_U$ you$_U$ to change$_U$ that vocabulary, you$_U$ have a very little dirty mouth.

Later, the coach is irritated and asks another child:

b. *¿usted*$_U$ *con quién va*$_U$*?*
who are you$_U$ playing$_U$ with?'

A moment later, he talks to another child with a softer and more caring voice, saying:

c. *hasta que yo le*$_U$ *diga*$_U$
until I tell$_U$ you$_U$'.

After that, the coach goes back to using *voseo*. At that moment, he is under pressure when all the children start misbehaving, talking at the same time and not listening to the coach. As a result, with an altered voice, the coach says to a child:

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(3) a. *vení*$_V$, ¿cómo es que te *llamás*$_V$?
come$_V$ here, how is it that are you called$_V$?
b. *esperame*$_V$, *esperame*$_V$
wait$_V$ for me, wait$_V$ for me.'

As the practice is progressing, the misbehaving of the children gets worse. When the coach loses control, he becomes upset and uses an aggravated voice, threatening to send a child home:

(4) a. *¿te querés*$_V$ *ir para tu casa?*
do you want$_V$ to go home?

A few minutes later, the coach calms down. Having recovered his serenity, he uses a relaxed voice to tell another child who is still not behaving well:

(5) a. '*no pelee*$_U$
don't fight$_U$
b. *mire*$_U$, así, ya, *mire*$_U$, *mire*$_U$
look$_U$, like that, see, look$_U$, look$_U$'

Later, the coach gets upset again and tells another child who is being messy:

(6) a. *yo tratándole*$_U$ *de recoger y vos*$_V$ *bateándola*
I am trying to pick up for you$_U$ and you$_V$ hitting the ball away.

In this particular interaction, the coach decides to alternate from *ustedeo* to *voseo* within the same phrase, shifting from a polite voice to a severe one, thus reverting mitigation within one phrase. Later that afternoon, when the coach has regained control of the group and is relaxed, he starts to talk to the kids using *voseo:*

(7) a. *vení*$_V$
come$_V$
b. *mirá*$_V$ *cómo tenés*$_V$ *los pies*
look$_V$ what you have$_V$ done to your shoes
c. *¿ideay no te acordás*$_V$*?*
hey, you have already forgotten$_V$?

These examples show that the preferred form of address in the practice is *voseo* as a mode of solidarity, thus the use of *ustedeo* introduces elements of politeness through which the request is mitigated with a soft and endearing voice. *Voseo* emerges to empower a request and is accompanied by a serious and an altered voice. Therefore, in the following lines, I discuss the narrated uses and divide the interactions into symmetrical and asymmetrical groupings.

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5.2 Symmetric interactions

When observing the exchanges between the children and the coach, and how these children address each other (c.f. Examples 1a–f), horizontal exchanges are expressing equality and solidarity in their interactions. *Voseo* was commonly used among equals and the explicit use of the pronoun in this context was much present during their interactions. In this context and these exchanges, the children did not mitigate their commands to their peers; they kept using only *voseo* in their interactions, showing a categorical *voseo* within this horizontal relation.

5.3 Asymmetric interactions

These asymmetrical relationships are vertical. Two patterns have been observed about the position of the speaker: First, there is an ascending form of addressing, where a person in a lower position addresses a person in a power position or higher than theirs, as in the case of children addressing older people. In this case, this happens when the children are talking to their coach. Second, the descending form of addressing happens where the speaker is addressing a person in a lower or inferior power position, such as an older person talking to a child. In this case, this occurs when the coach is addressing the children.

5.3.1 *Ascendant addressing*

The use of formal *ustedeo* indexes a degree of distance. In this case, it can happen because of age differences or positions of power within the team. The child always addresses his coach with *ustedeo,* evidencing respect for the person of power, authority or older age.

5.3.2 *Descendant addressing*

These interactions happen from the adults; in this case, the coach; towards the child or multiple children. *Voseo* is common in the interaction because the child is younger and the coach is the authority figure in the field. At the same time, this *voseo* is descendent because it happens from a superior to a subordinate; this is the *voseo* that Carricaburo (1997, p. 45) mentioned for a person of a lower status, even though she is referring to a subordinate that belongs to a lower socioeconomic hierarchy. On the other hand, *ustedeo* has the quality of presenting a request with politeness. In this case, the mitigation of the command through the use of *usted* and its forms for its explicit mode when being expressed can project politeness and affection.

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During the interaction of the coach with the children, an asymmetric relationship can be observed through alternations in the use of *voseo* and *ustedeo*. Therefore, two levels can be observed: the horizontal, which happens in the interaction between the children; and the vertical, which happens in the interaction between children and coach. In the vertical relationships, alternations between *voseo* and *ustedeo* occur and each child is addressed by the coach through the alternation of the uses of *vos* and *usted* and their corresponding forms. It is important to note that, in the presented contexts, *tuteo* was not used, thus, only *vos* and *usted* are heard in the field during the practice as the children are throwing the baseball and interacting. The most interesting examples, however, come from the coach, who is giving commands, asking the children to behave while showing various emotional states (tranquility/calm, anger, frustration, loss of control). As a result, taking these emotions into account, the following interactions have been classified by pronominal use:

Superiority = *Voseo*

(7) a. *vení*$_V$
come$_V$
b. *mirá*$_V$ *cómo tenés*$_V$ *los pies*
look$_V$ what you have$_V$ done to your shoes
c. *¿ideay no te acordás*$_V$*?*
hey, you have already forgotten$_V$?

Empowerment = *Voseo*

(3) a. *vení*$_V$, ¿cómo es que te *llamás*$_V$?
come$_V$ here, how is it that are you called$_V$?
b. *esperame*$_V$, *esperame*$_V$
wait$_V$ for me, wait$_V$ for me.

In this case the request is severe and direct.

(4) a. *¿te querés*$_V$ *ir para tu casa?*
do you want$_V$ to go home?

There is a direct mode and severity used in this request, with an intention to discipline the bad behavior.

Mitigation with affection = *Ustedeo*

(2) c. *hasta que yo le*$_U$ *diga*$_U$
until I tell$_U$ you$_U$'.

(5) a. *'no pelee*$_U$
don't fight$_U$

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b. *mire*$_U$, así, ya, *mire*$_U$, *mire*$_U$
look$_U$, like that, see, look$_U$, look$_U$'

Mitigación with anger = *Ustedeo*

(2) a. *ya le*$_U$ *dije que cambie*$_U$ *ese vocabulario, usted*$_U$ *es bien vulgarcito*
I told$_U$ you$_U$ to change$_U$ that vocabulary, you$_U$ have a very little dirty mouth.

In this example, this message possesses an explicit mode, where the explicitness of the request is shown through mitigation using *usted*, giving a moderate and polite request. Also, he uses the diminutive to refer to the child as "*vulgarcito*" 'a little dirty mouth,' like in the use of the diminutive indexing *ustedeo* in Costa Rican Spanish referred by Moser (2006).

(2) b. *¿usted*$_U$ *con quién va*$_U$*?*
who are you$_U$ playing$_U$ with?'

Mitigation and empowerment = *Ustedeo* and *voseo*

(2) a. *ya le*$_U$ *dije que cambie*$_U$ *ese vocabulario, usted*$_U$ *es bien vulgarcito*
I told$_U$ you$_U$ to change$_U$ that vocabulary, you$_U$ have a very little dirty mouth.

In this example, the shift from *ustedeo* to voseo shows how the coach initiates the message with a polite form mitigating the message, but rapidly switches to a message with severity by using *voseo*, which reverts the previously expressed mitigation.

The given examples of the alternation from *ustedeo* to *voseo* are evidence of how a request or command by the coach can be empowered in order to keep discipline during the practice. The alternation from *voseo* to *ustedeo*, on the other hand, implies mitigation of the request, indexing politeness, even with affection through the use of a "motherese" voice or by simply mitigating the message as a form of control by the coach as he is angry because of the misbehaving children. The difference between the data presented by Moser (2006, 2008) and those found in this study lays in the use of *ustedeo*. This use goes beyond indexing affection; it also mitigates the request. In Costa Rica, the use of *ustedeo* has been reported to be affective in close relations. However, in order to mitigate, Costa Ricans use *voseo* and its forms when using the imperative. The examples presented by the Nicaraguan speakers in the study show the opposite, where *voseo* is used for familiarity and it is the most common use. Data from both countries agree that *ustedeo* can express affection. However, when mitigation is needed, the preference of use in this data has been *ustedeo*, because *voseo* indexes familiarity. For this reason, when a request is made,

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using *ustedeo* adds severity and imposition; therefore, following the arguments made by Blum-Kulka (1990) about directionality in interactions, these Nicaraguan speakers seemed to express solidarity using *voseo*. If the directness mode is considered to lack politeness, *voseo* is used by the speakers in the given examples. On the other hand, *ustedeo* evidenced the indirect mode and indicated politeness, while these interactions also expressed affection with a "motherese" voice, or the use of diminutive.

6. Conclusion

The variable use of *voseo* and *ustedeo* show great significance in the exchanges of Nicaraguan speakers. This study has examined a male context during a baseball practice where the use of *voseo* represents the patriarchal element described by Rey (1996). Also, results show that *vos* and *usted* in the Spanish of these Nicaraguans are actively alternating, offering innovative practices and indexing mitigation or empowerment. The use of *ustedeo* seems to go beyond formality and social distance, presenting itself as an alternative for politeness where familiarity and affect are in play in a given request. Throughout these practices, speakers negotiate the pragmatic value of the request when switching to *voseo.* In these cases, this is more than a simple demonstration of solidarity; it indexes authority or shows a try to recover it, becoming a brief act of control. Therefore, there is no mitigation during asymmetric relations in a descending direction, but rather speakers use empowerment of the command, as in the case of the coach when addressing the child while trying to get control of the situation. On the other hand, when the speaker is trying an act of control affectively, he mitigates the request with the use of *ustedeo*. Thus, Nicaraguans are employing mitigation in an opposite direction to their Costa Rican neighbors, who use *voseo* in order to mitigate the command, as described by Moser (2006, 2008). In Nicaragua, *voseo* has been reported to be the pronoun of major use in daily interactions; as a result, the use of *ustedeo* acquires a pragmatic value beyond formality due to expressing affection during different estates or moods of the speaker, such as anger or serenity.

All in all, *voseo* is present during a situation of solidarity and familiarity in symmetric relations. In asymmetric relations, however, two options are presented: first, in ascending relations, speaking to superiors, the pronominal use of preference is *ustedeo* of respect and formality; second, in descending relations, towards subordinates, two directions are observed: (a) the use of *voseo* can express solidarity or empower the command, or (b) the use of *ustedeo* demonstrates affection or mitigation of the request by the speaker during an act of control. In order to visualize these options, Table 1 lays out the alternations and their directionalities.

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Table 1. Alternations and directionalities of *voseo* and *ustedeo*

Symmetry	Directionality	Addressing use (function)
Symmetric relations		*voseo* (solidarity, familiarity)
Asymmetric relations	Ascendant ↑	*ustedeo* (respect)
	Descendent ↓	*voseo* (solidarity or empowerment)
	Descendent ↓	*ustedeo* (affection or mitigation)

To summarize, the results presented in this work open a discussion about the innovative pragmatics of alternation between *voseo-ustedeo* and the polysemic character of *ustedeo* in Central America, contributing to the works presented by Moser (2011, 2008, 2006), Ferrari (2015), Christiansen & Chavarría (2010), Lipski (2000), Rojas Blanco (2003), and Rey (1996). These alternations demonstrate signs of frequent negotiation during interactions, where there are acts of control by speakers. The data shows the need for further data collection to study these power negotiations in the alternation and use of *voseo* and *ustedeo*. This work also motivates future studies about attitudes towards second person pronominal variation in Central American. In addition, the few examples of lexical markers for the use of *voseo* and *ustedeo* in this study suggest another gap in the literature. The limited data here does not allow much analysis of lexical markers, but the examples provide a starting place for possible future studies. For example, in this study, the use of *chavalo* 'pal' is present when there is familiarity and solidarity among young speakers (e.g. *vos chavalo/a* 'pal,' *mirá chavalo/a* 'look, pal'). Also, *ideay* 'hey' is a marker of familiarity among friends (e.g. *ideay vos* 'hey you,' *ideay, no mirás* 'hey, don't you see?'). In the use of *ustedeo*, Moser (2006) demonstrated that the use of the diminutive is a marker for *ustedeo.* In this data, the use of diminutive for *vulgar* 'dirty mouth' to *vulgarcito* 'little dirty mouth' accompanied mitigation through the use of *usted* from Example (2a).

All in all, this study is opening a new discussion about the importance of pronominal alternation in Central American studies. Moreover, even with their limitations, the data show an example of innovative pragmatics between *voseo* and *ustedeo* while researching an understudied area of Latin America.

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CHAPTER 2

"Feel really Uruguayan"

Group unity, stance, respect and politeness. Forms of address in advertisements and commercial documents in the Spanish of Montevideo

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This chapter considers second-person singular forms of address (tú, vos, usted) in advertisements and business documents in the Spanish of Montevideo, Uruguay. Tú is considered the standard-Spanish familiar address and usted the standard respectful address, while vos is used as an familiar form of address among Uruguayans. Norms of politeness dictate that speakers should accommodate to the hearer using usted. However, familiar vos can indicate politeness for speakers with a similar social status, or to show solidarity. Using examples from marketing and advertising to illustrate usage, we find that over 70% of examples used vos, almost 19% employed usted, and less than 7% used tú. This supports claims that tuteo (whether verbal or pronominal) is disappearing from Montevideo.

Keywords: familiarity, forms of address, group unity, language of business and advertising, politeness, power, pronouns of address, respect, solidarity, stance, tú, usted, vos

1. Introduction

During social or professional interactions, it is common to wonder how different individuals should be addressed. When is it appropriate to use the given name (e.g., "Susan" or "David")? When should the title plus the surname be used (e.g., "Miss/Ms./Mrs./Mr. Henderson")? When a business drafts an advertisement or other marketing document, address forms and other references to the potential consumer (e.g., "Sir" or "Hey, kids!") must also be taken into consideration.

In Spanish as well as English, the title plus the surname is considered a more respectful type of address than the first name, which is more familiar. Generally, the respectful address is used with strangers, with people who are older than the speaker, and with someone worthy of respect.

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In addition to first and last names, second-person pronouns constitute forms of address. In English, there exists only one form, *you*, in both singular and plural (plus the dialectal variants such as "y'all," "you guys," "yinz" and "youz" in the plural). However, in Spanish, one must choose between *tú, vos* (in some parts of Latin America), and *usted* for the singular. For the plural, in parts of Spain, a speaker must choose between *vosotros/vosotras* and *ustedes*, while only *ustedes* is used for the plural in Latin America.

Verbal forms corresponding to the second-person pronouns are as follows in the present indicative, showing examples of regular verbs and the irregular verb *tener* 'to have:'

- *tú* + second-person singular (*estudias* 'you study,' *comprendes* 'you comprehend,' *escribes* 'you write,' *tienes* 'you have')
- *vos* + Uruguayan *voseo* second-person singular (*estudiás/comprendés/escribís/tenés*)
- *usted* + third-person singular (*estudia/comprende/escribe/tiene*)
- *vosotros/as* + second-person plural (*estudiáis/comprendéis/escribís/tenéis*)
- *ustedes* + third-person plural (*estudian/comprenden/escriben/tienen*)

Regarding the social meaning of second-person singular pronouns of address in Spanish, the respectful *usted* could be characterized as showing more politeness than the familiar *tú* and *vos*.

Utilizing the theory of verbal politeness (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987; García, 1992), the approach of conversation analysis with respect to stance (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013; Raymond, 2016b), and the concepts of power and solidarity (R. Brown & Gilman, 1960), this paper presents the results of a study of forms of address in advertising and marketing documents in the Spanish of Montevideo, Uruguay. It is suggested that the use of *vos* or, to a lesser extent, informal *tú*, reflects the concept of group unity among Uruguayans. In addition, I argue that the concept of stance, as discussed in Raymond (2016b), may be illustrative in explaining the switching of address forms within the same document.

A complete understanding of the culture and pragmatics of business must include the concepts of respect and politeness, as well as how these concepts are reflected in the forms used to address the customer.

As discussed in earlier publications from this project (Uber, 2011, 2015), Spanish-language address forms may reflect these concepts of respect and politeness in business. With age and higher rank comes respect, which would dictate usage of the more formal address, *usted*. Common scenarios of usage include people with whom a worker is not acquainted, such as walk-in customers. Norms of politeness dictate that one should be accommodating toward the addressee. The idea is something like: "Be nice, so that the potential customer does not lose face."

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Politeness can be manifested in the form of the respectful, deferential *usted* in the singular, plus the corresponding verb forms. Alternatively, politeness can also dictate informal address: *tú* in the singular, plus the corresponding verb forms. This informal address can be used toward those sharing equal social status (in all types of usages and situations), or to show confidence and solidarity toward the consumer in business encounters, advertising and marketing, or to show group unity toward local customers from the area.

The popular version of the concept of politeness is shown in an advertising sign in front of the Cafe at the Salvo Palace in Montevideo (Figure 1). As the customer's request becomes more polite, the price becomes lower, (1). However, politeness theory is somewhat more complex than this example illustrates.

(1) *Un café $59. Un café por favor $49. Buenos días, un café por favor $39.*
'A coffee, 59 pesos. A coffee, please, 49 pesos. Good morning, a coffee, please, 39 pesos.'

Figure 1. Sign with coffee prices in front of a Cafe at Palacio Salvo

Norms of politeness dictate that the speaker should accommodate to the interlocutor, which could be manifested by the use of the respectful *usted*. On the other

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hand, in Montevideo, politeness can be shown by means of employing the familiar *vos*, or, less frequently, *tú*, when addressing those who share a similar social status, or to show confidence in, and solidarity toward, the consumer. For example, on the sign in front of the Cafe at Palacio Salvo (Figure 1), the address is familiar (it may correspond to either *vos* or *tú*), to show solidarity with the client, (2).

(2) "*Tu tienda de conveniencia y exquisiteces*"
'Your store for convenience and delicacies' [*vos* or *tú* form]

This paper analyzes the use of forms of address in marketing documents in the Spanish of Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay. The second-person singular pronouns used in Montevideo include *vos, tú* and *usted*. The use of the pronoun *tú* is reduced, given that *vos* is of general use for informal, familiar address. Weyers (2009, p. 837) finds that *tú* usage is disappearing in Montevideo, although the pronoun *tú* is used with the verb forms corresponding to either *tú* or *vos* by middle-aged speakers who wish to maintain a certain social distance. The use of the pronouns *tú* (as a subject) and *ti* (as an object of preposition), instead of *vos*, with verbal forms corresponding to *vos*, is called "verbal *voseo*." The type of *voseo* that is used most commonly in Montevideo carries the verbal forms *estudiás, comprendés, escribís, tenés* in the present tense, and the commands *tené*, *vení, sentate* (for the irregular verbs tener, venir, sentarse), all accompanied by the pronoun *vos*. This is called "complete *voseo*." See Uber (2008) for more information regarding the phenomenon of *voseo* in Spanish. Of course, *usted* is used for respectful address, along with its corresponding verbal forms (present tense forms *estudia, comprende, escribe, tiene*, as well as commands *tenga*, *venga, siéntese*).

2. Theoretical considerations

Studies of verbal politeness, such as Brown and Levinson (1987) and García (1992), identify two strategies used by speakers during a speech act: positive politeness and negative politeness. The speaker can employ the strategy of positive politeness to indicate approval or affinity toward the interlocutor (García, 1992, p. 208). One example would be the use of the first, or given, name. In contrast, the speaker uses the strategy of negative politeness to show respect toward the interlocutor (p. 209). An example of negative politeness would be the use of title plus surname. This negative strategy can be used in order to not offend the addressee. In professional contexts, the consequences can be more serious, such as losing a business deal.

With respect to the social meaning of the second-person singular pronouns in Spanish, *usted* is considered more respectful and courteous than either the familiar *vos* or *tú*. Therefore, *usted* usage shows deference and respect toward the

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interlocutor, and corresponds to the concept of negative politeness. Contrastively, the use of *vos* or *tú* demonstrates solidarity with the addressee, and such usage corresponds to positive politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 292, note 51). However, politeness cannot explain all usages examined here, particularly examples of switching.

Raymond (2016b) posits a distinction between identity *status* and identity *stance* to explain alternation between second-person reference forms during a conversational interaction. Status is a more enduring feature of social relationships, such as gender, race, ethnicity, age. Stance, by contrast, refers to a more moment-by-moment expression of these relationships (Raymond, 2016b, p. 642). The concept of stance will be used to explain some examples of switching between address forms within the same document.

3. Methodology

This paper forms part of a larger research project carried out since 1999, on the use of forms of address in workplace and business contexts. For earlier studies, I made contact with individuals, through friends and colleagues, who permitted me to visit their workplace. I explained that I taught a course in Spanish for business, that I needed to learn more about the culture of the workplace in Latin America and Spain, and that I wanted to observe practical, normal, everyday activities. Thus, I was able to spend several hours observing interactions in workplaces, taking notes on address usage, and speaking with some employees. The fieldwork was carried out in a variety of places and situations at work: offices, stores, hotels, restaurants, employee meetings, meetings between employees and consultants, and tourist excursions. In more recent work for the project, including the present study, I have gathered examples of advertisements and signs from the linguistic landscape, as well as other commercial documents that illustrate address toward the consumer or client. Such marketing documents form the majority of the data for this chapter. For more details and a complete discussion of earlier work from the project, see Uber (2010). For a discussion of the research project carried out in other cities of the Spanish-speaking world, consult Uber (2000, 2011, 2012, 2014, and 2018).

Forms of address may reflect the concepts of respect and politeness in business, whether in verbal interaction or in marketing documents. However, politeness can be demonstrated either by respectful *usted* address (negative politeness), or by familiar *vos* address (positive politeness) to establish group unity with other speakers of the Spanish of the River Plate area (Uber, 2012). I will also examine some examples of signs and documents showing switching between *usted* and *vos*, which will be analyzed using the concept of stance, as explained in Raymond (2016b).

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4. Respect

More respect may be shown when addressing older people or employees of a higher rank, often expressed by the usage of *usted*. For example, an employee may address the boss as *usted*, or a student may use *usted* with the professor. If the speaker believes that the addressee holds a higher rank or occupation, that speaker could use *usted* with such an interlocutor. Consult Uber (2010) for various examples of these usages, noted during fieldwork carried out in 2000 and 2005 in Buenos Aires.

Many employees tend to use *usted* with a colleague of the opposite sex if that person is not a friend. In Uber (2010), I found that women frequently prefer to address males older than they are with *usted*. *Usted* is also used with strangers, as well as with clients until some degree of familiarity is established.

5. Politeness

Norms of politeness dictate that the speaker should be accommodating to the hearer, which can be manifested with the use of respectful *usted*. On the other hand, politeness could also be shown by the use of the familiar *vos* or *tú* directed toward those who share a similar social status, or to show familiarity and solidarity toward the consumer. Different address may be used within the same industry. For example, newspaper ads in Montevideo for Mercedes automobiles use *usted*, but those for Nissan and Peugeot use *vos*.

Kaul de Marlangeon (2010) presents a study of advertising pamphlets collected in Córdoba, Argentina. She finds that *usted* is used in documents directed toward distinguished clients, to address the need of those clients to feel that they are being treated differently than the social masses (p. 999). In contrast, *vos* indicates group unity, since it is used toward other Argentines as a guarantee of familiarity (p. 999). The automobile ads mentioned above may reflect that Mercedes directs its marketing to more distinguished clients, but that Nissan and Peugeot wish to foster group unity by marketing to Uruguayans.

6. Results

The fieldwork for this paper was carried out in 2015 in Montevideo. Along the lines of the methodology of Kaul de Marlangeon (2010), examples will be presented from marketing and advertising documents from newspapers, magazines, flyers handed out on the street, and the linguistic landscape of advertising signs and storefronts, in order to illustrate address usages toward different potential consumers.

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Of the 128 examples that are documented with scanned print images and photographs from the linguistic landscape, 102 (79.6%) show *vos* usage, 19 (14.8%) use *usted*, two (1.6%) use *tú*, three (2.3%) mix *usted* and *vos* in the same ad, one (0.8%) mixes *tú* and *vos*, and one (0.8%) employs the infinitive. It is important to note that what are clearly *vos* forms predominate, representing almost 80% of the address forms used.

Of the 199 examples that are not documented with images or photos, but rather with notes on participant observations and interactions for which the author was present in stores, hotels, restaurants, outdoor markets and university classes, 132 (66.3%) show *vos* usage, 42 (21.1%) use *usted*, 16 (8.0%) use *tú*, and nine (4.5%) are ambiguous, where it is impossible to determine the type of address. An example of an ambiguous usage would be *te gusta* 'you like it,' without a clarifying phrase, such as *a vos* 'to you [vos]' or *a ti* 'to you [tú].' Once again, with this data from participant observations, I note the predominance of *vos* usage, in two of every three cases.

Combining all of the examples, 71.6% employ forms of *vos*, 18.7% use *usted*, and 6.8% show *tú* forms.

6.1 Examples of *usted* usage

Technical/formal instructions, advertisements for financial institutions and ads for security services use *usted* in order to deal with more serious topics. *Usted* is also used in ads directed toward older clients or business executives to show respect. For example, INDUMEX is a financial-services company regulated and supervised by the Central Bank of Uruguay. Their ad appeared in the magazine *Caras & Caretas*, and *usted* is used, (3).

(3) *"Más cambio a su favor"*
'More cash or change in your favor' [*usted* form]

Another example, (4), is a sign in the window of a bank, which illustrates the use of *usted* in a financial ad for loans.

(4) *"Préstamo ideal. Necesitó. Pidió. Se lo dieron."*
'Ideal loan. You needed it. You asked for it. It was given to you.' [*usted* forms]

An ad for commercial security systems, (5), also uses *usted*.

(5) *"Conozca nuestro sistema integral de seguridad Eagle Cam"*
'Get to know our integral security system Eagle Cam' [*usted* form]

A company advertising their hearing aids uses *usted* with potential clients, many of whom would be elderly, in an ad (Figure 2), which cleverly shows a river that forms the shape of an ear as it cuts through a forest, (6).

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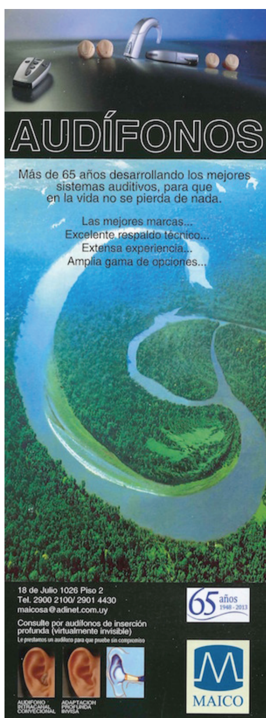

Figure 2. Ad for hearing aids

(6) "*Más de 65 años desarrollando los mejores sistemas auditivos, para que en la vida no se pierda de nada.*" "*Consulte por audífonos de inserción profunda*"
'More than 65 years developing the best auditory systems, so that you won't miss anything in life.' 'Consult with us for deep-insertion hearing aids' [*usted* forms]

A store that sells fine ink pens (the brands Parker, Mont Blanc, Sheaffer, Cross), may be trying to cater to executives and wealthy professionals through the use of *usted* in a window sign that offers free engraving, in (7).

(7) "*Gratis. Grabamos su nombre en el acto.*"
'Free. We engrave your name right now.' [*usted* form]

At this store, I took in a pen, for which I purchased a refill. My observation was that *usted* was used by employees with the customers during interactions, corresponding to the *usted* usage in the storefront sign. My suspicion is that *vos* or *tú* usage might not convey the same connotations of catering to a distinguished clientele.

Another advertisement, (8), geared toward businesses that need to hire executives, uses *usted*:

(8) "*Ejecutivos y líderes para su negocio.*"
'Executives and leaders for your business.' [*usted* form]

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6.2 Examples of *tú* usage

The French cosmetics company, Lancôme, uses *tú* in an ad, (9), that appears in a pamphlet:

(9) "*Completa el look y enamora con tu mirada*"
'Complete the look and provoke love with your glance' [*tú* forms]

This ad contains an Anglicism ("el look"), which, along with *tú* usage, could indicate that it was written for the Spanish-speaking (or bilingual) world in general, and perhaps not specifically for Uruguay.

A similar ad for Estée Lauder also uses *tú*, in (10). This ad also contains names of products in English. Of course, Anglicisms are found in most varieties of Spanish, particularly in the fashion industry. The use of *tú* forms may indicate that these ads are designed for usage throughout Latin America.

(10) "*Esta noche, despierta la transformación*"
'Tonight, awaken the transformation' [*tú* form]

6.3 Examples of *vos* usage

It was stated earlier that the vast majority of examples found here (71.6%) show *vos* forms. *Voseo* forms are found in many types of advertisements and commercial marketing documents, including those for banks and those directed toward executives and older clients.

The financial institution CréditoYa handed out flyers on the street, (11).

(11) "*Solicitá tu préstamo gratis al 0800 2120*"
'Ask for your free loan by calling 0800 2120' [*vos* form]

In addition, an ad in the store window of CréditoYa used the pronoun *vos*, (12).

(12) "Como hace 15 AÑOS, estamos junto a *vos*"
'Just like for the last 15 YEARS, we are beside you'

The ads for a national credit card, such as the one in Figure 3, (13), use *vos* with the potential consumer, with whom the company wishes to establish a recognition of national group identity:

(13) "*Sentite bien uruguayo, tené Tarjeta D, la Tarjeta D todos*"
'Feel really Uruguayan, hold Card D, the card of everyone' [*vos* form]

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Figure 3. Store window sign for a Uruguayan credit card

The Diners Club International card, (14), also uses a *vos* verb form on a sign.

(14) "*Con tu tarjeta Diners tenés 10 pagos sin recargo*"
'With your Diners card, you have 10 payments without a surcharge' [*vos* form]

An ad for cough medicine uses *voseo* verb forms, in (15).

(15) "*¿Tenés tos con flema? Tomá Bisolvon.*"
'Do you have a cough with phlegm? Take Bisolvon.' [*vos* forms]

However, right below the ad, on the same pamphlet, the company's disclaimer uses *usted* forms, (16), because it contains the technical instructions.

(16) "*Lea atentamente el prospecto y ante la menor duda consulte a su médico y/o farmacéutico.*"
'Read the information pamphlet carefully, and, in case of the slightest doubt, consult your physician or pharmacist.' [*usted* forms]

The Coca Cola Company, although it is a US firm, has plants in Uruguay. Therefore, it is not surprising that a television ad, (17), uses a *voseo* command, both orally and in writing on the screen.

(17) "*Destapá la felicidad*"
'Open happiness' [*vos* form]

There is an example of verbal *voseo* in a pamphlet advertising L'Oréal lipstick, in (18).

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(18) "*¡ELEGÍ EL QUE MÁS SE ADAPTA A TÍ [sic]!*" "*Seguinos en facebook: loreal parís uruguay*" "*Para más información llamá al… o visitá también www.loreal-paris.uy*"
'Choose [*vos* form] the color that adapts best to you [*tú* form]!' 'Follow us [*vos* form] on facebook: loreal paris uruguay' 'For more information call [*vos* form]… or visit [*vos* form] www.lorealparis.uy also'

In this ad, four *voseo* commands are used (ELEGÍ, Seguinos, llamá, visitá), but the pronoun used for the object of the preposition *a* is *tí*, [sic--with an unnecessary accent mark], instead of *vos*. Therefore, although it is a French company, L'Oréal has a presence in Uruguay with an internet address. Since the ad is directed toward Uruguayans, the verbal *voseo* is used.

A Uruguayan chain of cinemas placed an ad in the magazine *Caras & Caretas* issue for August 7, 2015, (19), which shows many examples of *voseo* commands.

(19) "*¡Hacete fan de Grupocine en Facebook y enterate de todas las novedades de tus películas favoritas, participá de increíbles sorteos y obtené descuentos especiales!*"
'Become a fan of Grupocine on Facebook and find out about all the news about your favorite movies, participate in incredible drawings and obtain special discounts!' [*vos* forms]

In a movie ticket, (20), it is clear that the *voseo* is being used, as evidenced by the fact that they took care to place the accent mark on *presentá*, although it was not used on *boleteria* [sic].

(20) "*¡presentá este ticket en boleteria [sic] y tu invitado paga la mitad!*"
'present this ticket to the cashier and your guest pays half price!' [*vos* forms]

Similarly, when I went to the Museum of Pre-colombian and Indigenous Art in the Old City of Montevideo, the cashier, who was approximately 25 years old, asked me a question, (21), using verbal *voseo*.

(21) "*¿Sos de acá tú?*"
'Are [*vos* form] you [*tú* form] from here?'

In all stores and restaurants, male employees addressed me with *usted*. Female employees in formal stores also used *usted* with me, but in more informal stores, they used verbal *voseo*. In a factory store of leather clothing, the female employee, who informed me that she was 80 years old, addressed me with *usted* at first, but later she changed to verbal *voseo*, shown in (22).

(22) "*Sentate aquí.*" "*Esto es mejor para ti.*"
'Sit [*vos* form] here. This is better for you [*tú* form].'

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However, in all of the stores, when female employees spoke among themselves, (23), they used "complete *voseo*."

(23) "*Yo estoy hablando de lo que querés vos*."
'I'm talking about what you want.' [*vos* forms]

Thus, the "complete *voseo*" indicates confidence and intimacy among Uruguayans, but the "verbal *voseo*" can be used to address (potential) Uruguayan strangers, or perhaps even a foreigner (such as myself) who speaks fluent non-Uruguayan Spanish. These results also correlate nicely with the concept of group identity, as expressed by forms of address. Weyers (2016, pp. 289, 301–302) has suggested that the increasing presence of the *voseo* in the linguistic landscape of Medellín, Colombia, can be explained by the increase in prestige of that city's culture, which has subsequently resulted in an increased prestige for the *voseo* of Medellín.

6.4 Examples of alternation

There are various examples of alternation between different forms of address in the same advertising or marketing document. Two ads for Scotiabank appeared in the national newspaper *El país* in the issue of August 24, 2015. One uses the verbal *voseo* in the ad, (24).

(24) "*Hablemos de tu Negocio. …tu empresa. …. Te ofrecemos…que te ayudarán… que necesitás en tu negocio. Acercate y conocé nuestras líneas de crédito para…. Descubrí más información hoy en …*"
'Let's talk about your Business. …your company. …. We offer you…which will help you…that you need in your business. Come by and get to know our lines of credit for…. Find more information today on…' [*vos* forms]

But the bank's slogan at the end of the ad, (25), uses *tú* instead of using forms of *voseo* (descubrí…podés).

(25) "*Descubre lo que puedes lograr*"
'Discover what you can achieve' [*tú* forms]

Another advertisement for Scotiabank uses *vos,* in (26).

(26) "*Anotá en la lista del súper el premio que querés ganar. Sumá Puntos en tus compras de todos los días y canjealos por lo que quieras en Tienda Inglesa. Pedí tu tarjeta Scotiabank Club Card hoy. Llamá al 1969 o en Tienda Inglesa.*"
'Sign up on the store list for the prize that you want to win. Accumulate Points on your purchases every day and exchange them for whatever you want at Tienda Inglesa. Ask for your Scotiabank Club Card today. Call 1969 or [get it] at Tienda Inglesa.' [*vos* forms]

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But the same slogan appears at the end of the same ad using *tú*, (27).

(27) *"Descubre lo que puedes lograr"*
'Discover what you can achieve' [*tú* forms]

Scotiabank is a Canadian multinational corporation that has a presence in Uruguay. One could suspect that the slogan was written for Spanish-speaking countries in general, but that the text of the ad was prepared specifically for Uruguayans.

Municipal garbage cans use *usted* forms on the top part of the trash receptacle, as shown in Figure 4, (28).

(28) *"Empuje su bolsa hasta el fondo.… Cuidando así su vida y su salud."*
'Push your bag all the way in.… Thus, taking care of your life and your health.' [*usted* forms]

However, on the lower part of the same trash receptacle, *vos* forms are used, also shown in Figure 4, (29).

(29) *"Lo que depositás aquí recibirá un tratamiento adecuado. Depositá aquí… No deposites aquí…"*
'What you deposit here will receive adequate treatment. Deposit here… Do not deposit here….' [*vos* forms]

Figure 4. Signs on municipal garbage cans

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It is difficult to explain this alternation between *usted* and *vos* on the same trash receptacle, given that both sections give instructions using command forms. However, the section that uses *vos* forms mentions the city twice, as seen in Figure 4, reproduced in (30) and (31).

(30) *"MONTEVIDEO LIMPIO, NO TIENE DESPERDICIO"*
'A clean Montevideo does not have trash [on the ground]'

(31) *"Intendencia de Montevideo"*
'Government of the city of Montevideo'

It is possible that the section of the signs that uses *vos* was drafted in Montevideo, and that the section that uses *usted* was prepared in another country. Another possibility, according to a professional translator and language professor from Montevideo, is that it could be due to a confusion among the different forms of address, and that the editing of many texts is not carried out by a person with advanced knowledge of the rules of the language, but, rather, by anybody employed by the organization (C. Fraga, personal communication, April 19, 2017).

The other example of switching is in an ad for Johnson & Johnson, (32), which begins with a command in the *tú* form.

(32) "*Consulta por la línea de invierno de Johnson & Johnson*"
'Consult about the winter line of Johnson & Johnson products' [*tú* form]

However, in the section that advertises a cough medicine, (33), a *vos* form is used.

(33) "*¿Tenés tos?*"
'Do you have a cough?' [*vos* form]

It is clear that the company wishes to direct the ad toward Uruguayans, using *vos* forms. It is possible that, in the first part, the accent mark was eliminated over the *a* of *Consultá*, but the presence of the accent mark in the word *línea* indicates that accent marks are used in the first part, in addition to accent marks on the words *Más, Presentación, fórmula, CONGESTIÓN, Tenés, crédito* and *Itaú* in other sections of the ad, (34).

(34) *"El Antigripal Más Esperado… Presentación en tabletas ahora con una fórmula más completa… CONGESTIÓN Y GRIPE… ¿Tenés tos?… 25% menos con tarjetas de crédito Itaú"*
'The most anticipated anti-flu… Now in tablet form with a more complete formula… Congestion and cold… Do you have a cough?… 25% discount with Itaú credit card'

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The explanation for the alternation could be that, since the ad is from a U.S. company, perhaps the different sections were written by different employees, or that the first line was drafted for the Spanish-speaking world in general, and the ad for the cough medicine was written specifically for Uruguay. However, many of the examples discussed here show switching of address forms within the same document (advertisement, brochure or sign). Raymond (2016b, p. 662) states that "linguistic reference forms – including switches – are one grammatical resource through which these LOCAL, MOMENT-BY-MOMENT IDENTITY STANCES can be invoked." Raymond (2016a, p. 283) uses the term "identity negotiation strategy" to refer to the moment-by-moment deployment of the different options from the inventory in a particular interaction. Montevideo does exhibit all three Spanish forms of address (or options from the inventory) in the singular (*vos, tú*, and *usted*), thus showing the ability to alternate among different stances. Address forms may represent a conflict requiring different stances for some users, in terms of the politeness of respect vs. the politeness of solidarity/familiarity, which can produce alternations among *vos, tú* and *usted*.

Quite a lot of switching between *tú* and *usted* was also found in the linguistic landscape of Mayagüez, Puerto Rico (Uber, 2018). Some people, including Hispanic linguists and language teachers of Spanish, have asked me whether it might be the case that some people simply do not know the forms, and that this could explain the switching between forms of address. However, I would argue that speakers do, in fact, know the forms of their language. For example, in an earlier study of clitic pronoun usage (Uber, 1988), I found that responses of the English-dominant participants were in line with the responses of the Spanish-dominant participants, which indicates that they do share the same grammar. Others have wondered if, perhaps, the U forms are disappearing from Puerto Rican Spanish, which is possible, and should be investigated further.

It is also possible that formal directives, such as commands, may have become lexicalized in the *usted* form. This would explain the usage of *usted* in more direct types of instructions. A similar result was discussed in Uber (2012) for Buenos Aires, where the subway tickets all have an *usted* directive, (35), but all of the advertisements on the tickets appear in the familar *vos* form, showing group identity (pp. 1789–1791).

(35) "*Conserve esta tarjeta en buen estado*"
'Keep this card in good condition'

Also, a sign that appears in all stores and restaurants in Buenos Aires, (36), uses *usted* first.

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(36) "*Exija su factura*"
'Obtain (demand) your receipt.'

This is a formal directive, instructing the customer to be certain to obtain a receipt. However, the remainder of the sign uses the familiar *vos* form, (37).

(37) "*Pagás / Pedís / Ganás*"
'You pay / You ask [for your receipt] / You win'

These verbs are not imperatives, but, rather, indicative forms, which explain to the consumer why there is a benefit from obtaining a receipt. Thus, the familiar forms are used to show solidarity with the local consumer, coming after the formal directive using the *usted* form.

7. Conclusions

Forms of address may reflect the concepts of respect and politeness in the workplace. More respect is often shown toward older addressees and toward those of higher rank, and this respect may be expressed through the use of *usted* address. Norms of politeness would dictate that the speaker should accommodate to the hearer, which can be shown by the use of the respectful *usted*. Technical writing and formal instructions, financial advertisements, and ads for security products may use *usted* to deal with more serious topics. *Usted* may also be employed in ads aimed toward older clients or to business executives, in order to show respect.

On the other hand, politeness may be shown by the use of *vos* or, to a lesser extent, familiiar *tú* directed toward those who share a similar social status, who share a feeling of group unity, or as an attempt to show confidence and solidarity toward the consumer. Especially if the potential consumer is presumed to be Uruguayan, group unity is affirmed by the use of forms of the *voseo*. Similar corresponding results with respect to familiar address usage to affirm group unity were found with *voseo* usage in Buenos Aires, Argentina (Uber, 2012), and with *tuteo* usage in Madrid, Spain (Uber, 2014) and Mayagüez, Puerto Rico (Uber, 2018).

This chapter has shown that more than 70% of all examples in the documents employ what are clearly *vos* forms, that almost 19% show forms of *usted*, and that less than 7% use what are clearly *tú* forms. The remaining 4% are ambiguous as to whether they represent *vos* or *tú* usage (such as "*te ofrecemos*" without a clarifying phrase). In addition, the results are consistent with those of Weyers (2009), who indicates that the *tuteo* (whether it be manifest by verbal or pronominal forms of *tú*) is disappearing from the Spanish of Montevideo.

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Moreover, switching of address forms within the same document (advertisement or brochure) may represent a conflict with respect to stance, following Raymond (2016b), who posits that switches are one grammatical resource through which moment-by-moment identity stances can be invoked (p. 662). The notion of stance is also useful to explain switching of address forms, as well as switching between Spanish and English in documents from Mayagüez, Puerto Rico (Uber, 2018).

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CHAPTER 3

Variable constraints on *se lo(s)* in Mexican Spanish

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We examine the alternation between normative *se lo/la* and *se los/las* to express a plural indirect object and singular direct object. Using corpus data from Mexico City and Monterrey, we find that significant predictors of the more frequent variant, *se los*, are number of the verb, referential distance, and presence of a dative prepositional phrase. Contra previous claims that *se los* marks plurality in ambiguous dative referents, we argue that it serves as an accessibility marker that makes a plural referent more salient if not recently mentioned. *Se los* is used most frequently with first-person singular verbs, resulting in (near-)fixed expressions. These findings demonstrate the sensitivity of Spanish clitics to discourse-pragmatic context and highlight limitations of sentence-level analysis of morphosyntactic variants.

Keywords: datives, object clitics, Mexican Spanish, discourse accessibility

1. Introduction

One of the most peculiar constructions from a normative point of view in the Spanish of Latin America is what we term here the *se los* construction, which is a ditransitive clitic cluster that occurs with a plural indirect object (IO) referent encoded by the dative pronoun *se*, and a singular direct object (DO) referent by the accusative pronoun *los* (or *las*).[1] The peculiarity or "anomaly" (Company, 1998)

1. Prior versions of this research were presented at LSRL 44 at the University of Western Ontario, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Indiana University, and the Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro. We thank the audiences at these venues for helpful feedback. Special thanks to Juliana de la Mora for fruitful discussions during the initial stages of this project; to Assela Reig, Matt Kanwit, Christy García, and to two anonymous reviewers for comments; and to the students in Scott Schwenter's Winter 2011 Senior Seminar in Hispanic Linguistics, where the whole project began.

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of this construction is the use of the plural form of the accusative clitic *los* (or *las*) despite the fact that the referent of this pronoun, the direct object, is singular.[2]

From the outset, it should be made abundantly clear that many Latin American speakers of Spanish not only do *not* think that this construction is anomalous in any way, but they also do not even notice when it is employed instead of its normative counterpart, thus both (1a) and (1b) can be used in most of Latin America when a single book is given as a present to multiple recipients. We base this claim on audience reactions to oral presentations of this material, as well as feedback received from linguists from Argentina, Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico, Venezuela, and several other Latin American countries. Moreover, it is actually the so-called "anomalous" version in (1a) that appears to be found more frequently, at least in some spoken varieties, than the normative (1b), as we will show below in our quantitative results from Mexican Spanish.

(1) a. ***Se los*** *regalé ayer (el libro a ustedes)* ("anomalous")
'I gave it [lit. them] to you guys yesterday'
b. ***Se lo*** *regalé ayer (el libro a ustedes)* (normative)
'I gave it to you guys yesterday'

Given that vosotros and its corresponding paradigm are not used in Latin America, the clitic prounon *se* is multiply ambiguous, since it is the only form used for 2PL indirect objects, in addition to all its other functions. The typical explanation for this pluralization of the accusative clitic pronoun in sentences like (1a) is as follows: since the dative clitic *se* cannot be marked for number (there is no corresponding plural **ses* for the invariant *se*), the number marking of the plural indirect object leads to the "hijacking" of the form of the accusative clitic, where such number marking is possible (*lo, la* > *los, las*). The result is a kind of compensatory realization of the number of the indirect object referent on the accusative clitic (Romero Morales, 2008), inasmuch as the direct object referent in such cases is always singular in number. When both indirect and direct object are plural, the plural marking on the accusative pronoun is interpreted as referring to the direct object, not the indirect object.

Probably to no one's surprise, Kany (1945, p. 109) in his brilliant work on American Spanish syntax already described this phenomenon with great accuracy, noting that "popular speech in many regions of Spanish America generally insists on indicating plurality of the indirect object *se* by adding an *s* to the immediately following direct object, *lo* or *la*, making them *los* and *las*, even though the object referred to is singular." Kany (1945, pp. 109–110) presents *se los* alongside other examples of "attraction of number to object or subject," such as *Ábran**les** ustedes la puerta (a él)* for *Ábran**le** ustedes la puerta (a él)* 'Open the door for him, you guys,'

2. We use the term "construction" in a theory-neutral way that makes no claims about its fixedness or analyzability. In fact, as we note in the discussion, the alternation between *lo* and *los* is also available with *nos*.

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which he describes as common in American Spanish. He also mentions an "attraction" of gender, reportedly heard among the "lower classes" of Madrid, where *Ella* ***la*** *quiere ayudar a usted* may be used for *Ella* ***le*** *quiere ayudar a usted* 'She wants to help you' when the IO is male but the subject is female. Although we do not analyze these potentially related instances of variation here, the ability of nearby referents to influence clitic number and gender is no doubt relevant to our discussion of *se los* more generally and of feminine *se las* in particular.

This construction has likewise not escaped the attention of grammar mavens and other commentators online in usage fora,[3] where many curious Spanish speakers (and presumably learners who have encountered it) ask for "expert" feedback on *se los*. Other usage guides characterize *se los* as a peculiarly American phenomenon, limited to colloquial registers/styles, whereby the plurality of the dative pronoun is "transferred" to the accusative pronoun.[4] The recommendation is often that the construction should be avoided, as in the entry for *se los* in the *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (RAE, 2005):

> En el español de muchos países de América, es frecuente, especialmente en registros populares o coloquiales, trasladar a la forma singular del pronombre átono de acusativo en función de complemento directo el rasgo de plural correspondiente al complemento indirecto, cuando este va representado por la forma invariable *se:* « *¡No entienden que este es mi espacio, es mi lugar! Cuántas veces quieren que SE LOS diga* » (Purroy *Desertor* [Ven. 1989]), en lugar de *Cuántas veces quieren que SE LO diga.* Aunque en algunos países esta transferencia indebida se ha extendido incluso entre hablantes cultos, se recomienda evitarla en el habla esmerada.[5]
>
> 'In the Spanish of many American countries, it is common, especially in popular or colloquial registers, to transfer to the singular form of the atonic accusative direct object pronoun the plural characteristic corresponding to the indirect object, when the latter is represented by the invariable form *se*: "*They don't understand that this is my space, it's my place! How many times do they want me to tell them* [SE LOS]" (Purroy Desertor [Ven. 1989]), in place of *How many times do they want me to tell them* [SE LO]. Although in some countries this unwarranted transfer has been extended even to educated speakers, it is best to avoid it in careful speech.'

3. For examples, see the entries at: <https://www.diccionariodedudas.com/se-los-dije-o-se-lo-dije/> and <http://castellanoactual.com/duda-resuelta-se-los-dijo-o-se-lo-dijo/> and <http://elcomercio.pe/opinion/habla-culta/martha-hildebrandt-significado-se-dije-noticia-1722541>. Also of interest is the song "Se los dije" by the Mexican rapper Nam on YouTube: <htttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X6QA1tumHyM>.

4. See the *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (RAE, 2009) for more details about specific regions of the Spanish-speaking world where *se los* is said to form part of "registros cultos" as opposed to where it is considered colloquial.

5. See DeMello (1992) and Moreno de Alba (2013) for additional commentary on various grammarians' views toward *se los*.

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Still, despite such prescriptive rejections of its use, *se los* is found across Latin America, with a variety of verbs and in both proclitic (preverbal) and enclitic (postverbal) positions, as shown in recent examples extracted from Twitter in (2–10) below.

(2) *El título **se los** dejo a su criterio.* (Uruguay)
'I'll leave the title up to you guys.'

(3) *Si pudieran ayudarme con un trabajo **se los** agradecería.* (Chile)
'If you guys could help me with a project, I'd be grateful.'

(4) *Qué placer tan exquisito es por fin mandar todo a la mie#*@. **se los** recomiendo.* (Peru)
'What an exquisite pleasure to finally stop giving a sh@t about everything. I recommend it.'

(5) *Mi perra más chiquita está en su etapa de rebeldía y **se los** juro que esto es peor que un hijo.* (Puerto Rico)
'My smallest puppy is in her stage of rebellion and I swear to you guys that this is worse than having a kid.'

(6) *A mis amigos les digo que los amo todos los días, decír**selos** hoy sería un cliché.* (Venezuela)
'I tell my friends that I love them every day. Telling them today would be a cliché.'

(7) *No intenten entenderlo y tampoco voy a intentar explicár**selos**. Acá es donde quiero estar y acá es donde estoy.* (Argentina)
'Don't try to understand it, and I'm not going to try to explain it to you guys either. Here is where I want to be and here is where I am.'

(8) *Ahora sí los dejo, voy a acabarme mi libro para poder recomendár**selos** -aunque ya sé que lo voy/lo van a amar.* (Colombia)
'Now I'm signing off for real, I'm going to finish this book so I can recommend it to you guys- although I know that I'm going to/you're going to love it.'

(9) *Nicaragua vive en paz y ustedes quieren hacer un irak aqui no **se los** vamos a permitir!!!* (Nicaragua)
'Nicaragua lives in peace and you guys want to turn it into Iraq. We're not going to let you!!!'

(10) *Mis papás llegaron a esa etapa donde les digo todo tres veces o **se los** tengo que explicar muchas muchas veces.* (Costa Rica)
'My parents are at that age where I tell them everything three times or I have to explain it to them many, many times.'

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However, the normative form *se lo* is also found in abundance on Twitter, from users from the same countries and employing the same verbs (11–15). Without a doubt, then, *se los/se lo* is a variable phenomenon for many speakers of Latin American Spanish. As we will show below, it is no coincidence that four of the five examples with normative *se lo* also have a "doubled" prepositional phrase specifying the IO referent.

(11) *Mis palabras de hoy son: TE QUIERO.* ***Se lo*** *dije a todas mis personas importantes.* (Ecuador)
'My words of the day are: I LOVE YOU. I said it to all of my important people.'

(12) *Si ustedes vieran la imagen* ***se lo*** *juro que se cagan de risa jajajajaja.* (Costa Rica)
'If you guys saw the picture, I swear you'd laugh your asses off.'

(13) *Spotify me lo recomendó y yo* ***se lo*** *recomiendo a ustedes.* (Mexico)
'Spotify recommended it to me and I recommend it to you guys.'

(14) *Mis amigos me abandonaron así que* ***se lo*** *cuento a ustedes.* (Argentina)
'My friends abandoned me so I'll tell you guys about it.'

(15) *Me encantas, ¿Lo entendiste o* ***se lo*** *explico a todos?* (El Salvador)
'I really like you. Understood or should I explain it to everybody?'

Our goal here is to identify the linguistic factors governing this variation, focusing on naturally-occurring data from Mexican Spanish. We will show that it is necessary to analyze the phenomenon embedded in its discourse context in order to understand it fully. Prior research has restricted its attention to the level of the sentence, thereby missing out on contextual information that is highly pertinent to the variability. At the same time, we strive to clarify that this variation is probabilistic in nature, and therefore it qualifies as a clear case of a morphosyntactic variable that shows contextual "neutralization" (Sankoff, 1988), albeit with patterned variability.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, we review the previous linguistic literature on *se lo(s)* that informs our study; in Section 3, we present the research questions that guide our analysis, as well as their corresponding hypotheses; in Section 4, we detail the methodology used to address those questions; in Section 5, we report our results, presenting both descriptive and inferential statistics; in Section 6, we relate the results to our research questions and discuss their importance in responding to previous literature; and in Section 7, we offer some conclusions.

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2. Previous literature

Much of the prior linguistic literature addressing the *se los* phenomenon has been more descriptive than analytical in nature. Although such studies offer little explanation of the linguistic factors that condition this variation, which is our primary objective in this paper, they nevertheless provide an interesting panorama of its use in the Spanish-speaking world.

In one of the first discussions of the variation, Rael (1940, p. 346) comments on the use of *se los* in New Mexican and Colorado Spanish, where he claims "the confusion is so general that one never hears the correct form." He provides several examples from this variety, including cases of the less frequent variant *se las*, as in (16) below, where the gender of the singular DO *oreja* is reflected in the clitic pronoun.

(16) *Sacó la oreja de su bolsa y **se las** enseñó.*
'He pulled the ear out of his bag and showed it to them.'

(17) *Mi agüela me lo contó a mí y yo **se los** cuento a ustedes.*
'My grandma told it to me and I'm telling it to you guys.'

(18) *Acomodaron el dinero a manera de que nadie **se los** pudiera hurtar.*
'They arranged the money so nobody could steal it from them.'
(Rael, 1937; cited in Rael, 1940, p. 347)

Rael (1940, p. 348) goes on to offer a host of examples from literary works by Mexican, Argentine, Chilean, and Venezuelan authors. Though he makes no mention of it, some of these examples, such as the one in (19), demonstrate the possibility of enclitic *se los* (as in our Twitter examples in 6–8 above).

(19) "*Verás: los negocios, viento en popa: gana uno lo que quiere. Cuénta**selos** a todos los amigos y conocidos.*"
'"You'll see: business, going very well: you earn what you want. Tell all your friends and contacts."' (Mariano Azuela, *La luciérnaga*, Mexico, 1932)

(20) "*… Pero como los demás que están presentes no conocen la historia, **se las** voy a echar, para que no crean en los cuentos de las lenguas largas.*"
'"But since the others who are present don't know the story, I'm going to tell it, so you guys don't believe the stories of gossips."'
(Rómulo Gallegos, *Doña Bárbara*, Venezuela, 1929)

However, Rael's (1940) treatment of *se los* consists entirely of examples such as these and personal anecdotes – such as "even after attention has been called to their error" two of his Latin American students "subconsciously continue to make the same mistake" (p. 349) – with no analysis of possible patterns in the variation or cross-dialectal differences in frequency of pluralization. We intend to show below that we are not dealing with a "mistake," but rather a case of functionally-motivated variation.

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DeMello (1992) also provides preliminary observations about the frequency of use of *se lo/a* versus *se los/las* in different Spanish-speaking countries. The results of his corpus analysis must be interpreted with extreme caution given that he examines only 48 tokens of *se los* and 56 of *se lo* ($N = 104$) taken from 11 different cities. However, DeMello (1992) does offer interesting qualitative commentary about the possible import of the presence or absence of a dative prepositional phrase (PP), as well as the recency of the last prior reference to the IO. In our analysis here, we investigate both of these factors using more robust data and multivariate statistical methods.

Moreno de Alba (2013a) provides both historical details about the first appearances of *se los* in Mexican Spanish, as well as data of several different sorts to demonstrate the extent of its spread throughout the Spanish-speaking world.[6] The examples in (21) and (22) are just two of many such cases from journalistic and literary registers (Moreno de Alba, 2013a, p. 157).

(21) "*Establecer una comisión parlamentaria binacional, tema este último que su interlocutor acogió señalando que 'van a tener una contraparte; éste es un hecho que yo* ***se los*** *aseguro y garantizo.'*"
'"Establishing a binational parliamentary commission, this last theme that your interlocutor welcomed indicating that 'they are going to have a counterpart; this is a fact that I assure and guarantee to you.'"'
(*La Época,* Santiago de Chile, 1997)

(22) " – *Pero usted, señor Romea, no nos ha dicho como acabó su aventura.*
– *Ya* ***se los*** *he dicho a ustedes: fui rodando sin sentidos hasta el fondo del buque.*"
'"But you, Mr. Romea, haven't told us how your adventure ended."
"I've already told you guys: I went senselessly rolling to the back of the ship."'
(Vicente Fidel López, *La novia del hereje*, Argentina, 1854)

Moreno de Alba (2013a) describes *se los* as an essentially Latin American phenomenon, frequent in many countries but especially so in Mexico, where it is common "*en todos los registros de habla y en todos los niveles socioculturales*" ('in all registers of speech and at all sociocultural levels') (Moreno de Alba, 2013a, p. 148).[7] He cites the work of Revilla (1910) and Company (1992) to show that this frequent use of *se los* is not new in Mexico – in fact, it was already widespread among Mexicans

6. For details about the historical evolution of *se lo(s)* from the Latin dative *illi* + accusative pronoun, see Menéndez Pidal (1965, § 94.3) and Company (2006, pp. 552–553).

7. However, see Company (2006), who documents case of *se los* both in the Canary Islands (indeed, RAE, 2009, p. 2663 describes it as occurring frequently there) and in the region of Aragon. Gili y Gaya (1993 [1943], p. 234) also reports *les* for *lo* in Aragon, as in *Ya se les* (=*lo*) *he dicho (a ellos/ellas)* 'I have already told it [LES] to them.'

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by the beginning of the 19th century. Moreno de Alba (2013a, p. 155) goes on to claim, albeit without empirical justification, that the use of *se los* is so widespread that, for many speakers, it is not only acceptable, it is the only option to express a singular DO and plural IO.

The *Atlas Lingüístico de México* (Lope Blanch, 1990–2000; see also Alvar, 2010) includes questions about the use of *se los* in maps 566–569. The results of these questions show widespread variation, and a nearly even split between the two variants at all three socioeconomic levels (*alto, medio, bajo*). To take one example, for the normative sentence *Se lo compré [el toro] a ellos* 'I bought it [the bull] from them,' consultants chose the normative *se lo* 48% and "anomalous" *se los* 52% of the time. The results for the other questions were similar in distribution for the two forms (Moreno de Alba, 2013b, pp. 105–107). The ALM results therefore appear to reveal considerable variability between normative *se lo* and *se los*. Nevertheless, Moreno de Alba (2013b) discards the findings from the ALM in their totality: "… *la gran mayoría de los […] mexicanos no tiene conciencia de que construye mal el enunciado y, más aún, ignora que hay otra forma de hacerlo*…" ('the vast majority of Mexicans have no idea that they construct the utterance wrong and, what is more, they are unaware that there is another way to do so'). Oddly, however, Moreno de Alba offers no counterarguments (other than doubts about the investigators' ability to elicit judgments indirectly) or competing data to refute the ALM results; rather, he simply follows his own intuitions as a speaker of Mexican Spanish to interpret the results as erroneous.

Company (1992, 1998, 2001, 2006) analyzes the variation between *se lo/la* and *se los/las* in a series of works that move beyond the mere reporting of examples and dialectal frequencies to offer at least partial theoretical explanations from a qualitative perspective. In her work, she observes an overwhelming tendency by which IOs are more often animate than are DOs. This asymmetry between objects leads to a "reinstatement" of the number features of datives onto accusative pronouns—one of several interrelated cases of variation/change whereby datives encroach upon or usurp the territory of accusatives—leading Company (1998) to characterize Spanish datives as "cannibalistic." Company (2001) states that there are many examples where the referent NP of the dative clitic occurs in the same sentence or immediately preceding the one with the pronoun sequence, as in *Es muy importante entonces que los jurados acepten la ley como* ***se las*** *da el juez* 'It is very important then that juries accept the law as the judge gives it to them,' where the DO *la ley* 'the law' is near the clitic pronoun sequence. Company does not, however, provide quantitative justification for this claim. Below, we will show that, although such examples do occur, contexts such as these are actually relatively more favorable to normative *se lo* than to *se los*.

Finally, generative approaches to the *se los* phenomenon are scarce in the literature. Ordóñez (2011) summarizes prior work by Bonet (1995) and Harris (1996),

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both of whom treat *se los* as a dialectal feature that is found in some varieties of Spanish, without naming exactly in which dialects it can be found. It is treated as a case of a "parasitic plural" where the plurality of the IO referent surfaces as morphological marking on the accusative clitic, given that there is no possibility of it appearing on the dative (**ses*). For both authors, *selos* is no longer considered to be a combination of two clitics, but rather a single, unanalyzable unit (see also Company, 2006). While neither author offers a full analysis of the construction, Harris proposes that there is a difference between what he terms "P-effect" dialects, which pluralize in cases such as these, and normative dialects which do not. This stance amounts to a binary distinction, with no mention of the possibility of variation between the normative use and the "anomalous" pluralization in a given dialect.

3. Research questions and hypotheses

Building on this existing research on *se los*, our analysis is guided by the following research questions:

1. Which linguistic factors condition the variable assignment of dative plurality onto the accusative clitic? In other words, why do speakers choose *se lo* or *se los*?
2. What relationship is there, if any, between the variability of *se lo* vs. *se los* and the discourse accessibility of the indirect object referent, given that it is the plurality of this referent that is presumably at issue in *se los*?

With regard to these questions, we offer the following hypotheses. Since the latter two hypotheses are connected by a similar disambiguating function, we list them as 2a and 2b:

1. Pluralization will be more likely with first-person singular subjects (e.g. *se los dije* 'I told you/them' or *se los juro* 'I swear to you/them'), based on the prevalence of first-singular examples in the prior literature (for example, of Company's [1992] first eight examples, seven are first-singular and the eighth is first-plural) and on anecdotal observations that this is the most frequent person-number combination.

(2) a. If the (necessarily plural) IO referent is further away in the prior discourse, then it is more likely that *los* will substitute *lo* in order to disambiguate the IO referent.

b. If a clarifying dative PP (e.g. *a ustedes, a ellas*) is absent, then *lo* will be more likely to be realized as *los* in order to disambiguate the IO referent.

We describe the predictors (i.e. independent variables) included in our statistical analysis and the motivation for the inclusion of each in the next section.

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4. Methodology

To investigate these questions, we performed a multivariate statistical analysis using naturally-occurring corpus data from Mexican Spanish sources.

4.1 The corpora

The data included in our quantitative analysis come from two online corpora, the Mexico portion of the Real Academia Española's CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual; available online at <www.rae.es>) and also the Corpus de Monterrey (available online at <http://www.uanlmexico.mx/content/el-habla-de-monterrey>). The CREA corpus consists of written texts (including books, magazines, and newspapers) and oral data (primarily from radio and television) from the entire Spanish-speaking world. These data date from 1975–2004 and total approximately 160 million words. Using the CREA search interface, we limited our searches to the data from Mexico, which included both spoken and written sources.

Representative examples from the CREA Mexico corpus and included in our dataset are given below in (23–26). Although we analyzed each example within its fuller discourse context, for ease of comprehension and reasons of space, we present them here in condensed form.

(23) *Después les autorizaron una televisión chiquita. Primero la desarman toda, la revisan, la vuelven a armar y hasta entonces **se las** entregan.* (CREA)
'Afterwards they allowed them a small TV. First they take it apart, they check it, they put it back together, and only then do they hand it over to them.'

(24) *Es muy importante entonces que los jurados acepten la ley como **se las** da el juez.* (CREA)
'It is very important then that juries accept the law as the judge gives it to them.'

(25) *Porque Dios no perdona, muchachos, eso sí **se los** prometo.* (CREA)
'Because God doesn't forgive, kids. That I promise you.'

(26) *… pero con ésa ni contar porque era más Govea que Zárate y además les dijo que aunque lo supiera no **se los** diría.* (CREA)
'But don't rely on that one at all because she was more Govea than Zárate and what's more, she said that even if she knew, she wouldn't tell them.'

The Habla de Monterrey corpus consists of traditional sociolinguistic interviews conducted during 1985–86 with natives of the city. Representative examples from this corpus (abbreviated as HM plus interview number; I = informant) and included in our dataset, again presented in condensed form, are given below.

(27) I: *yo **se los** agradezco a toda la gente / eso no se paga con dinero.* (HM 181)
'I thank everybody. You can't pay that back with money.'

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(28) I: *cuando no hay medicamento* ***se los*** *consigue [a los pacientes].* (HM 112)
'When there isn't medicine, s/he gets it for them [for the patients].'

4.2 Variable context

For this analysis, the variable context or envelope of variation was characterized as follows:

- Ditransitive verbs only
- Clitic clusters consisting of both dative and accusative objects, both in the third person (dative: *se*; accusative: *lo(s), la(s)*)
- Plural IO referents only (e.g. *El regalo, se lo(s) di a ellos*)
- Singular DO referents only (e.g. *El regalo, se lo(s) di a ellos*)

Any other occurrences of *se lo(s)*, such as with (pseudo-)reflexives or reciprocals or impersonal uses, to our knowledge do not show this variation and as a result fall outside of the variable context.

4.3 Coding of predictors

The dependent variable being tested is *se lo/a* vs. *se los/las* – in other words, whether the plural *-s*, presumed to correspond to the plural referent of the dative pronoun, is marked on the accusative clitic. The following independent variables were coded for to determine their importance in governing this choice:

- Animacy of the DO (human, non-human animate, inanimate, or propositional)
- Verb tense (preterit, imperfect, present, future, or imperative)[8]
- Verb temporal reference (past, present, or future)
- Subject person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd)
- Subject number (singular or plural)
- DO gender (feminine, masculine, or propositional)
- IO gender (feminine or masculine)
- Presence of disambiguating PP (present or absent)[9]
- Referential distance to last mention of IO (0–2 clauses or 3+ clauses)
- Clitic position (enclitic or proclitic)
- Mode (spoken, written, or quote in text)
- Corpus (CREA Mexico or Corpus de Monterrey)

8. These were the only verb forms that appeared in the analyzed corpora.

9. We coded only for presence or absence of a disambiguating PP, irrespective of its placement within the sentence. However, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer, the possible effect of varying PP placement (e.g. *El libro, a los niños se los di* versus *El libro, se los di a los niños*) is an interesting question for future research, as long as sufficient data could be found for this alternation.

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The animacy of the DO could be important, given that many other object-related morphosyntactic phenomena in Spanish, such as accusative *a*-marking, *leísmo*, and clitic doubling, are sensitive to animacy (Company, 2001; Schwenter, 2006). In addition, since IOs are generally human, there could be potential effects of relative animacy between DO and IO (see Tippets & Schwenter, 2007). Tense and temporal reference are included to determine whether there are any effects of these verb-related notions on the variability, especially given that most examples in the previous literature have past tense (specifically preterite) forms.[10] Verb person/number could also be relevant for relative effects depending on differing subject types. DO and IO gender could have effects on the accusative pronoun, which has been shown, albeit rarely, to vary depending on the gender of the referents of the objects as discussed above. The presence or absence of a disambiguating PP, either before or after the occurrence of *se lo(s)* – a kind of "doubling" of the dative clitic – could indicate whether the choice of *se los* or *se lo* is sensitive to other information about the referents in the same sentence. Referential distance is an accessibility-based measure (cf. Givón, 1983) that looks backward in the discourse to the most recent mention of the IO referent, measured in clauses from the clause containing the relevant token of the dependent variable; the relevant distinction in the data as determined via a conditional inference tree (Hothorn et al., 2006) was between 0–2 clauses and 3+ clauses. Clitic position is included as a predictor given that nearly all the examples in the literature are proclitic (e.g. *Se los voy a decir*) instead of enclitic (e.g. *Voy a decírselos*). Mode is potentially important insofar as the CREA tokens come from a range of different registers, both spoken and written; while we would have preferred to work only with spoken, conversational data, there were insufficient tokens to do so. Finally, we include the corpus from which the tokens were extracted in order to check for any potential dialectal differences.

4.4 Statistical methods

Our statistical analysis in the open-source statistical package R (R Core Team, 2014) consisted of the following steps: first, we utilized the step function and random forests in order to select the best predictors for inclusion in the model; second, the lmerTest package (Kuznetsova et al., 2017) was used to fit logistic regression models to the data; third and finally, nested models were compared using the ANOVA function to select the best-fitting model. Treatment contrasts were used for categorical predictors and the alpha level was set to .05. Interactions between predictors were explored using interaction terms, crosstabs, and conditional inference trees.

10. Although we considered the possible importance of verbal mood as well, subjunctive tokens were exceedingly rare.

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5. Results

In Table 1, we present the overall distribution (*N* = 262) of *se lo/a* and *se los/las* in our dataset. Despite the fact that *se lo/a* is the standard form, in our Mexican data it is used only 28% of the time. *Se los/las*, used well over twice as often, is the clearly preferred variant. These results can be compared with those of previous studies, such as Belloro's (2004) in Buenos Aires, where the plural form is used 56% of the time, i.e. 16% less than in the Mexican data (unfortunately, Belloro does not include the number of relevant tokens that were included in her data to arrive at these percentages).

Table 1. Overall distribution of variants in both corpora

se lo/a	74 (28%)
se los/las	188 (72%)

In Table 2, we report the output of the best-fitting logistic regression model, where subject number, presence or absence of a PP, and referential distance were selected as significant predictors of the choice between *se lo/a* and *se los/las*. Positive estimates indicate greater probability of the plural variant *se los/las*, thus verbs with singular subjects are more likely to take *se los* than are verbs with plural subjects, and *se los* is more likely to be chosen when there is no disambiguating PP and when the last previous mention of the IO referent is three or more clauses away. None of the other predictors included in the analysis was selected as significant.

We address first the results in Table 2 for the presence or absence of a disambiguating PP and referential distance, which go hand in hand since they serve a similar function of clarifying the referent of the IO. The use of a co-occurring PP makes the dative referent immediately accessible in the same sentence as the

Table 2. Output of best-fitting fixed-effects logistic regression model predicting plural *se los*

	Estimate	SE	*z* value	*p* value
(Intercept)	−1.44	0.39	−3.719	<.01
Subject number (Ref. level: Plural) Singular	1.65	0.33	5.045	<.01
Prepositional phrase (Ref. level: Present) Absent	1.51	0.34	4.386	<.01
Referential distance (Ref. level: 0–2 clauses) 3+ clauses	1.02	0.53	1.923	.05

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clitic cluster. Therefore, the plurality of the IO referent is conveyed via the PP, and as a result pluralization of the DO clitic is less likely than when a PP is absent. A similar motivation of disambiguation is observed for referential distance – when the referential distance is relatively small (0–2 clauses) and the dative referent is therefore more accessible, *se los* is significantly less likely than normative *se lo*. On the other hand, *se los* is significantly more probable when the referential distance is greater (3+ clauses). In these cases, the pluralization of the DO clitic serves as a resumptive anaphoric strategy to aid the interlocutor in processing the identity of the IO referent.

In Table 3, we examine more closely the relationship between referential distance and presence or absence of a disambiguating PP. As this table shows, when the last reference to the referent of the dative clitic was 0–2 clauses prior, a 33% difference is observed between tokens with a PP and those without. When a dative PP is present, normative *se lo* is 14% more frequent than *se los* (57% vs. 43%); however, in the absence of a PP, *se los* is overwhelmingly preferred (76% vs. 24%). We interpret this result as indicating that the absence of the disambiguating PP leads to more use of the plural form for the purpose of tracking the (plural) dative referent. When the PP is present, this function is less necessary given that the referent of the dative pronoun *se* is explicitly conveyed. These results show however that the phenomenon is not deterministic but rather probabilistic, and ample variation is found both with and without the accompanying PP.

Table 3. Comparison of tokens with referential distance of 0–2 with/without a prepositional phrase

	With PP	Without PP	Total
se lo/a	57% (29/51)	24% (40/170)	31% (69/221)
se los/las	43% (22/51)	76% (130/170)	69% (152/221)

$X^2 = 20.3$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$

In Table 4, we make a similar comparison among tokens with a referential distance of 3 or more clauses to the last prior mention of the referent of the dative clitic. Although the data here are scarcer (thus making a t-test impossible), they suggest that the presence or absence of a PP has a lesser impact on use of *se lo/la* versus *se los/las* than in tokens with shorter referential distance. That is, when referential distance is greater, the percentage of pluralization remains approximately the same whether a PP appears in the sentence or not. This is indicative of a trend (though not a significant one, most likely due to low token counts) with obvious implications for processing – pluralization occurs more frequently the further the distance to the last mention of the dative referent in the preceding discourse, regardless of presence or absence of PP. As mentioned above, the use of *se los* instead of normative *se lo*

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helps the interpreter recover the identity of the (plural) dative referents for which this information has not surfaced in the most recent discourse.

Table 4. Comparison of tokens with referential distance of 3+ with/without a prepositional phrase

	With PP	Without PP	Total
se lo/a	17% (1/6)	11% (4/35)	12% (5/41)
se los/las	83% (5/6)	89% (31/35)	88% (36/41)

We now return to the regression results in Table 2 and address the findings for subject number. This is the strongest predictor of *se lo/la* versus *se los/las*, such that pluralization of *lo/la* is significantly more likely with singular than with plural subjects. Furthermore, chi-square tests show that there is a significant difference in rate of pluralization between third-person singular subjects and third-person subjects overall ($X^2 = 7.73$, $df = 1$, $p = .005$); however, this difference is not significant for first- and second-person subjects when these are combined ($X^2 = 0.173$, $df = 1$, $p = .678$). In other words, singular subject number shows significant independent effects only in the third person. Additionally, a cross-tab of subject number and presence or absence of a dative PP reveals an important distinction between singular and plural subjects, as shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Percentage of *se los/las* use by subject number and presence or absence of a dative prepositional phrase

	Singular subject	Plural subject
Without dative PP	89% (137/154)	47% (24/51)
With dative PP	49% (20/41)	44% (7/16)

As Table 5 makes clear, tokens containing a singular subject with no dative PP select *se los* at a markedly higher rate (89%) than do the other three contexts, which show very similar rates of plural marking (44–49%). The difference between plural subjects with and without a dative PP is not significant per chi-square test ($X^2 = 0.536E\text{-}01$, $df = 1$, $p = .817$), while that between singular subjects with and without a dative PP is significant ($X^2 = 33.3$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). This result counters Company's (1998, 2001, 2006) view that sentences containing both an IO NP and the clitic sequence are more favorable for *se los*. Indeed, both this result and the results for referential distance above suggest that pluralization in *se los* functions to bring relatively less available referents back into discourse prominence. It also shows that singular subjects are much more likely overall to co-occur with *se los* (81%) than are plural subjects (46%), and that singular subjects are generally much

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more frequent than plurals – there are about three times more singular subjects in the variable context than plurals.

Even more skewed, however, is the distribution for the singular subjects when we look at person differences. Fully 85% (163/191) of the singular tokens in our dataset correspond to 1SG subjects, suggesting that frequent examples such as *Se los dije* might now be considered fixed expressions. By contrast, 2SG and 3SG are both rare and together make up only 15% of the singular subjects in our data. While we cannot make any diachronic claims based on our strictly synchronic data, a plausible hypothesis to be made based on the subject asymmetry is that 1SG subjects are the original and most favoring context for pluralization.

In (29) below, we provide an example from the Monterrey data that illustrates our strongest predictors all in one token. The prior mention of the relevant IO (*mis hijos*) is fully four turns back in the interview (with intervening turns by two interviewers and the interviewee), and in that *se los* token, the IO referent is introduced in a dative PP (*se los doy a mis hijos*). In the last turn – which is the token of interest to us – there is no accompanying dative PP, and there is a 1SG subject (*hago*). This example, then, represents the most favorable context for the plural variant *se los* according to our analysis. Example (28) above is another similar example, where the IO referent was more than three clauses back in the discourse; see examples (23)–(27) above for other configurations of our predictors.

(29) I: *[…] y me gusta también con papitas / y… / con una sopa de arroz / es como / como **se los** doy a mis hijos.*
'And I like it with chips / and… / with a rice soup / That's how / That's how I give it to my kids.'
E2: […]
I: […]
E2: […]
E: […]
I: *¡Ah! / el po…llo / también el pollo a ve'es **se los** hago en verduras. (HM 128)*
'Ah! The chicken / The chicken too sometimes I make it for them with vegetables.'

We turn now to further discussion of our results and how they compare to the findings of prior research on *se los*.

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6. Discussion

The original question under investigation in this study was essentially "Why does *se los* appear for *se lo*?" Considering that *se lo* is the standard/normative variant, we sought to identify the linguistic factors that conditioned its use, in contrast with its non-standard alternative, *se los*. However, since our data show the latter to be the dominant strategy in Mexican Spanish given its frequency in the corpus, we consider it most appropriate to reframe the question as "Why does *se lo* appear for *se los*?"

The data and analysis above show that the answer to this question is closely related to discursive structure, and specifically to the relative accessibility of the (plural) referent of the dative pronoun, according to the speaker's judgment of the hearer's discourse model. Since at least Givón (1983) and Ariel (1990), it has been well-known and cross-linguistically corroborated that the choice of NP forms is closely linked to how accessible their referents are in (mental models of) discourse. In general terms, the longer or more complex an NP is, the more likely that its referent is relatively less accessible, while the more reduced an NP, the more likely that its referent is relatively more accessible. The endpoint of highest accessibility in such a model is the null element, such as a null subject in Spanish, which typically occurs when its referent is easily accessed in the discourse model (Ariel, 1990). What we have shown here is that the choice between *se lo* and *se los* is motivated in similar fashion. When the plural referent of the dative is of relatively high accessibility, i.e. either anaphorically close by in prior discourse or "doubled" by a PP in the same sentence (whether pre- or more commonly post-verbal), then plural marking on the accusative pronoun is less likely (though not impossible) to surface. However, it is more frequently the case that prior mention of the dative referent is more distant (3+ clauses back in the prior discourse) and not "doubled" by a PP. For this reason, we find the so-called "anomalous" form more often than not, in order to track the dative referent in the ongoing discourse. The plural marking, then, is not the principal motivation for changing *se lo* to *se los*; rather, the *-s* serves as an ostensive indicator of the relatively less accessible dative referent. Of course, however, accessibility is a gradient and subjective notion, and we cannot discount the possibility that speakers/writers sometimes mismatch their own mental model of the discourse against that of their interlocutors/readers.

We submit that these findings and our subsequent (re)analysis of *se los* and its variation with *se lo* would not be possible without the careful consideration of naturally-occurring corpus data, which permit the operationalization of hypotheses about the phenomenon and its discourse contextualization. While prior research on *se los* has offered important insights, because of the analytical limitations on decontextualized tokens (essentially consisting of the *se los* sentence and nothing more)

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previous studies have been unable to uncover the probabilistic alternations made evident in our data and analysis. It is this probabilistic nature that we most want to emphasize: like most cases of morphosyntactic variation, there is clear neutralization (Sankoff, 1988) between the two variants (*se lo* and *se los*) in most contexts, and speakers/writers can and do use them both without any difference in meaning.

With regard to the proposals of DeMello (1992), Company (1998), and Rivarola (1985) that "*se los, se las, se les* se comporta[n] como una forma inanalizable, *selos, selas, seles*, en la que los hablantes sólo reconocen ya una estructura simple con un solo argumento, el OI" ('*se los, se las, se les* behave like an unanalyzable form, *selos, selas, seles*, in which speakers now only recognize a simple structure with one single argument, the IO')(Company, 2006, p. 553), we find it problematic to posit that there is only one argument when, as noted by these authors, the gender of the accusative clitic has been shown to agree with either the DO or the IO. In addition, the fact that variation is still found between *se los* and *se lo*, and presumably can be found in the speech of the same speaker, is also problematic for the view that the clitic sequence should be considered an unanalyzable cluster.[11] The findings for subject person/number, heavily skewed towards *se los* with 1SG subjects as opposed to other types, also militates against an analysis of the clitic clusters as fixed structures, since if they were we would not expect to find such asymmetries. Finally, as our results show, the addition of the plural -*s* is also sensitive to the referential distance to the last mention of the IO referent, as well as to the presence or absence of a PP. This discourse-pragmatic motivation of clarifying the referent of the IO when necessary also seems incompatible with a view of the erstwhile clitic sequence as a fixed form.

Additional evidence for the analysis offered here comes from other "anomalous" dative + accusative clitic clusters. Reig (p.c.) reports that examples of *nos los*, where the plurality of the indirect object is transferred to the accusative clitic even though it also appears on the dative clitic, are easily found in Mexican Spanish. Indeed, a preliminary search of this combination with the verb *decir* in the Web/Dialects portion of the *Corpus del Español* reveals several examples, such as the one in (30), where the *lo* is propositional and refers to the content of what Norman said:[12]

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11. Tweets containing both *se lo* and *se los*, as in *No lo vendo, **se los** regalo. **Se lo** pueden poner a sus perros* 'I'm not selling it, I'm giving it to you guys. You can put it on your dogs.' (Monterrey) illustrate intraspeaker variation.

12. Reig (p.c.) and her students examined 219 tokens of *nos lo(s)/la(s)* extracted from the PRESEEA Monterrey corpus and the Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México, and found five examples of "anomalous" pluralization of the accusative clitic. Clearly, then, there is much more such pluralization with 2nd and 3rd person indirect object referents, which are coded by the dative clitic *se*.

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(30) *El propio Norman nos los dijo alguna vez: El mejor amigo de un muchacho es su madre.*
'Norman himself told us once. A boy's best friend is his mother.'
(Mexico, cineforever.com)

If examples like these, which are admittedly scarce in corpora, show constraints similar to those we have uncovered for *se los*, then they will provide corroboration that the "anomalous" plural marking on the accusative is not actually driven by the desire or need to mark number, but rather to mark the accessibility of the indirect object referent. Future research should attempt to elucidate the similarities/differences between the distinct clitic combinations.

Another important issue for future research has to do with the apparently contradictory tendencies in the Spanish of Mexico (and other regions of Latin America) to, on the one hand, carry out what is, per our account, a pragmatically-motivated hypercorrection in the case of *se los* and, on the other hand, the strong tendency in Latin America to eliminate ("drop") DO pronouns in many instances (e.g. *ya* [*lo*] *sé* 'I know', *te* [*lo*] *dije* 'I told you; cf. Reig Alamillo, 2009; Schwenter, 2006). The latter case of variation is especially pronounced with propositional DOs, i.e. those which are complements of cognition and communication verbs like *creer* 'to believe,' *pensar* 'to think,' *decir* 'to say,' or *comunicar* 'to communicate' (communication verbs are also found frequently with *se los*; Company, 2006). In addition, a common variable process throughout the Spanish-speaking world is to eliminate plural marking on the dative clitic as in the use of *le* for *les* in sentences like *Le dije a mis estudiantes que entregaran la tarea mañana* 'I told my students to turn in the homework tomorrow.' Interestingly, however, the elision of this marking appears to occur overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, when there is clitic doubling, i.e. when the object referent corresponding to the pronoun occurs in the same sentence (Gustafson, 2017). When the referent is found in preceding discourse context, the use of *le* for *les* is much less likely to occur. In other words, when there is a greater need to disambiguate the plural referent of the dative clitic because it occurs at a relatively far distance, the plural marking is preferably realized in overt fashion. This same pattern is exactly what we have found to be the case for *se los* in this paper.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have offered a reanalysis of the phenomenon of the "anomalous" pluralization of the accusative clitic in dative + accusative clitic (*se los*) combinations. While previous analyses have focused nearly exclusively on the supposed "transfer" of number features from the dative referent to the accusative clitic (but see Belloro, 2004; Kailuweit, 2006), here we have advanced a different account based

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on the discourse-pragmatic function of the pluralized variant and the way in which it contrasts with the "normative" (and in our data, much less frequent) variant. Given that clitic pronouns in Spanish are used to track referents in other contexts – indeed, this is the function of pronouns cross-linguistically – it would be exceedingly odd if this aspect of their use were lost completely in the opposition between *se lo* and *se los*. We have demonstrated via quantitative analysis of relevant tokens embedded in their discourse contexts that not only has this feature not been lost, but the choice between the two variants shows strong sensitivity to this function.

In prior research, some scholars (e.g. Moreno de Alba, 2013) have stated their conviction that *se los* is not only the dominant form but even the *only* form used by some speakers. Indeed, in some presentations of this material to audiences in different countries, native speakers of Latin American Spanish (including linguists) have echoed that stance. Our position here is more conservative based on the dataset we have analyzed, which shows clear variation (cf. Company, 2006, p. 554, who reports similar rates of each variant), but we do not necessarily think that this more extreme view is misguided. Rather, it may simply be the case that speakers – especially in everyday colloquial conversations – rarely employ the clitic combination in contexts that we have found to favor the "normative" *se lo* variant. Moreover, they may only use the clitic combination with a small set of verbs in speech (given the already low number of ditransitive verbs in the language), with particular person/number and tense/aspect forms, creating entrenched collocations (e.g. *se los dije*) that they employ as (near)-fixed units.[13]

From a theoretical perspective, the results of our analysis reveal the fine-grained patterning of linguistic constraints on pronoun choice. Even more strikingly, it appears that Mexican (and potentially many other Latin American) Spanish speakers have actually innovated a new form – a plural clitic pronoun in a clitic cluster whose plurality does not refer to that of its usual DO referent, but rather to that of the IO – in order to convey such subtle differences in (relative) accessibility. While we agree that this added plural marker corresponds to the plurality of the dative referent, we do not see its main function as being that of plural marking. Instead, we characterize it within the *se los* cluster as an accessibility marker (cf. Ariel, 1990) that brings a plural dative referent back to a more salient status after being relatively dormant in the discourse. We hope that future research will uncover and examine innovations similar to Spanish *se los* in cross-linguistic perspective.

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13. The use of *se los* also appears to go wholly unnoticed by native speakers, no matter what their level of education. This lack of stigma would also be a factor favoring *se los* expansion to the detriment of the normative form.

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CHAPTER 4

Variation and pragmatic enrichment

Dar + gerund in Highland Ecuadorian Spanish

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Dar + gerund is a periphrastic benefactive found in the Spanish of highland Ecuador and southern Colombia. Prior research has focused on the construction's origin, syntactic constraints, and politeness: the present study examines the pragmatic restrictions of *dar* + gerund declaratives. Using native speaker intuitions and heuristics from previous studies, I show that the most significant implication present is that it is not the sole responsibility of the agent to do the task. Thus, *Daniel dio lavando la ropa* is felicitous if Daniel is part of a group of people responsible for washing the clothes or if it was someone else's responsibility entirely, but infelicitous if Daniel was solely responsible.

Keywords: Ecuadorian Spanish, *dar* + gerund, projective content, pragmatics

1. Introduction

Dar 'to give' + gerund is an innovative, monoclausal periphrasis present in Northern Andean Spanish; that is, the Spanish spoken in the highlands of Ecuador and the extreme southern highlands of Colombia (Niño-Murcía, 1995; Cisneros Estupiñán, 1999). This construction is generally described as having benefactive meaning (Haboud, 1998; Bruil, 2008a; Olbertz, 2008; among others) and can be used in sentences with an imperative (1), declarative (2), question (3), conditional statement (4), and subordinate clause (5).

(1) *Da lavando la ropa.*
Give washing the clothes
'Wash the clothes.'

(2) *Daniel dio lavando la ropa.*
Daniel gave washing the clothes
'Daniel washed the clothes.'

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(3) *¿Daniel dio lavando la ropa?*
Did Daniel give washing the clothes
'Did Daniel wash the clothes?'

(4) *Si Daniel da lavando la ropa, le doy una galleta.*
If Daniel gives washing the clothes, I'll give him a cookie
'If Daniel washes the clothes, I'll give him a cookie.'

(5) *Quiero que des lavando la ropa.*
I want you to give washing the clothes
'I want you to wash the clothes.'

The sentences in (1)–(5) differ from their "standard" Spanish counterparts, such as *Lava la ropa* 'Wash the clothes' for (1) or *Daniel lavó la ropa* 'Daniel washed the clothes' for (2),[1] in that they must include a benefactor of the action being done, either implicit or specified by a clitic pronoun and/or name. Given that this construction is only found in a limited area of the Spanish-speaking world, much of the focus in previous studies has been on its origin (Albor, 1973; Bruil, 2008b; Haboud, 1998; Olbertz, 2008). While these studies have also looked at the syntactic constraints of *dar* + gerund, as well as its politeness (Bustamente-López & Niño-Murcía, 1995; among others) and its intonation patterns (Estrella-Santos, 2007), the pragmatic restrictions remain mostly unexplored. Furthermore, while all of the uses in (1)–(5) have been mentioned in previous work, most of the previous literature focuses on the imperative usage of *dar* + gerund, such as Example (1), without careful consideration of the other uses of this construction. The present study fills this gap in the literature by providing a detailed, pragmatic analysis of *dar* + gerund declaratives. I conclude that beyond mere politeness, *dar* + gerund declaratives possess the implication that it is not the sole responsibility of the agent to do the task at hand; that is, a sentence such as (2) is infelicitous if it were Daniel's job to wash the clothes. Thus, I provide a more nuanced account of the conventionalized use and meaning of this construction and shed light on how benefactives such as *dar* + gerund can contribute to debates currently advancing in theoretical pragmatics.

1. An anonymous reviewer points out that a "standard" Spanish declarative such as *Daniel lavó la ropa* 'Daniel washed the clothes' is not grammatically or semantically equivalent to a *dar* + gerund declarative such as *Daniel dio lavando la ropa* 'Daniel gave washing the clothes.' While this is certainly true, speakers of Northern Andean Spanish have the choice between these two constructions in their language use and thus their comparison at the pragmatic level is valid. It is precisely through this comparison, as all previous studies have done, that we can understand the effect of differing grammar and semantics on the eventual meaning.

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2. Background

2.1 What is *dar* + gerund?

While *dar* + gerund was first documented by Ecuadorian scholars over fifty years ago (Vázquez, 1940; Toscano Mateus, 1953), it has only been more recently that systematic investigations of this construction have been conducted. One of the curiosities of this construction is that it is quite limited geographically, only being present in Northern Andean Spanish, and yet its use in this variety is very extensive and prevalent, since it is used to some extent by all groups and classes (Cisneros Estupiñán, 1999, p. 1011; Haboud & Palacios, 2017, p. 47). Although extremely common in everyday life in the Northern Andes, *dar* + gerund is scarce in corpus data since interviews do not provide many opportunities for its use. Indeed, Olbertz (2002) sifted through Pieter Muysken's (1997) massive corpus of data from Salcedo, Ecuador, and found a mere thirty-seven tokens of *dar* + gerund. Thus, scholars have had to use other methods of data collection, including surveys and elicitation tasks with native speakers.

Although past studies are not entirely in agreement on its origin, they do agree that *dar* + gerund is a highly grammaticalized construction (Haboud, 1998; Olbertz, 2002; Bruil, 2008a; Guerra, 2019; among others). It is evident that in examples such as (1), *dar* merely acts as an auxiliary verb, diminishing the original meaning of *dar* 'to give' (Guerra, 2019). Haboud and Palacios (2017, pp. 46–48) trace the complete grammaticalization process, which they claim has three stages: (1) *dar* as the principle verb, (2) auxiliary use of *dar* with benefactive meaning, and (3) non-benefactive use of *dar* + gerund. In the last case, *dar* + gerund has lost its benefactive nature and is merely a polite request form. The authors cite non-benefactive examples such as *"Dé prestando atención"* ('Give paying attention') (p. 31), but caution that these uses are limited to bilinguals and monolingual speakers of rural Northern Andean Spanish. Nevertheless, the fact that there is a "modern" step in this process gives more support to the grammaticalization argument. Furthermore, *dar* + gerund is merely one of the many gerund constructions that are unique to Northern Andean Spanish, including other innovative imperatives (Niño-Murcia, 1995; Cisneros Estupiñán, 1999; Guerra, 2019; among others), showing it is part of a larger contact process.

One of the central debates in the previous literature has been the origin of the *dar* + gerund construction. Early works claim that it is a calque from Kichwa[2] (Vázquez,

2. Kichwa is the variety of the Quechua language that is spoken in Ecuador and southern Colombia. Following Haboud & Palacios (2017), I choose to use 'Kichwa' instead of 'Quichua' as the former spelling is used in official documentation in Ecuador.

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1940; Hurley, 1995), the direct result of contact with Kichwa (Olbertz, 2008), or the product of analogy (Albor, 1973). Nevertheless, more recent studies have begun to carefully consider the nature of the language contact involved. Cisneros Estupiñán (1999) does not provide much evidence to support her claim, but hints that mutual influence between Spanish and Kichwa may be at play. Haboud (1998) provides just the evidence needed by examining the request strategies of Kichwa speakers of various groups. She finds that while younger bilingual speakers use the equivalent of *dar* + gerund in Kichwa, older speakers (mostly Kichwa monolinguals) use the honorific/benefactive suffix *-pa/pak* to attenuate requests in Kichwa. Thus, she concludes that it is more likely a situation of linguistic convergence, in which this contact feature is due to mutual influence between the two languages. Lipski (2013) also reports very low frequency of *dar* + gerund among Kichwa-dominant bilinguals in Imbabura, which he says is an argument against it being a Kichwa calque. Most subsequent works agree with these conclusions, emphasizing that both language internal and external factors have contributed to the emergence of *dar* + gerund (Bruil, 2008a, 2008b; Haboud & Palacios, 2017; among others).

Beyond the construction's origin, previous studies also focus heavily on politeness. Most descriptions characterize *dar* + gerund imperatives as more "polite" or tactful than standard commands (Cisneros Estupiñán, 1999; Espinosa Apolo, 2000; Bruil, 2008b; Bustamente-Lopez & Niño-Murcia, 1995; Olbertz, 2008; among others). For instance, Bruil (2008b, p. 8) states that *dar* + gerund used as a command "softens the request" because it is "less direct and therefore more polite." Niño-Murcia (1995, p. 90) goes one step further to say that *dar* + gerund commands are equivalent to the addition of *por favor* 'please' with a standard command. However, several more recent works allude to the fact that this construction's uses go beyond notions of politeness. Haboud and Palacios (2017, p. 48) affirm "*los mecanismos de atenuación no son únicamente formas amables o corteses, sino que muestran mayor complejidad de la que se tiende a describir*" ('the mechanisms of attenuation are not only polite or courteous, but rather they show more complexity than is usually described'). Furthermore, Guerra (2019) finds co-variation between *dar* + gerund and standard imperatives in the exact same situation and utterance made by the same speaker, showing that politeness cannot solely explain the use of *dar* + gerund. The next two sections will address some of the factors conditioning its use, focusing first on those that are syntactic and semantic in nature before returning to the idea of attenuation.

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2.2 Syntactic and semantic constraints

In one sense, the use of *dar* + gerund is quite extensive, since it is not restricted by tense, aspect, or mood. Carvajal (2016) shows that this construction can be used in the past, present, and future in both perfect and imperfect aspects. He also demonstrates that *dar* + gerund can be found in indicative, imperative, and subjunctive mood, as was seen in Examples (1)–(5). Although not limited to certain tenses, aspects, or moods, there are other syntactic and semantic constraints that condition the use of *dar* + gerund.

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the biggest constraints seems to be the obligatory nature of the benefactor. Olbertz (2002) explains that since *dar* + gerund usually expresses a favor that someone does for someone else, there must be an agent and a benefactor associated with the action.[3] The benefactor can be expressed explicitly with a dative clitic and/or name, but it may also be implicit in the context, and as will be seen later, the benefactor is "filled in" when there is no information about who it might be (Haboud & Palacios, 2017, p. 33). Including the obligatory agent and benefactor, there can be up to four arguments when the gerund verb is ditransitive. In Example (6), the four arguments include: an agent (*Elena*), a benefactor (*me* 'for me'), a direct object *(café* 'coffee') and an indirect object (*los invitados* 'the guests'). Guerra (2019) illustrates that the placement of the beneficiary clitic violates the normal clitic climbing rules of Spanish, since this beneficiary must always occupy the first position. In the case of affirmative imperatives, the beneficiary clitic attaches to *dar*, while in negative imperatives and all declaratives, such as Example (6), the beneficiary clitic must immediately precede *dar*. Thus, it is clear that it is not the case of two indirect objects in these constructions, but rather that the beneficiary operates independently of the direct and indirect objects, which has led Haboud (1998) and Olbertz (2002) to classify this clitic as a 'benefactive case marker.'

(6) *Elena me dio sirviéndoles el café a los invitados.*
Elena gave to me serving of the coffee to the guests
'Elena served the coffee to the guests for me.'

It is already evident that the number of arguments will restrict the type of verbs that can be used in *dar* + gerund constructions. Since there must be an agent, it is restricted to agentive verbs and is most often used with transitive and ditransitive

3. Olbertz (2002) affirms that both the agent and benefactor must be human; however, Guerra (2019, p. 245) shows an example in which the benefactor is a cat. Future work should clarify whether the agent and benefactor must simply be *animate*, as opposed to human.

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verbs (Haboud, 1998; Olbertz, 2008). For these reasons, the use of a copulative verb in Example (7) is infelicitous, which is confirmed by Carvajal (2016). Previous studies have found some limited uses of *dar* + gerund with intransitive verbs such as *hablar* 'to speak/talk' (Bruil, 2008b), with the idea that someone might speak on your behalf. I have also found some instances of intransitive verbs, such as *pensar* 'to think' in Example (8), which comes from Twitter. In this example, two Twitter users are in a heated debate about a particular soccer team and one urges the other to not put words in his mouth; that is, to not think for him.

(7) *#Dame siendo más simpático.*
Give me being more nice
'#Be nicer.'

(8) *Te repito por enésima vez, no me des pensando*
I repeat to you for the umpteenth time, do not give me thinking because
que te equivocas… (Twitter)
you are wrong…
'I repeat to you for the umpteenth time, do not think for me because you are wrong…'

2.3 Attenuation and pragmatic constraints

Beyond these syntactic and semantic constraints, there has been less interest in what else might constrain the use of *dar* + gerund. It is clear that its imperative uses are not functionally equivalent to a standard Spanish imperative, and that a *dar* + gerund declarative, as seen in (2), carries different connotations than a simple declarative such as *Daniel lavó la ropa* 'Daniel washed the clothes.' A few previous studies have considered how pragmatics influences the choice between *dar* + gerund and more standard constructions. Haboud and Palacios (2017) emphasize how *dar* + gerund imperatives are 'attenuated' in comparison to their standard counterparts, which reduces the illocutionary force of the imperative. While in some ways similar to the 'politeness' descriptions mentioned previously, these authors go one step further by considering contextual factors. They highlight four factors as crucial to the use of *dar* + gerund imperatives: (1) the frame (familiarity) of the communicative situation, (2) the power relationship between the interlocutors, (3) the level of proximity, and (4) the geographical and cultural origin of the interlocutors (p. 35). Under this analysis, they conclude that imperative use in Northern Andean Spanish represents an extremely dynamic system, in which more attenuation (*dar* + gerund forms) is found in socially distant situations and contexts, whereas interlocutors in socially close relationships or situations have more freedom and flexibility to use *dar* + gerund or not. Guerra (2019, p. 245) mirrors this conclusion, stating

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that the use of *dar* + gerund "creates greater distance between themselves and the hearer." Nevertheless, the question remains of how and why interlocutors with close proximity and in extremely familiar situations choose to use *dar* + gerund.

García and McCarron (2010) take a different approach by focusing on when *dar* + gerund is felicitous to use, presenting various contexts to a naïve native speaker consultant. In their examination of the imperative uses of *dar* + gerund, they arrive at two main conclusions. First, a *dar* + gerund imperative is infelicitous if the action stands to harm the speaker or his/her property, as in (9). This is the case even when the context entails that the speaker would ultimately benefit from this action; for instance, if someone is on his/her deathbed and just cannot bear living any longer, it seems that the conflict between the harmful nature of *matar* 'to kill' and the benefactive nature of the construction trumps any benefit the speaker would receive from being put out of their misery. Carvajal (2016) also finds *dar* + gerund to be incompatible with other 'harmful' verbs such as *morir* 'to die.'[4] Interestingly, this conflict disappears if the action will harm someone other than the speaker, as in (10). Here, in the context where you are asking your favorite hit man to kill someone for you, *matar* is felicitous because it is no longer the person uttering the sentence who will be killed.

(9) #*Dame matando.* (García & McCarron, 2010)
Give killing me
'#Kill me.'

(10) *Dálo matando (a él).* (García & McCarron, 2010)
Give killing him
'Kill him.'

In addition to this constraint, García and McCarron (2010) also find that the most common interpretation of a *dar* + gerund imperative is that the speaker wants the hearer to do the action "in his/her stead." Thus, in the utterance in (11), it is evident that the hearer is supposed to do the speaker's task and not their own task. The authors characterize this meaning as a Generalized Conversational Implicature (Grice, 1975), since it arises on its own unless blocked by context, is cancelable, and can be reinforced with *para mí* 'for me' or *en mi lugar* 'in my place' (Huang, 2007, p. 33–34). Finally, they find a correspondence between form and function with the clitic *me* 'to/for me,' since it can only be used when the speaker stands to benefit directly from the action being commanded.

4. However, *morir* 'to die' may also be infelicitous with *dar* + gerund since it is an intransitive verb.

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(11) *Da haciendo el deber.* (García & McCarron, 2010)
Give doing the task
'Do the task.'

Despite the healthy literature on this topic, most previous studies focus on politeness, origin, or syntactic and semantic constraints. Pragmatic analyses of *dar* + gerund that go beyond politeness are few, and most, if not all, focus on the imperative uses of this construction. The non-imperative uses of *dar* + gerund only receive brief mention in previous works. While imperatives may represent the most common use in everyday speech (Bruil, 2008b), it is likely that the declarative uses can shed new light on the complexities of *dar* + gerund. The goal of the present study is to fill this gap by taking a closer look at the other, non-imperative uses of *dar* + gerund utilizing the theoretical framework of pragmatic implication[5] and projective content (Tonhauser, Beaver, Roberts, & Simons, 2013).

2.4 Theoretical framework

Here I apply the theoretical framework of Tonhauser et al. (2013), who propose a new taxonomy of projective content and provide a toolkit for diagnosing it. They define 'projective content' (represented by the letter *m*) as "a content that has the potential to project" (p. 67), and further explain that this includes implications typically characterized as presuppositions or conventional implicatures. In the present work, 'implication' can be thought of as the 'extra' meaning that *dar* + gerund constructions have that goes beyond the truth conditions of the sentence and is not present with their standard counterparts. If this implication 'projects' (projective content), then this 'extra' meaning is still present when *dar* + gerund is embedded under certain operators, such as negation.

The diagnostics of Tonhauser et al. (2013) include tests for determining the Strong Contextual Felicity, projection, and Obligatory Local Effect of a particular implication. The first, Strong Contextual Felicity (SCF) is related to the relationship between the utterance context and the given implication. For example, there are certain triggers such as 'too' that cannot be used out of the blue, but rather need the utterance context to entail the given implication, in this case, that there is someone else doing said action. Thus, an utterance such as 'John is writing a paper, *too*' is only felicitous in a context where someone else is writing a paper, showing 'too' exhibits a SCF constraint. Tonhauser et al. (2013, p. 76) state that the key to diagnosing SCF is inserting the structure in both *m*-positive and *m*-neutral contexts (where *m* is

5. In this paper I will use 'implication' as Tonhauser et al. (2013) do, to mean any content, such as presuppositions and implicatures, that has the potential to project.

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the implication being tested). An *m*-neutral context is one that neither implies nor entails that the implication is true or not true; that is, it is neutral to the status of the implication. An *m*-positive context is one in which the implication is entailed. According to their diagnostic, if the construction is only felicitous in *m*-positive contexts, then it does impose a SCF constraint. On the other hand, if the construction is felicitous in both *m*-neutral and *m*-positive contexts, then it does not impose a SCF constraint. Contrary to 'too,' expressives such as 'that bastard' do not impose a SCF constraint because the listener does not need to know that the speaker has strong feelings against the person in order for the speaker to refer to him or her as 'that bastard' (Tonhauser et al., 2013, p. 76).

The next property, projection, is based on the Family-of-Sentences test (Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet, 1990) and looks at whether the implication survives under various operators; that is, whether it is truly projective. The Family-of-Sentences examines what happens to a given implication when it is embedded under negation, a question, a conditional, and a possibility modal. For instance, the sentence 'My daughter lives in Paris' carries the implication that there exists an individual who is my daughter. This implication projects because it is still present when the original sentence is negated ("It is not the case that my daughter lives in Paris"), posed as a question ("Does my daughter live in Paris?"), embedded in a conditional ("If my daughter lives in Paris, she is happy"), or presented as a possibility ("It is possible that my daughter lives in Paris"). Since all of the subsequent alterations still carry the implication that there exists an individual who is my daughter, we can say that this implication projects.

Finally, the Obligatory Local Effect (OLE) distinguishes those projective contents that must have local effect from those that may be interpreted locally or globally. Tonhauser et al. (2013) explain that to diagnose OLE, it is important to look at "the interaction between the belief-predicate and the projective content of the embedded clause" (p. 92). For instance, the authors use 'stop' as an example trigger that can only be interpreted locally. It is felicitous to say, "Jane believes that Bill has stopped smoking (although he's actually never been a smoker)" (p. 92), because the implication of 'stop,' namely that Bill was once a smoker, is attributed to Jane. On the other hand, "#Jane believes that Bill has stopped smoking and that he has never been a smoker" (p. 92) is infelicitous because it is impossible to attribute the belief that Bill was once a smoker to anyone but Jane, causing Jane to have contradictory beliefs. The implication of 'stop' cannot have a global interpretation and thus must be interpreted locally, exhibiting OLE. Conversely, Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses (NRRC), such as "Jane believes that Bill, **who is Sue's cousin**, is Sue's brother" (p. 92), do not exhibit OLE because the implication of the NRRC ('who is Sue's cousin') is interpreted globally, preventing Jane from having contradictory beliefs.

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Based on these three properties and their evaluation of constructions in English and Guaraní, Tonhauser et al. (2013) propose a taxonomy of projective content, reproduced here as Figure 1. Class A projective contents exhibit both a SCF constraint and OLE, for example the implication of 'too.' Class B projective contents, on the other hand, do not exhibit a SCF constraint or OLE. The NRRC mentioned in the previous paragraph ('who is Sue's cousin') is an example of a Class B projective content. The next set of projective contents, Class C, does not have a SCF constraint but does exhibit OLE, for instance the implication of 'stop.' Finally, Class D is characterized by projective content that does have a SCF constraint but lacks OLE, for example, demonstratives such as 'that.' The authors affirm that these four classes of projective content align with categories previously identified in the theoretical work on this topic. Classes A and D include expressions that are anaphoric, such as demonstratives and pronouns. Class B incorporates but is not limited to what Potts (2005) considers 'conventional implicatures.' Class C is comprised of classic presuppositional triggers such as 'too' and 'know,' but again is quite heterogeneous.

	Properties of content		
Classes	**Projection**	**Strong Contextual Felicity**	**Obligatory Local Effect**
A	yes	yes	yes
B	yes	no	no
C	yes	no	yes
D	yes	yes	no

Figure 1. Four classes of projective content as proposed by Tonhauser et al. (2013, p. 67)

While they claim this is a better taxonomy of projective content than has been laid out previously, Tonhauser et al. (2013) admit that it is preliminary in that it is based on data from only two languages. The authors specifically emphasize that their diagnostics should be tested in languages other than English, since most formal analyses of projective content are limited to English. Few subsequent studies have taken up their call to arms (although see Barlew, 2017, for Bulu; Amaral, 2019, for European Portuguese), and thus the present study does just that with Spanish *dar* + gerund.

2.5 Data elicitation

Tonhauser et al. (2013) highlight the importance of using linguistically untrained native speaker consultants to examine projective content, since many previous studies in this realm rely on the author's own intuitions. Accordingly, the data and conclusions presented in this article are the results of extensive elicitation with a native speaker consultant who has no previous linguistic training. The consultant

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is originally from Loja, Ecuador, and had lived in the United States for four years at the time of elicitation.[6] He was in his mid-thirties and also speaks English, but all elicitation was conducted in Spanish. Since there are many differences between sub-dialects of Northern Andean Spanish, the conclusions presented here are only valid for Lojano Spanish, and in particular cannot speak to the more innovative, non-benefactive uses of *dar* + gerund found in northern Ecuador (Haboud & Palacios, 2017, p. 31). The elicitation process took place over the course of a year and a half as the project developed and was as open-ended as possible; that is, I did not make any assumptions about the implications of *dar* + gerund declaratives and each of the heuristics was tested and re-tested in subsequent elicitation sessions as the analysis progressed. Furthermore, I did not specify a beneficiary with a clitic pronoun in any of the examples because I wanted to leave them as open to the consultant's interpretation as possible.[7] Typically, a context was described to the consultant orally and he was asked if a given test sentence would be appropriate in that context and also to explain his response. More details are given in the next section about how the data were elicited for each heuristic. I tested many more contexts than are presented here, but in the next section I present only the most emblematic examples due to space limitations.

3. Diagnosing *dar* +gerund

3.1 What implications are present?

Before diagnosing it within the taxonomy, it is important to decide what implication(s) are even present with the declarative form of *dar* + gerund. In order to do so, I presented Context 1 to the consultant and asked for his general response. The informant's response indicates that there are two relevant implications of *Ayer, Kyle dio haciendo la cena* 'Yesterday, Kyle gave making the dinner.' The first implication is that there is a salient party that benefited from Kyle making dinner (other than Kyle, of course). The second, described below, is that Kyle was not the person responsible

6. An anonymous reviewer notes that the contexts presented to the informant (detailed in Section 3) are characteristic of a culture foreign to him. However, as noted, the consultant had already been living in the United States for four years at this point and indeed almost all of the contexts come directly from his personal life and work.

7. The lack of a specified beneficiary (and subsequently clitic pronoun) differentiates this study from previous ones. Most previous studies have used naturally occurring examples, whereas this study relies on constructed examples in which it is preferable to not "lead" the consultant by including a beneficiary.

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for making dinner. The first implication seems similar to the existence implication discussed by Tonhauser et al. (2013, p. 72) – something along the lines of "there exists an individual who stands to benefit from Kyle making dinner."[8] Since previous scholars have already stipulated that there must be a benefactor for this construction, it seems that this first implication is not particularly noteworthy. Indeed, in Context 2, there is no benefactor specified, since there are no other parties even mentioned, and so the consultant "fills in" who might have benefited from Mike doing the work. This mirrors what Haboud and Palacios (2017, p. 33) find, affirming that context will determine who the beneficiary is if none is explicitly specified.

Context 1: Kyle and Amy share the household chores.

Ayer, Kyle dio haciendo la cena.
Yesterday, Kyle gave making the dinner
'Yesterday, Kyle made dinner.'

Response: *Fíjate como da haciendo la cena, no era su responsabilidad, pero alguien tenía que hacerlo.*
'Look how he gives making the dinner, it wasn't his responsibility, but someone had to do it.'

Context 2: In your office, everyone always does their own work and there is not much collaboration. One day Mike and Brian have a meeting and when Brian leaves, he says to you…

Mike dio haciendo el trabajo.
Mike gave doing the job
'Mike did the job.'

Response: *El trabajo era para otra persona.*
'The work/task was for another person.'

Beyond a salient benefactor, the other implication evidenced by the response to Context 1 is that it was not originally Kyle's responsibility to do what he ended up doing (cooking dinner). This appears more complex and interesting, especially because it relates to the "instead of" notion that was mentioned previously with *dar* + gerund imperatives. Much like the Generalized Conversational Implicature of "do this in my stead" (García & McCarron, 2010), it seems that the declarative use of *dar* + gerund carries the implication that it was not the agent's responsibility in the first place to do what they did. As we will see, the listener does not necessarily need to know beforehand who was responsible for the task, and so this implication can provide additional information to the listener.

8. There could also be human implication (Tonhauser et al., 2013, p. 74), but again, preliminary evidence from Guerra (2019, p. 245) suggests it is more likely an *animate* implication.

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3.2 Strong Contextual Felicity

Now that the implication at stake has been identified, I will move on to diagnosing its Strong Contextual Felicity (SCF).[9] As described in Section 2.4, SCF concerns the relationship between the utterance context and the implication of the utterance. An *m*-positive context is one in which the implication is entailed and an *m*-neutral context is one in which the status of the implication is neutral. Applied to the implication at hand, an *m*-positive context would be one that entails the task to be the responsibility of someone else. An *m*-neutral context would be one that entails neither that the task was someone else's responsibility nor that it was not someone else's responsibility; that is, in which we have no evidence for who was originally responsible for the task. For the following contexts, the consultant was asked whether the utterance in italics would be acceptable given the context, which was followed up by asking whose job it was to do the task.[10] In Contexts 3 and 4, we have an *m*-positive context in which we know that it is always Lizzie's responsibility to wash the clothes and Santiago's responsibility to do the monthly reports. As we can see, a *dar* + gerund declarative is felicitous in both of these *m*-positive contexts.

Context 3: Lizzie always washes the clothes every Sunday. This Sunday she is very busy with yoga training.

Hannah dio lavando la ropa. √
Hannah gave washing the clothes
'Hannah washed the clothes.'

Context 4: Santiago is always in charge of doing the reports for his employees. He does them every month and always does them on time. This month, his boss, Mike, says to him…

No te preocupes Santiago, yo los doy haciendo. √
Don't worry Santiago, I'll give doing them
'Don't worry Santiago, I'll do them.'

The next step is to test the construction in *m*-neutral contexts. It is hard to say what precisely an *m*-neutral context might be in this case, since the mere mention of tasks might imply that someone has to do them. Nevertheless, several contexts were tested in which it was not explicit to whom the task belonged. Context 5 involves a situation in which the daily tasks of the office never pertain to one person in

9. Tonhauser et al. (2013) state that Strong Contextual Felicity must be diagnosed before projection, since the type of projection tests used depends on whether there is a SCF constraint or not.

10. A checkmark (√) indicates a felicitous utterance, while the hash mark (#) indicates an infelicitous utterance.

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particular. *Dar* + gerund is felicitous in this *m*-neutral context and it is understood that the work was not assigned to one particular person, but Mike did it. Similarly, in Context 6, the group shares the task of writing the paper and Hannah writes the introduction by herself. The construction is felicitous again and the informant expressed that the task of writing the paper belonged to the whole group (Hannah, Mary, and Christy). With these two contexts, it is important to note that the agent of the *dar* + gerund action can be included in the group who held responsibility for the action, although he/she cannot be the sole person that was responsible for the action. Mike is part of the "everyone" who works at the office in Context 5, just as Hannah is part of the trio writing the paper in Context 6.

Context 5: In your office, there is a lot of collaboration. In fact, all of the tasks are shared and none pertain to one person in particular. One day Mike and Brian have a meeting and when Brian leaves, he says to you…

Mike dio haciendo el trabajo. √
Mike gave doing the job
'Mike did the job.'

Context 6: Hannah, Mary, and Christy are writing a paper together. The three of them have written everything but the introduction together. Later…

Hannah dio escribiendo la introducción. √
Hannah gave writing the introduction
'Hannah wrote the introduction.'

To further test the bounds of *dar* + gerund, the *m*-neutral Context 7 was presented to the informant. In this scenario, there is trash all over the highway and nobody ever picks it up. As we can see, the *dar* + gerund declarative in 7 stating that Santiago picked up the trash is felicitous. Even though we have no one specified as the trash picker upper, this still gets an interpretation that Santiago is not the sole party responsible for the trash. In fact, the informant stated that Santiago was picking up the trash "for everyone;" that is, for society. Being friendly to the environment is something that we are all supposed to do, Santiago included. Like Contexts 5 and 6, the agent is part of the larger group responsible for the action.

Context 7: On the highway between Loja and Cuenca, there is always a lot of trash and no one ever picks it up.

Santiago dio recogiendo la basura de la carretera. √
Santiago gave picking up the trash on the highway
'Santiago picked up the trash on the highway.'

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From Contexts 3–7, we can conclude that *dar* + gerund declaratives are felicitous in *both m*-positive and *m*-neutral contexts. Given the diagnostic of Tonhauser et al. (2013) mentioned above, this means that *dar* + gerund does not impose a SCF constraint. Further evidence to support this fact is that this construction can be used out of the blue, with no context at all. There is nothing weird about saying for instance, *Mike dio haciendo el trabajo* 'Mike gave doing the work,' without any further information. The hearer might simply assume that it was perhaps the speaker's responsibility to do the task or maybe the whole office's responsibility. Triggers that do impose SCF, like 'too,' are completely infelicitous out of the blue. I cannot say 'I̲ ate cake, *too*' out of nowhere unless the hearer knows of someone else who ate cake.

Beyond SCF, we can also refine our definition of the implication involved. Before it seemed that the implication was that the agent was not originally responsible for the action. Now it is clear that the implication is that the task is not strictly the responsibility of *only* the agent. It could be the responsibility of the agent *and* others or just the responsibility of others. This is an implication that is not present with standard Spanish declaratives. If we changed 7 to *Santiago recogió la basura* 'Santiago picked up the trash,' it would not carry the extra connotation that he did so on behalf of all of us. In fact, this standard Spanish declarative could mean, with more enriching, that it is Santiago's job to pick up the trash (he is the trash collector), whereas the *dar* + gerund version (*Santiago dio recogiendo la basura*) could not be used in a scenario where Santiago is the trash collector.

The fact that the speaker cannot be the sole party responsible for the action is further tested in Context 8, adapted from Context 4. In the same scenario where Santiago is responsible for completing his employees' reports, and he is the sole person responsible for doing so, it is completely infelicitous to use a *dar* + gerund declarative. Thus, the implication present with *dar* + gerund declaratives is that the agent may be part of a larger entity who is responsible for the action, but they are not the sole responsible party.

Context 8: Santiago is always in charge of doing the reports for his employees. He does them every month and always does them on time. No one else is responsible for doing the reports.

#Santiago dio haciendo los reportes.
Santiago gave doing the reports
'#Santiago did the reports.'

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3.3 Projection

The next step is to test projection; that is, whether the implication already defined will survive when the *dar* + gerund declarative is embedded, using the Family-of-Sentences test (Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet, 1990). Since triggers that do not impose a SCF constraint are felicitous in both *m*-neutral and *m*-positive contexts, Tonhauser et al. (2013, p. 83) state that the projection of these items should be tested in *m*-neutral contexts. Therefore, in Context 9, used to test projection, there is no information about who is responsible for making coffee for the office every day. Given that it is impossible to simply ask a naïve informant whether the implication is still present in the embedded sentences, Tonhauser et al. (2013) devised a test in which someone (Mariana in this case) is looking for the person who fulfills the given implication. Thus, in Context 9, if the informant responds that Mariana will not want to speak with Mike, this means that Mike is not responsible for making coffee, which concurs with the implication of *dar* + gerund. On the other hand, if the informant responds that Mariana will want to speak with Mike, this implies that he is responsible for making coffee, showing the implication is no longer present. I presented the informant with this context and then asked him if Mariana would want to speak with Mike given the additional information in (a)–(e). In these test sentences, *dar* + gerund is embedded under negation (b), a question (c), a conditional (d), and a possibility modal (e). The informant's response is in brackets after each test sentence. For each one, the informant responded 'no,' that Mariana would not want to speak with Mike. This shows that the implication, that Mike was not the sole person responsible for making coffee, is still present when *dar* + gerund is embedded in the Family-of-Sentences.[11] Thus, this implication does project.

Context 9: Mariana is looking for the person who is in charge of making coffee for the office every day. If I say ________, will Mariana want to talk to Mike?

a. *Mike dio haciendo el café.* [No.]
Mike gave making the coffee
'Mike made the coffee.'

b. *Mike no dio haciendo el café.* [No.]
Mike did not give making the coffee
'Mike did not make the coffee.'

11. In 9b, when *dar* + gerund is embedded under negation, it is clear that what is negated is whether Mike made coffee or not and not whether he did it for someone else. Thus, it would be completely infelicitous to say, *Mike no dio haciendo el café, pero hizo el café* 'Mike did not give making the coffee, but he made the coffee.'

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c. *¿Mike dio haciendo el café?* [No.]
Did Mike give making the coffee?
'Did Mike make the coffee?'

d. *Si Mike dio haciendo el café, le doy una galleta.* [No.]
If Mike gave making the coffee, I'll give him a cookie
'If Mike made the coffee, I'll give him a cookie.'

e. *Es posible que Mike dé haciendo el café.* [No.]
It's possible that Mike gave making the coffee
'It's possible that Mike made the coffee.'

3.4 Obligatory Local Effect

The last diagnostic to consider is that of the Obligatory Local Effect (OLE). As with projection, Tonhauser et al.'s (2013) diagnostics include different tests for triggers that do and do not impose a SCF constraint. For those that do not impose a SCF constraint, the authors assert that the trigger should be embedded under a belief-predicate and conjoined with a sentence that implies the opposite of the implication of the trigger. Here, the assumption is that a rational being cannot possess contradictory beliefs; that is, that the implication and the negation of that implication are both true. For such a sentence to be felicitous, the implication must be attributed to the *global* utterance context and not to the subject's personal beliefs. If a global interpretation is allowed, there is no OLE.

In 10a, *dar* + gerund is embedded under a belief-predicate implying that it is *not* Mike's responsibility to make coffee, which has been conjoined with a sentence saying it *is* his responsibility to do so. The only difference in 10b is that both the *dar* + gerund declarative and what follows are attributed to Juan's beliefs. The fact that both of these utterances are felicitous in Context 10 shows that *dar* + gerund can have a local effect (10a) or not (10b). In 10a, the implication that it was not Mike's responsibility to make the coffee is attributed locally to Juan. Conversely, in 10b, this implication is interpreted globally rather than as part of Juan's beliefs, preventing Juan from having contradictory beliefs. In this way, *dar* + gerund behaves similarly to the Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses (NRRC) mentioned by Tonhauser et al. (2013, p. 92), such as "Jane believes that Bill, **who is Sue's cousin**, is Sue's brother." This was further tested in Context 11 and again we can see that *dar* + gerund does not necessarily have to be interpreted locally since both 11a and 11b are felicitous. It is likely that 10b and 11b are acceptable since who is responsible for a task is quite flexible and can change over time. While the evidence presented here suggests that *dar* + gerund does not have OLE, this should be confirmed in future work with additional consultants since this is a particularly difficult property to diagnose.

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Context 10: In the office, there is someone who is responsible for making coffee.

a. *Juan cree que Mike dio haciendo el café hoy día,*
Juan thinks that Mike gave making the coffee today, although
aunque en realidad es la responsabilidad de
in reality it is Mike's responsibility to
Mike hacerlo. √
do so
'Juan thinks that Mike made the coffee today, although in reality it is Mike's responsibility to do so.'

b. *Juan cree que Mike dio haciendo el café hoy día y*
Juan thinks that Mike gave making the coffee and he thinks
cree que era la responsabilidad de Mike hacerlo. √
that it was Mike's responsibility to do so
'Juan thinks that Mike made the coffee and he thinks that it was Mike's responsibility to do so.'

Context 11: Kyle is discussing the household chores with his friend, Tom. Tom later reports…

a. *Kyle cree que Amy dio lavando la ropa, aunque en*
Kyle thinks that Amy gave washing the clothes, although in
realidad es la responsabilidad de Amy hacerlo. √
reality it is Amy's responsibility to do so
'Kyle thinks that Amy washed the clothes, although in reality it is Amy's responsibility to do so.'

b. *Kyle cree que Amy dio lavando la ropa y cree que*
Kyle thinks that Amy gave washing the clothes and he thinks
era la responsabilidad de ella hacerlo. √
it was Amy's responsibility to do so
'Kyle thinks that Amy washed the clothes and he thinks that it was Amy's responsibility to do so.'

4. Discussion

4.1 Classification of *dar* + gerund

This close examination of *dar* + gerund declaratives has shown the implication involved does not impose a SCF constraint or OLE, but that it does project when embedded under negation, a question, a conditional statement, and a possibility modal. If we look at the taxonomy of projective content that Tonhauser et al. (2013, p. 103) provide, it appears that *dar* + gerund fits into 'Class B' of projective contents.

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This class includes triggers such as expressives, NRRCs, and possessives. While expressives, possessives, and NRRCs are topics that have been discussed heavily in the semantics and pragmatics literature, benefactives like *dar* + gerund are mostly absent from this body of work. Thus, the fact that *dar* + gerund fits into one of the classes in the proposed taxonomy shows that the taxonomy is able to extend to a different type of construction in a language other than those tested by the authors.

Tonhauser et al. (2013, p. 103) also state that Class B of projective contents incorporates what Potts (2005) considers to be 'conventional implicatures,' although not all Class B triggers are conventional implicatures. This brings up the question of whether the implication involved with *dar* + gerund can be classified as a conventional implicature. According to Grice (1975) and Levinson (1983), conventional implicatures are neither cancelable nor calculable. The implication involved with a *dar* + gerund declarative cannot be cancelled, rendering the utterance in (12) infelicitous. This makes sense because if a speaker of HES wanted to say that it was the sole responsibility of the agent to do the task, they would likely just use a standard declarative: *Daniel lavó la ropa* 'Daniel washed the clothes.'

(12) *#Daniel dio lavando la ropa, pero era su responsabilidad*
Daniel gave washing the clothes, but it was his responsibility
de hacerlo.
to do so
'#Daniel washed the clothes, but it was his responsibility to do so.'

By the same token, *dar* + gerund declaratives are not calculable. Huang (2007) explains that calculability relies on "pragmatic principles, contextual knowledge, and background assumptions" (p. 57). As was seen in Section 3.2, the implication involved in *dar* + gerund does not depend on context, and in fact can be used in many different contexts and even out of the blue and still be felicitously interpreted. This implication also does not depend on background assumptions, as we have seen that the interlocutor may or may not know previously what the status of the agent's responsibility was. The only thing that the interlocutor needs in order to understand the implication is knowledge of the conventional use of *dar* + gerund; that is, they need to be a native speaker of or acquainted with Northern Andean Spanish.

While it seems there is abundant evidence to classify the *dar* + gerund implication as a conventional implicature, there has recently been some debate on the difference between conventional implicatures and presuppositions (Potts, 2005; McCready, 2010; Amaral, 2019; among others). According to these authors, one property that conventional implicatures and presuppositions do not share is that of binding. In a conditional antecedent, a presupposition does not project, while a conventional implicature does. In Example (13), we see that the implication that it was not the sole responsibility of Daniel to wash the clothes *does* project, because

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it renders the second part of the sentence infelicitous. Thus, we can conclude that the implication at hand is a conventional implicature, showing how *dar* + gerund is conventionalized for a very particular use.

(13) *#Si Daniel dio lavando la ropa, era su responsabilidad de hacerlo.*
If Daniel gave washing the clothes, it was his responsibility to do so
'#If Daniel washed the clothes, it was his responsibility to do so.'

4.2 Comparison between imperative and declarative uses

Considering that this study is one of the first to carefully consider declarative uses of *dar* + gerund, it is worthwhile to compare the findings to previous studies of imperative uses. The most analogous study of imperative *dar* + gerund is that of García and McCarron (2010), who also consider pragmatic implication. As described in Section 2.3, this study has two main findings: first, that *dar* + gerund imperatives are infelicitous when the imperative stands to harm the speaker, and secondly, that they give rise to a Generalized Conversational Implicature (GCI). This GCI is the implication that the speaker would like the interlocutor to do the action "in his/her stead." Thus, a sentence such as *Da haciendo el deber* 'Give doing the task' is taken to mean "do my task for me" unless this interpretation is blocked by context; that is, this GCI is cancellable in contexts in which the speaker could not possibly do the task himself/herself.

While *dar* + gerund declaratives also give rise to an implicature, the nature of the implicature is different. In its declarative uses, the implicature that the agent was not solely responsible for the action is instead best characterized as a conventional implicature. Thus, this implicature cannot be cancelled, as was seen in Example (12). Given that imperatives and declaratives are different types of speech acts, it is logical that some of their pragmatic features would differ. By the same token, declarative and imperative uses of *dar* + gerund share many properties, mainly that they both exhibit the syntactic and semantic constraints detailed in Section 2.2. For instance, in both declarative and imperative constructions, a benefactor is assumed if one is not made explicit by the context or a clitic pronoun. The fact that an interlocutor will go searching for a potential benefactor speaks to the very particularized use of *dar* + gerund, confirming previous claims that it is not merely equivalent to adding *por favor* 'please' to a standard imperative or declarative (Haboud & Palacios, 2017; Guerra, 2019; among others).

Additionally, the use of *me* 'to/for me' is similar for both imperative and declarative uses. As García and McCarron (2010) found for imperatives, *me* can only be added to a *dar* + gerund declarative when the agent is doing or did the action for

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the speaker. In Context 2, repeated below, if we change the sentence to include *me*, as in 2b, the interpretation is that Mike did Brian's work. The addition of *me* serves to specify further the implication in that it is now not just the responsibility of the whole office to do the work, but specifically Brian's responsibility. As with imperatives, we see a correspondence between the form and function of *me*.

Context 2: In your office, everyone always does their own work and there is not much collaboration. One day Mike and Brian have a meeting and when Brian leaves, he says to you…

b. *Mike* ***me*** *dio haciendo el trabajo.*
Mike gave me doing the work
'Mike did the work for me.'

4.3 Limitations and future directions

Despite the advances that this analysis makes, there are some limitations in applying the heuristics of Tonhauser et al. (2013) to this linguistic phenomenon. The implementation of the tools that test for a SCF constraint, projection, and OLE seems more complex with *dar* + gerund than with the constructions those authors examine, perhaps due to the periphrastic nature of *dar* + gerund. Most of the items examined by Tonhauser et al. (2013) are single lexical items, such as pronouns, expressives, and presuppositional triggers like 'almost' and 'know.' While these items can certainly have complex, context-dependent meaning, they are not periphrastic. Furthermore, there is already a large body of work (mostly in English) looking at the triggers examined by Tonhauser et al. (2013). Part of the complication in applying their heuristics to *dar* + gerund could be the composite nature of the construction itself, but also the fact that it has not been as extensively studied from a formal pragmatics perspective.

As mentioned in Section 3.2, one of the complications in applying these tests lies in defining what a truly "neutral" *m*-neutral context would be for *dar* + gerund. Ideally, we would like a context that neither confirms nor denies that the task at hand was the sole responsibility of the agent. However, the mere mention of a task might imply to the listener that someone is responsible for that task. Despite this issue, the fact that *dar* + gerund declaratives are felicitous in all of the various contexts presented in Section 3.2 and can be used out of the blue is very good evidence that they do not exhibit a SCF constraint. The application of the OLE heuristics (Section 3.4) was also not as straightforward in the present analysis, as evidenced by the sheer complexity of the test sentences presented in Contexts 10 and 11. Unlike the example with a NRRC, it is not entirely clear-cut which beliefs

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are being attributed to Juan and Kyle in 10b and 11b, respectively. For this reason, the OLE status of *dar* + gerund merits more testing, perhaps with different structures of belief predicates.

Finally, it should be noted that the conclusions presented here are based on the intuitions of one native speaker. While this is not uncommon in works that rely on such prolonged elicitation, and in fact many studies rely on the author's own intuitions, the present analysis should be corroborated with more consultants. In particular, future studies should replicate these tests in Ecuador with speakers from different parts of the highland region. Since the consultant for the present study is from Loja, it is unclear whether the conventional implicature found here holds for *dar* + gerund in other varieties of Northern Andean Spanish. The use of other techniques and tools emerging in the field of experimental pragmatics would also undoubtedly shed new light on this phenomenon.

Despite these limitations, the present work advances the study of *dar* + gerund in several significant ways. First, it represents the first study to extensively examine the declarative uses of this construction. While previous work mentions that *dar* + gerund can be used in declaratives, the major focus has been on its imperative uses and the detailed comparison of the two uses found here was missing previously. Secondly, although the heuristics used here might not be perfectly suited to this linguistic phenomenon, they have allowed for a more nuanced definition of the benefactive nature of *dar* + gerund. This analysis shows that the meaning of *dar* + gerund declaratives is best classified as a conventional implicature, and that this implicature is not simply that the action stands to benefit someone, but rather that the action is not the sole responsibility of the agent. The fact that *dar* + gerund is a benefactive construction does not necessarily entail this. We could imagine a scenario in which the agent cannot be responsible in any way for the action (a true "favor"), or conversely that the action simply must stand to benefit someone, regardless of whose responsibility it was to do it in the first place. Instead, we see that the conventionalized use of *dar* + gerund allows for the agent to be part of a group responsible for the action, but not the sole person responsible. The articulation of this conventional implicature refines the understanding of how context influences the use or non-use of *dar* + gerund declaratives. The choice of a *dar* + gerund construction is certainly attenuated as Haboud and Palacios (2017) and Guerra (2019) claim; however, the conclusions here show that even before the relationship between interlocutors is considered, there is already a more limited set of contexts in which *dar* + gerund can be felicitously employed. Finally, the present study brings *dar* + gerund and Highland Ecuadorian Spanish, an understudied variety of Spanish, into the realm of theoretical pragmatics, which benefits and advances both the study of this feature and the broader conversation on the nature of projective content.

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5. Conclusion

We have seen that *dar* + gerund declaratives pragmatically enrich what the interlocutor knows upon hearing an utterance, since the construction itself gives rise to a conventional implicature. This conventional implicature is that the agent of the *dar* + gerund declarative is not the sole party responsible for the action or task at hand. Therefore, a sentence such as *Daniel dio lavando la ropa* 'Daniel gave washing the clothes' is felicitous if Daniel was part of a group responsible for washing the clothes or not responsible for this task at all, but infelicitous if it was Daniel and only Daniel's responsibility to wash the clothes. Given that this implicature does not impose a Strong Contextual Felicity constraint, nor does it have an Obligatory Local Effect, it is best classified within Class B of projective contents within the taxonomy of Tonhauser et al. (2013). Building on previous work looking at politeness and attenuation (Bruil, 2008b; Haboud & Palacios, 2017; among others), the present study affirms just how complex the negotiation of meaning is with this case of pragmatic variation and sheds new light on the interplay of different types of meaning in an understudied variety of Spanish.

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SECTION II

Production, perception and sound system contact-driven restructuring

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CHAPTER 5

Social perception of the variable realization of /tʃ/ in Chile

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This study uses the matched-guise technique to measure the attitudes of forty-one Chilean participants towards the variable realization of the affricate /tʃ/. The present study analyzes three variants of the phoneme and their relationships with various characteristics within society. Within the present study, there is social stratification of the phoneme /tʃ/ in which the variant [ʃ] is associated with a lower social stratum and the variants [tʃ] and [ts] are associated with a higher social stratum. Speakers who employ [ʃ] receive statistically lower ratings for all of the characteristics, while speakers who employ [tʃ] and [ts] receive statistically higher ratings in the matched-guise study.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, matched-guise technique, Chilean Spanish, deaffrication

1. Introduction

This study presents perception data on the variation that occurs with the affricate /tʃ/ in various regions of Chile. The goal of this study is to identify the sociolinguistic status of each variant within the community of speakers in Central Chile. In the present study, three variants are observed: a voiceless alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ], a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ], and a voiceless dental affricate [ts]. With the information obtained through a matched-guise study, one can observe the social perception and how it varies depending on the variant the speaker employs. There is also evidence that variation for this sound is strongly related to the socio-economic class of the speaker and that there is a large separation between the prestigious and stigmatized variants (Díaz-Campos, 2014).

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1.1 The affricate /tʃ/ and its variants

In Spanish phonetics, the phoneme /tʃ/ is exclusively found in the initial position of the syllable where it remains an unvoiced affricate in normative pronunciation (Morgan, 2010). This is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Words in Spanish with the phoneme /tʃ/

/tʃ/ → [tʃ]	*Chile*	[ˈtʃi.le]
	leche	[ˈle.tʃe]
	mucho	[ˈmu.tʃo]

There are two allophones that are frequently associated with the phoneme /tʃ/: the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ] and the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ] (Hualde, 2005; Campos-Astorkiza, 2012; Sáez Godoy, 2001). The latter of the two allophones mentioned is realized through a weakening process called deaffrication, in which the sound is produced as a fricative instead of an affricate. The consonant [ʃ] is still voiceless and alveo-palatal like the [tʃ], but it loses the occlusive component that characterizes an affricate (Morgan, 2010). Within this study, there is also a third allophone, the voiceless dental affricate [ts]. Lenz (1940) describes this allophone as a combination of /t/ and /s/ that forms a dorsal sound. Figures 1 to 3 depict the waveforms and spectrograms of the word *chilenos* produced with each of the variants under study. Figure 1 shows the variant [tʃ], which starts as a stop [t] with no energy in the waveform and no formants or voicing bar in the spectrogram, and is followed by the fricative [ʃ], shown in the figure with the voiceless energy in the waveform and dark, high energy in the spectrogram. Figure 2 illustrates the fricative variant [ʃ], shown with high energy frication in the spectrogram and waveform. The variant [ts], in Figure 3, begins as a stop [t] with no energy in the waveform and no formants or voicing bar in the spectrogram, and is followed by the fricative [s], shown in the figure with the voiceless energy in the waveform and dark, high energy in the spectrogram. The primary difference between Figures 1 ([tʃ]) and 3 ([ts]) is that, in the former, the fricative's resonance frequency is lower because it has a sublingual cavity (adding length to the vocal tract), whereas in the latter, [s] has a higher frequency with no sublingual cavity (Johnson, 2011). The fricative [ʃ] tends to have frequency centered a little above 3,000 Hz, whereas the [s] has little energy below 3,500 Hz (Ladefoged & Disner, 2012).

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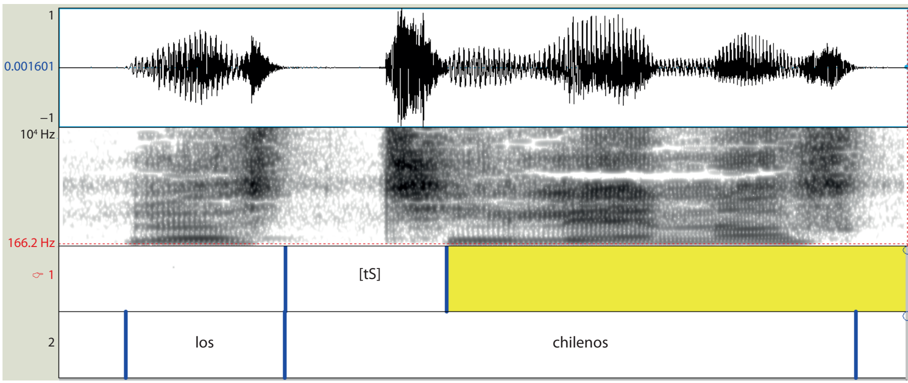

Figure 1. Waveform and spectrogram of *chilenos* produced with variant [tʃ]

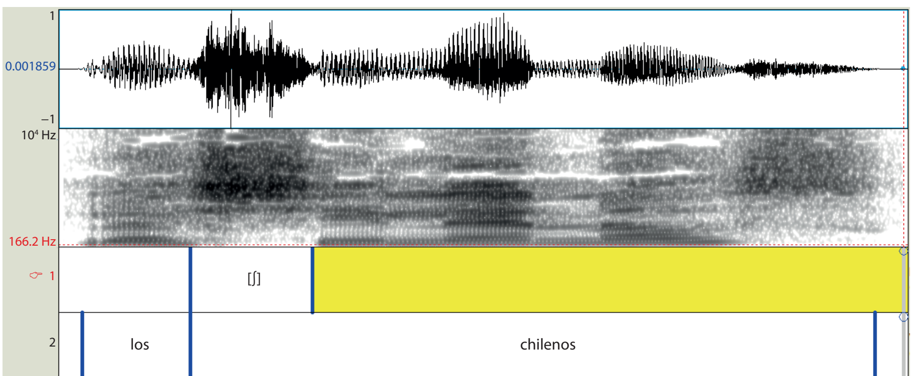

Figure 2. Waveform and spectrogram of *chilenos* produced with variant [ʃ]

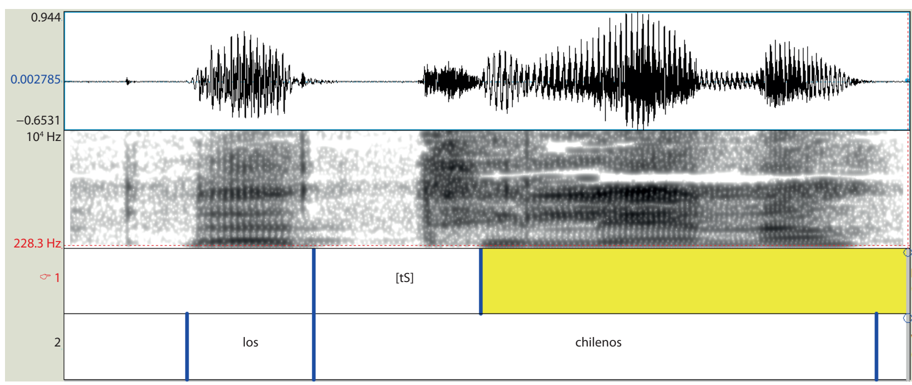

Figure 3. Waveform and spectrogram of *chilenos* produced with variant [ts]

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1.2 Chilean /tʃ/

Chilean Spanish is characterized by a variety of phonetic processes that distinguish it from most other varieties of Spanish. In Chilean pronunciation, the articulating organs act, in general, with an inferior tension when compared to neutral Spanish (Oroz, 1966). When it comes to the affricate /tʃ/ in Chile, Oroz (1966) offers the observation that, at times, the sound produced is the fricative [ʃ], similar to that which is heard in Andalucía. However, in the majority of Chile, the palatal affricate is predominant. Lenz (1940) states that the Chilean /tʃ/ tends to be cited as a distinctive trait due to the frequent pre-palatal articulation that drives it nearer to [ts]. More recently, Flores (2016) provides a spectrographic analysis of the variable /tʃ/ in Chile. She finds that the dental variable [ts] is favored by female speakers under 30 and 30–50 in the context of general conversation and discussion about sports found in radio programs. This variant was favored more within female-female pairings. With regards to sociolinguistic status of the variables at hand, the authors propose that the [tʃ] serves as a neutral variant, while the [ts] is associated with a higher socioeconomic status and the [ʃ] is associated with a lower one.

1.3 Social perception

It is important to understand how Chileans are perceived based on the way they speak. Salamanca Gutiérrez and Valverde San Martín (2009, p. 126) reveal that when Chilean Spanish-speakers refer to the way in which a *cuica*, or person of higher social status, speaks, they generally use the expression "they speak as if they had a potato in their mouth." On the other hand, a person who forms part of a lower social class is described as *el perrito flaite.* These judgments reveal that there is a perceived relationship between social class and the way in which subjects of each division speak (Salamanca Gutiérrez & Valverde San Martín, 2009). In addition, the work of Chávez (1992) reveals a strong association between the fricative realization of /tʃ/, lower education levels and lower socioeconomic status when compared to the affricate realization. However, this is the first systematic work assessing sociolinguistic perceptions of Chilean /tʃ/ using the matched-guise technique.

2. Relevant literature

To conduct this study, the authors implemented a matched-guise technique to measure linguistic attitudes of the participants towards each variant (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960). This technique is designed to collect information about perception and consists of a recorded speaker reading a text various times,

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producing a specific variant each time. The participants evaluate their perception of the speaker using a scale of numbers that is associated with characteristics related to traits that reflect social status and personality (Díaz-Campos, 2014).

2.1 Matched-guise studies

The work of Lambert et al. (1960) is considered the pioneering investigation for the matched-guise technique. It was the one of the first studies that obtained information about listener's attitudes towards language. This study provided evidence that experiments based on attitudes that implemented the matched-guise technique were credible in gathering information about the social evaluation of a language in an indirect manner. In the study, participants listened to four bilingual speakers who read the same passage in English and French. The participants, who were also bilingual, rated the speakers using a scale of 1 to 6 for 14 characteristics. The results showed that the participants that were native English speakers gave the speakers who read the passage in English higher ratings than those who read it in French for the traits of attractiveness (i.e. 'height,' 'good looks'), 'intelligence,' 'dependability,' 'kindness,' 'ambition,' and 'character.' Interestingly, the native French-speaking participants rated the speakers who read the passage in English higher as well for these same traits (among others) except for 'kindness,' which was rated higher for the French speakers. The researchers conclude that English-speakers are seen as more socially and economically powerful, reflecting the influence of community-wide stereotypes in Canada (Lambert et al., 1960).

Turning to Spanish, Ferrer (2010) and Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012) use the matched-guise technique to gather information about language attitudes. Ferrer (2010) measures linguistic attitudes of high-school students towards Spanish, Valencian, and Catalan in Spain. Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012) evaluate the attitudes of listeners from Caracas, Venezuela towards the elision of intervocalic /d/ and syllable-final /ɾ/.

Ferrer (2010) attempts to determine if the status of Spanish, Valencian, and Catalan has changed over the last decade. It is a real-time study that compares data from the present day to a study done in 1998. In the present-day study, participants listen to six speakers describe a recipe in their native language (Spanish, Valencian, or Catalan) and respond to a questionnaire. The questionnaire has various characteristics with a polar scale in which participants have to choose between two opposite characteristics upon listening to the speakers. Ferrer finds that the status of Spanish has changed since 1998, when it was seen as more prestigious, and that there is now a decline in its prestige. Valencian has gone through a process of normalization but maintains the same status, and no change is observed in the status of Catalan either.

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Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012) use the matched-guise technique to measure attitudes towards the variable realization of intervocalic /d/ and syllable-final /ɾ/ in Venezuela. Fifteen participants listened to recordings of four speakers (two men and two women) that read sentences with occurrences of intervocalic /d/ and four sentences with occurrences of syllable-final /ɾ/. The speakers read each sentence twice, once with retention of intervocalic /d/ or syllable-final /ɾ/ and again with deletion. Participants filled out a questionnaire in which they rated the speakers on a scale of one to six with respect to certain characteristics. The results showed that the retention of syllable-final /ɾ/ has prestige within the speech community of the participants. However, there was not a strong evaluation in favor of the retention of the intervocalic /d/, but rather a more neutral opinion towards the variation (Díaz-Campos & Killam, 2012).

2.2 Studies on the variable realization of the affricate /tʃ/

There are several studies that investigate the variable realization of the affricate /tʃ/ in Spanish. Both Brown (1989) and Casillas (2012) have studied social factors that affect deaffrication of the affricate in Arizona, but neither measures the attitudes associated with that variation. Méndez (2017) investigated the phenomenon in the Spanish of northern Mexico, specifically in the border community of Ciudad Juárez. With respect to Chile specifically, both Vivanco (1999) and Valdivieso (1998) analyze the speech of Chilean youth, in Santiago and Concepción respectively.

Brown (1989) analyzes the sounds that are present in 32 interviews of young people between the ages of 16 and 22, finding that 81% of the interviewees produce the fricative variant in their speech. He attributes this to the proximity of Tucson, Arizona, the city in which the study took place, to the city of Sonora, Mexico. Brown also finds that women utilize the fricative variant more than men. His study is important because it shows one of the regions in which the weakening of the phoneme /tʃ/ occurs and incorporates the demographic of young participants who serve as examples of innovation.

Casillas (2012) studies the speech of women in Arizona. He interviewed 11 women from Southern Arizona that are native speakers of Spanish. His goals in this study were to relate the occurrence of the fricative variant with the level of education the speaker possesses. He proposes that there will be fewer instances of the fricative variant as the level of education of the speaker increases. The percentage of occurrences of the fricative does decline as the level of education increases, but the study does not reach concrete conclusions. However, Casillas notes that age is the most predictive factor with older participants producing the fricative variant more while it was avoided in the speech of younger participants.

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In his study, Méndez (2017) analyzes the social and linguistic factors that influence the variable realization of /tʃ/ in the Spanish of Chihuahua, Mexico. After acoustically analyzing data elicited from 40 speakers, he found that the preceding context affects deaffrication, with more weakening occurring when the affricate follows /s/, /i/, and /u/. Méndez also discovered that age, gender, and socioeconomic status were important predictors of deaffrication in that community, as young men from low socioeconomic status tend to lenite more.

Turning now to Chile, Vivanco (1999) provides an acoustic analysis of the realization of /tʃ/ by young participants from Santiago, Chile's upper-middle and upper classes. The study focuses on a third allophone [ts], not found in previous studies on the variable realization of /tʃ/. It is suggested that this allophone occurs as a response to the societal rejection provoked by the fricative [ʃ]. The study analyzes the speech of young, upper-middle class participants in phrases like *un vaso de leche* 'a cup of milk' and *me duele mucho* 'it hurts a lot.' Following acoustic analysis of the utterances, Vivanco finds that the variant [ts] is employed by younger, upper-class speakers in this community, with increased occurrence between front vowels (*leche*) than between back vowels (*mucho*).

Valdivieso (1998) analyzes the speech of youth in Concepción, Chile, to determine extralinguistic factors that affect the deaffrication of /tʃ/ in that speech community. The ninety participants in his study were classified based on their social class (low vs. upper-middle), sex, and age. Overall, 28% of the 810 tokens were realized as the fricative [ʃ]. Of the 90 participants, six (7%) only produced the fricative [ʃ] variant, 34 (37%) produced both the fricative [ʃ] and the affricate [tʃ] variants, and 50 (56%) produced only the affricate [tʃ] variant. Valdivieso found that males (38%) tended to use the fricative variant significantly more than females (16%), which he attributes to the notion that females tend to be more conservative in their speech while males are more innovative. Additionally, only 1% ($N = 6$) of the tokens produced by upper class participants contained the fricative variant while 61% ($N = 224$) of the tokens produced by lower-class participants did. Of the lower-class participants who employed the fricative variant, 15% ($N = 6$) did so exclusively, while 73% ($N = 30$) alternated between the fricative and affricate realizations. Valdivieso concludes that because lower-class participants in his study tended to employ the fricative realization at a significantly higher rate than their upper-class counterparts, the fricative variant is stigmatized within the speech community.

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3. Research questions

This current study investigates the social perception of the variable realization of the affricate /tʃ/ in central Chilean Spanish. It analyzes the responses of 41 participants using the matched-guise technique. With this information, the authors hope to respond to the following questions that aide in the process of decoding the relationship between variation and social perception:

1. What is the status of the affricate /tʃ/ in Chilean Spanish?
2. Which extra-linguistic factors condition this variation?

Following trends of deaffrication in other Spanish-speaking countries (Brown, 1989; Casillas, 2012; Méndez, 2017; Vivanco, 1999), the authors hypothesize that [tʃ] is the neutral variant that the majority of the population uses, [ʃ] is the stigmatized variant that is associated with the lower, uneducated class, and [ts] is the prestigious variant that is associated with the upper, more educated class. The current study also aims to isolate social factors that predict the use of each variant, including the education level and socioeconomic status of the speaker.

4. Methodology

The present study implements the matched-guise technique to measure participant attitudes towards three variants of the affricate /tʃ/. Participants rated speakers after listening to recordings. It is hoped that these responses can be linked with sociolinguistic factors, such as socioeconomic status and education.

4.1 Participants

The study includes forty-one participants, fifteen women and twenty-six men, who are between nineteen and eighty years of age, and are native Spanish-speaking Chilean citizens. For the study, participants were contacted randomly in public places of the metropolitan areas of Santiago, Valparaíso, and Viña del Mar. For ease of statistical analysis, the participants were divided into two groups based on age – ‘2’ for those older than forty ($N = 11$) and ‘1’ for those younger than thirty ($N = 30$). All of the participants in the current study had at least a high school degree and were considered to be members of the middle or upper-middle class based on their professions and reported education levels. Table 2 provides an overview of the demographic information for the participants.

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Table 2. Participant demographics

Sex	Age	Age group	Profession	Resident of
Female	19	1	Student	Valparaíso
Female	19	1	Student	Viña del Mar
Female	20	1	Public Relations	Santiago
Female	21	1	Student	Viña del Mar
Female	22	1	Engineer	Valparaíso
Female	23	1	Student	Viña del Mar
Female	25	1	Teacher	Valparaíso
Female	27	1	Student	Santiago
Female	30	1	Athlete	Santiago
Female	43	2	Unknown	Viña del Mar
Female	49	2	Administrative Assistant	Valparaíso
Female	52	2	Executive Secretary	Santiago
Female	53	2	Executive Secretary	Viña del Mar
Female	67	2	Homemaker	Valparaíso
Female	80	2	Homemaker	Santiago
Male	18	1	Lawyer	Viña del Mar
Male	20	1	Electrician	Valparaíso
Male	20	1	Artist	Santiago
Male	20	1	Student	Santiago
Male	21	1	Engineer	Santiago
Male	21	1	Engineer	Viña del Mar
Male	21	1	Student	Santiago
Male	21	1	Student	Viña del Mar
Male	22	1	Student	Viña del Mar
Male	23	1	Student	Valparaíso
Male	23	1	Hotel Manager	Santiago
Male	23	1	Engineer	Valparaíso
Male	24	1	Military	Araucanía
Male	24	1	Student	Santiago
Male	24	1	Student	Viña del Mar
Male	25	1	Engineer	Santiago
Male	25	1	Military	Santiago
Male	25	1	Marine Official	Viña del Mar
Male	26	1	Crane Operator	Santiago
Male	27	1	Student	Santiago
Male	29	1	Student	Valparaíso
Male	40	2	Student	Valparaíso
Male	40	2	Chemist	Viña del Mar
Male	55	2	Military	Vina del Mar
Male	56	2	Marine Engineer	Viña del Mar
Male	57	2	Merchant Marine Captain	Viña del Mar

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4.2 Experiment procedures

After completing the human subjects consent form, participants were directed to fill in the questionnaire by assigning numbers to the speakers in the recordings they heard. Their ratings are based solely upon the way the people in the recordings speak. Each participant listened to six recordings of two Chilean speakers, one man and one woman, who produced each variant naturally.

4.3 Stimulus

To produce the stimuli, both speakers read a paragraph (see below for the Spanish version, followed by the English translation) that has twenty occurrences of the variable /tʃ/. The researchers guided the speakers to assist them in producing consistent, natural realizations of each variant. The researchers acoustically and perceptually verified the realization of each variant for both speakers to ensure that the stimuli represented the desired variants.

> Spanish
> *En <u>Ch</u>ile se comen mu<u>ch</u>as comidas distintas. Los <u>ch</u>ilenos comen pastel de <u>ch</u>oclo, <u>ch</u>arquicán y <u>ch</u>orrillana. Los <u>ch</u>icos van a los boli<u>ch</u>es donde comen <u>ch</u>oripán y toman <u>ch</u>elas. Para celebraciones como el dieciocho de septiembre, toman <u>ch</u>i<u>ch</u>a y para otras como el año nuevo toman <u>ch</u>ampaña y tiran <u>ch</u>alla a la mediano<u>ch</u>e. Venden <u>ch</u>urros con <u>ch</u>ocolate en las calles y pueden ir a los cafés a comer <u>ch</u>eesecake y tomar capu<u>ch</u>ino.*

> English
> In Chile, many different foods are eaten. Chileans eat corn cake, *charquicán* (dish of dried meat and vegetables) and *chorrillana* (dish of fries topped with meat and other ingredients). The boys go to the clubs where they eat sausage baguettes and drink beers. For celebrations like the eighteenth of September, they drink *chicha* (fermented alcoholic drink) and for others like the new year they drink champagne and throw confetti at midnight. They sell churros with chocolate in the streets and can go to the cafes to eat cheesecake and drink cappuccino.

The participants listened to each speaker read the paragraph three times in random order, once for each variant.

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4.4 Questionnaire

A paper survey was used to gather perceptions as well as demographic information for each participant. After listening to each recording, participants rated the speakers on a scale of 1 to 6 for six different characteristics, following previous studies using the matched-guise technique (Díaz-Campos & Killam, 2012): attractive, educated, professional, friendly, trustworthy, and wealthy. On this scale, 1 represents little association of the speaker with the characteristic and 6 indicates that there is a strong association. In other words, if a participant assigned a speaker the value of 6 for 'friendly,' they perceive the speaker as being very friendly. Table 3 shows a sample of the questionnaire the participants filled out upon listening to the recordings.

Table 3. Questionnaire participants filled out upon listening to recordings

Hablante 1						
	Poco					**Muy**
Atractivo√a	1	2	3	4	5	6
Educado√a	1	2	3	4	5	6
Profesional	1	2	3	4	5	6
Amable	1	2	3	4	5	6
Confiable	1	2	3	4	5	6
Rico√a	1	2	3	4	5	6

After filling out the questionnaire, participants completed an exit-survey used to obtain demographic information pertaining to the participant pool. Table 2 provides the demographic information obtained from the exit survey.

4.5 Analysis

The results were analyzed graphically with Excel and subjected to a statistical analysis using the program Rbrul (Johnson, 2014). This consisted of one-level multiple variant analyses for each dependent variable, with a linear regression model treating the participant as a random intercept.

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5. Results

The dependent variables were the following characteristics: attractive, educated, professional, friendly, trustworthy, and wealthy. The predicting factors included participant sex (male or female), participant age group (older (over 40) or younger (under 30)), and the variant used by the speaker ([ts] versus [tʃ] versus [ʃ]). Figure 4 shows the overall averages for each characteristic by variant, with values closer to 6 (+ assoc.) representing perceptions of the speaker being very associated with that characteristic, while values closer to 1 (– assoc.) representing characteristics less positively associated with the speakers.

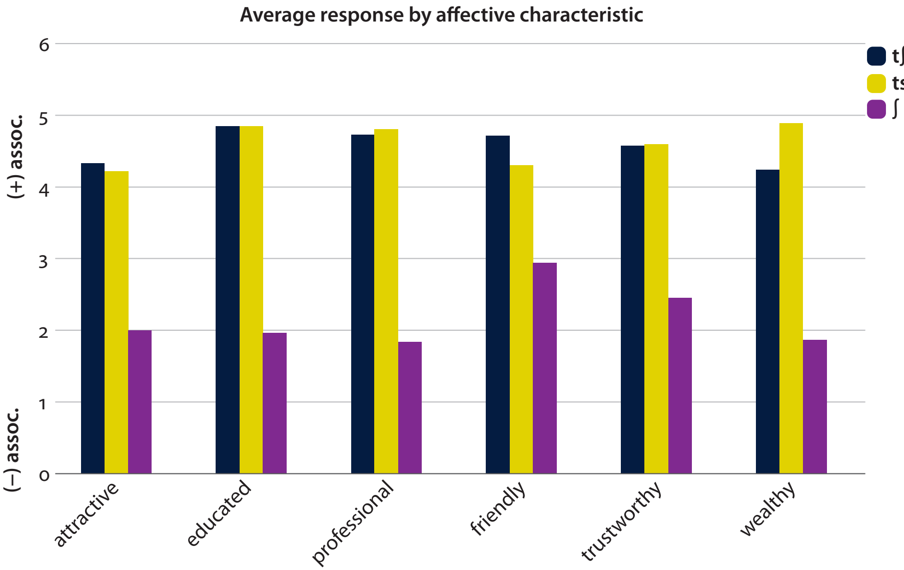

Figure 4. Average responses across variant and affective characteristics

Across all characteristics, speakers received lower ratings for each characteristic when implementing the variant [ʃ] compared to when they implemented the variants [tʃ] and [ts]. The variant [tʃ] received the highest ratings across the board, except for the characteristics of professional and wealthy, where the variant [ts] was deemed higher, though only significantly so for the latter characteristic. Regardless of characteristic, the variants [tʃ] and [ts] were more positively associated with each characteristic than the variant [ʃ], though that difference was not as great for the characteristic 'friendly.' The following sections present analyses of the results organized by affective characteristic.

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5.1 Results for 'attractive'

Figure 5, below, shows that the averages for the variants [tʃ] and [ts] are similar for the characteristic 'attractive,' with those ratings being higher than those for [ʃ].

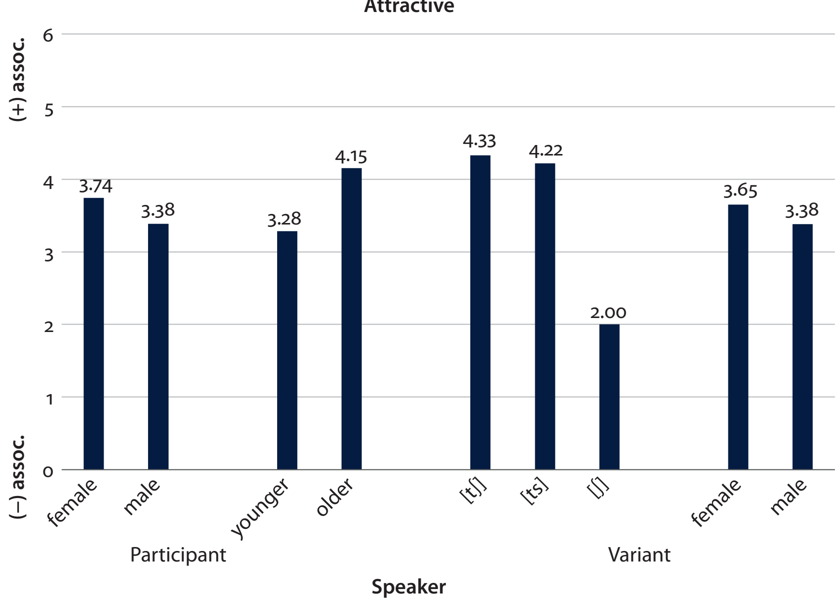

Figure 5. Average responses for the evaluation of the characteristic 'attractive'

As shown in Table 4, below, neither participant sex ($p = 0.247$) nor speaker sex ($p = 0.081$) was significant for the variable 'attractive.' However, the participant's age group ($p = 5.84\text{e-}06$) was significant, with the older participants rating the speakers as more attractive as compared to the younger participants. The variant employed by the speakers was also significant ($p = 4.88\text{e-}32$), with [tʃ] (rating of 4.33) being considered the most attractive, followed by [ts] (rating of 4.22) and [ʃ] with a rating of 2.0.

To determine if the difference between the variants was statistically significant, a t-test was run, finding a significant difference between the variants [tʃ] and [ʃ] ($p = 1.38\text{e-}23$) and [ʃ] and [ts] ($p = 1.58\text{e-}22$). With this information it can be said that the speakers that implemented the variants [tʃ] and [ts] were perceived as more attractive than those who implemented the variant [ʃ]. However, there is not a significant difference between the variants [tʃ] and [ts] for this characteristic ($p = 0.588$).

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Table 4. Results: Attractive (*significant *p* value)

Results: attractive					
Participant sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.095	90	3.744	0.247
	Male	−0.095	156	3.385	
*Age group					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Older	0.411	66	4.152	4.84e-06
	Younger	−0.411	180	3.283	
*Variant					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	[tʃ]	0.813	82	4.329	4.88e-32
	[ts]	0.703	82	4.220	
	[ʃ]	−1.516	82	2.000	
Speaker sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.134	123	3.650	0.081
	Male	−0.134	123	3.382	
	Std. dev.	df	grand mean		
	1.667	6	3.516		

5.2 Results for 'educated'

Turning now to the characteristic 'educated,' there is a greater difference between the ratings of the variant [ʃ] versus [tʃ] and [ts], as shown in Figure 6. The ratings of the variants [tʃ] and [ts] continue to be very similar, with an average of 4.85 for each. Just like the results for the characteristic 'attractive,' the difference between the variants [tʃ] and [ʃ] was statistically significant (p = 4.29e-41) as well as the difference between [ts] and [ʃ] (p = 4.98e-38). This means that the speakers implementing the variants [tʃ] and [ts] are seen as more educated than those who implemented the variant [ʃ]. Once again there is no significant difference between the variants [tʃ] and [ts] ($p = 1$).

The averages show that the participants consider speakers that use [ʃ] to be less educated. For this characteristic, there is no difference when related to the sex of the speaker. However, when it comes to the sex of the participant, women responded with significantly higher ratings than men ($p = 0.003$). It is also important to mention that younger participants responded with significantly lower ratings than older participants ($p = 0.007$).

Within the results for the variable 'educated' there are some similarities with those of 'attractive.' As seen in Table 5, *participant age group* ($p = 0.0073$), *participant sex* ($p = 0.0034$), and *variant implemented by speaker* (p = 3.42e-56) are the significant factors for this variable.

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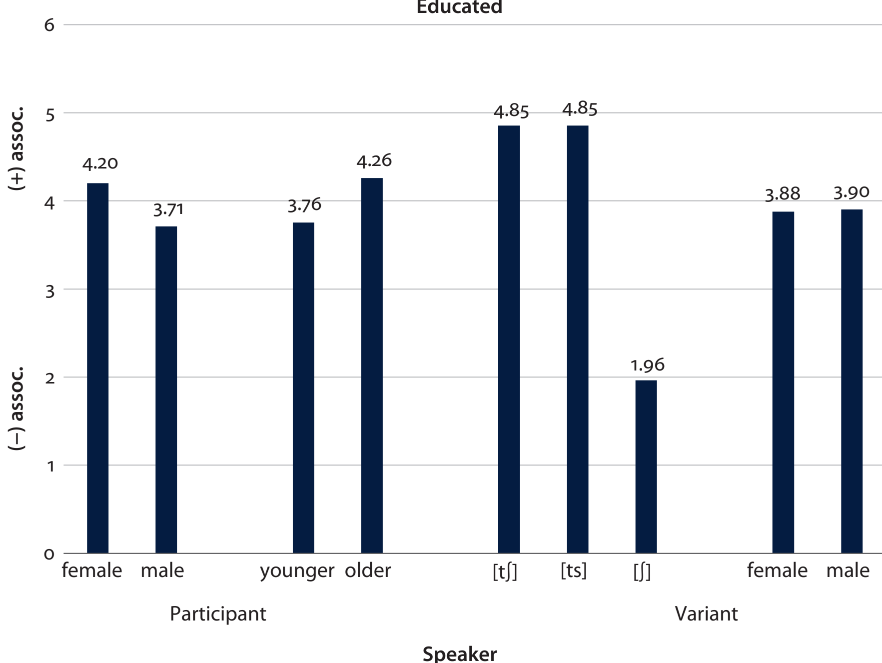

Figure 6. Average responses for the evaluation of the characteristic 'educated'

Table 5. Results: educated (*significant *p* value)

Results: educated					
*Participant sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.202	90	4.200	0.00341
	Male	−0.202	156	3.712	
*Age group					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Older	0.201	66	4.258	0.0073
	Younger	−0.201	180	3.756	
*Variant					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	[tʃ]	0.963	82	4.854	3.42e-56
	[ts]	0.963	82	4.854	
	[ʃ]	−1.927	82	1.963	
Speaker sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Male	0.012	123	3.902	0.85
	Female	−0.012	123	3.878	
	Std. dev.	df	grand mean		
	1.7238	6	3.89		

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The older *participant age group* also has significantly higher averages with 4.258 versus the younger group with 3.756. Interestingly, the variants [ts] and [tʃ] had the same average rating for the characteristic 'educated,' indicating that the participants did not perceive a difference in educational level for the speakers employing these variants. Once again, the variant [ʃ] finishes with the lowest average rating of 1.963, demonstrating that within Chilean society, speakers who employ the deaffricated variant are considered to be less educated than their counterparts who use one of the affricate realizations. *Speaker sex* ($p = 0.85$) was not statistically significant.

5.3 Results for 'professional'

The averages for professionalism show a similar tendency as the aforementioned characteristics, as seen in Figure 7.

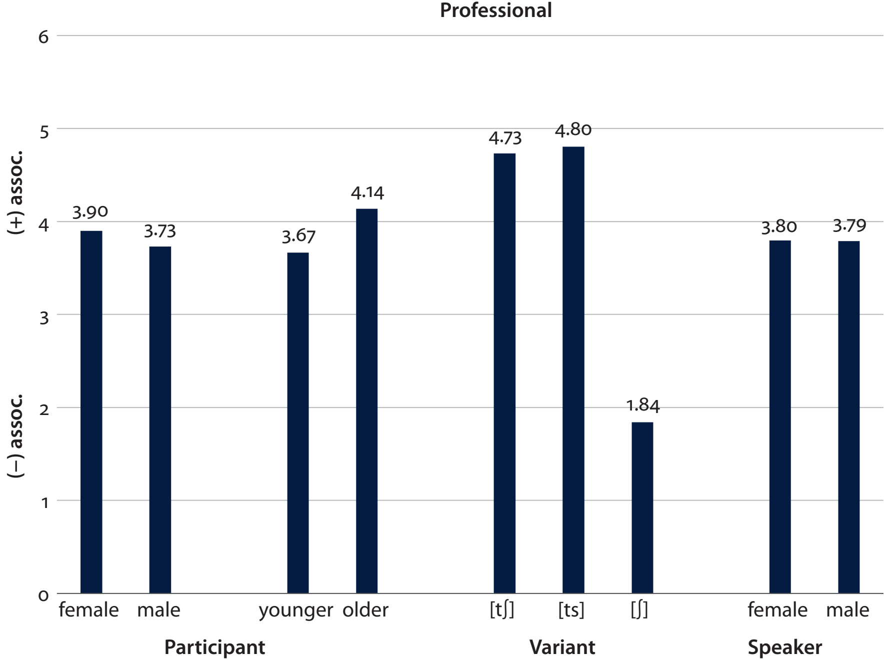

Figure 7. Average responses for the evaluation of the characteristic 'professional'

Speakers with the variant [ʃ] are seen as less professional with an average rating of 1.84. On the other hand, speakers of [tʃ] and [ts] are seen as more professional with average ratings of 4.73 and 4.80, respectively. However, the difference between the variants [tʃ] and [ts] was not significant ($p = 0.691$). On the other hand, the

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difference between [tʃ] and [ʃ] was significant ($p = 1.62e\text{-}38$) as well as the difference between [ts] and [ʃ] ($p = 2.85e\text{-}36$). Neither *participant sex* ($p = 0.62$) nor *speaker sex* ($p = 0.955$) significantly affected the ratings for 'professional.'

Table 6 shows the results of the statistical analysis for the variable 'professional' and how the results follow the pattern of previous variables.

Table 6. Results: professional (*significant *p* value)

Results: professional					
Participant sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.038	90	3.900	0.62
	Male	−0.038	156	3.731	
*Age group					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Older	0.226	66	4.136	0.00683
	Younger	−0.226	180	3.667	
*Variant					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	[tʃ]	0.939	82	4.732	5.04e-50
	[ts]	1.012	82	4.805	
	[ʃ]	−1.951	82	1.841	
Speaker sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.004	123	3.797	0.955
	Male	−0.004	123	3.789	
	Std. dev.	df	grand mean		
	1.7938	6	3.793		

5.4 Results for 'friendly'

The characteristic 'friendly' shows higher averages in comparison to other characteristics for the variant [ʃ]. As seen in Figure 8, the average rating of [ʃ] for this characteristic is higher in comparison to other average ratings of this variant.

However, the average rating of variant [ʃ] is still low when compared to those of other variants. For example, the averages responses of [tʃ] and [ts] are 4.72 and 4.30, respectively, which is much higher than the average rating of [ʃ] (2.94). For the characteristic 'friendly' the difference between the ratings of each variant was significant in all comparisons ($p = 2.34e\text{-}17$): [tʃ] and [ʃ] ($p = 4.96e\text{-}16$), [ts] and [ʃ] ($p = 1.31e\text{-}09$), and [tʃ] and [ts] ($p = 0.0223$). In other words, the speakers who implemented the variants [tʃ] and [ts] are seen as friendlier than those who used the

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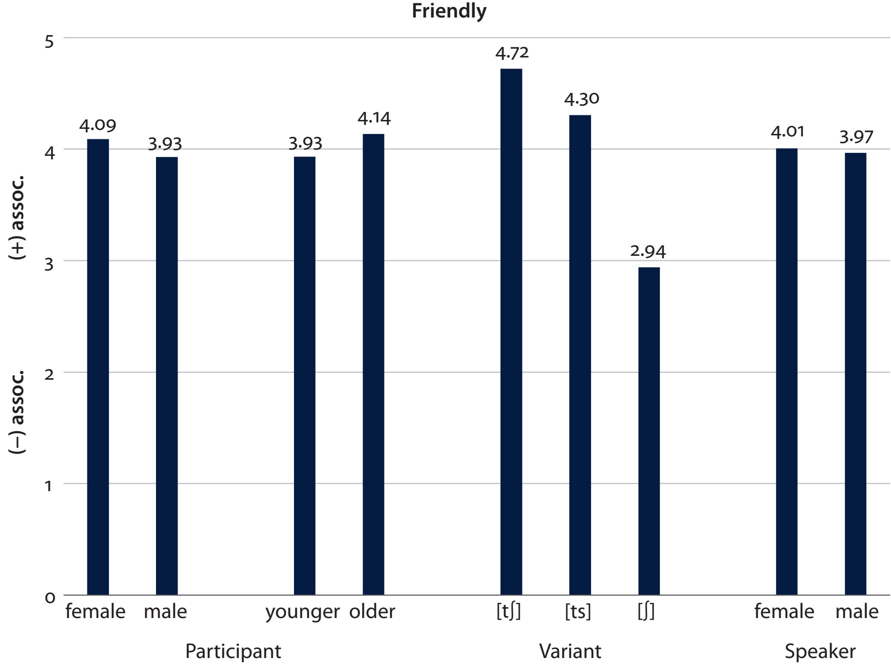

Figure 8. Average responses for the evaluation of the characteristic 'friendly'

Table 7. Results: friendly (*significant *p* value)

Results: friendly					
Participant sex	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.062	90	4.089	0.47
	Male	−0.062	156	3.929	
Age group	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Older	0.086	66	4.136	0.353
	Younger	−0.086	180	3.933	
*Variant	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	[tʃ]	0.732	82	4.720	2.343−17
	[ts]	0.317	82	4.305	
	[ʃ]	−1.049	82	2.939	
Speaker sex	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.02	123	4.008	0.8
	Male	−0.02	123	3.967	
	Std. dev.	df	grand mean		
	1.4777	6	3.988		

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variant [ʃ], and the speakers who implemented the variant [tʃ] are seen as friendlier than those who used the variant [ts]. Table 7 has the results for the variable 'friendly,' in which only *variant* was statistically significant.

5.5 Results for 'trustworthy'

The averages in Figure 9 indicate that participants consider those who implemented the variant [ts] and [tʃ] among the most trustworthy with average ratings of 4.720 and 4.305, respectively. Again, the variant [ʃ] has the lowest average rating which signals that this variant is related to those considered to be less trustworthy. The difference between the rating of speakers who employed variants [tʃ] and [ʃ] was significant (p = 1.97e-24) along with the difference between the variants [ts] and [ʃ] (p = 4.94e-23). The difference was not significant between the variants [tʃ] and [ts] (p = 0.881).

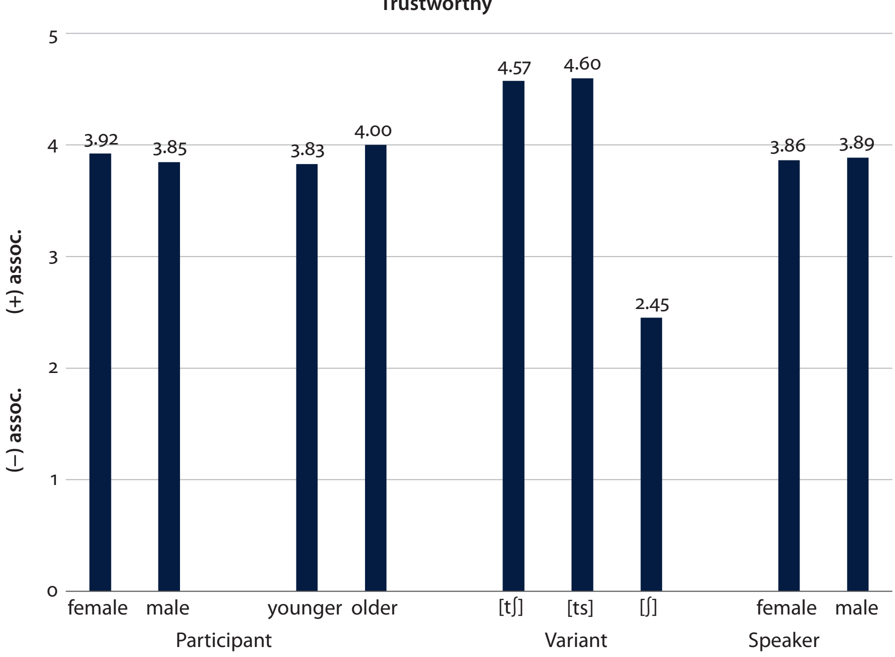

Figure 9. Average responses for the evaluation of the characteristic 'trustworthy'

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The ratings given for the speakers' perceived trustworthiness did not significantly differ based on the sex of the speaker ($p = 0.864$) or the sex of the participant (0.78). The participant's age also did not their rating ($p = 0.328$), with older and younger participants perceiving the speakers in a similar manner (3.92 and 3.85, respectively). The statistical results for this variable reflect the same pattern that is present in the results for 'friendly' and can be seen in Table 8.

Table 8. Results: trustworthy (*significant *p* value)

Results: trustworthy					
Participant sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.021	90	3.922	0.78
	Male	−0.021	156	3.846	
Age group					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Older	0.081	66	4.000	0.328
	Younger	−0.081	180	3.828	
*Variant					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	[tʃ]	0.699	82	4.573	2.46e-32
	[ts]	0.724	82	4.598	
	[ʃ]	−1.423	82	2.451	
Speaker sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Male	0.012	123	3.886	0.864
	Female	−0.012	123	3.862	
	Std. dev.	df	grand mean		
	1.51063	6	3.874		

5.6 Results for 'wealthy'

Figure 10 presents the average responses for the final characteristic, 'wealthy.' The variant the speaker employed significantly affected how the participants rated their perceived wealth ($p = 4.04e\text{-}45$), with a significant three-level distinction: [tʃ] and [ʃ] ($p = 4.86–29$), [ts] and [ʃ] ($p = 1.78e\text{-}38$), and [tʃ] and [ts] ($p = 0.00065$). The variant [ts] emerges as the variant with the highest average rating, with an average rating of 4.89. This is the highest average overall for any variant and any characteristic. This data also contains the lowest overall average rating for the variant [ʃ] with an average rating of 1.87. In other words, the speakers who implemented the variants

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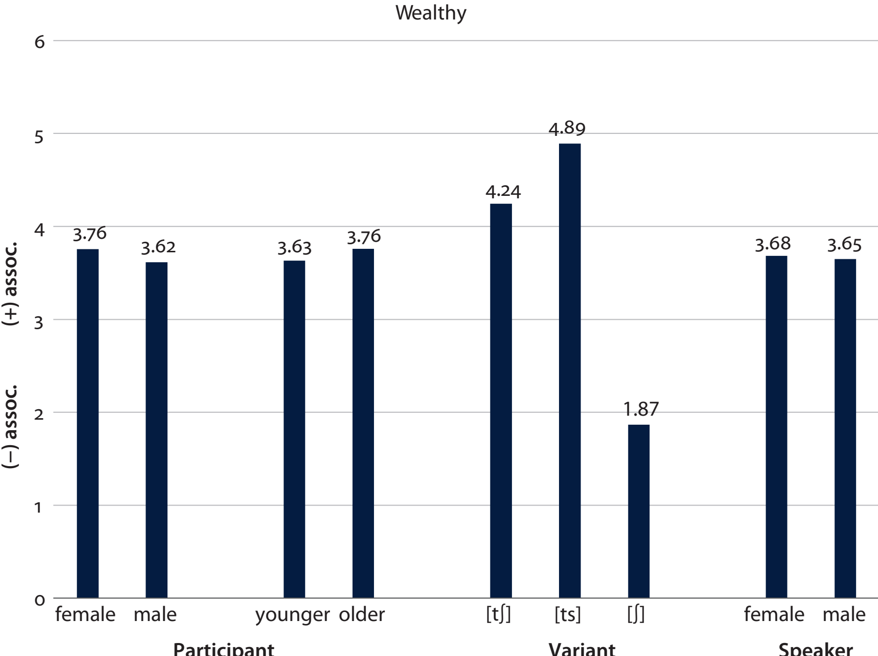

Figure 10. Average responses for the evaluation of the characteristic 'wealthy'

[tʃ] and [ts] are seen as wealthier than those who used the variant [ʃ], and those who implemented the variant [ts] are seen as wealthier than those who used the variant [tʃ]. It also serves to mention that within this variable the greatest difference is found between the variants [ts] and [ʃ] with a significant difference of 3.02.

As seen in Table 9, neither the participants' sex nor the speaker's sex were a significant factor in perceiving the wealth of the speakers. The participant's *age group* also did not significantly affect the perceived wealth of the speakers, indicating that this characteristic, more than any other, is most closely associated with each of the variants throughout the Chilean society, regardless of the listener's age or sex, or the speaker's sex. The results are interesting in that they allude to a relationship between the phonetic variants and social class with which the speaker is associated.

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Table 9. Results: wealthy (*significant *p* value)

Results: wealthy					
Participant sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.06	90	3.756	0.438
	Male	−0.06	156	3.615	
Age group					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Older	0.047	66	3.758	0.575
	Younger	−0.047	180	3.633	
*Variant					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	[tʃ]	0.577	82	4.244	4.043–45
	[ts]	1.224	82	4.890	
	[ʃ]	−1.801	82	1.866	
Speaker sex					
	Factor	Coef.	Tokens	Average	*p*
	Female	0.016	123	3.683	0.823
	Male	−0.016	123	3.650	
	Std. dev.	df	grand mean		
	1.736	6	3.667		

5.7 Summary of results

Conclusively, the factor *speaker sex* was not significant for any characteristic, meaning the ratings given by the participants are not related to or influenced by the fact that the speaker is male or female. The factor of *variant* was significant for every characteristic, with [tʃ] and [ts] being favored with higher average ratings when compared to those of the variant [ʃ]. The participant's age group was significant for three characteristics, 'attractive,' 'educated,' 'professional,' with older participants giving higher ratings in each case. *Participant sex* was not significant except for the characteristic 'educated,' as can be seen in Figure 11. There is a significant interaction between participant sex and phonetic variant for 'educated' ($p = 2.52e\text{-}54$), with female participants giving a significantly higher rating than males across the board, regardless of the phonetic variant employed by the speakers.

The authors also ran comparisons between each phonetic variant to see if each difference was statistically significant. Table 10 shows the comparisons and results of this analysis, in which there is always a significant difference between the variants when they are compared to the variant [ʃ]. However, the differences between the variants [tʃ] and [ts] were only significant for the characteristics 'friendly' and wealthy.'

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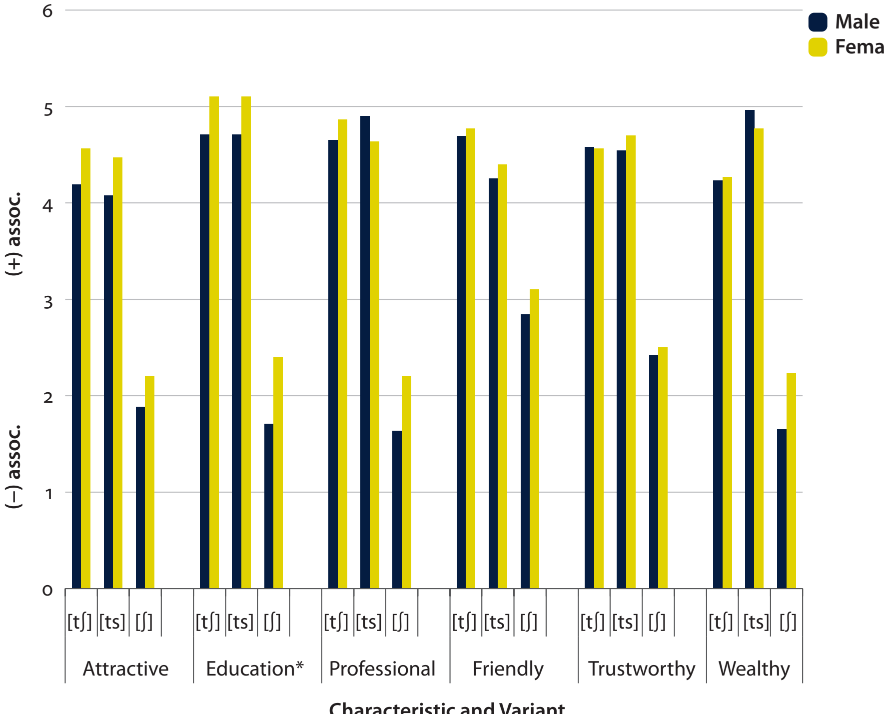

Figure 11. Average responses by participant sex (* denotes a significant p value)

Table 10. Comparison of variants with *p* values (*significant p value < 0.05)

	[tʃ] versus[ʃ]	[ts] versus [ʃ]	[tʃ] versus [ts]
Attractive	*1.38E-23	*1.58E-22	0.588
Educated	*4.29E-41	*4.98E-38	1
Professional	*1.62E-38	*2.85E-36	0.691
Friendly	*4.96E-16	*1.31E-09	*0.0223
Trustworthy	*1.97E-24	*4.94E-23	0.881
Wealthy	*4.86E-29	*1.78E-38	*0.00065

Throughout the study, when the participants heard a speaker using the phonetic variants [tʃ] and [ts], the speakers received positive rating for each characteristic. Interestingly, the variants [tʃ] and [ts] resulted in a significantly different perception of the speakers' friendliness and wealth, as seen in Figure 12. In the case of the perceived friendliness of the speakers, those employing the variant [tʃ] were rated as being friendlier, while those speakers who employed the variant [ts] were rated as being wealthier. This is very interesting in that it may reflect the perception of wealthier individuals in Chile as being less friendly.

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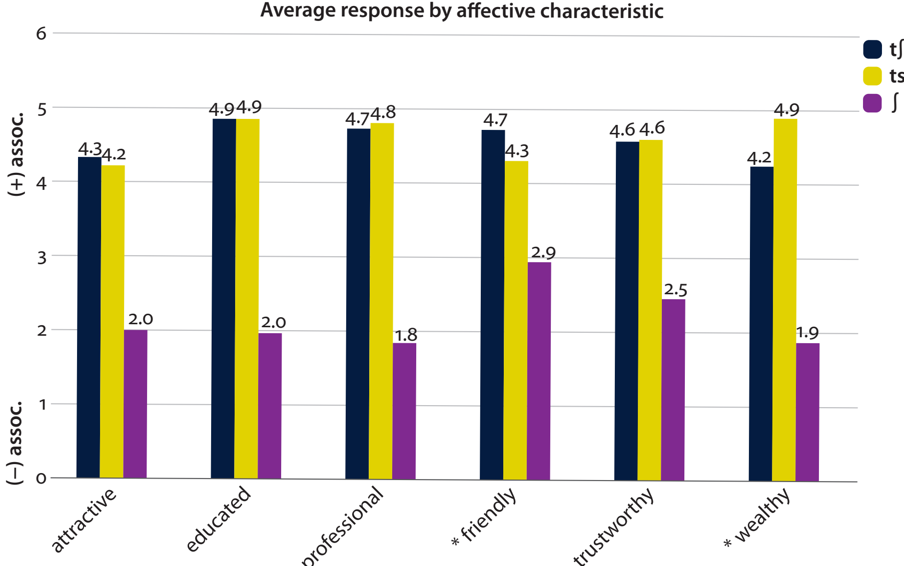

Figure 12. Average ratings for each characteristic by phonetic variant

6. Discussion

This investigation provides evidence of social stratification between the three variants of the affricate /tʃ/ in Chile. Average responses were consistently lower for the variant [ʃ] than any other variant. It is also important to mention that within the statistical analysis, the factor *age group* was significant for three of the characteristics ('attractive,' 'educated,' 'professional'), with older participants consistently giving significantly higher ratings than younger participants for these characteristics. Few sociolinguistic studies pertain to the variation of /tʃ/ in Chile, and no other study has been conducted specifically on the social perceptions of /tʃ/ variation in Chile; therefore, the present study presents useful information within the discipline. Specifically, this study demonstrates that the variant [ʃ] is stigmatized within Chilean society and that the variants [tʃ] and [ts] are considered to be markers of more affluent, educated, attractive, professional, trustworthy, and friendly individuals.

6.1 Discussion of research questions

Returning to the aforementioned questions, the investigation reaches several conclusions. Production studies of the variable realization of /tʃ/ in Chilean Spanish have found that not all variants are equally accepted within the speech community.

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The results of the current study demonstrate that the three variants of the affricate /tʃ/ are perceived as markers of social class. The average responses show that the variant [ʃ] falls below all the other variants for each characteristic, indicating that it is substantially less valued in the participant speech community. The study participants indicated that when the speakers employed this variant, they were perceived as less positively associated with the traits across the board. This finding is in line with Valdivieso's (1998) findings that lower-class speakers tended to employ the fricative variant at a significantly higher rate than upper-class speakers.

The other two variants, [tʃ] and [ts], received higher ratings for every characteristic, indicating that speakers who employ these variants are perceived more positively in Chilean culture than those speakers who use the fricative variant. It is interesting to note, however, that [tʃ] and [ts] were perceived equally in this study, except in the case of professionalism and socioeconomic status ('wealthy'). For those two characteristics, the participants judged speakers employing [ts] to be significantly wealthier and approaching significance for the characteristic 'professional.' This variant is associated with wealthier and more professional individuals in central Chile, corroborating Vivanco's (1999) hypothesis that Chileans were starting to employ the new variant, [ts], as a means to mark themselves as upper-class compared to those who use the other variants.

Distinctively, the regional variant [ts] has prestige within Chilean society rather than being a stigmatized variant. On the other hand, Chilean society distinguishes between one's social status and likeability, in that [ʃ] users are judged as being friendlier than they are judged as wealthy, educated, professional or trustworthy. In other words, the participants in this study considered [ʃ] speakers to be less affluent, but they were rated more positively for their friendliness than the other characteristics.

Turning now to the social factors that condition the variation, the researchers found that speaker sex did not affect the participants' perception of the three variants. The participant's age group was significant for three characteristics, 'attractive,' 'educated,' 'professional,' with older participants giving higher ratings in each case. The participant's sex was not significant except for the characteristic 'educated,' with female participants giving a significantly higher rating than males across the board, regardless of the phonetic variant employed by the speakers.

7. Conclusions and future directions

Within this study, there are some limitations related to the participants. Ideally, having more participants from different regions of the country would allow a geographic comparison of the different groups to be conducted. Also, as far as

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participant diversity, there are no participants from lower social classes (based on their reported professions). Having more participants would allow for more analysis of the interactions between listener's social class and their attitudes towards each variant.

In a future study, it would also be useful to include qualitative questions to measure speech community perceptions towards each variant. For example, asking directly how each person feels about the speakers that implement the variant [ʃ] versus [tʃ] would help researchers understand if there is a conscious bias toward one variant or the other in Chilean society.

In conclusion, this study presents new evidence within the discipline of sociolinguistics related to the perception of the variable realization of /tʃ/ in Chile. It arrives at the conclusion that certain perceptions exist among listeners, with the phonetic variant that speakers employ affecting how they are perceived. It is hoped that future studies will be conducted in distinct parts of Chile to obtain more information about the population, including the influence of indigenous languages, as well as the perception of variable /tʃ/ realization in other varieties of Spanish, including the Spanish of southern Spain and Panama. Overall, the study at hand presents useful information for future sociolinguistic studies that treat this variant and provides a model for studies that aim to gather indirect and unconscious perception ratings for sociophonological variation.

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CHAPTER 6

Complex attitudes towards two sociolinguistic variables and their social meanings

Providing evidence from production and perception data in a speech community

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This study considers attitudes about variable production of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/ in Puerto Rico. Two actors produced typical Puerto Rican allophonic variants of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/. Indirect attitudes of sixteen urban speakers were measured through a matched-guise task, and direct attitudes were observed through an interview. For coda /ɾ/, the tap received the highest overall rating, while for syllable-initial /r/, the trill received higher ratings than the posterior /r/. In both cases, men gave higher ratings in comparison to women. The indexical field analysis showed that social meanings change according to the social context in which individuals interact, helping to explain why speakers use traditionally stigmatized forms, since they can also express positive social meanings.

Keywords: matched guise, elicitation task, Puerto Rico, identity, indexical fields, perception, production, posterior /r/, rhotic, social meaning

1. Introduction

Puerto Rican Spanish has been widely studied and documented in several sociolinguistic studies (e.g. López-Morales, 1983). Much of the research on this particular variety has found complex patterns of production and attitudes regarding variable phonological variation. Some of these patterns have been documented for rhotics (tap /ɾ/ and trill /r/) (Delforge, 2013; Dauphinais-Civitello, 2018; Graml, 2009; Holmquist, 2003, 2008; López-Morales, 1979, 1983, 2003; Medina-Rivera, 1997; Navarro-Tomás, 1948; among others). However, previous studies tend to focus on either production or attitudes, which may not account for the complexity of social variation (Eckert, 2008). This may be due to the fact that phonetic variants can

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acquire an array of social meanings. Eckert (2008, p. 454) argued that the "meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings – an indexical field, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be active in the situated use of the variable." This means that it is inappropriate to characterize variants as either stigmatized or prestigious, since they can acquire different meanings in concrete communicative situations. Thus, the indexical fields associated with a given variant could affect production patterns. Consequently, we study the production as well as the indirect and direct attitudes associated with the different variants of the tap /ɾ/ and trill /r/ in Puerto Rican Spanish. After presenting a description of the acoustic characteristics of the variants associated with the tap and the trill, we examine the social meanings associated with those variants in Puerto Rican Spanish and present these findings in the form of indexical fields. This variety was chosen because previous studies have found a wide range of allophonic variation for both the tap and trill. The variants associated with each one of these sociolinguistic variables have acquired social meaning in this speech community. Section 2 offers a description of these variants and their social meanings.

This chapter also challenges the binary categorization of positive and negative attitudes associated with these variants, following Eckert's (2008) proposal for the analysis of sociolinguistic variation. Most previous research associates negative attitudes with non-traditional variants of coda /ɾ/ and the trill /r/: for example, the posterior /r/ is often associated with colloquial speech, rural areas, and uneducated people (López-Morales, 2003). However, Delforge (2013) found that the posterior variant of /r/ also encompasses positive attitudes, such as an association with Puerto Rican identity. As Eckert (2008) suggests, phonetic variants can have multiple social meanings attached to them, including both positive and negative. The chapter contributes to an ongoing discussion of sociophonological variation by presenting an analysis based on evidence from production and perception and by providing an analysis on the implications of these findings.

2. Previous research on Puerto Rican rhotics

Studies on variation regarding the Puerto Rican rhotics can be divided according to type (tap /ɾ/ and trill /r/) and focus (production versus attitudes). We have organized this section according to these main issues: first, we discuss production studies of the tap /ɾ/, followed by research in attitudes about this linguistic variable; second, we present previous research focusing on production of the trill /r/ alongside attitude studies of the variable.

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2.1 Previous research on the production of coda /ɾ/

Variation of coda /ɾ/, documented by Navarro-Tomás (1948), has been widely investigated from several perspectives, including laboratory phonology and sociolinguistics. Studies have found that coda /ɾ/ has several allophones in Puerto Rico: a tap, [ɾ]; a trill, [r]; a lateral, [l]; an aspirated variant, [h]; an approximant sounding like an American English, [ɹ]; a mixed production between a retroflex [ɻ] and an [l], [lɹ]; a geminate; and a deletion of the segment (Emmanuelli, 2000; Dauphinais-Civitello, 2018; Luna, 2010; Medina-Rivera, 1999; Ramos-Pellicia, 2007; Valentín-Márquez, 2007). Several previous studies have examined the question of whether coda /ɾ/ neutralizes with coda /l/, since they share [l] as a common allophone (Beaton, 2016; Luna, 2010; Simonet, Rohena, & Paz, 2008). Words such as *mar* 'sea' and *mal* 'bad' can both be produced as [mal].

Simonet et al. (2008) have found evidence to suggest incomplete neutralization between coda /ɾ/ and /l/, showing that there are some acoustic differences between the variants associated with coda /ɾ/ and coda /l/ that may help maintain contrast between the two phonemes in syllable-final position. The authors found that /ɾ/ tokens had lower F1 values than /l/, while /l/ tokens had lower F3 values than /ɾ/. Luna (2010) investigated various phonological features, including the lateralization of coda /ɾ/ in Ponce, Puerto Rico. He argues that there is an incomplete neutralization between coda /ɾ/ and /l/ because the latter tends to have a lower F4 than a lateralized coda /ɾ/. He concludes that the lateralized variant is an intermediate sound between [l] and [ɾ], represented by Luna using the symbol [lɹ].

Similarly, Beaton (2016) found evidence of incomplete neutralization between both phonemes. She investigated the speech of 24 upper-middle class Sanjuaneros, aged 18 to 70, and showed that there is a continuum for the variants of /ɾ/, including productions close to [l] or variants that can be characterized close to the English [ɹ]. Thus, production of /ɾ/ varies along a gradient spectrum, rather than a categorical one. Given that the tap tends to maintain the formant configuration of the preceding vowel, Beaton (2016) argued that its production depends on it. In contrast, laterals were more stable, since they do not retain the formant configuration of the preceding vowel. Furthermore, she found that younger speakers manipulate F3 in order to contrast between coda /ɾ/ and /l/, whereas older speakers do not differentiate between both phonemes. Based on this evidence from her research, Beaton argues that coda /ɾ/ and coda /l/ present a case of incomplete neutralization and that the degree in which coda /ɾ/ resembles /l/ depends on the linguistic and social context in which it occurs (p. 35).

More recently, Dauphinais-Civitello (2018) investigated the production of coda /ɾ/ in Puerto Rico and argues that this phoneme has two additional

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variants: retroflex and bunched (i.e. an approximant variant with lateral elements). Twenty-two participants, aged 18 to 32, evenly balanced for gender, completed a sociolinguistic interview and a sentence completion task. The sentence completion task consisted of a series of images, which the participants used in order to elicit a sentence-length utterance. Dauphinais-Civitello impressionistically distinguished between the bunched variant and a retroflex variant (i.e. an approximant resembling the American English [ɻ] that was not lateral in any way). The results indicate that the bunched and the retroflex were more frequent than normative variants. Additionally, men used the bunched variant more than women, while women used the retroflex variant more than men. She emphasized the importance of linguistic cues like duration, F3 and F4, and showed the lack of social stigma around non-prestige rhotic productions.

Many of the sociolinguistic studies on the coda /ɾ/ have found effects of social factors, such as gender and social class. Regarding the effect of gender, Puerto Rican males tend to produce the lateral variant more than women (Holmquist, 2008; López-Morales, 1983; Medina-Rivera, 1999; Valentín-Márquez, 2007). However, this pattern of use has not been uniform in all research. Emmanuelli (2000) found that males and females from Ponce, Puerto Rico did not differ in terms of production of the lateral variant. Sociocultural and economic status has also played a role in the production of the lateral variant. For example, López-Morales (1983) documented that San Juan women from mid-high and mid socioeconomic levels lateralized more than men, and speakers from lower socioeconomic levels produced the lateral variant more than those from higher socioeconomic levels.

In contrast, Medina-Rivera (1999) did not find education to significantly predict the use of lateral variants of coda /ɾ/. In this production study of variants of coda /ɾ/ (i.e. lateralization, aspiration, and elision) in Caguas, Puerto Rico, variation was considered according to several stylistic variables, including: if the interviewer knew the interviewee, the type of discourse (i.e. dialogue, narrative), and the type of situation (group interview, individual interview, and presentation). Twenty young adults from the ages of 21 to 35 participated in the study. The results regarding the variants of coda /ɾ/ indicate that the participants used the lateral, aspirated, and elided variant more if they knew the interviewer. Additionally, the participants used more of these variants in the group interview (62.8%) followed by the individual interview (52.9%). These variants of coda /ɾ/ were least frequently used in the oral presentation (6.6%). Finally, the study showed that participants lateralized, aspirated, or elided coda /ɾ/ more in dialogues (58.4%) than in narratives (43.3%) or in other types of discourse (37.5%). Medina-Rivera argues that variation regarding coda /ɾ/ is, therefore, not only subject to social factors but is also constrained by stylistic factors as well.

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2.2 Previous research on attitudes toward coda /ɾ/

Attitude studies on variants of coda /ɾ/ have found that women tend to evaluate lateralization more negatively than men (Emmanuelli, 2000; Valentín-Márquez, 2007). Emmanuelli (2000) investigated the production and perception of phonetic variants associated with coda /ɾ/ among 32 participants stratified according to age, sex, and sociocultural level, in Ponce, Puerto Rico. Even though Ponceños had a negative attitude toward the lateralization of coda /ɾ/ in general, there were correlations between the social characteristics of the participants and their evaluations of the lateralized variant. Specifically, the attitudes toward the lateralization of coda /ɾ/ were more negative in higher sociocultural levels. However, in the production portion of the study, the lateralized variant was found to be the most frequent coda /ɾ/ variant used by Ponceños. Emmanuelli suggests that there is a disassociation between production and attitudes, since the lateralized variant received negative attitudes while it was frequently used. However, the research by Emmanuelli does not provide a definition of what constitutes positive or negative attitudes, nor does she mention how the stimuli was presented (e.g. indirect or direct attitudes). It is important to specify how attitudes are obtained, because direct attitudes can be used to construct indexical fields (Eckert, 2008).

Similar to Emmanuelli, Valentín-Márquez (2007) found that women had a more negative attitude toward lateralization of coda /ɾ/ than men. In his analysis of social networks, this scholar analyzed variable productions of coda /ɾ/ and trill /r/ by Puerto Rican speakers from Cabo Rojo, Puerto Rico, and Grand Rapids, Michigan. Attitudes towards the lateralization of coda /ɾ/ were obtained by asking participants direct questions about speech identity, such as: *¿cómo habla un boricua*? 'how does a Boricua speak?' There were 22 participants in Cabo Rojo: 5 males and 5 females from the adolescent age group (ages 15 to 17), 5 males and 5 females from the middle-age group (ages 35 to 50) and 1 male and 1 female from the elderly age group (ages 80+). There were 20 participants from Grand Rapids: 5 males and 5 females from the adolescent age group (ages 15 to 17), and 5 males and 5 females from the middle-age group (ages 35 to 50). Participants tended to evaluate the lateralization of coda /ɾ/ in a negative way, but women in particular evaluated it less favorably than men. However, Valentín-Márquez (2007) also found that speakers from Cabo Rojo identified the lateralization of coda /ɾ/ as typical of Puerto Rican Spanish.

In summary (Table 1), in several of the studies presented above, women are shown to be more conservative than men with respect to vernacular phenomena (see also Labov, 2006). Additionally, it is important to point out that the lateralized variant has both negative and positive attitudes associated with it. Positive attitudes

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derive from the fact that it is associated with Puerto Rican identity. However, it is unclear what constitutes negative attitudes, since neither Emmanuelli (2000) nor Valentín-Márquez (2007) provide clear criteria to define this concept. The underlying assumption in production studies is to associate vernacular variants with the speech of lower socioeconomic groups, males, and older speakers. Our study contributes to combine production with perceptual data in order to shed light on the sociolinguistic meaning associated with vernacular variants.

Table 1. Production, social stratification, and attitudes of coda /ɾ/ in Puerto Rican Spanish

Allophones	Social stratification	Attitudes
[ɾ], [r], [l], [h], [lᶦ], an approximant that sounds like an American English [ɹ], a mix between an [ɾ] and a [l], retroflexed, bunched, geminated, and elided (Beaton, 2016; Dauphinais-Civitello, 2018; Emmanuelli, 2000; Figueroa & Hislope, 1998; Luna, 2010; Medina-Rivera, 1999; Navarro-Tomás, 1948; Ramos-Pellicia, 2007; Simonet et al., 2008; Valentín-Márquez, 2007)	– **Men** (Holmquist, 2008; López-Morales, 1983; Medina-Rivera, 1999; Valentín-Márquez, 2007) – **Low socioeconomic class** (López-Morales, 1983) – **No effect of gender and social class** (Medina-Rivera, 1999) – **Casual speech** (Medina-Rivera, 1999) – **Group interview and dialog** (Medina-Rivera, 1999)	– **Women judge it negatively** (Emmanuelli, 2000; Valentín-Márquez, 2007) – **Typical of Puerto Rico** (Emmanuelli, 2000; Valentín-Márquez, 2007)

2.3 Previous research on the production of /r/

Studies on the production of the trill /r/ in Puerto Rican Spanish have identified numerous realizations of this phoneme (Dillard, 1962; Graml, 2009; Hammond, 1987; López-Morales, 1983; Luna, 2010; Navarro-Tomás, 1948; Valentín-Márquez, 2007; Delforge, 2013).[1] Some studies have proposed additional variants that are indeterminate based on articulatory descriptions that may be ambiguous, such as the velar trill (de Granda, 1966), a *rehilada* 'sibilant-like' alveolar fricative, and a non-*rehilada* alveolar fricative (Quilis, 2000). While these descriptions may be indeterminate (see IPA, 2015; Bès, 1964), they provide a summary of previous

1. These may include: the trill, [r]; the velar fricative, [x]; the uvular fricative, [χ]; the glottal fricative, [h]; the uvular trill, [ʀ]; the uvular fricative/approximate, [ʁ]; the alveolar lateral fricative, [ɮ]; the pre-aspirated trill, [hr]; the pre-aspirated flap, [hɾ]; the palatal fricative, [ʒ]; the pre-aspirated palatal fricative, [hʒ]; the pre-aspirated alveolar lateral fricative, [hɮ]; the pre-aspirated velar median approximate, [hɰ]; and the pre-aspirated velar flap, [xɾ].

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discussions on the subject. Our study contributes to present an acoustic description of the variants found in the speech samples we collected.

Most sociolinguistic research on the posterior /r/ has found that posterior allophones are used more frequently by men (Hammond, 1987; Alers-Valentín, 1999; Emmanuelli, 2000; Valentín-Márquez, 2007; Graml, 2009), older speakers (Alers-Valentín, 1999; Valentín-Márquez, 2007; Holmquist, 2008; Graml, 2009), and speakers from low socioeconomic classes (Dillard, 1962; Hammond, 1987; Alers-Valentín, 1999; Graml, 2009). However, some scholars have documented unclear sociolinguistic patterns for the posterior variants. Holmquist (2008), for example, found that men in coffee farms in Castañer, one of the coffee-producing municipalities of Puerto Rico, used the posterior /r/ only 2% more than women (65% to 63%), and Graml (2009) found that the highest sociocultural level in her study was the group with the second-highest use of the posterior /r/ (32.4%).

Previous research on the production of the posterior /r/ has revealed that this phenomenon can be predicted by social and stylistic factors (Holmquist, 2003, 2008; Medina-Rivera, 1999). Regarding stylistic factors, Medina-Rivera (1999) found that (1) the type of interview, (2) the type of discourse, and (3) whether or not the interlocutors knew each other affect the use of the posterior /r/. Cagüeños used the posterior /r/ more frequently when the interviewer knew the interviewee, and in group interviews (16.4%) as compared to individual interviews (8.6%) or group presentations (5.3%). Speakers also used the posterior /r/ more frequently in dialogues (24.2%) in contrast to narratives (12.8%) and other types of discourse (4.4%). Holmquist (2003, 2008) studies other social variables, such as type of social network, time spent in the community, membership, and socioeconomic status in the farming community. There were 60 participants (30 men and 30 women), who were equally divided among three age groups (65+, 40–64, and 39 and younger). The findings of Holmquist's investigations indicated that the use of the posterior /r/ increases with strong social networks and greater involvement in the community, as well as among small farm owners and workers. Holmquist (2003) suggests that the use of the posterior /r/ (among other features) may indicate social integration within this coffee farming community.

This section shows that the posterior /r/ has complex sociolinguistic patterns of usage in Puerto Rican Spanish. Most research has found that this feature is used more frequently by older males and speakers from low socioeconomic classes. Although some studies did not find an effect of gender, age, or socioeconomic class on usage, Holmquist's (2003) research suggests that the use of the posterior /r/ may indicate some degree of social integration. Given its complex pattern of use, more research is needed to establish its pattern of use.

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2.4 Previous research on attitudes toward /r/

Previous studies on attitude toward the variants of /r/ have found that Puerto Ricans tend to associate negative attitudes with the posterior variant; these include classifications such as rural, colloquial, and "having a speech impediment" (Graml, 2009; López-Morales, 2003; Megenney, 1978). Other research has documented socially stratified evaluations. For example, some studies have observed that women tend to show a more negative attitude toward the posterior variant than men (Emmanuelli, 2000; Valentín-Márquez, 2007; Díaz-Campos, Delgado-Díaz & Galarza, 2014). Furthermore, Emmanuelli (2000) found that Ponceños from the highest socioeconomic group evaluated the posterior /r/ more negatively than other socioeconomic groups. However, other studies have also shown that Puerto Ricans have positive attitudes toward this variant. For instance, López-Morales (2003) found that the posterior variant is associated with two positive attributes: (1) Puerto Rican identity and (2) acceptable pronunciation. Valentín-Márquez (2007) reported that speakers from Cabo Rojo perceived it as a local feature. Graml (2009) indicated that her participants considered the posterior /r/ to be typical of Puerto Rican Spanish, describing it with positive attributes including intellect and youth.

More recently, Delforge (2013) addressed the inconsistencies regarding the relationship between observed patterns of use and attitudes towards the posterior /r/. The main premise of her study was that, even though the posterior realization of /r/ is stigmatized, its social distribution does not conform to patterns of a variant with negative social connotations, given the absence of gender and social class effects in some studies (Emanuelli, 2000; Medina-Rivera, 1999). Delforge (2013) had a total of 115 participants, 29 from San Juan and 86 from three locations along the southern coast (29 from Ponce, 27 from Yauco, and 30 from Patillas). The participants; middle-class, college-educated professionals or university students; were divided into age groups of 18–25, 30–45, and 50 or older. Based on intelligence, education-level, trustworthiness, and likelihood of being from rural origins, the participants rated two male and two female voices produced by individuals in their 30s and 40s. After that, participants were asked a series of open-ended questions, including whether there was a name for the pronunciation type, whether they associated the manner of speech with a specific region, and how they felt about the speaker (Delforge, 2013, pp. 162–163).

Delforge's results indicate that most Puerto Ricans are aware of the posterior variant (90%). Additionally, 72% stated that it is a unique sound of Puerto Rican Spanish. Some participants said that everyone can use this variant, while others claimed that only people from rural origins use it. However, these participants associated positive qualities to rural speakers, such as hardworking, kind, generous,

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etc. Some participants described the variant as an error or mistake, but also judged it to be a very Puerto Rican pronunciation, while others did not attribute negative values to it. Participants' comments suggest that the posterior /r/ is not strongly stigmatized in Puerto Rico and that results from the matched guise indicate that Puerto Ricans associate the posterior /r/ with more positive attributes than negative ones. Southerners tended to evaluate the posterior /r/ more positively than Sanjuaneros; however, both often also associated the variant with rural origins.

The body of research examined in this section shows that attitudes towards the posterior /r/ make up a complex phenomenon with negative and positive attributes (Table 2), having both social (i.e., rural origins) and personal (i.e., intelligence, kindness) dimensions of meanings. Additionally, the evaluations made by participants correlate with their own social characteristics. The studies discussed in this section also expose the need to investigate the attitudes and meanings of other /r/ variants, which are completely absent from the literature, to examine how they compare to attitudes toward the posterior /r/. Finally, the different studies discussed in this section show a methodological and analytical development in the discipline: from the analysts' categorization of the posterior /r/ in binary terms such as negative and positive, to an analysis of the different social and personal attributes that are simultaneously associated with the variant.

Table 2. Production, social stratification, and attitudes of /r/ in Puerto Rican Spanish

Allophones	Social stratification	Attitudes
[**r**], [**x**], [**χ**], [**h**], [**ʀ**], [**ʁ**], [**ɮ**], [**hr**], [**hɾ**], [**ʒ**], [**hʒ**], [**hɮ**], [**hɰ**] **and** [**xɾ**] (Dillard, 1962; Graml, 2009; Hammond, 1987; López-Morales, 1983; Luna, 2010; Navarro-Tomás, 1948; Valentín-Márquez, 2007)	– **Rural zones/non-metropolitan** (Álvarez-Nazario, 1990; López-Morales, 1983). – **Men** (Alers-Valentín, 1999; Emmanuelli, 2000; Graml, 2009; Hammond, 1987; Valentín-Márquez, 2007) – **Older speakers** (Alers-Valentín, 1999; Graml, 2009; Holmquist, 2008; Valentín-Márquez, 2007) – **Low sociocultural level** (Alers-Valentín, 1999; Dillard, 1962; Graml, 2009; Hammond, 1987) – **Casual speech style** (Graml, 2009; Holmquist, 2003; Medina-Rivera, 1999). – **Social integration** (Holmquist, 2003) – **Group interview and dialogs** (Medina-Rivera, 1999)	– **Rural origin** (Graml, 2009; López-Morales, 2003; Megenney, 1978) – **Low sociocultural level** (López-Morales, 2003; Megenney, 1978) – **Speech impediment** (Graml, 2009; López-Morales, 2003) – **Typical of Puerto Rico** (Delforge, 2013; Graml, 2009; López-Morales, 2003; Valentín-Márquez, 2007) – **Intelligent and educated people** (Delforge, 2013; Graml, 2009).

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3. Social meanings and indexical fields

In her seminal work based on Silverstein (2003), Eckert (2008) addresses the meaning behind variation in sociolinguistic variables. According to Eckert, linguistic variants do not have static or fixed meanings that are inherently positive or negative. On the contrary, the social meanings attributed to variants constitute an indexical field "or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable" (Eckert, 2008, p. 454). The meanings associated with a given variant can represent social information (e.g. Americaness, ruralness), qualities (e.g. education, laziness), or stances (e.g. anger, politeness). As an illustration, Eckert (2008, p. 465–467) examines Campbell-Kibler's (2007) analysis of the English -ING variable, which has a velar nasal and an alveolar nasal variant. The velar variant is perceived as the full form, and thus, depending on the context and the perspective of the speaker, producing the velar nasal can be an ideological move to portray oneself as an effortful or educated person, while producing the alveolar form can be part of a construction of an easygoing or relaxed identity, as illustrated in Figure 1 (Eckert, 2008, p. 466).

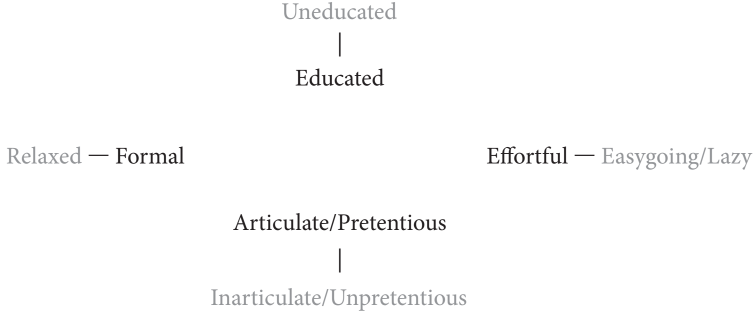

Figure 1. Indexical fields of ING (Eckert, 2008, p. 466)

By extension, it is possible that the construction of the effortful and educated persona conveyed through the use of the velar variant could be interpreted by some interlocutors as a sign of pretentiousness, depending on the context. Similarly, the portrayal of easygoingness associated with the alveolar variant may be interpreted as laziness in other stylistic contexts. Therefore, social meanings attributed to variants are not invariable or static, nor are they intrinsically positive or negative, but rather they are locally created and reproduced in situated communicative situations. Important to this discussion is the fact that a single variant can index a number of associated meanings, which speakers can then invoke in specific contexts. In a study of the meanings attributed to word-internal coda /s/ in Puerto

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Rican and Mexican Spanish by Puerto Rican and Mexican listeners, Walker, García, Cortés and Campbell-Kibler (2014) found that the production of sibilant /s/ is correlated with a higher status (a higher social class, level of education and confidence), especially for Mexican listeners. Additionally, a sibilant coda /s/ is judged to be less heteronormative (more feminine and more gay-sounding) by male and female Puerto Rican listeners and male Mexican listeners. Finally, listeners evaluated speakers producing sibilant coda /s/ as more pleasant than those producing the aspirated variant.

Social meanings are constantly being reinterpreted and repositioned by speakers in daily interactions, implying their dynamic usage. Speakers therefore vary between the velar and alveolar variants, for example, so as to express easygoingness while avoiding laziness, and articulateness rather than pretentiousness.

4. Justification and research questions

Given the current state of the literature, more research on attitudes toward variants of coda /ɾ/, and the tap [ɾ] in particular, is warranted to expand our knowledge on the acoustic characteristics of the variants associated with coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/. We have also included the approximant,[2] since we suspect that it has a different social meaning than the lateralized variant and it does not seem to have been studied in terms of speaker attitudes or social meanings. A second focus of our study is to investigate the direct and indirect attitudes toward the variants of the sociolinguistic variables included in our investigation. We then compare whether production and perception match according to our analysis. The final component of our analysis is to provide an indexical field perspective based on the attributes that speakers tended to identify for each of the variants. The questions that guide our research are as follows:

1. What are the allophonic variants of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/?
2. What indirect attitudes are attributed to these variants?
3. Do production patterns match the attitudes attributed to these variants?
4. What are the direct attitudes attributed to these variants and how do they construct indexical fields?

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2. We use the term approximant (written as [ɹ]) to refer to the sound that has been described as an approximant. This is done to avoid making any claims about its point of articulation or whether or not it is actually bunched or approximant.

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5. Methodology

There were 16 participants (8 males and 8 females) in this study. All the participants were native Puerto Ricans who were students at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras and residents of the metropolitan area. The production data was obtained using a contextualized picture description task, based on the task developed by Schmidt and Willis (2011). This instrument contained words with coda /ɾ/ (i.e. *actor* 'actor,' *mujer* 'woman,' *puerta* 'door,' *perfume* 'perfume') and syllable-initial /r/ (i.e. *rana* 'frog,' *rosa* 'rose,' *garra* 'claw,' *carro* 'car').[3]

5.1 Matched guise task

Indirect attitude data was taken from a matched-guise task in which the participants rated the pronunciation of two Puerto Rican speakers (1 male and 1 female) on a scale from 1 (terrible) to 6 (perfect). The stimuli containing the words in Table 3 were produced in a carrier phrase *el/la* (target word) *era buena* 'the (target word) was good' by the male and female "guises" who were classified by participants. Each word with coda /ɾ/ was repeated three times, once with [ɾ], once with the lateralized variant, and once with the approximant. The words with /r/ were repeated twice, once with [r] and once with a posterior realization. This yielded a 40 item instrument, with 20 stimuli produced by the male actor and 20 stimuli produced by the female actor. The stimuli were presented in random order, and the resulting data were analyzed using a linear mixed-model regression.

Table 3. Words and production pattern included in the matched-guise task

Words with coda /ɾ/	Production	Words with /r/	Production
Actor 'actor'	[ak.ˈtoɾ] [ak.ˈtol] [ak.ˈtoɹ]	*Rana* 'frog'	[ˈra.na] [ˈx/χa.na]
Mujer 'woman'	[mu.ˈɦeɾ] [mu.ˈɦel] [mu.ˈɦeɹ]	*Rosa* 'rose'	[ˈro.sa] [ˈx/χo.sa]
Puerta 'door'	[ˈpu̯eɾ.ta] [ˈpu̯el.ta] [ˈpu̯eɹ.ta]	*Garra* 'claw'	[ˈga.ra] [ˈga.x/χa]
Perfume 'perfume'	[peɾ.ˈfu.me] [pel.ˈfu.me] [peɹ.ˈfu.me]	*Carro* 'car'	[ˈka.ro] [ˈka.x/χo]

3. Following Willis & Schmidt (2013), participants were presented with images on slides, along with the initial letters of the desired tokens, to encourage elicitation of the desired target items: thus, *rana* 'frog' was produced instead of the Puerto Rican variant *sapo* 'frog.'

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5.2 Elicitation task

Direct language attitudes were obtained in a sociolinguistic interview, in which we asked the participants what they thought of people who use the target sociolinguistic variables. We inquired about their opinions on variants of coda /ɾ/, focusing on the lateralized variant and the approximant variant. Regarding syllable-initial /r/, we asked about their opinion on the posterior /r/. We also asked them what they thought about a Puerto Rican that always uses the [ɾ] and [r], rather than using other sociolinguistic variants of coda /ɾ/ and /r/. During the conversation, variants were produced to make clear what the target sound was. Remember that in this direct elicitation, unlike the matched guise, we are trying to obtain speakers' opinions about particular ways of pronouncing the variants. More precisely, this was done to avoid calling the posterior /r/ *erre arrastrá* 'dragged "r"', as it is commonly denominated in Puerto Rico (Delforge, 2013).

6. Results

6.1 Description of variants for coda /ɾ/

In this section, we discuss the acoustic properties of each variant. Each production was examined acoustically before being categorized. Figure 2 shows a production of a tap [ɾ] in the phrase *cinco perfumes* 'five perfumes' with a small occlusion, as is typically expected for a tap. Figure 3 illustrates a lateralized variant in the phrase *una puerta* 'a door.' This variant has a high F3, which is typical for laterals (Thomas, 2011). Figure 4 demonstrates an approximant variant in the phrase *cinco perfumes* 'five perfumes,' which we represent with the symbol [ɹ]. For this variant, the F3 lowers in contrast to the lateralized variant. Finally, Figure 5 shows a case coded as "indeterminate" in the phrase *una mujer* 'a woman,' which we represent with the symbol <?>. This case was coded as indeterminate since we could not make an accurate description based on the acoustic signal for the stimulus.

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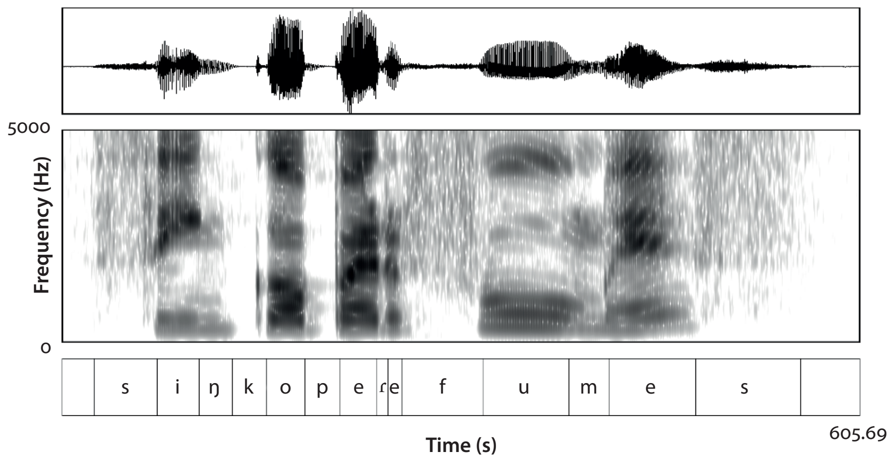

Figure 2. [ɾ] realization in the phrase *cinco perfumes* ‘five perfumes’

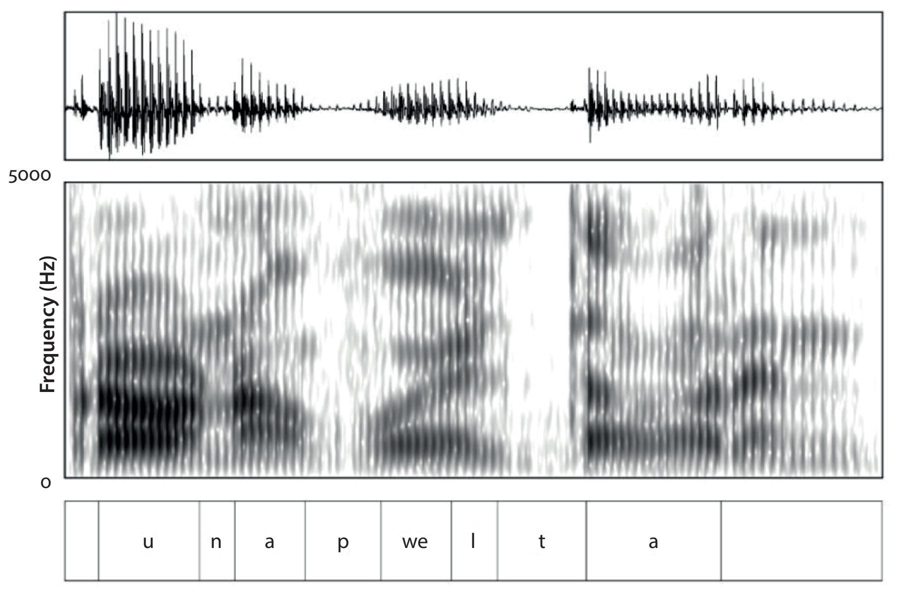

Figure 3. Lateral variant in the phrase *una puerta* ‘a door’

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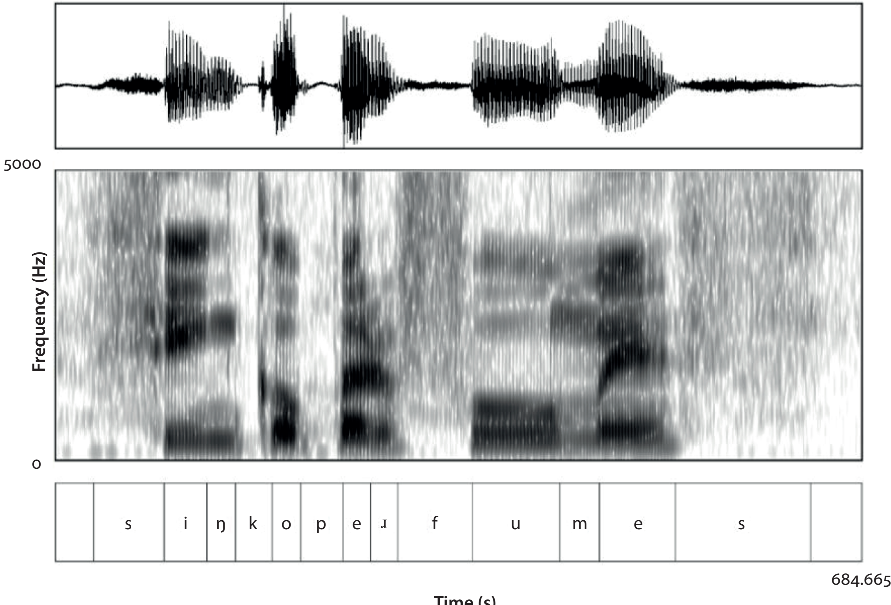

Figure 4. Approximant variant in the phrase *cinco perfumes* 'five perfumes'

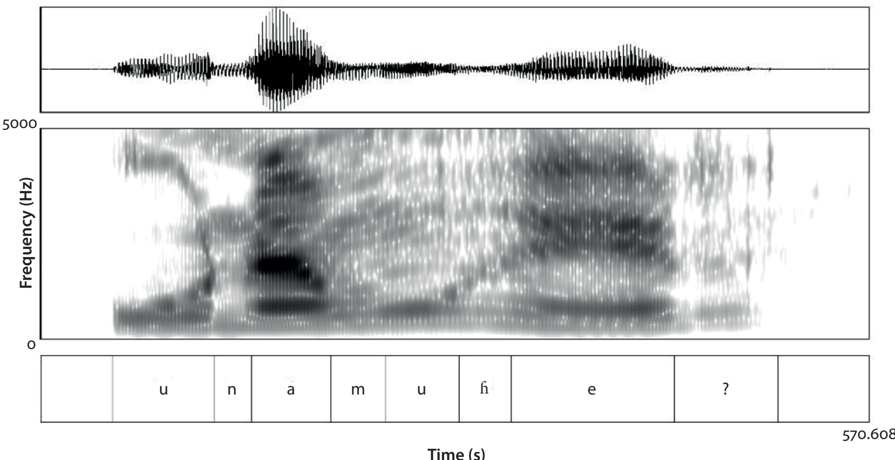

Figure 5. A token coded as indeterminate in the phrase *una mujer* 'a woman'

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6.2 Production results of coda /ɾ/

The realizations of coda /ɾ/ obtained in the picture description task are illustrated in Figure 6 according to participants' sex. This graph shows that the most frequent variant was the tap [ɾ] with a production rate of 48.4% (90 tokens) by both women and men. Men and women differed greatly regarding production of the lateralized variant. Men produced it 29% (54 tokens) while women produced it 3.2% (6 tokens). Similarly, women produced indeterminate variants (those that did not have clear acoustic cues) more frequently than men, with 29% (54 tokens) and 9.7% (18 tokens) produced respectively by each group. Regarding the approximant variant, both men and women produced 12.9% (24 tokens). Finally, there were some cases of trills (6 cases, 3.2%) and voiced fricatives (6 cases, 3.2%).

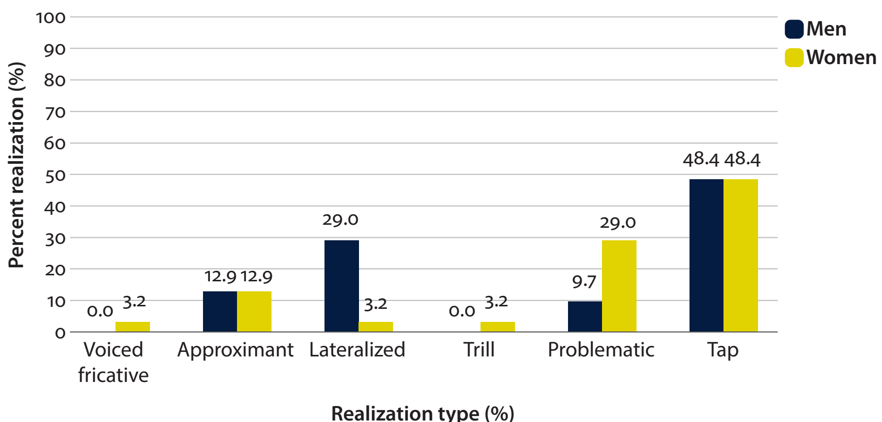

Figure 6. Different realizations of coda /ɾ/ according to participants' sex

The frequencies of the variants of /r/ found in our data appear in Figure 7, which illustrates that the trill was used more frequently by participants of both sexes. However, women used it slightly more than men (74.1% versus 67.2% respectively). We also found variants with smaller rates of use, including voiced and voiceless anterior[4] fricatives, a tap, and indeterminate cases. It is worth noticing some differences between men and women: for instance, men produced more taps than women, while women produced more indeterminate cases than men. Finally, men produced slightly more voiced and voiceless anterior fricatives than women.

4. These cases are not posterior (velar or uvular) fricatives and may be what Quilis (2000) and Graml (2009) referred to as alveolar fricatives. However, we do not make any claim of the point of articulation since we understand that an acoustic study is needed in order to identify its place of articulation.

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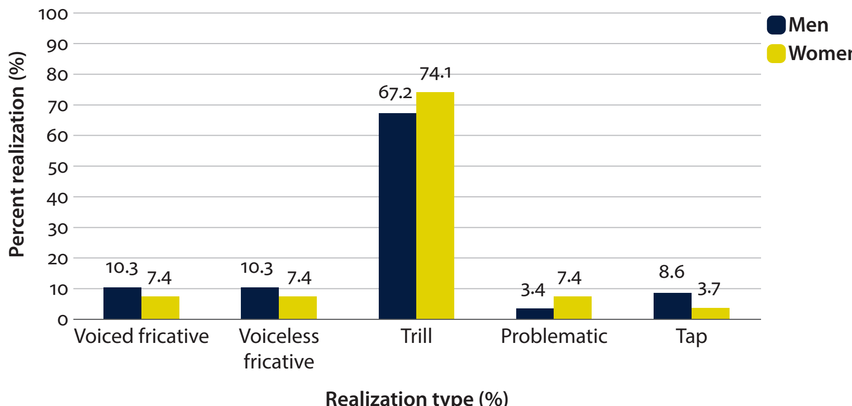

Figure 7. Distribution of the variants of /r/ according to participants' sex

6.3 Results of the matched guise test for coda /ɾ/

This section discusses the matched-guise results in relation to production (Table 4). The column in Table 4 titled "Perceived" identifies the variants the participants heard in the samples produced by the two Puerto Rican actors. Next, the column titled "Produced variants" illustrates the variants that the participants produced in the picture identification task. Finally, the column "Gender" shows how men and women rated the variants, with the highest rating being 6 and the lowest 1. The tap had the highest rating overall, and women were found to give lower evaluations to vernacular variants than men. The table also shows that participants who produced the lateralized and approximant variants gave higher ratings for these variants.

Table 4. Relationship between production and perception

Perceived (Matched-guise)	Produced variants (Elicitation task)	Gender	
		Men	Women
Approximant variant	Voiced anterior fricative	*	3.50
	Approximant variant	3.88	3.63
	Lateralized	3.78	3.00
	Multiple trill	*	3.00
	Indeterminate	3.33	3.44
	Tap	3.57	2.93

(*continued*)

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Table 4. (*continued*)

Perceived (Matched-guise)	Produced variants (Elicitation task)	Gender	
		Men	Women
Lateralized	Voiced anterior fricative	*	2.00
	Approximant variant	4.13	3.75
	Lateralized	3.67	2.50
	Multiple trill	*	4.00
	Indeterminate	3.33	3.50
	tap	3.90	3.07
Tap	Voiced anterior fricative	0.00	5.00
	Approximant variant	5.50	5.88
	Lateralized	5.28	6.00
	Multiple trill	0.00	5.00
	Indeterminate	4.67	5.50
	Tap	5.83	5.03

* = did not produce the variant

Now we discuss the results of the mixed-effects linear regression regarding the attitudes toward coda /ɾ/. This analysis found that the only significant factor was an interaction between the participants' sex and the allophone produced ($f(3) = 7.158$, $p < 0.001$). Table 5 shows that men that used the tap gave better ratings than men who produced other variants. In addition, women that produced the lateral and approximant variants rated the tap higher in contrast to women who did not produce these variants.

Table 5. Evaluation of /ɾ/ according to gender and production

Sex	Production variant (Elicitation task)	Mean evaluation	Standard error	95% Confidence interval	
				Lower bound	Upper bound
Men	Approximant	5.500	.239	5.026	5.974
	Lateral	5.278	.160	4.962	5.594
	Tap	5.833	.124	5.589	6.078
	Other	5.000	.239	4.526	5.474
Women	Approximant	5.875	.239	5.401	6.349
	Lateral	6.000	.479	5.053	6.947
	Tap	5.033	.124	4.789	5.278
	Other	5.333	.138	5.060	5.607

Regarding the perception of the approximant variant, a mixed-effects linear regression found that there is a significant effect of participant sex ($f(1) = 6.242$,

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$p = 0.014$). This is due to the fact that men rated the approximant variant better than women, as illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6. Evaluation of the approximant variant according to participant sex

Sex	Mean evaluation (Matched-guise)	Standard error	95% Confidence interval	
			Lower bound	Upper bound
Men	3.805	.131	3.546	4.064
Women	3.233	.188	2.862	3.605

Finally, we examine the results of the mixed-effects linear regression for the lateral variant. This analysis found that participant sex had a significant effect on the perception of this variant ($f(1) = 10.086, p = .002$). Men rated the lateral variant higher (i.e. more positively) than women, as illustrated in Table 7. Notice that although the evaluation of the lateral did not reach 4, similar to the approximant, it did receive slightly higher evaluations than the approximant.

Table 7. Evaluation of the lateral variant according to sex

Sex	Mean evaluation (Matched-guise)	Standard error	95% Confidence interval	
			Lower bound	Upper bound
Men	3.923	.135	3.656	4.190
Women	3.173	.194	2.789	3.557

6.4 Production of syllable-initial /r/

We now look at the acoustic properties of the variants of syllable-initial /r/ found in our data. Figure 8 illustrates a trill in the word *garra* 'claw;' this production has three occlusions. Figure 9 shows a voiceless anterior fricative in the phrase *cuatro rosas* 'four roses,' represented with the symbol [ɬ]. In the oscillogram in Figure 9, we see that the speaker's vocal folds are not vibrating, since the waveform is not periodic and the spectrogram does not show signs of the glottal pulses. An example of a voiced anterior fricative [ɮ] is presented in the phrase *cuatro rosas* 'four roses' in Figure 10. Finally, the example in Figure 11 illustrates a token coded as indeterminate in the phrase *cinco ranas* 'five frogs,' which we marked with the symbol <?>. This case appears to be a tap followed by a voiced fricative. We coded this as indeterminate because previous studies have not documented this variant, and it has unclear acoustic cues.

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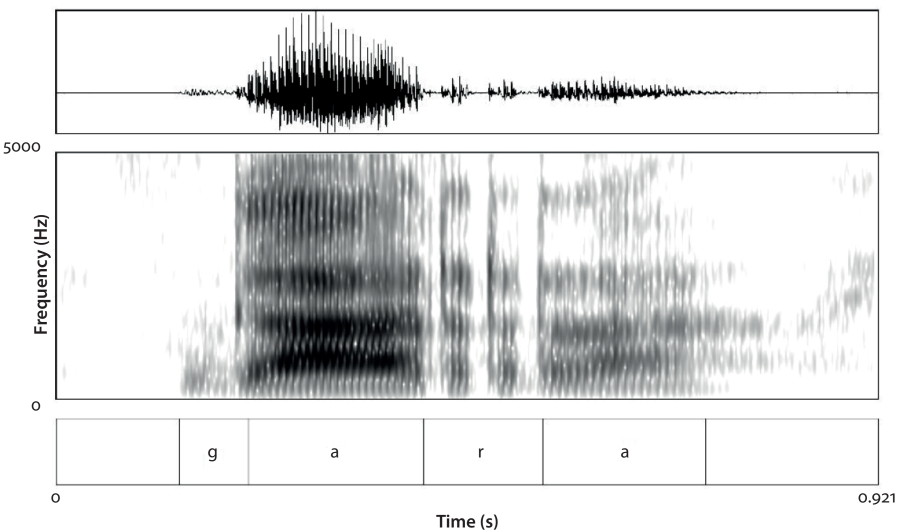

Figure 8. Trill variant in the word *garra* 'claw'

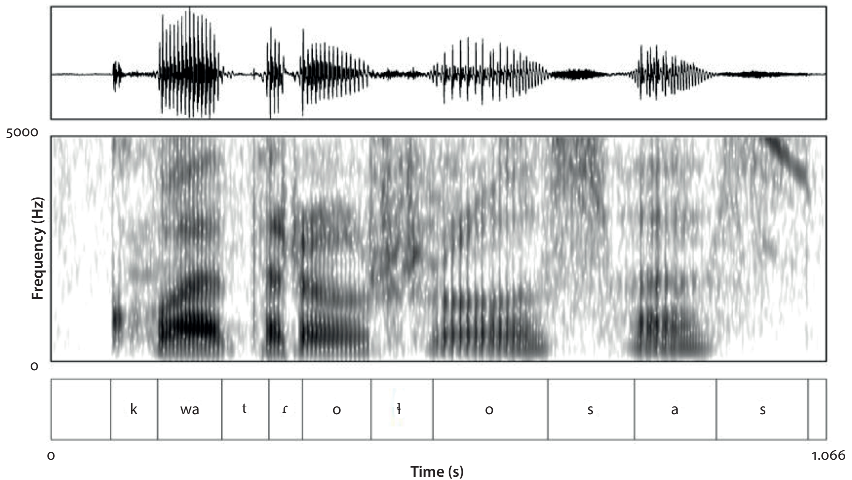

Figure 9. Anterior voiceless fricative in the phrase *cuatro rosas* 'five roses'

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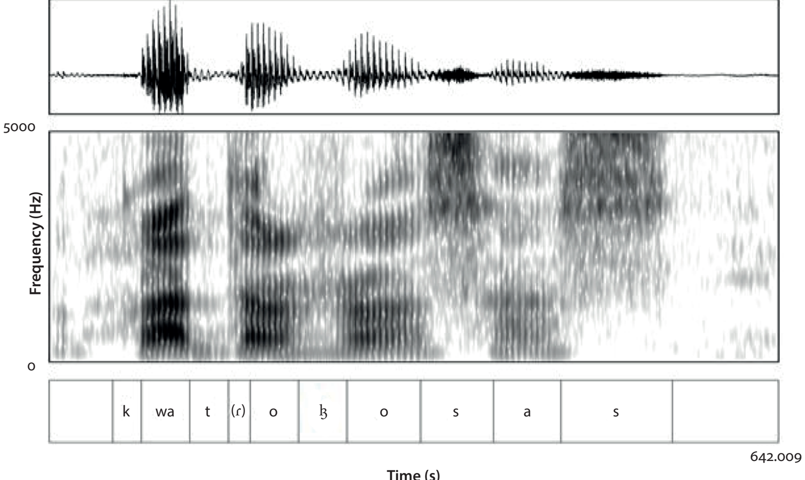

Figure 10. Anterior voiced fricative in the phrase *cuatro rosas* 'five roses'

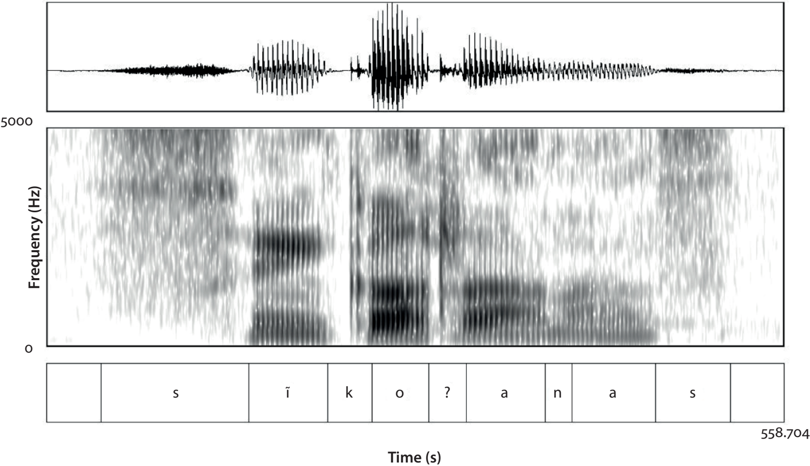

Figure 11. Indeterminate token in the phrase *cinco ranas* 'five frogs'

6.5 Results of the matched guise for /r/

In this section, we discuss the indirect attitudes toward the trill and posterior /r/ as identified by participants for the speech samples provided by the two Puerto Rican speakers. Table 8 illustrates the overall rating of the variants' productions according to the variant participants heard and participant sex. The trill received higher ratings than the posterior /r/ and men gave higher ratings to all variants, indicating that they

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were more accepting of various sociolinguistic forms. Additionally, men who produced voiceless anterior fricatives, trills, and indeterminate variants in the elicitation task gave the posterior /r/ higher ratings in the matched-guise task. Furthermore, men who produced indeterminate variants rated the posterior /r/ as excellent (6).

Table 8. Evaluation of the trill and posterior /r/ according to variant produced and participants' sex

Perceived (Matched-guise)	Produced variant (Elicitation Task)	Men	Women
/r/	Voiced anterior fricative	5.17	5.50
	Voiceless anterior fricative	5.33	5.50
	Trill	5.45	5.20
	Indeterminate	6.00	5.50
	Tap	5.00	5.00
Posterior /r/	Voiced anterior fricative	3.33	2.75
	Voiceless anterior fricative	4.33	3.50
	Trill	4.00	2.93
	Indeterminate	6.00	2.25
	Tap	3.33	2.50

We turn now to the results of the mixed-effect linear regression for evaluations of the trill and posterior /r/. This analysis found that participant sex, the trill variant heard, and the interaction between these two factors significantly influenced attitudes toward /r/. Table 9 displays the results of this statistical analysis, including information about the independent variable; the degrees of freedom (i.e. the values in a model that are free to vary); the F value (i.e. a value used to compare statistical models that have been fitted to a data set. The greater the number, the better an indicator that the value is significant); and the P value (i.e. the value that indicates if there is a significant effect of an independent variable. In linguistics, $p < 0.05$ is considered significant).

Table 9. Mixed-effect model for the attitudes toward /r/ variants

Independent variables	Degrees of freedom	F value	P value
Intersection	1	2623.31	.000
Sex	1	20.931	.000
Trill variant heard	1	104.50	.000
Production	5	2.062	.071
Sex*Trill variant heard	1	10.567	.001
Sex*Production	5	2.207	.054
/r/ variant heard *Production	5	.910	.475
Sex*/r/ variant heard *Production	5	1.277	.275

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The results presented in Table 10 indicate that men gave higher evaluations than women for both the trill and posterior /r/. This difference is more evident with the posterior /r/, since men had a 4.250 mean evaluation while women had a mean of 2.887, indicating that men were more accepting of the vernacular pronunciation.

Table 10. Evaluation of the trill and posterior /r/ according to participant sex

Sex/ heard variant		Mean evaluation (Matched-guise)	Standard error	95% Confidence interval	
Men	Trill	5.460	.172	5.125	5.803
	Posterior /r/	4.250	.166	3.922	4.578
Women	Trill	5.233	.179	4.881	5.586
	Posterior /r/	2.887	.179	2.535	3.240

6.6 Direct attitudes toward variants of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/: An indexical field analysis

In this section, we analyze direct attitudes toward variants of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/. By asking participants what they thought of people who used the target sound in the matched-guise task, we were able to identify the different social meanings associated with each variant, which allowed us to construct an indexical field analysis for the variants of coda /ɾ/ and another for the variants of syllable-initial /r/. Following the elicitation task, participants were asked to describe their attitudes towards speakers that used certain variants. We identified four different social fields according to the participants' responses, which include (1) place or national identity, (2) age, (3) social class, and (4) perceived gender identity of the speaker. Figure 12 illustrates the indexical field for the variants of coda /ɾ/.

We found that participants associated the wealthy districts Miramar and Condado in San Juan with the approximant variant. Participants also associated the variant with bilingual and gringo speech.[5] When asked about the approximant variant, speakers also mentioned *Guaynabitas*, or young, wealthy women from Guaynabo, a municipality near San Juan. Some of the participants even called the approximant variant "*guaynabita,*" making reference to young women's speech. The approximant variant was also associated with gay speech and snobs, as reflected by use of the vulgar term "*comemierdas*."

5. This term, which can have a negative connotation, is used to refer to people from the U.S.

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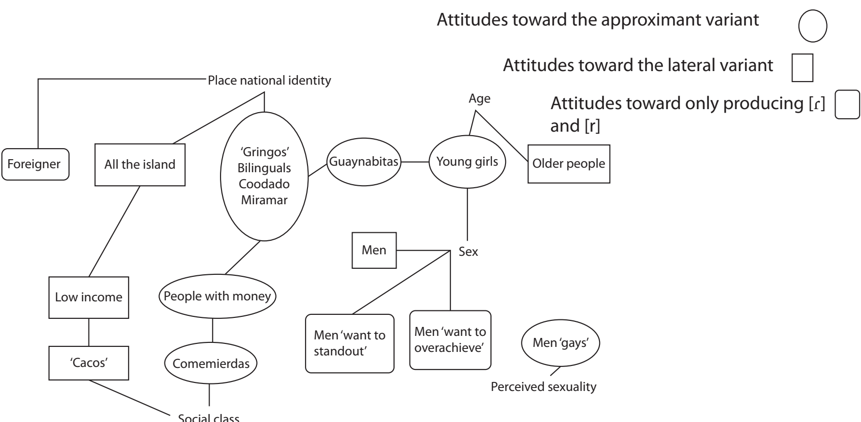

Figure 12. Indexical field of the variants of coda /ɾ/

The lateral variant was described as a sound that is used all over the island. However, our participants associated it more specifically with elderly, male, and low-income speakers. Participants also mentioned that the lateral variant is commonly used by *cacos,* or young men who listen to reggaeton. This term has negative connotations, implying a low socioeconomic and educational level.

The attitudes associated with the posterior /r/ are illustrated in Figure 13. Overall, we identified three social fields: place or nationality, age, and sex. Participants associated the posterior /r/ with people from the island (outside the metropolitan area) and Ponce, a southern city.

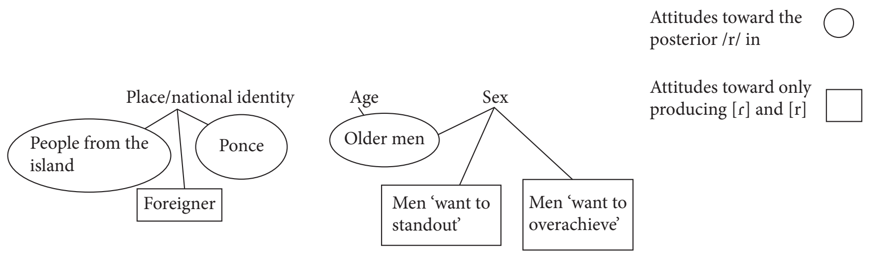

Figure 13. Indexical field of the variants of /r/

Finally, we discuss the different meaning associated with Puerto Ricans who produce coda [ɾ] and syllable-initial [r]; that is, those who do not use vernacular Puerto Rican variants. These social meanings are illustrated in Figures 12 and 13. Participants mentioned two social fields for speakers that are thought to only produce coda [ɾ] and syllable-initial [r]: place or national identity and sex – people

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who only use these two variants were not described as Puerto Rican. Puerto Rican men, in particular, were described as pretentious when using predominantly so called "prestigious" variants in their speech.

This indexical field analysis revealed that these variants have diverse social meanings that illustrate complex patterns. Our data indicate that Puerto Ricans associate positive and negative attributes when describing these variants. On the one hand, the approximant variant was associated with positive social meanings, including bilingualism and wealth, but on the other, participants also attributed negative social meanings to it, such as being foreign or snobbish. Similarly, the lateral variant was associated with various groups: not only did participants say that they had heard it all over the island, they also associated it with *cacos* and older people. The posterior /r/ was associated with Ponce, but it also was related to rural areas. With respect to those Puerto Ricans who were perceived to mainly produce coda [ɾ] and syllable-initial [r], participants attributed this pattern with negative social meanings, namely not displaying Puerto Rican identity or being pretentious. We discuss the implications of these social meanings in the next section.

7. Discussion and conclusion

This section presents an overview of our findings in light of the research questions posed earlier in the chapter. The first question inquired about typical Puerto Rican allophonic variants of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/. Regarding coda /ɾ/, we found that participants produced a tap, a lateralized variant, an approximant variant, a trill, a voiced anterior fricative, and some indeterminate productions that were difficult to classify due to unclear acoustic cues. The variants of syllable-initial /r/ were the trill, a voiced and a voiceless anterior fricative, a tap, and indeterminate tokens. The group of participants did not produce any posterior fricatives as allophones of /r/, as they are young urbanites from the metropolitan area of San Juan and would not be expected to use features associated with older rural speakers. This finding seems consistent with previous research, since the posterior fricative variants were more commonly used outside the metropolitan area (Emmanuelli, 2000; Hammond, 1978; Megenney, 1978; Valentín-Márquez, 2007) and by older speakers (Alers-Valentín, 1999; Valentín-Márquez, 2007).

Additionally, men and women produced the same amount of approximant variants of coda /ɾ/ (12.9%). This is in contrast to Dauphinais-Civitello's (2018) finding that men used a bunched variant more than women and women used a retroflex variant more than men. However, these differences may be due to the fact that Dauphinais-Civitello (2018) categorized the variants of coda /ɾ/ impressionistically.

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In contrast, we used acoustic correlates in order to identify the variants of coda /ɾ/, and found that approximants had low F3 values.

The second research question inquired about the indirect attitudes toward variants of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/, while the third research question asked if production patterns match attitudes attributed to the variants. Regarding the allophones of coda /ɾ/, our data indicate that the tap received the highest overall rating and women gave lower ratings as compared to men to vernacular variants. We also found that participants who produced the lateral and the approximant variants gave higher ratings when they heard these same variants, indicating that they are more tolerant of vernacular variants. With respect to syllable-initial /r/, our data indicate that the trill received higher ratings than the posterior /r/ and men gave higher ratings in comparison to women. Additionally, we found that men who produced the voiced anterior fricative and indeterminate variants rated the posterior /r/ much higher than men who did not produce these variants. This may indicate that the posterior /r/ has some positive attributes, as found in previous studies (Emmanuelli, 2000; Delforge, 2013; Graml, 2009; López-Morales, 2003; Valentín-Márquez, 2007).

The fact that women gave lower ratings to the vernacular variants of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/ is consistent with previous studies (e.g. Emmanuelli, 2000; Valentín-Márquez, 2007). Women have often been found to rate the posterior /r/ and the lateral variant of coda /ɾ/ more negatively than men. In addition, this finding seems to support Labov's (2006) claim that women tend to be more conservative than men.

The fourth research question was related to direct attitudes toward the variants of coda /ɾ/ and syllable-initial /r/. Following Eckert's (2008) description of indexical fields, we found a wide range of positive and negative social meanings for each variant. With respect to allophones of coda /ɾ/, we found that the approximant variant was associated with positive attributes (being bilingual, wealthy, etc.) as well as negative ones (being foreign, snobbish, etc.). Similarly, the lateral variant was described as a sound found across the whole island, but was also associated with young men who listen to reggaeton. The posterior /r/ was associated with positive qualities, such as being from Ponce, but it also was associated with rural areas. Participants associated Puerto Ricans that predominantly use coda [ɾ] and syllable-initial [r] with pretentiousness and a lack of Puerto Rican identity.

These indexical fields may help to explain production patterns. We hypothesize that speakers use forms considered "non-prestigious" because they are navigating these complex social meanings in order to construct their own social image, in particular social contexts (Eckert, 2008). For instance, our participants produced lateral variants to indicate that they are Puerto Rican and that they are not snobbish or wealthy. In other cases, they used the approximant variant to indicate that they are not from a low socioeconomic background, and that they are bilingual.

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Given the complexity of these indexical fields, we argue that calling some variants normative and others non-normative or stigmatized is not accurate when describing social variants. Eckert (2008) mentioned that social meanings are not static and may change according to the social context in which the individual is interacting. This may explain why speakers use forms traditionally considered stigmatized, since they can also express positive social meanings.

Finally, our data may suggest that social production patterns may influence attitudes. We base this hypothesis on results from the posterior /r/. Our participants did not produce this particular variant, but they have an idea of who uses it: rural, elderly and male speakers. Previous sociolinguistic studies have found this pattern of use (Alers-Valentín, 1999; Álvarez-Nazario, 1990; Graml, 2009; Holmquist, 2008; López-Morales, 1983; Valentín-Márquez, 2007). We argue that production patterns may help construct these attitudes and the associated social meaning.

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CHAPTER 7

Declarative intonation in four Afro-Hispanic varieties

Phonological analysis and implications

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This chapter studies declarative intonation using the Autosegmental-Metrical model of intonational phonology in four Afro-Hispanic varieties: Chinchano, Chocó, Chota Valley, and Yungueño. We analyze the inventory of pitch accents, intermediate phrase boundary tones and intonational phrase boundary tones in declarative utterances extracted from spontaneous-speech corpora. The intonational inventories of these Afro-Hispanic varieties are significantly reduced in comparison with what has been observed in the declaratives of other native varieties of Spanish. Our data imply that speakers' patterns are the result of a cross-generational transmission of simplified intonational features, stemming from second-language acquisition strategies rather than substrate influences.

Keywords: Chinchano Spanish, Chocó Spanish, Chota Valley Spanish, Yungueño Spanish, intonation, pitch accent, phrase boundary, discourse-phonology interface

1. Introduction

A recent series of studies has sought to fill a gap by applying intonational phonological theory to the Afro-Hispanic languages of the Americas (AHLAs) (Butera, Sessarego, & Rao, 2020; Knaff, Rao, & Sessarego, 2018; Rao & Sessarego, 2016, 2018; Sessarego & Rao, 2016). The specific varieties in question are Chinchano Spanish (ChS), Chocó Spanish (CS), Chota Valley Spanish (CVS), and Yungueño Spanish (YS).[1] These varieties share a number of morphosyntactic features that diverge from

1. Chinchano Spanish and Yungueño Spanish have, on other occasions, been referred to as Afro-Peruvian Spanish (APS) and Afro-Bolivian Spanish (ABS) respectively (see Butera et al., 2019; Rao & Sessarego, 2016; Sessarego & Rao, 2016).

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standard varieties of Spanish (e.g., reduced gender and number agreement across the determiner phrase, high rates of overt subject pronouns, variable subject-verb agreement; see Sessarego, 2013a, 2016a, 2019a for a full account of these phenomena). For this reason, it has been suggested that they may be seen as the result of a (de)creolization process in which they gradually came to resemble more prestigious regional varieties (Granda, 1968, 1970, 1977; Lipski, 2008; Pérez-Inofuentes, 2015; Schwegler, 1999, 2014). According to this view, these shared "creole-like" features would be the vestiges of a previous creole stage.

A number of studies have offered counter-arguments to the (de)creolization hypothesis with respect to certain Afro-Hispanic varieties (see for example Díaz-Campos & Clements, 2005, 2008 for Barlovento Spanish; Lipski, 1986, 1993 for Caribbean Spanish). Of particular relevance to our current purpose is the fact that there is no evidence to show that the socio-demographic conditions necessary for creole formation were present in Yungas, Chota Valley, Chincha and Chocó during the development of these vernaculars (17th and 18th centuries) (Sessarego, 2013b, 2014b, 2015, 2019b). Key to the (de)creolization hypothesis for these vernaculars would be the supposed introduction in those regions of large numbers of African-born slaves (*bozales*), who only spoke African languages. Conversely, in all four of these cases, sociohistorical evidence suggests that large numbers of *bozales* were never brought into the respective regions during the formative phases of these varieties, but rather that the mine and plantation owners tended to rely primarily on slaves born in the Americas (*criollos*), who – in all likelihood – could speak vernacular varieties of Spanish (Sessarego, 2013c, 2014b, 2014c, 2016b).

Moreover, a number of studies have shown that a variety of social, legal, religious and economic factors conspired toward favoring Spanish-language acquisition among the captives in these regions, thus reducing the likelihood of Spanish creolization (Macera, 1966; Bowser, 1974; Sharp, 1976; Bouisson, 1997; Lucena Salmoral, 1994; Sessarego, 2017a, 2017c). For these reasons, it has been proposed that the non-standard morphosyntactic features found in these vernaculars may be better described as the result of conventionalized advanced second-language acquisition (SLA) strategies, rather than traces of a previous creole stage (Sessarego, 2013a, 2016a, 2019a).[2]

The model proposed here to analyze the so-called "creole-like" AHLA features is built on recent hypotheses on the architecture of the language faculty, its modular nature, and the high processing demands that certain grammatical phenomena imply for some linguistic interfaces. In recent years, several studies

2. See Velupillai (2015, p. 139ff) for an overview of relevant approaches to the presence of fossilized L2 features in a number of contact varieties.

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on L2 acquisition, first language (L1) attrition and bilingualism have focused on the so-called "Interface Hypothesis" (Sorace, 2005; Tsimpli, Sorace, Heycock, & Filiaci, 2004) and its subsequent reformulations (Tsimpli & Sorace, 2006; Sorace & Serratrice, 2009), all of which essentially maintain the core idea that certain constructions involving high processing demands on the interface between different linguistic modules may be more difficult to master in L2 acquisition and are the first to be eroded in L1 attrition. Along these lines of reasoning, we analyze the aforementioned non-standard AHLA features – commonly ascribed to a previous creole phase – as the result of advanced L2 acquisition strategies requiring a high processing demand on the grammatical interfaces between different language modules (e.g., syntax/discourse interface, syntax/morphology interface, etc.) (Sessarego, 2019a). For this reason, we claim that such grammatical phenomena do not necessarily imply any previous (de)creolization stage.

In addition to the sociohistorical and morphosyntactic evidence mentioned above, this study provides a comparative analysis of the intonational inventories of each of the four AHLAs under consideration. Using the Autosegmental-Metrical (AM) model of intonational phonology (Ladd, 2008; Pierrehumbert, 1980), we analyze the inventory of pitch accents and phrase boundaries in broad-focus declarative sentences taken from corpora of sociolinguistic interviews carried out with native speakers of these varieties. Our findings suggest that the intonational phonology of these varieties is reduced in comparison to what has been found for other native varieties of Spanish. We argue that our observations can be attributed to contact-induced issues linked to advanced L2 strategies, which appear to be inhibited by processability constraints at the interface between discourse and (intonational) phonology.

Thus, we find an emerging parallel between the SLA strategies involved in the development of AHLA morphosyntax and those involved in the development of AHLA intonation (Sessarego, under review). Finally, we discuss the overarching implications of the simplified AHLA intonational inventory with respect to the highly-debated topic of the origin of the AHLAs (Lipski, 2005; Schwegler, 1999; Sessarego, 2013a).

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2. Theoretical background

Our analysis employs the Autosegmental Metrical (AM) model (Hualde, 2002; Ladd, 2008; Pierrehumbert, 1980) as well as the Spanish in the Tones and Break Indices (Sp_ToBI) transcriptional system (Beckman, Díaz-Campos, McGory, & Morgan, 2002; Hualde, 2002; Face & Prieto, 2007; Estebas Vilaplana, & Prieto, 2008).[3] In the AM model, prosodic units are hierarchically organized as shown in (1). Each level of this hierarchy is associated with phonological targets that are prompted at the phonetic level by fundamental frequency (f0) movements. High (H) and low (L) tones are the most common phonological targets and correspond to f0 peaks and valleys at the phonetic level. Each of these tones can form monotonal or bitonal *pitch accents*, which are phonological targets associated with lexically-stressed syllables. This analysis focuses on the top three levels (i.e., IP, ip, and PW).

(1) Prosodic hierarchy
  a. IP Intonational phrase
  b. ip Intermediate phrase
  c. PW Prosodic Word
  d. F Foot
  e. σ Syllable

The IP is non-isomorphic with syntactic structure and typically bears meaning (Rao, 2009). It is bound by audible pauses (> 400 milliseconds [ms] at the right boundary, according to Rao, 2010). Research has also found that reduced f0 levels and lengthening effects also cue IP boundaries in Spanish (Rao, 2009, 2010). In the AM model, IP boundaries are transcribed with the % symbol (e.g., L% = low IP boundary tone; Table 1 summarizes the notational conventions used throughout this paper).

The ip is a smaller phrasal unit hierarchically subsumed by an IP and is not semantically dependent. Its theoretical importance has arisen from studies that have shown its use in perceptually disambiguating identical chains of words with different syntactic structures (Nibert, 1999, 2000). Spanish ip boundaries are acoustically cued through f0 rises to the end of a word, an f0 rise followed by a plateau, final lengthening, reset of f0 level, and brief and less-clear speech disjunctures (Elordieta, Frota, Prieto, & Vigário, 2003; Rao, 2009, 2010). The notational convention used to indicate an ip boundary tone is - (e.g., H- = high ip boundary tone).

The PW is the unit associated with stressed, perceptually salient syllables. Its relevance pertains to the non-isomorphic relationship between morphology and

3. We would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that the proposed notation for the post-tonic pitch accent in Spanish has been changed from L+>H* to L+<H*. We have chosen to retain the use of the older notation for continuity with the literature up to this point. For further discussion of more-recent advances in prosodic notation, see Hualde & Prieto (2015, 2016).

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Table 1. Summary of notational conventions

%	IP boundary	¡	upstep
-	ip boundary	!	downstep
>	peak displacement	H	high tone
*	association with a stressed syllable	M	mid tone
+	link between two contiguous targets (deemed to be one, multitonal pitch accent)	L	low tone

phonology; for instance, while compounds might be considered one lexical unit, their constituents can individually accept the application of phonological rules (Peperkamp, 1999). The majority of Spanish PWs are content words (e.g., adjectives, adverbs, nouns, verbs) rather than function words (e.g., clitics, prepositions) (Hualde, 2002; Quilis, 1993). Lexical items classified as PWs manifest acoustic correlates of stress such as f0 excursions (i.e., accent) and/or increases in duration and/or intensity (Ortega-Llebaria & Prieto, 2010). PWs generally have pitch accents, given that they are tied to words with stressed syllables; attenuating variables such as word length, repetition in discourse, word frequency, and grammatical category, however, can produce *deaccented* words, which have no pitch accent (Rao, 2009).

Figure 1 gives schematic diagrams of the seven most frequently cited pitch accents found in Spanish data. Vertical lines divide each diagram into three segments; the left-hand segment represents the pre-tonic syllable, the central segment the stressed syllable, and the right-hand segment the post-tonic syllable. The symbol > indicates peak displacement to the post-tonic syllable, and * refers to the target phonologically associated with a stressed syllable. Within a given ip, a noticeable increase in the f0 level from one H or L tone to the next is called an upstep, which is transcribed as ¡. Conversely, a decrease in in the f0 level from one H or L tone to the next, within the same ip, is called a downstep, which is transcribed as !.

In nuclear (same as 'final') position, after which a phrase boundary occurs, in cases where H* concludes a pitch accent, evidence of an H- tone would appear in the right-hand segment of the diagrams in Figure 1 as an f0 plateau or the continued ascent of f0. If a pitch accent were to end in in L*, we would expect the final third of each diagram to exhibit a sustained low or a further decrease in f0 level, both of which suggest an L- or L% boundary tone. A third possibility is the mid variety, M-, which occurs at an f0 level between the relative high of H- and the relative low of L- (Beckman et al., 2002; Estebas Vilaplana & Prieto, 2008; Face & Prieto, 2007; Hualde & Prieto, 2015, 2016; Prieto & Roseano, 2010).[4]

4. The particular pitch accent inventory detailed in this section allows for comparison between the four varieties in question. Readers are encouraged to consider the more-recent proposals set forth by Hualde & Prieto (2015, 2016) when conducting similar analyses.

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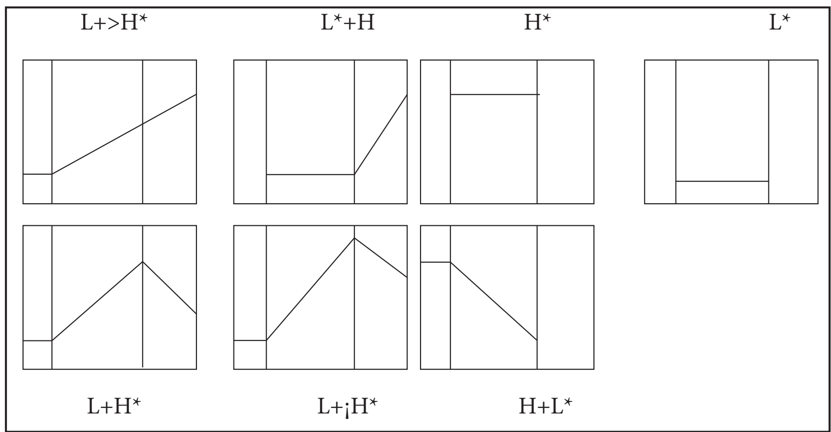

Figure 1. Frequent pitch accents in Spanish (based on Aguilar, De la Mota & Prieto, 2009)

In most varieties of Spanish, non-final (i.e., initial/medial, or *prenuclear*) broad-focus pitch accents (i.e., those that are not associated with relative prosodic salience) usually take the form L+>H*. This means that, in words located in positions other than directly before a phrase boundary, f0 movement begins with a valley anchored to the stressed-syllable onset and undergoes a subsequent rise that does not reach its peak until the post-tonic syllable. In another, less-common prenuclear pattern (L*+H), f0 remains relatively low for the duration of the stressed syllable before rising at the end of this syllable and reaching a peak in a post-tonic syllable. Note that the peak displacement to a post-tonic syllable observed in L+>H* and L*+H does not occur in cases of adjacent stressed syllables (e.g., *café negro* 'black coffee') because the realization of the pitch accent associated with the second stressed syllable impedes displacement of the peak associated with the first one. A common result in such cases is f0 peaking within the first stressed syllable (L+H*), followed by a sustained f0 plateau through the second stressed syllable, or an H* monotonal pitch accent. Another possible outcome is that one of the words is deaccented. It should be highlighted that these alignment trends may be influenced by open- versus closed-syllable structure, where closed syllables show increased peak retraction with respect to the stressed-syllable offset (Prieto & Torreira, 2007). Another important factor is that oxytones tend to favor alignment within the stressed syllable regardless of phrase position (Hualde, 2002; Llisterri, Marín, De la Mota, & Ríos, 1995). Beckman et al. (2002), Estebas Vilaplana & Prieto (2008), Face & Prieto (2007), Hualde (2002), Hualde & Prieto (2015, 2016), Prieto & Roseano (2010), and Sosa (1999) provide a more-detailed description and history of these phonological representations.

On a phonetic note, Sp_ToBI notation enters this discussion when comparing H and/or L tones to a preceding H or L; when the f0 level notably rises or falls with

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respect to the previous identical tone, we can implement upstep (¡) or downstep (!) transcription, respectively. For example, L+¡H* in Figure 1 is a variant of underlying L+H* that shows increased peak height when compared to a previous peak. Upstep in particular appears to fulfill a variety of pragmatic functions, including narrow focus on a word (Prieto & Roseano, 2010).

The four studies in question assumed that Spanish (and Romance in general) obeys the *Nuclear Stress Rule* (Chomsky & Halle, 1968), which states that relative metrical prominence falls, by default, on the right-most portion of prosodic domains (i.e., IPs, ips, PWs, etc.).[5] At both the IP and ip levels, distinct acoustic measures signal nuclear salience. Terminal salience in the declarative IPs of most varieties of Spanish is most often cued through lengthening effects, as opposed to f0, which undergoes substantial reduction, or *final lowering*. This low level of f0 still corresponds with a pitch accent, L*, but only because it occurs in the most prominent phrasal position; if a similar relative f0 low were to appear in prenuclear position, it would be considered a case of deaccenting. In IP-final position, L* is usually followed by an L% boundary, meaning L*L% is a common nuclear configuration (i.e., nuclear pitch accent + boundary tone) in Spanish broad-focus declaratives. Nuclear f0 peaks, when present in IPs, are typically located in the stressed syllable because a phrase boundary inhibits their rightward displacement. In phonological terms, this translates to a nuclear L+H* pitch accent, after which an L% IP boundary is frequent, rather than L+>H* or L*+H. This nuclear configuration, L+H* L%, is termed *circumflex* (i.e., rise- fall) and occurs in declaratives with various emphatic pragmatic functions in some varieties of Spanish (Prieto & Roseano, 2010; Sosa, 1999).

At the ip level, broad-focus declaratives in most varieties of Spanish show a rising f0 excursion up to the end of the word in nuclear position, which signals an H- boundary tone. Pragmatically, this type of movement is interpreted as a non-terminal point of a speaker's turn in conversation and/or an incomplete thought. Except at the end of an IP, H- is the most highly attested ip boundary in Spanish declaratives and typically combines with L+H* to form an L+H* H- nuclear ip configuration. The L- ip boundary precedes L% at IP-terminal junctures, but it can also appear in dislocated structures and under narrow-focus conditions (Prieto & Roseano, 2010).

5. A number of recent studies dealing with focus and word-order variation have called into question the simplicity of prominence marking according to the Nuclear Stress Rule (Feldhausen & Vanrell, 2014; Gabriel, 2010; Heidinger, 2013, 2015; Hoot, 2012, 2016; Muntendam, 2013; Vanrell & Fernández Soriano, 2013; Uth, 2014).

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The fact that Spanish follows the Nuclear Stress Rule and the two most frequent pitch accents in declaratives are L* and L+H* suggests that these two pitch accents are often the heads of prosodic phrases. Since L+H* often serves emphatic functions, its strategic implementation in prenuclear position in order to convey narrow focus makes sense (Face, 2001). In some varieties of Spanish, however, there is no clear pitch-accent distinction between prenuclear and nuclear contexts; in those varieties, L+H* occurs across the board. The studies that have found such collapsing of pitch accents all deal with situations of Spanish in contact with other languages, including Basque (Elordieta, 2003), Italian (Colantoni, 2011; Colantoni & Gurlekian, 2004; Gabriel & Kireva, 2014), Quechua (O'Rourke, 2004, 2005), Veneto (Barnes & Michnowicz, 2013), Yucatec Maya (Michnowicz & Barnes, 2013), and the languages of Equatorial Guinea (Yakpo & Bordal Steien, 2017).

With regard to Afro-Hispanic intonation in particular, Lipski (2007) analyzes the intonational systems of several Afro-Hispanic varieties, such as those spoken in Colombia (Chocó), Venezuela (Barlovento), Panama (Curundú, Panama City), and Mexico (Guerrero), among others, and generally observes extended f0 plateaus in declaratives that he interprets as chains of H* pitch accents. This trend also indicates a lower frequency of f0 valleys and downstepped contours. Hualde and Schwegler (2008) report similar trends in Palenquero speech to those found by Lipski (2007), but in this case they argue that the high rate of H* attested in the data can be explained as an adjustment to the lexical stress patterns of Spanish during the evolution of the Palenquero variety. Extending beyond Hualde & Schwegler (2008), Correa (2012) examines the intonation of Palenquero and *kateyano* (i.e., the Spanish vernacular spoken where Palenquero is also used). He finds that both varieties exhibit similar intonational trends, most importantly a reduction in the inventory of phonological targets when compared to findings on other varieties of Spanish. He also notes upstepped and downstepped variants of H*, the use of L+H* to convey emphasis, and L% and H% IP boundary tones in cases of narrow focus.

In the sections that follow, we draw comparisons between four studies on AHLAs (for ChS, Butera et al., 2020; for CS, Knaff et al., 2018; for CVS, Rao & Sessarego, 2018; for YS, Sessarego & Rao, 2016) and contrast our findings with those presented thus far. All four of these studies support the idea of a reduced intonational system with evidence about other linguistic modules to argue that the linguistic features of ChS, CS, CVS, and YS (and potentially other Afro-Hispanic varieties) are the product of conventionalized SLA processes rather than a previous creole phase (Sessarego, 2013a). Rather than attributing these findings to the effects of a substrate language, the authors propose that they are generated by the nativization of intonational features that developed during an early stage of acquisition of Spanish by members of Afro-Hispanic speech communities.

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3. Methodology

Table 2 shows a side-by-side comparison of methodological and demographic information from the four studies in question. In all four cases, data were extracted from recorded, spontaneous, sociolinguistic interviews of elderly (80+ years of age), monolingual informants with low educational backgrounds (either illiterate or with minimal reading skills). It should be noted that this data-collection procedure contrasts with that of the majority of the studies cited in Section 2, in that those works relied on controlled tasks in laboratory settings, which normally involve the reading of a script. Declaratives in spontaneous speech tend to contain increased levels of both deaccenting and tonic peak alignment, in addition to decreases in both final lowering and downstepping, as compared to findings in lab speech (Face, 2003). This can be attributed to the complexities involved in navigating emotion and interactions with different types of interlocutors and in different social situations, among other factors, all of which are much more difficult to control in spontaneous speech. Thus, while we acknowledge that the comparative value of our data to the previously cited studies is inherently limited, we would like to emphasize the striking coherence among the four data sets examined here. Moreover, we would like to point out that this approach, while more difficult than the lab-setting approach, has the advantage of producing more naturalistic data, and therefore it represents a meaningful contribution to the body of research on Spanish intonation.

Table 2. Side-by-side comparison of the four studies

Study	ChS	CS	CVS	YS
Year(s) when data were collected	2012–13	2014–15	2011–12	2008, 2009, 2010
Number of informants	4 (2 men, 2 women)	4 (2 men, 2 women)	6 (all men)	2 (1 man, 1 woman)
Place(s) of origin of the informants	El Carmen, Guayabo, San Regis, San José (Province of Chincha, Peru)	Opogadó (Department of Chocó, Colombia)	El Juncal (Chota Valley, Ecuador)	Tocaña (North Yungas, Bolivia)
Number of tokens (i.e. content words) analyzed	1004	654	834	1016

All four studies used Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2014) to carry out acoustic measurements of f0 alignment and height in content words contained within a subset of broad-focus declaratives extracted from recordings of the interviews. One of the greatest challenges when dealing with spontaneous data is interpreting

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speakers' pragmatic intent; in these studies, we limited our analysis to declaratives that we deemed to be neutral and non-emphatic, and that did not deal with highly emotional topics. We achieved this by excluding declaratives in which we observed that prosodic measures were notably increased relative to each speaker's neutral-sounding prosodic patterns. Having undertaken this process in all four studies, we feel confident that the utterances included are as representative of broad-focus conditions as possible.

The next step was to divide the extracted data into IPs, and then subdivide those into ips. IP boundaries were established by identifying longer pauses at the end of complete thoughts, and ip boundaries by pitch reset, short pauses, and lengthening of final syllables (Rao, 2009, 2010). Since pitch accent + boundary tone configurations are important to the description of nuclear position, we grouped each nuclear item with its following boundary tone. Moreover, since f0 behavior at ip boundaries depends on a given ip's position within the larger IP, our nuclear-configuration classifications distinguished between IP-final (i.e., terminal junctures) and non-IP-final contexts (i.e., non-terminal junctures). Having organized the data into IPs and ips, we categorized the content words in ips as *prenuclear* or *nuclear*. The coding scheme described to this point is outlined in (2) through a generic example in which there is one IP containing six PWs parsed into three ips.

(2) Coding scheme (pn = prenuclear; n = nuclear; nt = non-terminal; t = terminal)

$[[PW_{pn}\ PW_n]_{\text{ip boundary (nt)}}\ [PW_n]_{\text{ip boundary (nt)}}\ [PW_{pn}\ PW_{pn}\ PW_n]_{\text{ip boundary (t)}}]_{\text{IP boundary (t)}}$

The final step in the acoustic analysis was to identify f0 traces in or near lexically-stressed syllables. In each content word, we examined valley and peak alignment with respect to the onset and offset of the stressed syllable, respectively. This allowed for appropriate transcription of the pitch accents of each stressed word using the AM and Sp_ToBI conventions (see Prieto & Roseano, 2010).

4. Results

Following the same practice as the four studies, we divide the presentation of our findings into two subsections – prenuclear position (subsection 4.1) and nuclear position (subsection 4.2). This practice was established because previous studies had noted pitch accent distinctions based on these positions, and because nuclear position involves a discussion of not only pitch accents but also phrase boundaries.

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4.1 Prenuclear position

Table 3 gives a side-by-side comparison of the types and frequencies of prenuclear pitch accents found in each of the four varieties. In each case, the data do not conform to the peak alignment tendencies of the majority of Spanish varieties.[6] Here we will summarize the specifics of each Afro-Hispanic variety in turn.

The data show that L+(¡)H*, which we would expect to see in nuclear position or narrow focus for prenuclear position for most varieties of Spanish, is undoubtedly the preferred prenuclear pitch accent in ChS (it is present in 68% of the stressed words in prenuclear position).[7] The three most- frequent ChS pitch accents in Table 3 include a high tone; the sum of those frequencies indicates that of the 617 total tokens, H tones are associated and aligned with the stressed syllable at an 83.2% rate (see the first two rows of Table 3), contrary to what we would expect to see in more common varieties of Spanish where post-tonic peak alignment would be the norm. In this data set, post-tonic peak alignment, or L+>H*, is nonexistent in prenuclear tokens.

With regard to the CS data, the most frequent pitch accent for prenuclear stressed words is L+H* (48.8%), which is notably lower than the 68% rate that we just saw with the ChS data – we will return to this point in Section 5. On the other hand – like in the ChS case – a large proportion of the tokens include an H tone in stressed syllables (82.7%), which, again, is a trend more typical of nuclear position and prenuclear narrow focus in most varieties of Spanish. The second-most frequent pitch accent in the CS data is the H* variety (33.9%). The L+>H* pitch accent that is common in prenuclear contexts of many other varieties of Spanish, while far from nonexistent (at 16.5%), is an exception rather than the norm.

The CVS data are similar to those of CS; the most frequent prenuclear pitch-accent configuration is L+H* (54.2% of the tokens). Again, we see a high percentage of tokens with an H tone in stressed syllables (94.6%). As we saw with CS, the second-most frequent pitch accent in CVS is H*, which occurred in 40.4% of prenuclear words with pitch accents. In line with ChS is the striking absence of L+>H* in the CVS prenuclear data set.

Overall, the most frequent prenuclear pitch accent in the YS data is, once again, L+H* (79.4%) and, like CS, this represents the largest share of the tokens. The second-most common configuration in YS – as in all of the other three cases – is

6. See Prieto & Roseano (2010) for further detail on pitch accents and boundary tones in other Spanish varieties.

7. Throughout this section, we use parentheses to indicate the presence of upstepping (¡) and downstepping (!) allotones found in the data.

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H*, although the percentage (18%; including the upstepped allotones) is closer to that of ChS than to that of CS and CVS. Finally, the near-absence of L+>H* is also shown in this data set.

Table 3. Prenuclear pitch accents

Pitch accent	Frequency			
	ChS (*n* = 617)	**CS (*n* = 496)**	**CVS (*n* = 456)**	**YS (*n* = 467)**
(¡)L+(¡)H*	68% (422/617)	48.8% (242/496)	54.2% (247/456)	79.4% (371/467)
(¡,!)H*	15.2% (94/617)	33.9% (168/496)	40.4% (184/456)	18% (84/467)
(¡)H+L*	13.9% (86/617)		3.3% (15/456)	1.1% (5/467)
L+>H*		16.5% (82/496)		1.5% (7/467)
Other	2.9% (18/617)	0.8% (4/496)	2.2% (10/456)	

4.2 Nuclear position

This subsection is further divided into two parts. The first (subsection 4.2.1) provides the types and frequencies of nuclear configurations found at ip boundaries that are non-IP-final (i.e., non- terminal junctures of discourse). The second (subsection 4.2.2) focuses on terminal configurations (i.e., at IP boundaries).

4.2.1 *Non-terminal configurations*

Table 4 gives a side-by-side comparison of the four studies with respect to the ip boundary configuration frequencies in ip-nuclear position, when those ips are at non-terminal junctures.[8] Even a cursory look at the table reveals that the CS data show a notable departure from the trend found in the other three Afro-Hispanic varieties; in this case, the most common (and nearly categorical) boundary tone configuration in CS is H- (92.6%; see Table 6), with L+H* H- representing 40% of the tokens. In this respect, CS appears to align with other varieties of Spanish, in which H- indicates the continuation of a thought. Tables 5 and 6 give further detail regarding pitch accents, L*, and H*, as well as boundary tones.[9]

8. For Tables 4 and 7, groups of tokens with values of less than 10% were included in the 'Other' category. Thus, percentages cited in the following paragraphs may include tokens from that row in the tables.

9. Note that the CS, CVS, and YS columns in Tables 6 and 9 do not add up to 100% because the original studies included some tokens classified as 'Other'. Nevertheless, the overall trends are clear.

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In the ChS, CVS, and YS data, the L- boundary tone is the most common, occurring 73.8% of the time in ChS, 80.7% in CVS, and 63.3% in YS. In all three cases, (¡)L+(¡)H* L- is the dominant configuration (53.7% in ChS, 35.5% in CVS, and 53.8% in YS). This circumflex movement is more characteristically related to IP-nuclear position or to convey narrow focus in prenuclear position as well as other pragmatic meanings, rather than the broad-focus declaratives or neutral utterances analyzed in these studies (Prieto & Roseano, 2010).

Table 4. Nuclear configurations in non-IP-final ips

Configuration	**Frequency**			
	ChS (*n* = 149)	**CS (*n* = 95)**	**CVS (*n* = 197)**	**YS (*n* = 251)**
(¡)L+(¡)H* L-	53.7% (80/149)		35.5% (70/197)	53.8% (135/251)
L* L-			20.8% (41/197)	
H* L-			18.3% (36/197)	
(¡)H+L* L-	13.4% (20/149)			
L+H* H-	10.1% (15/149)	40.0% (38/95)		19.5% (49/251)
H* H-		24.2% (23/95)		
L+>H* H-		22.1% (21/95)		
Other	22.8% (34/149)	13.7% (13/95)	25.4% (50/197)	27.7% (67/251)

Table 5. Frequencies of nuclear pitch accents

Configuration	**Frequency**			
	ChS (*n* = 149)	**CS (*n* = 95)**	**CVS (*n* = 197)**	**YS (*n* = 251)**
(¡)L+(¡)H*	72.5% (108/149)	40.0% (38/95)	40.6% (80/197)	78.5% (148/251)
(¡)H+L*	14.8% (22/149)	0% (0/95)	6.0% (12/197)	0% (0/251)
L+>H*	0% (0/149)	22.1% (21/95)	0% (0/197)	0% (0/251)
L*	2.7% (4/149)	6.3% (6/95)	20.8% (41/197)	4.8% (12/251)
H*	10.1% (15/149)	24.2% (23/95)	18.3% (36/197)	4.8% (12/251)

Table 6. Nuclear boundary tones

Configuration	**Frequency**			
	ChS (*n* = 149)	**CS (*n* = 95)**	**CVS (*n* = 197)**	**YS (*n* = 251)**
L-	73.8% (110/149)	0% (0/95)	80.7% (159/197)	63.3% (159/251)
M-	10.7% (16/149)	0% (0/95)	5.1% (10/197)	5.2% (13/251)
H-	15.4% (23/149)	92.6% (88/95)	0% (0/197)	19.5% (49/251)

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4.2.2 *Terminal configurations*

Table 7 gives a side-by-side account of the pitch accent and IP boundary tone configurations of stressed content words at terminal discourse junctures found in the four studies, and Tables 8 and 9 give further detail regarding pitch accents, L*, and H*, as well as boundary tones. Here, we see that the L% boundary tone once again dominates the data sets (77.3% of the ChS tokens, 100% for CS, 95.9% for CVS, and 86.3% for YS; see Table 9). This fact actually aligns these varieties with most other (non-contact) varieties of Spanish (see Section 2). As we saw in Table 3, the data present greater similarities between ChS and YS, on the one hand, and CS and CVS on the other. In this case, the majority of ChS and YS tokens show the circumflex (¡)L+(¡)H* L% configuration (50.9% and 63.2%, respectively). A notable difference is the high frequency of H% boundary tones in the ChS data, given the declarative nature of the utterances and the terminal nature of this discourse juncture. This H% boundary tone configuration is typical of questions in most varieties of Spanish; however, the spontaneous nature of the speech in this data set was at times disjointed, possibly contributing to the higher frequency of H% boundary tones.[10] CS and CVS show a more even token distribution across the (¡)L+(¡)H* L% and L* L% configurations, with CS demonstrating a slight preference for the former, and CVS a more decisive preference for the latter. The most significant finding here is that Tables 7 and 9 both show a general tendency toward greater frequency of L phrase boundaries, at least for CS, CVS, and YS.

Table 7. IP-final configurations

Configuration	**Frequency**			
	ChS (*n* = 220)	**CS (*n* = 63)**	**CVS (*n* = 122)**	**YS (*n* = 204)**
(¡)L+(¡)H* L%	50.9% (112/220)	44.4% (28/63)	33.6% (41/122)	63.2% (129/204)
L* L%		41.3% (26/63)	56.6% (69/122)	17.7% (36/204)
(¡)H* L%		14.3% (9/63)		
(¡)H+L* L%	18.2% (40/220)			
L+(¡)H* H%	16.8% (37/220)			
Other	14.1% (31/220)		9.8% (12/122)	19.1% (39/204)

10. See Bustin, Fenton, & Muntendam (2017) for further commentary on this phenomenon in Afro-Peruvian Spanish.

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Table 8. Frequencies of IP-final pitch accents

Configuration	Frequency			
	ChS (*n* = 220)	**CS (*n* = 63)**	**CVS (*n* = 122)**	**YS (*n* = 204)**
(¡)L+(¡)H*	71.8% (158/220)	44.4% (28/63)	33.6% (41/122)	63.2% (129/204)
(¡)H+L*	18.2% (40/220)	0% (0/63)	0% (0/122)	0% (0/204)
L*	4.5% (10/220)	41.3% (26/63)	56.6% (69/122)	17.7% (36/204)
H*	5.5% (12/220)	14.3% (9/63)	5.7% (7/122)	5.4% (11/204)

Table 9. IP boundary tones

Configuration	Frequency			
	ChS (*n* = 220)	**CS (*n* = 63)**	**CVS (*n* = 122)**	**YS (*n* = 204)**
L%	77.3% (170/220)	100% (63/63)	95.9% (117/122)	86.3% (176/204)
M%	4.1% (9/220)	0% (0/63)	0% (0/122)	0% (0/204)
H%	18.6% (41/220)	0% (0/63)	0% (0/122)	0% (0/204)

5. Discussion

At the lexical level, one of the most salient findings across these four studies was that variants of L+H* were the most frequently attested prenuclear and nuclear (non-terminal) pitch accents (Tables 3 and 4). The high degree of L+H* and the (nearly) complete absence of L+>H* in prenuclear position was particularly striking because most varieties of Spanish exhibit patterns in which the latter is more common than the former (Face, 2001; Hualde, 2002; Prieto & Roseano, 2010; Hualde & Prieto, 2015). Notably, L+H* is a pitch accent that occurs more commonly in nuclear position, which is normally classified as a prosodic head with relative prominence. The prenuclear results, in particular, suggest that a pitch accent generally communicating salience has expanded its use further than what is commonly observed in Spanish; that is, the phonological distinction between L+>H* and L+H* associated with degrees of relative prominence in broad focus does not seem to be a part of our ChS, CS, CVS, and YS speakers' intonational system.

In ip- and IP- nuclear position, corresponding with non-terminal (Table 4) and terminal discourse junctures (Table 7), respectively, L+H* and L* were the two most frequent pitch accents; however, at the ip-level, L+H* was preferred, while at the IP-level, the opposite was the case. At the ip-level in broad focus, L+H* is quite common in most varieties of Spanish because the boundary tone impedes peak displacement, but L* is not highly observed. On the other hand, at the IP-level,

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many varieties use suppression to L* to clearly signal the conclusion of an idea, while others prefer circumflex contours with an L+H*.

Combining these nuclear pitch accent results indicates that while variation is present in the data, perhaps due to subtle pragmatic effects, the most frequent pitch accents at both phrase levels generally reflect those of standard Spanish with the exception being L* at the ip-level in YS, CVS and ChS, which might be evidence of generalizing the preferred IP-level pitch accent to the lower phrase level. Conversely, as far as the ip-level is concerned, CS appears to be more in line with standard Spanish since the H- configuration prevails. This phenomenon may be seen as an indicator that particularly advanced L2 varieties of Spanish contributed to the formation of this Afro-Colombian dialect, thus further reducing the likelihood of a potential (de) creolization phase for this vernacular (Sessarego, 2017b, 2017c, 2019b).

The replication and simplification of phonological targets reported in our analysis of these varieties could be accounted for by considering the historical development of the speech communities in question. We argue that Spanish never creolized in these regions. Rather, we suggest that it was most likely spoken as a native language by most of the captives introduced to these territories and it was acquired as an L2 by the *bozales*. Generally speaking, obstacles arise in the process of L2 acquisition during verbal interactions, and one strategy that interlocutors often employ in such situations is to use emphatic or default communicative patterns (Sessarego, 2013a).[11] Presumably, the first generations of slaves brought into these regions experienced such communicative difficulties, independently of the specific African languages they might have spoken as first languages. As a consequence, an emphatic or default set of phonological targets would have overridden more complicated options involving nuanced pragmatic meanings. Once this set of targets (e.g., L+H* pitch accent and L boundary tones) was selected and utilized by the first generations of Afro-Hispanic speakers, it was conventionalized by the same speech community and passed down through time to the present day. This is what we have called "a nativization process" (L1 acquisition) of advanced L2 features (Sessarego, 2013a).

Recall that the prenuclear use of the L+H* pitch accent has been attested in situations of Spanish in contact with other languages (Section 2). While the studies cited above have discussed intonational reduction/simplification phenomena as a result of the influence of a substrate language, Michnowicz and Barnes (2013) and Barnes and Michnowicz (2013) have proposed a simplification process driven by SLA strategies. We would argue that the implications of our data further support this SLA-based approach, since they also provide a feasible explanation for why all of these contact varieties present very similar intonational configurations, in spite

11. See also Velupillai (2015, p. 141ff) on the notion of "foreign talk" in creole studies.

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of the fact that the pitch-accent systems of the probable substrate languages are highly variable (see also Rao & Sessarego, 2016, on this point).

The data presented in these four studies suggest that an intonational differentiation usually employed in standard Spanish to indicate clear pragmatic contrasts (i.e., perceptual salience/emphasis through pitch accents, continuation versus conclusion of an idea through boundary tones) is not present in these varieties. In fact, our findings point to a simplified set of phonological targets across the PW, ip and IP levels. Examples (3–7), generated based on the frequencies shown in the tables found in the previous section, provide a graphic representation of the differences we have just illustrated for some generic, unmarked declarative sentences in general Spanish (3), ChS (4), CS (5), CVS (6), and YS (7). Each example consists of six content words, each of which contains a stressed syllable, spread across two ips, both of which belong to one IP. The main phenomenon of interest in the comparison of these examples is the relative lack of variation in pitch accents and boundary tones in (4–7) in the top three prosodic tiers illustrated, with the exception of (5).

(3) General trend in Spanish

IP	[								]L%
ip	[			]H-	[			]L-	
PW	PW	PW	PW		PW	PW	PW		
	L+>H*	L+>H*	L+H*		L+>H*	L+>H*	L*/L+H*		
Syllable	σ	σ	σ		σ	σ	σ		

(4) ChS

IP	[								]L%
ip	[			]L-	[			]L-	
PW	PW	PW	PW		PW	PW	PW		
	L+H*	L+H*	L+H*		L+H*	L+H*	L+H*/L*		
Syllable	σ	σ	σ		σ	σ	σ		

(5) CS

IP	[								]L%
ip	[			]H-	[			]L-	
PW	PW	PW	PW		PW	PW	PW		
	L+H*	L+H*	L+H*		L+H*	L+H*	L+H*/L*		
Syllable	σ	σ	σ		σ	σ	σ		

(6) CVS

IP	[								]L%
ip	[			]L-	[			]L-	
PW	PW	PW	PW		PW	PW	PW		
	L+H*	L+H*	L+H*/L*		L+H*	L+H*	L*/L+H*		
Syllable	σ	σ	σ		σ	σ	σ		

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(7)

YS									
IP	[								]L%
ip	[			]L-	[			]L-	
PW	PW	PW	PW		PW	PW	PW		
	L+H*	L+H*	L+H*		L+H*	L+H*	L*/L+H*		
Syllable	σ	σ	σ		σ	σ	σ		

The overall results for ChS, CS, CVS, and YS spontaneous declaratives are remarkably similar. We account for this parallelism by proposing that the results in all four varieties may be interpreted in terms of contact-induced phenomena related to a process of L1 acquisition of advanced SLA strategies (Sessarego, 2013a), which appear to be inhibited by processing constraints applying at the discourse-intonation interface. We have chosen such an approach because models of L2 segmental and suprasegmental phonology (e.g., Flege, 1995; Mennen, 2015) demand that we know the L1 of the speakers in question, which is next to impossible in the case of the speech communities in which our data were collected. We argue that a fundamental aspect of the development of these varieties was the input of advanced L2 speakers of Spanish, whose acquisition of intonational targets differed from that of L1 speakers of Spanish. This resulted in default patterns containing the L+H* pitch accent for all the varieties analyzed, and the L boundary tone for YS, CVS and ChS, while CS presents more standard-like patterns in this respect.

The presence of these phonological patterns in these four varieties is actually not unexpected, given that they may be seen as reductions of language complexities, which have been repeatedly described both in SLA studies and in the AHLAs for a variety of linguistic phenomena: (1) use of non-emphatic non-contrastive overt subjects (syntax-discourse interface) (Sorace, 2004; Sorace & Serratrice, 2009); (2) reduced phi-agreement across the DP and CP (syntax-morphology interface) (Gutiérrez-Rexach & Sessarego, 2014; Sessarego, 2013d; Sessarego & Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2011; Slabakova, 2009); (3) presence of bare nouns in subject position (syntax-semantics interface) (García Mayo & Hawkins, 2009; Gutiérrez-Rexach & Sessarego, 2011; Sessarego, 2014a). We suggest that these patterns were subsequently nativized by following generations of ChS, CS, CVS, and YS speakers. We further argue that these patterns should not be attributed to any specific substrate language, but rather to more universal processes of L2 acquisition, which appear to apply independently of the speaker's first language (Michnowicz & Barnes, 2013; Winford, 2003).

Our analysis contrasts with the traditional view on the evolution of the AHLAs, which ascribes their non-standard features to a previous creole stage (Granda, 1968, 1970; Otheguy, 1973; Schwegler, 1999). Our hypothesis, on the contrary, is that the vast majority of the non-standard features found in the AHLAs are actually

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related to *advanced interlanguages* (Sessarego, 2013a), which do not imply either a pidgin-to-creole phase or a subsequent decreolization process. This claim is also supported by the sociohistorical information available for Afro-Andean Spanish (Sessarego, 2013b, 2014a, 2015) as well as for a number other AHLAs (Clements, 2009; Lipski, 2005; Sessarego, 2016a, 2016b, 2019b). These data also suggest that most, if not all, of the Spanish colonies in the Americas lacked the necessary conditions for Spanish to creolize (see Sessarego, 2017a, for more on this point).

Given the linguistic and historical evidence available for these varieties, we suggest that they emerged in rural settings, isolated from the social pressures imposed by formal education, standardization, and linguistic normativity. Under these conditions, the outcomes of advanced SLA processes, such as the simplified prosodic patterns that we have described in this study, could arise as innovations and be conventionalized by the speech community.

One caveat that we must acknowledge, which we hope future researchers in this area consider as well, is that, as mentioned earlier in this paper, spontaneous speech has been found to yield different intonational patterns than those of lab speech (Face, 2003); some of these trends, such as tonic peak alignment and less consistent downstepping, have been noted in the present work. As such, it may be the case that some of our findings could be attributed to the nature of our data collection procedure; however, the noteworthy increases in the spontaneous speech trends observed in Face (2003) found in our data, such as the high degree of early peak alignment, coupled with more novel findings, such as frequent duplication of L boundaries, provide evidence in favor of our data speaking to a unique intonational system for declaratives in these four communities rather than being the byproduct of a specific speech style.

6. Conclusion

This study has provided a comparative analysis of the prenuclear and nuclear broad-focus declarative intonational patterns found in the Chinchano, Chocó, Chota Valley, and Yungueño varieties of Spanish. The data have shown that the commonality across all four varieties is a notably reduced inventory of phonological targets at the word and phrase level, in comparison with other (non-contact) varieties of Spanish. We have argued that these findings can be accounted for through advanced SLA processes that were subsequently conventionalized in the communities in question. The principal advantage afforded by this proposal is that it is an overarching way of explaining language variation and change across many acquisitional contexts/language contact situations. However, we do acknowledge

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that this proposal needs further support in future work by incorporating syntactic structure into the discussion of the declaratives analyzed, including a wider range of utterance types and pragmatic scopes, increasing connections with existing literature on the L2 acquisition of Spanish intonation, and looking at other explorations of the universal properties of phonology (see Gooden, Drayton, & Beckman, 2009; Plummer & Beckman, 2015).

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CHAPTER 8

'En esta petsa, este anio'

The Spanish sound system in contact with Miskitu

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The historical evolution of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua has given rise to a multilingual and multicultural region that has been, until relatively recently, sheltered from the Spanish language spoken in Western Nicaragua. As contact has increased between the country's East and West, Miskitu residents are increasingly learning Spanish, but for many it serves as a second or third language, resulting in a unique sound system. This chapter explores the phonetic features found in the speech of Miskitu- dominant Spanish speakers in Bilwi, including the transfer of Miskitu phones into Spanish and the transformation of variable rules under transfer. I argue that each individual feature can be found in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world, but this specific combination of phonetic features reflects the unique culture and history of the Miskitu people, highlighting the linguistic outcomes of social and linguistic isolation and contact along the Caribbean Coast.

Keywords: Miskitu, Nicaragua, Nicaraguan Spanish, bilingualism, language contact

1. Introduction

The Western half of Nicaragua lays bare the outcome of uniform colonization by Spanish speakers: a monolingual and homogenous populous. The Miskitu[1] people of the Caribbean Coast, on the other hand, were never colonized by the Spanish and instead formed a strategic alliance with the English. Unlike the western half of the country, where the indigenous languages have died off, the Miskitu language has thrived over the centuries.

1. The term 'Miskitu' has received a range of spellings in the literature, including Miskito, Misquito, Mosquito, and Miskitu. In this chapter I use 'Miskitu' to refer to both the indigenous people and their language.

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As a result of the tremendous political, demographic, and economic changes of the twentieth century, the Miskitu have been gradually brought into the fold of the social and political systems of the West, and part and parcel of this integration has been learning the Spanish language. While the Miskitu strongly value their language and culture, many Miskitu have come to view Spanish as a more universal, global language that enables academic and economic advancement (Lau, 1983), and these language attitudes can prompt changes in language practices (Chappell, 2017). This is particularly true in coastal cities like Bilwi, the locus of interest in the present paper, where Western Nicaraguan Spanish is widely spoken, and many Miskitu are opting to use Spanish in the home to nurture high proficiency in the country's majority language.

The variety of Spanish spoken by the Miskitu of the Caribbean Coast exhibits several differences from the dialect spoken in the Western half of the country, which is why it has generally not been classified under the umbrella of 'Nicaraguan Spanish' (Lipski, 1994, p. 287). Several phonetic and phonological features emerge as points of interest in the following discussion, including transfer[2] features from Miskitu, features that are considered to be more linguistic universals than transfer effects, and the transformation under transfer of variable rules. To set the stage for this conversation, Section 2 offers a simple sketch of the Caribbean Coast's historical development, and Section 3 introduces some of the salient features of Western Nicaraguan Spanish and Miskitu to more fully understand this particular contact situation. Section 4 then discusses several contact features of note in the variety, and Section 5 provides concluding remarks.

2. A brief history of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua

This chapter focuses on phonetic/phonological contact phenomena in Bilwi (or Puerto Cabezas), which is approximately ten miles from the Wawa River and 60 miles from the mouth of the Río Coco (Pineda, 2006, pp. 70–71). To facilitate this conversation, a brief overview of the region's history is necessary to situate the Miskitu of Bilwi within the context of the Caribbean Coast and, more broadly, within Nicaragua. Unfortunately, only the briefest review is possible given spatial limitations, but the accounts in Baracco (2011), García (2007), Pineda (2006), Nietschmann (1973, 1989), Holm (1978), and Helms (1971) are indispensable to better understand the coast's complex inter- and intra-cultural dynamics.

2. The term 'transfer' has a rather confusing history, having been applied differently by different authors (see Anderson, 1983, p. 7). In this chapter I use the term to refer to cross-linguistic influence from the L1 phonological system, Miskitu, on the L2, Spanish.

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As noted in the introduction, Eastern and Western Nicaragua represent very distinct social, cultural, and linguistic spaces. Nicaraguans recognize this distinction and conceive of two distinct Nicaraguas: the East and the West (Pineda, 2006, pp. 1–5). This conceptualization is fueled by the Spanish colonization of the West, which began in 1520 (García, 2007, p. 26) and, as was the case in many other colonized spaces in Latin America, created a monocultural and Spanish-speaking population through mestizaje (miscegenation), the subjugation of indigenous people, and the appropriation of their lands (Baracco, 2011, pp. 3–4). In linguistic terms, other than toponyms from indigenous languages like Matagalpa, e.g. Ometepe, and Nahuatl, e.g. Managua, indigenous languages are not spoken by any sizable groups in Western Nicaragua (Lipski, 1994, pp. 288–289).

This monolingual outcome differs drastically from the Caribbean Coast, where multiple languages are spoken, including Miskitu, Sumu, Caribbean creole English, and Spanish (Lipski, 1994, pp. 288–289). García (2007, pp. 26–27) notes that while some Spaniards did attempt to colonize and evangelize the region in the 16th century, the hostile reception of the early inhabitants dissuaded them from pursuing further settlement in the region. These inhabitants were macro-Chibcha, having originally come from South America to settle the area, and escaped African slaves, Moravian missionaries, and English buccaneers also lived alongside them on the coast for centuries. The Miskitu were first recognized by outsiders as a people in the 17th century, described as a group of mixed indigenous, European, and African lineage (García, 2007, pp. 27–35; Pineda, 2006, pp. 5–8).[3]

England, Holland, and France were drawn to the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua, eager to capitalize on the sizable region that had not been colonized by the Spanish. The Miskitu and the English were able to establish a long-term partnership starting in the 17th century, as the two groups were able to unite against what they perceived as a common enemy in the Spaniards to the west, resulting in what some have called an "Anglo-affinity" among the Miskitu (Hale, 1994). The Miskitu began to take pride in their linguistic abilities in English, and they considered their bilingualism an indicator of superiority over other regional indigenous groups (Freeland, 1995; Koskinen, 2010). This belief was compounded by the fact that the English recognized the Miskitu chief as King of the region, granting more power to the Miskitu than other indigenous groups. Additionally, when Moravian missionaries came to the coast in the 19th century, they chose Miskitu as the language of the bible, confirming existing attitudes about the value of Miskitu and ensuring its use as a lingua franca in the region (Holm, 1978, p. 62).

The power dynamics along the coast shifted following Nicaragua's independence from Spain in 1838. Freeland (1995) explains that the British were forced to

3. However, there are many discrepancies about the Miskitus' origin and ethnicity (Pineda, 2006, p. 7).

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abandon the coast, which dissolved their alliance with the Miskitu, and powerful U.S. companies began to exploit the Caribbean Coast's resources. The fact that these companies gave hiring preference to Creoles over the Miskitu served to limit Miskitu power, and the Treaty of Managua dealt another blow to the status of the Miskitu by limiting the power wielded by the Miskitu King. The power dynamics shifted again in the late 19th century with José Santos Zelaya's efforts to "reincorporate" the Caribbean Coast into Nicaragua (Hale, 1994, p. 41), which involved imposing the Hispanic language and culture on the Miskitu through educational reforms (Freeland, 1995). These efforts persisted and intensified through much of the 20th century, particularly during the Somoza dictatorship (Doizer, 1985, p. 215), and the expansion of Mestizo companies throughout the Caribbean Coast provided more power, both economically and socially, to the Mestizos of the region.

Tensions between the East and West grew following the 1979 Sandinista Revolution, which exacerbated conflicts over indigenous land, languages, and rights (Freeland, 1995, pp. 251–252). However, the Sandinista government did ultimately grant autonomy to the Caribbean Coast in its 1987 constitution (González, 1997, p. 295), and the same year's Law of Autonomy divided the region into *la Región Autónoma del Atlántico Norte* 'The autonomous region of the north Atlantic' (the RAAN) and *la Región Autónoma del Atlántico Sur* 'The autonomous region of the south Atlantic' (the RAAS) (Pino, 1996, p. 66), regions that are now called *la Región Autónoma de la Costa Caribe Norte* (RACCN) and *la Región Autónoma de la Costa Caribe Sur* (RACCS), respectively. This law ensured a certain level of local governance, with Bilwi and Bluefields serving as the seats of regional self-administration for the northern and southern regions, respectively. Still, in spite of the law, indigenous and Afro-descendant people along the Caribbean Coast continue to defend themselves to this day against threats to their safety, land rights, and regional autonomy under the Ortega-Murillo regime (see Cupples & Glynn, 2017).

In terms of coastal demographics, Mestizo immigration began to increase exponentially after the Sandinista Revolution, changing the face of the Caribbean Coast. While the Caribbean Coast is a large region, accounting for nearly half of Nicaragua's land, its population only represents about 12% of the country's total (Navarrete, 2000). Consequently, Mestizos were able to rapidly surpass the Miskitu population; as early as 1985, the regional population of Mestizos rose to 55% of the total population, with Miskitus only accounting for about 30% (Freeland, 1988, p. 16, drawing on the Autonomy Commission's data). The Mestizo population continues to grow, which makes Spanish more prevalent in the region, as illustrated in Table 1's breakdown of Spanish speakers living in the RACCN (approximately 62%) as compared to Miskitu speakers (34%).

As demographics shift, language attitudes and language use often follow suit. In an exploration of Miskitu language attitudes, Chappell (2017) found that the Miskitu language continues to be highly valued as a marker of regional identity,

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Table 1. Number and percentage of speakers of different language groups in the RACCN and RACCS (Christie et al., 2000, p. 20, with data from INEC, 1996, p. 106)

Language	RACCN	RACCS	Total
Spanish	94,537 (61.8%)	183,186 (89.8%)	277,723 (78%)
Miskitu	52,380 (34.2%)	3,839 (1.9%)	56,219 (16%)
Sumu-Mayangna	4,297 (2.8%)	210 (0.1%)	4,507 (1%)
English	1,763 (1.2%)	16,546 (8.1%)	18,309 (5%)
Other	69	144 (0.1%)	213
Total	**153,046 (100%)**	**203,925 (100%)**	**356,971 (100%)**

heritage, and pride, while Spanish is considered a more global language that can provide social, educational, and economic advantages. As a result, many Miskitu opt to speak Spanish at home with their children as a means of nurturing high proficiency in the Spanish language. Production does appear to be changing: early Miskitu-Spanish bilinguals in Bilwi appear to be converging on Western Nicaraguan norms (Chappell, 2020).

However, later bilinguals continue to exhibit a series of contact features, and the distinctiveness of Coastal Spanish serves as the focus of the rest of this chapter. To better understand the linguistic systems in contact, Section 3.1 provides a brief introduction to Western Nicaraguan Spanish and Miskitu.

3. The languages in contact: Spanish and Miskitu

3.1 Previous phonological/phonetic work on Western Nicaraguan Spanish

While phonological investigations of Western Nicaraguan Spanish were scarce until the last decade, recent dialectal surveys and more in-depth studies have begun to shed light on the variety. Tables 2–4 below depict the phonological inventory of Western Nicaraguan Spanish, and the paragraphs that follow detail its most salient phonological processes.

Table 2. Nicaraguan Spanish consonantal inventory

	Labial	Dental	Alv.	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m		n	ɲ		
Stop	p b	t d			k g	
Affricate				tʃ		
Fricative	f		s	ʝ̞		h
Lateral			l			
Flap			ɾ			
Trill			r			

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Table 3. Nicaraguan Spanish vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Table 4. Nicaraguan Spanish semivowels

	Palatal	Labiovelar
Semivowels	j	w

Perhaps the most salient feature of Nicaraguan Spanish is coda /s/ reduction. Coda /s/ is reduced more in Western Nicaragua than in all other Central American countries, with rates of reduction akin to those observed in the Caribbean (Lipski, 2004, p. 312). The variable is likely to be realized as aspiration and deletion in casual speech, while sibilance and sibilance followed by glottal constriction are generally reserved for more formal speech, and glottal constriction is common in both casual and formal speech, depending on the speaker's age and education level (Chappell, 2015a, 2015b).[4] Also frequently commented upon is the velarization of word-final /n/ (Canfield, 1981, p. 65), with rates of velarization production at approximately 81% (Rosales Solís, 2010, p. 149).

Rosales Solís (2010) points out that non-normative stop production can be found throughout Nicaragua, with production rates varying given place of articulation: stop production is more common for /d/ than /b/, which is in turn more common than /g/ (pp. 141–142). Several scholars have also pointed out the low rates of spirantization in Nicaraguan Spanish after a consonant or semivowel (Canfield, 1981, p. 65; Lacayo, 1977, p. 5; Lipski, 1987a, p. 49; Quilis, 1999, p. 221; Quesada Pacheco, 2002, p. 71; Rosales Solis, 2010), but Lipski (2004, p. 312) indicates that, as Western Nicaragua grows increasingly exposed to external varieties of Spanish, non-normative stop production is growing less common. More agreed upon is the universality of the strongly trilled /r/ and the weak /h/ and /ʝ/ that may be elided between vowels, e.g. [tra.ˈβa.o] for *trabajo* 'work' and [ga.ˈi.na] for *gallina* 'chicken' (Canfield, 1981, p. 65; Lipski, 2004, pp. 311–313; Rosales Solís, 2008, 2010, p. 148). The extreme reduction of /ʝ/ has been shown to result in some cases of qualitative hypercorrection, e.g. [ˈmi.ʝo] for *mío* 'mine'(Lipski, 1994, p. 290). Finally, coda stops tend to be neutralized to [k], e.g. [ak.so.ˈlu.to] for *absoluto* 'absolute' (Canfield, 1981, p. 65).

4. In fact, Chappell (2014) argues that coda /s/ has been phonologically reanalyzed as coda /h/ in the minds of many Nicaraguan Spanish speakers.

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3.2 The Miskitu language and its sound system

Miskitu belongs to the Misumalpan language family, a blend of the names of its three genetically related language names: Miskitu, Sumu and Matagalpan. Sumu and Matagalpan are said to be more internally similar to each other than Miskitu, forming the sub-family Sumalpan. Sumu has two branches, Northern Sumu (broken further into the groups of Tawahka, Tuahka and Panamahka) and Southern Sumu (which only has one living language: Ulwa). The western branch of Sumalpan was comprised of Matagalpan and Cacaopera, which have both become extinct, replaced entirely with Spanish (Pineda, 2005). Reproduced below in Figure 1 is a family tree of assumed subgrouping relationships within the family (with Tawahka and Tuahka combined), as provided in Hale and Salamanca (2002, p. 8).

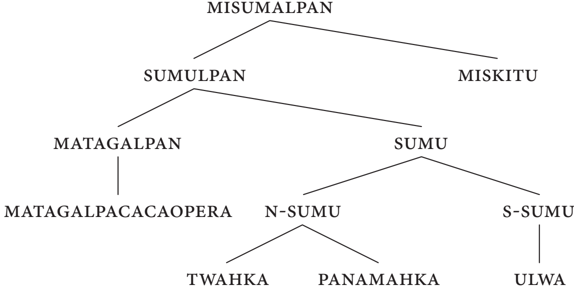

Figure 1. Assumed subgroupings in the Misumalpan language family (from Hale & Salamanca, 2002, p. 8)

In terms of present-day Miskitu phonology, Salamanca (2008) outlines the Miskitu sound system, and his tables are reproduced here in Tables 5–7, demonstrating the consonantal and vocalic phonemic inventories of Miskitu.

Table 5. Miskitu consonantal inventory (Salamanca, 2008, p. 103)

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m̥ m		n̥ n		ŋ̊ ŋ	
Stop	p b		t d		k	
Affricate						
Fricative			s			h
Lateral			l̥ l			
Flap			ɾ̥ ɾ			
Trill						

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Table 6. Miskitu vowel phonemic inventory (Salamanca, 2008, p. 102).[5]

	Front	Central	Back
Short	i	a	u
Long	i:	a:	u:

Table 7. Miskitu semivowels (Salamanca, 2008, p. 103)

	Palatal	Labiovelar
Semivowels	j	w

As shown in Tables 5–7, Miskitu differs in its consonantal inventory and includes several voiced/voiceless consonant pairs not observed in Spanish. Additionally, the vowel system does not have mid-vowels and features a durational contrast not found in Nicaraguan Spanish. Unfortunately, Salamanca (2008) notes that very little is known about the phonological processes in the language, but there is some indication that allophonic variation is relatively limited in Miskitu. However, variation is common in the Spanish spoken by the Miskitu, and Section 4 below outlines the most notable features of this variety.

4. Features of Spanish in contact with Miskitu

The present discussion of the phonological and phonetic features of Spanish in contact with Miskitu includes two sources of data. First, the results of previous work conducted along the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua are synthesized, and second, the author's own corpus is analyzed. This corpus involves a series of sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Bilwi with Spanish-speaking Miskitu in 2011 and 2012 using an H2 Zoom digital handheld recorder. These sociolinguistic interviews were conducted in two neighborhoods: Colca/Punta Fría and Libertad, which are known for their large Miskitu populations. In total, 15 speakers from 12 different families were interviewed to gather evidence of the phonetic and phonological results of Spanish in contact with Miskitu. Each interview between the researcher and the participants was between one and two hours in duration and focused on family, daily life, interests, hobbies, politics, and coastal food, music, culture, and Miskitu identity.[6]

5. Salamanca (2008, p. 103) notes that some varieties of Miskitu spoken in Honduras and Dakura, Nicaragua include phonemic nasalized vowels in the tonic syllable of the word, but little is known about these nasalized vowels.

6. It should be noted that one of the 15 speakers recorded was a linguistics professor at URACCAN, a university in Bilwi. In this sociolinguistic interview, the linguistic features of

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An attempt was made to record the interviews in a quiet setting, but the open nature of homes and multiple family members nearby made the interviews susceptible to some degree of background noise, observable in the spectrograms presented throughout Section 4. The analysis included here is the result of impressionistic observations made by the author about the features that differed from Western Nicaraguan Spanish, who jotted down particularly salient phonetic features of interest during each interview. These observations were then followed by an acoustic analysis of the noted features in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2017) to confirm the author's impressions. The most salient consonantal features of the variety are outlined in Section 4.1, and 4.2 discusses the vowel variation in Miskitu Spanish.

4.1 Consonantal variation

4.1.1 *Sound substitutions*[7]

The most salient feature of Spanish in contact with Miskitu is the substitution of certain sounds (see Weinreich, 1953) that do not have an equivalent in Miskitu, particularly among Miskitu-dominant speakers. As Tables 2 and 5 show, certain consonantal Spanish phonemes do not exist in the Miskitu language, such as /f/, /r/, /ɲ/, and /ʧ/. For Miskitu speakers who learned Spanish later in life, perceptually similar phonemes may be used to replace the Spanish phonemes, e.g. Spanish /f/ can be replaced by [p], Spanish /ʧ/ can be replaced by [ts] or [s], and Spanish /ɲ/ can be replaced by [ni], as shown in Figures 2 and 3 below.

These cases of sound substitutions are the clearest examples of direct transfer from Miskitu. Previous studies have found that sounds that are considered perceptually similar to the target sounds in the L2 are often substituted (Major, 2008, pp. 69–70), but the degree of perceived similarity may depend crucially on the L1. For example, Japanese speakers tend to substitute [s] for English /θ/, while Russians use [t], suggesting that perceptual similarity is relative and influenced by the first language. The substitution of [p] for Spanish /f/ has been observed in other contact varieties, e.g. the Spanish spoken in the Philippines (Lipski, 1987b), which indicates that the voiceless bilabial stop is considered perceptually similar to the voiceless labiodental fricative by disparate groups.

the Spanish spoken on the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua were discussed, including language attitudes, contextual language use, and language shift, diverging from the content of the other sociolinguistic interviews.

7. Rather than 'sound substitution,' 'simple identification' was employed by Haugen (1956) to refer to the same concept. I employ 'sound substitution' throughout the chapter.

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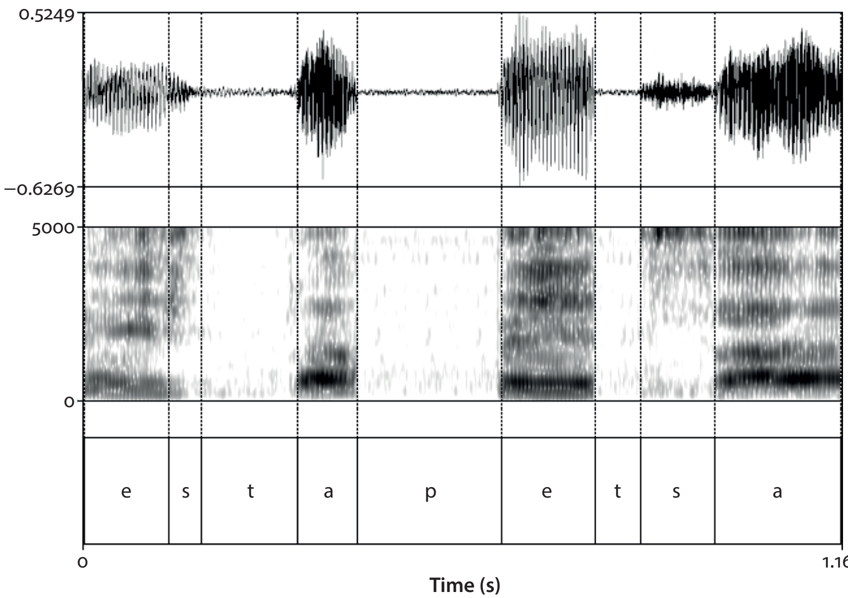

Figure 2. Sound substitutions of [p] and [ts] for /f/ and /tʃ/ in *esta fecha* 'this date.'

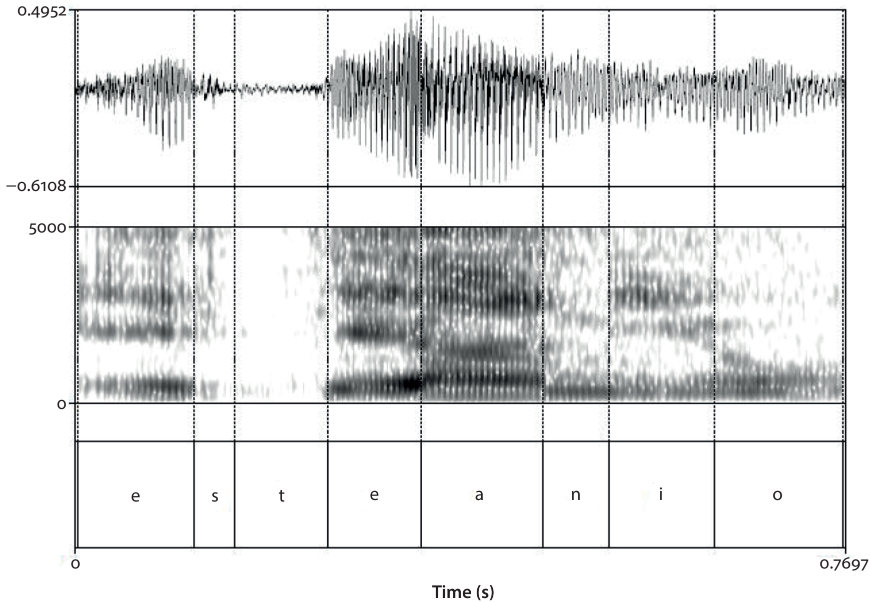

Figure 3. Sound substitution of [ni] for /ɲ/ in *este año* 'this year.'

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4.1.2 *Rhotics*

Coastal rhotics have received more attention than other phonetic/phonological features, and sound substitutions commonly take place for Spanish *vibrantes* (i.e., flaps and trills). More specifically, what would be trilled /r/ in normative Spanish can be produced as a flap on the Caribbean Coast, and both /r/ and /ɾ/ can be produced as a retroflex glide like in English (Lipski, 1994, p. 291). López Alonzo's work (2016a, 2016b) on the Spanish of Bluefields in the RAAS supports Lipski's conclusions that rhotics are highly variable. She finds that coastal speakers' native language serves as a significant predictor of rhotic production, and native speakers of indigenous languages tend to produce a great deal of fricated and approximant rhotics in word-initial and word-final position, with nearly categorical rates of approximant rhotics for what would be the simple flap in normative Spanish (López Alonzo, 2016a, pp. 133–142). The highest rate of trills for indigenous L1 speakers occurs in intervocalic positions, where a phonemic contrast between /ɾ/ and /r/ exists (2016a, p. 141), and syllable- and utterance-final rhotic strengthening has been observed in Puerto Cabezas as well (Rosales Solís, 2010, pp. 150–151). However, it is difficult to know exactly how Miskitu speakers differ from other coastal speakers, as their production has been conflated with other groups (e.g. Sumu/Ulwa or Creole speakers) in previous analyses.

Table 5 showed that the Miskitu language does have alveolar rhotics, one being voiced and the other voiceless, transcribed as <r> and <rh> respectively (Salamanca, 2008, p. 104). However, the lack of a trilled /r/ in the phonemic inventory of Miskitu may contribute to the variable productions in the Spanish spoken by the Miskitu. In the recordings analyzed for this project, there is non-normative variation between [ɾ] and [r] in intervocalic environments. Some realizations of rhotics in Caribbean Coast Spanish followed the expected paradigm of normative Spanish, as shown below in the case of *perro* 'dog'. Here, a speaker comments on his linguistic knowledge in Spanish and Miskitu, saying "Yo sé de que 'gallina' es kalila, 'perro' yo sé de que éste es yul" 'I know that 'chicken' is *kalila*, 'dog' I know this is *yul*,' and *perro* is realized with a trilled [r] involving four periods of brief tongue tip occlusion, visible in the spectrogram in Figure 4.

Two examples of non-normative word-initial rhotic pronunciation are provided in Figures 5 and 6. In these examples, the speakers produce the rhotics in Costa Rica and *realmente* 'really,' both of which would be trills in normative Spanish, as flaps. In Figure 7, a hyperarticulated trill emerges in word-final position with six noticeable occlusions, demonstrating the wide array of rhotic variation along the Caribbean Coast.

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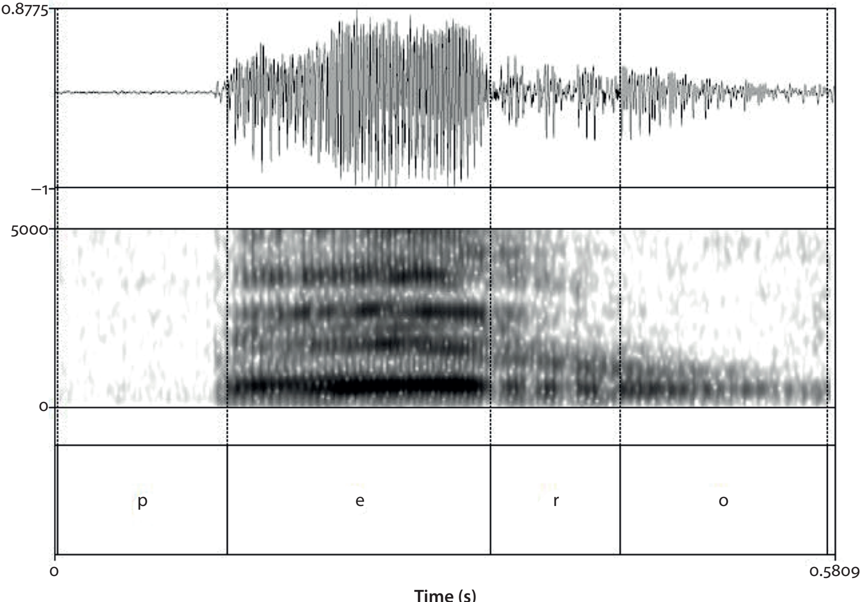

Figure 4. Trilled /r/ with four occlusions in *perro* 'dog.'

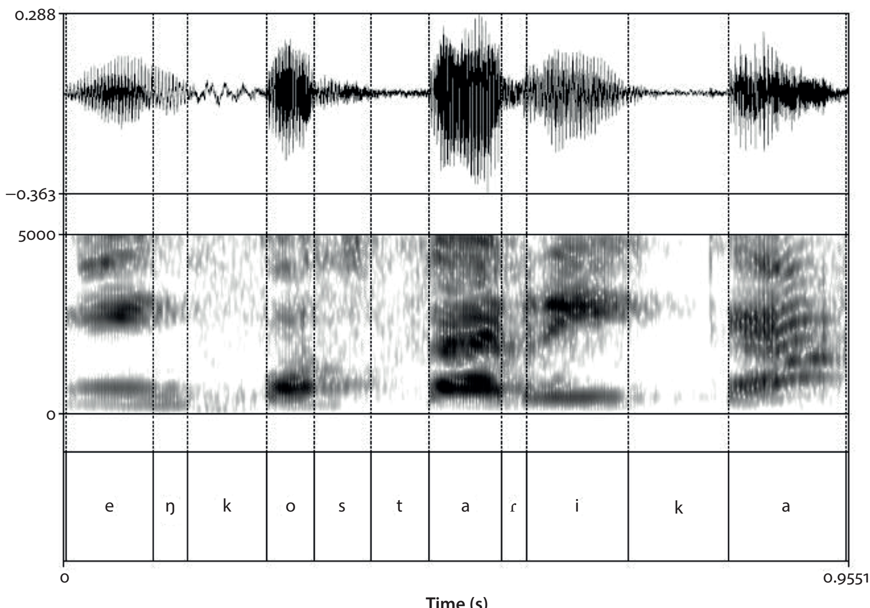

Figure 5. Non-normative word-initial rhotic production for *en Costa Rica* 'in Costa Rica.'

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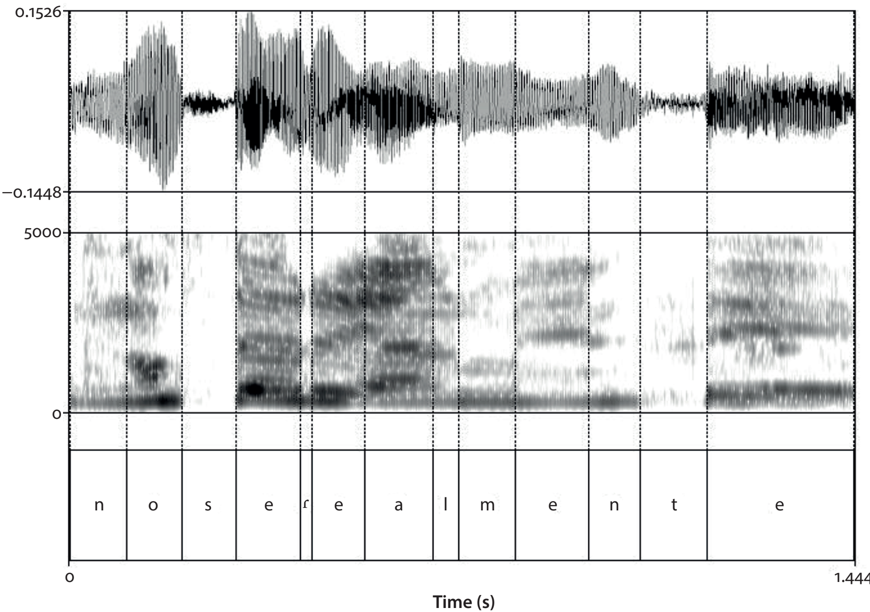

Figure 6. Word-initial /r/ produced with a simple flap in *No sé realmente* 'I don't know really.'

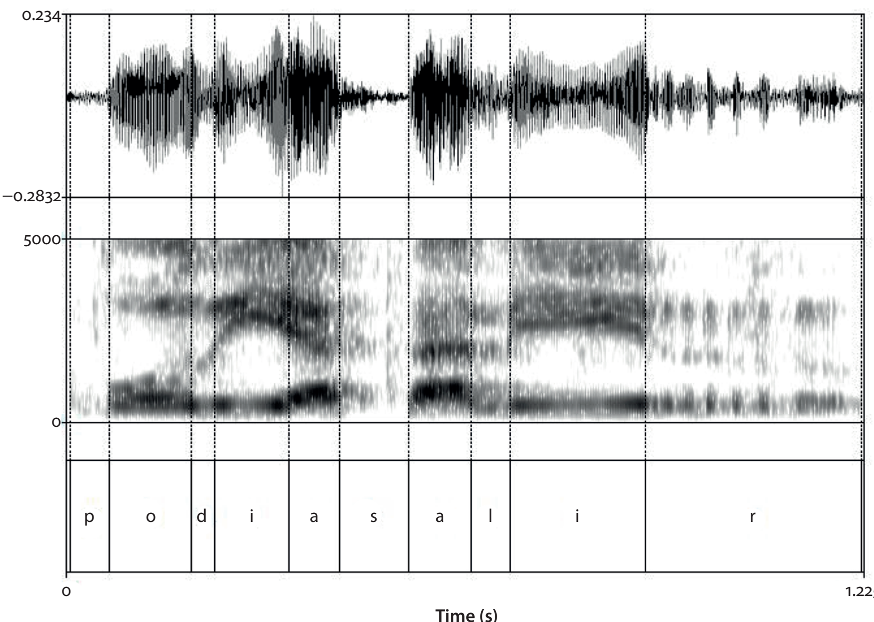

Figure 7. Hyperarticulated word-final [r] in *No podía salir* 'I couldn't go out.'

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Rhotic production is incredibly variable across varieties of Spanish, and it is no surprise to find variation in Miskitu Spanish as well, especially among Miskitu-dominant speakers. In the United States, Face (2006) has shown that even advanced Spanish learners tend to show low levels of accuracy for the Spanish trill, while their production tends to be more accurate for the tap. Although individual improvement varies (Major, 1986), learners tend to become more accurate in their production of both the trill and tap with greater proficiency (Face, 2006; Reeder, 1998), generally with greater improvement for the trill than other sounds (Elliott, 1995, 1997), perhaps due to the trill's salience.

In spite of how common rhotic variation is, it may appear surprising at first blush that variable rhotic realizations may take place even in phonologically meaningful positions, e.g. *oro* 'gold' may be realized as ['o.ro] and *borro* 'I erase' may be realized as ['bo.ɾo]. Hammond (1999, p. 147) explains that this, too, is common: he argues that the trill and tap have been neutralized in many varieties of Spanish, even intervocalically.

Still, it is unclear if the contrast has been maintained through more gradient phonetic cues, e.g. durationally, even where rhotic neutralization is perceived, as has been documented in heritage Spanish in the Chicagoland area (Henriksen, 2015), the Dominican Republic (Willis & Bradley, 2008), and Veracruz Mexican Spanish (Bradley & Willis, 2012). This issue merits further investigation in Miskitu Spanish.

4.1.3 */s/ reduction*

López Alonzo's (2016a) conclusion that rhotic realizations along the Caribbean Coast differ substantially based on coastal ethnic group suggests that phonetic production in Spanish depends crucially on the language with which Spanish is in contact. Similarly, the sound substitutions outlined in Section 4.1.1 suggest that Miskitu phonology impacts Spanish production. However, first language and language contact cannot be used as the sole explanation for why the Spanish of the Caribbean Coast deviates from Western Nicaraguan Spanish. Coda /s/ realizations in Miskitu Spanish provide an interesting example of phonetic deviations unlikely to be caused by transfer.

It has been noted that there are higher rates of coda /s/ retention on the Caribbean Coast and no documented cases of the glottal stop (Rosales Solís, 2010, pp. 145–146). In a quantitative analysis, Chappell (2016) found that early Miskitu-Spanish bilinguals weaken word-final /s/ in Spanish at the same rates and in the same environments as monolingual Managuans: both groups reduce /s/ nearly categorically with both following vowels and consonants. L1-Miskitu speakers who learned Spanish later in life also reduce coda /s/ in Spanish, but their production rates differ from monolingual Managuans. Like the monolingual group, they reduce /s/ nearly categorically in the word-final, prevocalic environment, but their reduction of /s/ only reaches approximately 50% preconsonantally.

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Chappell (2016) attributes this difference among later Spanish learners on the Caribbean Coast to the perceptual salience of /s/ reduction in cue-rich, intervocalic environments, making [h] easier to perceive, while the offset cues of coda /s/ reduction before a consonant are largely blocked. As both [s] and [h] occur in Spanish and Miskitu before vowels and consonants, the difference in pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal reduction is not clearly attributable to language contact. Rather, Chappell (2016) contends that the variable rules governing coda /s/ reduction are transformed by late learners, as they tend to negotiate the variable rules' complexity in their output (Meyerhoff & Schleef, 2013). Of course, language learners may reproduce the native variable rule like native speakers, but more often than not they behave differently (Adamson & Regan, 1991; Regan, 1996; Mougeon, Rehner, & Nadasdi, 2004), rejecting the rule entirely, applying the rule differently than native speakers, or introducing new constraints (Meyerhoff & Schleef, 2013). While L2 speech is systematic and rule- governed (Dickerson, 1975; Wolfram, 1985), the rules applied do not necessarily parallel the rules followed by native speakers.

4.1.4 */b, d, g/*

The rate of phonological replacement, non-normative rhotic variation, and coda /s/ retention preconsonantally decrease substantially for Miskitu speakers who learned Spanish early in life, but some coastal dialectal features remain regardless of Spanish proficiency. One of these features is the realization of /b/, /d/, and /g/ as stops in intervocalic environments rather than the normative approximants: [β], [ð] and [ɣ]. Some previous research has mentioned this phenomenon. Lipski (1994, p. 291), for example, notes that the pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ is often occlusive, approaching a flap in faster speech styles along the Caribbean Coast.[8] Figure 8 shows an occlusive realization of intervocalic /d/ in *como dirigentes* 'as managers.'

It should be noted that in Western Nicaragua, stop retention has been observed following consonants where approximant realizations would be expected in normative Spanish (Rosales Solís, 2010), but intervocalic stops are much less frequent in Pacific Spanish. Across varieties, these non-normative intervocalic stops have been described in the Spanish spoken in numerous contact settings, such as the Caribbean Coast of Costa Rica (Lipski, 1994, p. 224), the Philippines (Lipski, 1987b), the Andean highlands (Lipski, 1994, pp. 189, 320, 350), the Amazonian lowlands (Lipski, 1994, pp. 213, 322), and the Yucatan Peninsula (Michnowicz, 2009).[9] Additionally, /b, d, g/ stop maintenance takes place in non-contact varieties as well, including more rural dialects of Costa Rican Spanish (Lipski, 1994, p. 223)

8. It is unclear if this flap realization is more common in the Spanish of Creole speakers or if this pattern holds across ethnic groups.

9. On the Caribbean Coast of Colombia, this occlusive pronunciation of /b, d, g/ was once considered common, but it is now rare (Lipski, 1994, p. 211).

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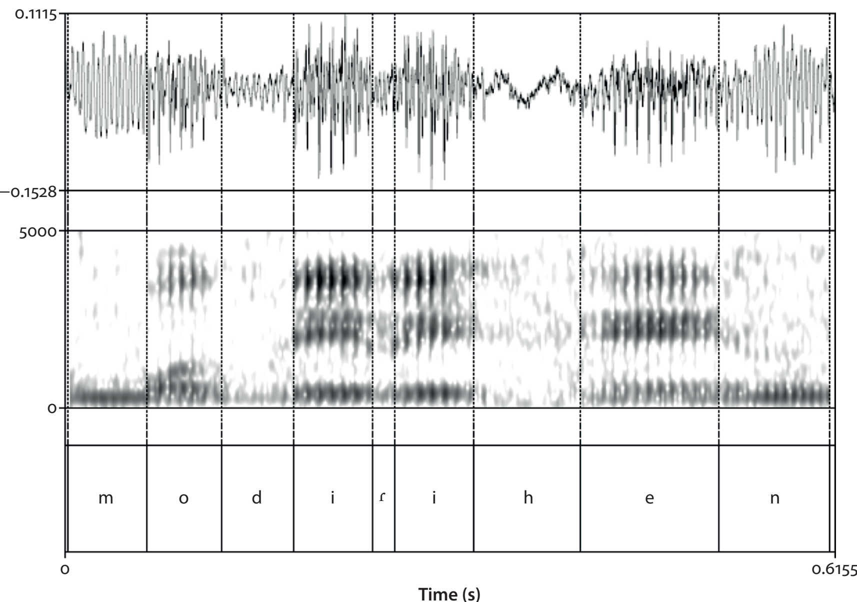

Figure 8. Portion of *como dirigentes* 'as managers' with stop [d]

and after non-nasal consonants in the Central Highlands of Colombia and in El Salvador (Lipski, 1994, p. 210, p. 258).

Finally, the author observed the palatalization of /d/ before /i/, e.g. in *idioma* 'language' and *diariamente* 'daily.' Unfortunately, virtually nothing has been written on Miskitu phonological processes, and it is not clear if the palatalization of /d/ systematically occurs before /i/ in Miskitu or if this is a case of real-time coarticulation. While rare, this feature has also been observed in *fronterizo* Spanish spoken in northern Uruguay along the border with Brazil (Lipski, 1994, p. 343).

4.1.5 *Weakening and elision*

While some features of Miskitu Spanish involve fortition, e.g. word-final rhotic strengthening, or maintenance where reduction is the norm, e.g. intervocalic stop retention, weakening and deletion processes occur as well. Previous research has shown that some of these weakening processes include [ʃ] production instead of [t͡ʃ] in Bilwi, a phenomenon that also emerges in Chinandega, Rivas, Somoto, and Estelí in Western Nicaragua (Rosales Solís, 2010, p. 149). Other variable reduction features include a tendency to elide /ʝ/ between vowels with a following stressed /i/, e.g. *milla* 'mile' as [ˈmi.a]. Additionally, /h/ is often elided, e.g. *José* might be [o.ˈse]. These reductions are not exclusive to Miskitu Spanish and occur in Western Nicaragua as well (see Rosales Solís, 2008).

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4.2 Vowel system

Having discussed some of the consonantal features of Spanish in contact with Miskitu, I turn now to the vowel system. As shown in Tables 3 and 4, the Spanish system features five vowels, /i, e, a, o, u/ and two semivowels, [j, w]. Tables 6 and 7 show that Miskitu, on the other hand, features three vowels that differ based on tongue height and retraction, /i, a, u/, and three phonemic counterparts that differ based on length: /iː, aː, uː/. Two primary differences are observable between Spanish and Miskitu: first, the durational contrasts in Miskitu do not exist in Spanish, and second, the Spanish mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ do not have an equivalent in Miskitu.

Vocalic differences in the Spanish in contact with Miskitu are not as numerous as consonantal differences, but one feature is common, particularly among Miskitu-dominant Spanish speakers: mid-vowel raising. That is, the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ are often raised to [i] and [u], particularly in unstressed syllables, e.g. *señor* 'sir' might be pronounced [si.ˈɲoɾ] or even [si.ˈɲuɾ]. An example of this vowel raising is provided in Figure 9 below in the context of *No dicen nada* 'They don't say anything.' The spectrogram shows that the F1 (a measurement that reflects vowel height) of both the first and second vowel of *dicen* 'they say' involve approximately the same degree of tongue raising (289 versus 290 Hz, respectively).

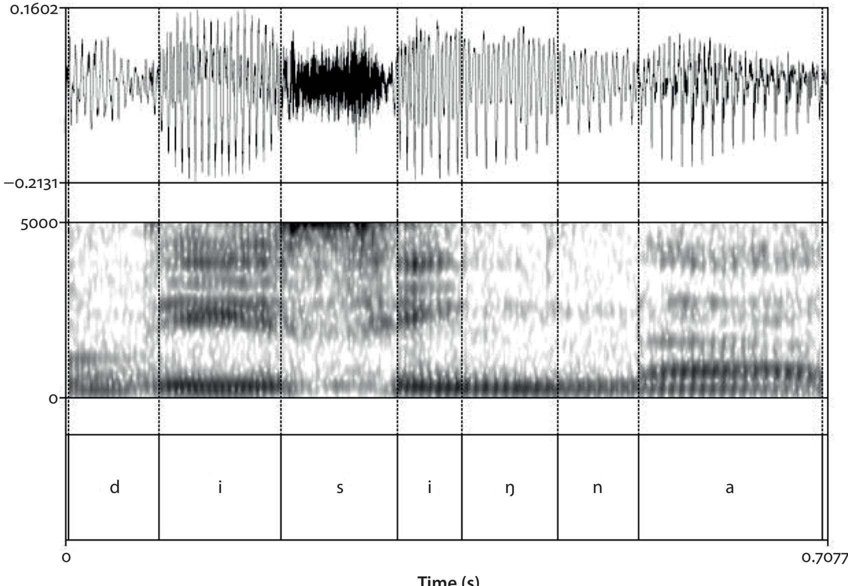

Figure 9. Waveform and spectrogram showing mid-vowel raising in *no dicen nada* 'They don't say anything.'

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Other cases of vowel raising from the author's corpus include *además* 'additionally,' *antes* 'before,' *decir* 'to say,' *la comida* 'food,' *viven* 'they live,' *novecientos* 'nine hundred,' *ejemplo* 'example,' *dije* 'I said,' and *escribir* 'to write,' among many others. Mid-vowel raising has been found in other Spanish contact varieties, namely in the Andean region where Spanish is in contact with Quechua/Quichua (Babel, 2014; Guion, 2003; O'Rourke, 2010), which features a three-phoneme vowel system: /a, i, u/. In addition to mid-vowel raising, a hypercorrection phenomenon in which the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are lowered to /e/ and o/ has been observed as well (Cerrón-Palomino, 2003, pp. 37–64). Interestingly, the same hypercorrection phenomenon appears when Spanish is in contact with Miskitu. For example, one late learner produces *subiendo* 'going up' as [so.ˈbjen̪.do].

While this mid-vowel raising may be attributed to language contact, it should be mentioned that mid-vowel raising is quite common in the history of Ibero-Romance languages. The phenomenon coalesced in Portuguese and certain dialects of Asturian-Leonese (Lipski, 2011, p. 83). In modern varieties of monolingual Mexican Spanish (Barajas, 2016), Dominican Spanish (Willis, 2008), and Puerto Rican Spanish (Holmquist, 2001, 2003, 2005; Oliver Rajan, 2007) mid-vowel raising takes place but is associated with rural speech and negative prestige (Lipski, 2011, 1983, p. 83), e.g. *bote* > bot[i] 'boat' or *Nacho* > Nach[u]. As mid-vowel raising takes place in the historical development of Ibero-Romance, monolingual varieties, and contact varieties, it is difficult to attribute the feature in Miskitu Spanish exclusively to language contact over a common tendency to maximize vowel space.

5. Concluding thoughts

This chapter has focused on the phonological and phonetic features of Spanish in contact with Miskitu on the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua. The variety has largely been compared to normative Spanish, and such a comparison may engender, even among descriptive linguists, the presumption that Miskitu Spanish is a deviation from the norm rather than the natural result of cultures, histories, peoples, and languages in contact. The purpose of this analysis has not been to highlight "deficiencies" or "defects" of the Spanish spoken along the Caribbean Coast, particularly by the Miskitu people, but rather to point out its unique features and patterns in light of its unparalleled history of isolation from Spanish colonizers and contact with other European, African, and American groups.

Transfer from Miskitu in the form of sound substitutions, transformation of variable rules under transfer, and phonetic patterns observed in other multilingual and monolingual varieties of Spanish are common in Bilwi. Some features can be easily attributed to contact from the Miskitu language, for example the

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substitution of [p] for /f/, while other phonological features' origins are less certain, e.g. vowel raising, as they may be the result of transfer but could also be motivated by language-internal factors. While the features of Miskitu Spanish are unique when taken together, this chapter has attempted to highlight that these same features appear in other varieties of bilingual and monolingual Spanish. In other words, the uniqueness of Miskitu Spanish clearly falls within the norms of expected linguistic variation in the Spanish-speaking world.

Much linguistic research is needed along the Caribbean Coast, and future studies could investigate any number of fascinating topics. For example, linguists should delve into comparisons based on Spanish-proficiency to determine if these features fade from Miskitu Spanish with greater proficiency or if they continue to mark the variety even in the speech of the most proficient Miskitu. Additionally, more detailed analyses of Miskitu phonological processes would shed light on the degree to which certain Spanish features are the result of transfer or coarticulatory phenomena unrelated to Miskitu. Perception studies would also help determine to what extent each phonetic feature of Miskitu Spanish is salient to local listeners and if they can distinguish between local features and Western Nicaraguan features. Undoubtedly, the Caribbean Coast offers an excellent opportunity to investigate language contact phenomena, and I hope the present paper has provided a starting point for future research.

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SECTION III

Language ideologies, business and pedagogical implications

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CHAPTER 9

Español neutro and marketing in Latin American and U.S. audiovisual media

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This chapter has a descriptive and a theoretical aim. The descriptive aim involves elucidation of the term *neutro* in different contexts and analysis of phonetic/phonological features usually associated with the type of "neutral" Spanish as marketed by global media conglomerates. The theoretical aim is to link this Spanish "from nowhere" with issues of standardization and with globalization-related concepts such as anonymity, commodification, agency, and disembedding. Data come from publicly available interviews of dubbing professionals, coaching videos on "neutralization" of a local accent, and excerpts of TV show dubbings previously outsourced by Miami-based conglomerates, in tandem with Bogotá and Mexico DF, to other Latin American countries.

Keywords: neutral Spanish, global media conglomerates, dubbing, Miami, Latin America

1. Introduction

It is common to hear speakers from different Latin American countries declaring that they speak a neutral (*neutro*) kind of Spanish. There seem to be three interpretations of what people refer to as *neutro*, according to who is using the term and in what context the term is used:

a. A folk interpretation of *neutro*, in the sense of Preston (2002 and earlier work), among others, which refers to non-linguists' perceptions and attitudes towards speech styles and their inextricable connection with judgments about the speaker or a community of speakers.
b. A broadcast interpretation of *neutro*, akin to such terms as global, international, universal, world or common Spanish.
c. A business-crafted interpretation of *neutro* (originating from (a) and (b) and put through an extra level of "neutralization," and which I will be calling "marketing *neutro*" (MN), as is discussed in detail in Section 4.

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This paper focuses on the interpretation in (c), i.e., marketing *neutro*, its phonetic/phonological characteristics, its role in TV networks' marketing decisions and its relevance in the dubbing business, which is the principal vehicle of dissemination of the MN.

2. Phonetic variation in Latin America and the ideology of the standard

Regional variation in the pronunciation of Spanish plays a central role in the present paper, as it focuses on data appearing in audiovisual media. The way different Spanish speakers perceive one another's regional variety almost always involves reference to differences in pronunciation (although cf. Section 5.2.1 for reference to morphosyntactic variation). For example, Montes-Alcalá (2011) found that the reason for the relative degree of prestige that participants ascribed to the speech of other varieties was 53% related to phonetic or phonological features, with lexical features a distant second at 36%, and the morphosyntactic features received the smallest amount of evaluative judgments. Other evaluative judgments of the speech of others had to do with clarity and speed or rate of speech. So, again, the phonological reason for judging speech figures prominently in the perception of others' spoken discourse.

2.1 Phonetic variation

It is worth mentioning at the outset that there is rarely an exact overlap between dialectal areas of Spanish and national borders (cf. Penny, 2004; Lipski, 2011b, among others). Therefore, one may find, for example, great variation within one country (e.g. Colombia) and, at the same time, find that certain features are shared across a border between countries (e.g. between Buenos Aires, Argentina and Montevideo, Uruguay). In speaking about Latin American Spanish, Lipski (1994) remarks that there is no single pan-Hispanic norm, nor is there a variety that is considered the best. He also notes that the only overarching indicator of higher prestige across Latin American dialects is the strict adherence to the one-to-one correspondence between sound (pronunciation) and spelling (orthography). Guitart (1978) distinguishes between conservative dialects, which are those whose pronunciation is closer to orthography, and radical dialects, which are those that depart from that one-to-one correspondence by deleting or modifying segments, especially in coda or final position. Some examples are aspiration or elimination of coda /s/ (either syllable or word finally) and neutralization of /l/ and /r/ in coda position, among other processes.

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It should be noted that the prestige of conservative varieties is not directly correlated to educational level since there are speakers who are very conservative in their pronunciation and yet their educational level is low. According to Lipski (2011a, p. 73), "by far the most common modification of Spanish coda consonants involves aspiration to [h], deletion, and other instances of weakening of coda /s/" and "well over half of the world's Spanish speakers use dialects in which there is at least some /s/ reduction, making this process perhaps the most robust phonetic differentiator of regional and social dialects." Within each regional variety, especially if seen as coinciding with national borders, there are different social meanings ascribed to the weakening of coda consonants (especially with respect to deletion, rather than aspiration), however I will not explore this issue here. Rather, I look at attitudes towards pronunciation cross-dialectally in Latin America because marketing *neutro* (MN) is produced in Miami with both U.S. and Latin American Spanish-speakers in mind.

Montes-Alcalá (2011, p. 45) found that 63% of participants identified the Caribbean variety as the least prestigious one. This is an important piece of information, because the majority of Spanish speakers living in Miami, where most production studios are located, belong to the Caribbean variety. Related to this contradictory situation, Valencia and Lynch (2016, p. 182) document Cuban reactions to the disparity between Caribbean and TV varieties in the Miami Hispanic channel América TeVé.

2.2 Speed and clarity of speech

Marketing *neutro* relies on a slower rate of speech. The importance of rate of speech is underscored by Kendall (2013, p. 17), who also reminds us that speech rate seems to be indexed socio-linguistically by remarking that "notions of rate differences are central to popular beliefs about dialect difference." He further adds that "people perceive different languages, different dialects, and even different talkers and stretches of talk as having different rates," and concludes that "from a social perspective, these perceptions appear to be influential in listeners' judgments of talkers" (p. 17). With respect to Spanish, File-Muriel and Brown (2011) indicate that the faster the rate of speech, the higher the likelihood that more /s/ weakening will occur; thus, slowed-down speech will not contain aspiration, for example. Relatedly, some of the phonological characteristics of MN show disregard for Spanish phonotactics occurring at word boundaries like sinalepha and resyllabification, which is a possible consequence of slowed down speech, as discussed in Section 4.

To my knowledge, the concept of clear speech has been mostly researched for English. Smiljanic and Bradlow (2007, p. 661) explain that "clear speech is an

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intelligibility-enhancing mode of speech production." Clear speech, according to these authors, is a mode of speech that speakers

> naturally and spontaneously adopt under adverse listening conditions. It is characterized by a wide range of acoustic/ articulatory adjustments, including a decrease in speaking rate, an expansion of pitch range and an enhancement of phonological category contrasts in language-specific ways. These plain-to-clear speech articulatory modifications enhance intelligibility for normal-hearing and hearing-impaired adults, children with and without learning disabilities and non-native listeners, among others. (p. 661)

One of the articulatory strategies implemented by speakers is hyperarticulation and it is easy to see how, in the case at hand, the desired goal of "clear Spanish" by media producers would include hypertarticulation of coda consonants, especially coda /s/. With the preceding discussion in mind, it is safe to assume that hyperarticulation accompanied by a slower rate of speech would likely result in a change to the nature of word boundary processes (i.e., sinalepha and resyllabification). Ahrens (2004) writes a *Washington Post* article, which includes an interview with James McNamara, a *Telemundo* executive at the time. The piece contains many specific references to speech rate and how speakers of different dialects articulate while speaking. Here are some examples from the article; relevant key words alluding to clear speech appear in bold:

(1) Telemundo "is aiming for the Spanish equivalent of the English-speaking local news **broadcaster** sound – a **well-paced, accent-free patter** that's pretty much the same, whether the anchors work in New York, Ohio or Los Angeles." It is unclear whether this statement refers to a plan to follow English-like suprasegmental features.

(2) "Mexican Spanish, Telemundo says, hits a middle ground between Colombian Spanish, which the network considers **too fast and terse,** and some Caribbean accents that are **too slow and imprecise**. Telemundo executives say Mexican Spanish is the broadest-appeal, **easiest-to-understand Spanish** – if Telemundo's coaches can **iron ou**t its typical **sing-song cadence.**"

(3) McNamara says that "[t]he thing I cannot tolerate, and it's happened to us in the past, we've put on a *telenovela* that creatively is great but you do your research and viewers say it's so **difficult to understand because they're speaking so fast,** or that the accent is off-putting."

(4) "Telemundo has been employing on-set dialogue coaches to 'neutralize' the many national and regional Spanish accents of the network's actors."

In a related article from the Puerto Rico Herald by Michael Melia (2005), in the context of McNamara's goal for *telenovela* actors to obtain the "same even patter"

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(a notion mentioned elsewhere in relation to broadcast news), McNamara talks of "**clipped** South American accents or more **languid** Caribbean accents." The executive further remarks on the variation among countries whose "**speed, and rhythm** tend to vary" and, probably referring to U.S. broadcast news, "all that you see in television is that there is a **speed of diction that is neutral**," likening the quest for "TV neutral" (as he describes it) to "making it easier for an American to watch a movie from Scotland. I want to make sure that when we put effort into our production, we don't create obstacles." [1]

It is useful at this time to include definitions of some of the bolded terms above: **iron out** (*to make smooth or flat by or as if by pressing*), **cadence** (a. *rhythmic sequence or flow of sounds in language*; b. *the beat, time, or measure of rhythmical motion or activity*), **terse** (*abrupt*); **singsong** (a. (*of a person's voice) having a repeated rising and falling rhythm*; b. *having a monotonous cadence or rhythm*); **clipped** (*of speech- having short, sharp vowel sounds and clear pronunciation*), **languid** (*slow and relaxed*). It is evident that the previous (bolded) evaluative judgments of non-specialists mostly refer to suprasegmental features of speech; that is, not to individual sounds but to rhythm, melody, speech rate and clarity (a vaguer term when no other definition is available). My initial intuition upon examining MN was that the need to "neutralize" came mainly from the rejection of the weakening of coda /s/. However, as discussed above, if speech rate is slowed down in MN, it is very likely that it will affect individual segments, making the resulting product closer to what is known as careful speech. Careful speech is usually associated with broadcast news and not with telenovelas, thus producing an odd effect whenever the context does not call for careful style.

2.3 Ideology of the standard: Correctness, authority and uniformity

As Milroy and Milroy (2012) remark, languages with millions of speakers and a written form, like Spanish, are always assumed to have a standard variety, and speakers of those languages are said to live in a standard language culture. In a standard language culture, there are always forms that are right and forms that are wrong; the ideology of the standard is enforced by authority (academies of the language, school system, dictionaries, style manuals for journalists and even literary figures), thus making sure correctness is maintained to prevent the "decay"

1. The article lacks more context in relation to some statements by McNamara given that the reader can seldom tell whether McNamara's quotes relate to broadcast news or *telenovelas*. My conclusion is that this stems from McNamara's objective of having *telenovela* actors sounding like newscasters, in what he terms "TV neutral," thus blurring the boundaries between the two different genres.

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of the language. Speakers, unconscious of these pressures from above, accept as common sense everything that the standard language culture defines as correct. Further, they state that in a standard language culture "a community's language is a property of that community, and a person's language develops as a part of who that person is as a member of society." Milroy and Milroy (2012) continue the discussion by arguing that "the knowledge of right and wrong applies to language use" and, therefore, "what is unlawful is the violation of correct usage as prescribed by special authorities," which underscores the popular perception that regular structure solely exists in the standard language. These authors further express that "variant forms don't have regular structure, and they don't count anyway, even though they may be quaint and interesting."

Language attitudes are based on communal beliefs about their own language and language in general. In the case of Spanish, the strict one-to-one correspondence of orthography with pronunciation seems to be one of those widely held beliefs that equate invariance of pronunciation with correctness; as Guitart (1978) points out, lack of correspondence is interpreted by lay people as incorrect. Lay interpretations are related to what I have termed *Folk neutro*, i.e., type (a) in the Introduction section, which involves the set of beliefs held by non-specialists, and it is intimately connected with the strict adherence to sound/spelling alignment. Likewise, *neutro* is already a subjective term that has developed in speakers' consciousness after hearing messages from "authorative" sources. Obviously, there is no technical linguistic measure that can verify the degree of "neutrality" amongst different varieties.

In drawing a parallel between language and production of standard products (e.g. soup cans or weights and measures nomenclatures), Milroy (2001, p. 531) refers to standardization as "the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects," and he further emphasizes that uniformity of usage has been "institutionally imposed on preexisting convergence states of language" (p. 534). He also maintains that "uniformity is desirable for social and economic reasons" since standardized forms have higher value in the linguistic market (cf. Bourdieu, 1991). Speaking about standardization in general, Milroy further remarks that standardization "leads to greater efficiency of any kind" (p. 547). Lay people's perceptions of speech, then, arise from a set of important common beliefs in a culture so every member of that culture will assume that these beliefs about correctness are true. Before turning to the in-depth discussion of MN, I will explore further the other two interpretations discussed in the introduction.

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3. The three types of *neutro*

3.1 Folk neutro

As discussed in Section 2, *folk neutro* concerns lay people's common beliefs about Spanish. In the case at hand, a correctness belief is ascribed to the one-to-one correspondence between orthography and pronunciation, and an incorrectness belief is placed upon non-matching graphemes and sounds.

3.2 Broadcast neutro

This sense, listed as type (b) in the introduction, is akin to global or international Spanish as described by Mar-Molinero and Paffey (2011), Del Valle (2014), in other works by Mar-Molinero, and elsewhere.

I would like to highlight the case of an Argentinian media law regulating language used in subtitling and dubbing because there seems to be an apparent fusion of features belonging to broadcast or "general Spanish" with slow careful speech. Petrella (1998) reports that the law had a commercial purpose to facilitate the export of a product to as many markets as possible. Even though the focus in this paper is on dubbing, the application of a "common Spanish" (as discussed above) also included written subtitling and technical or business written translations. To that end, any national linguistic idiosyncrasies were to be left out of the final product. Petrella further adds that no linguistics specialist was consulted either in the process of drafting the law or later for enforcement purposes. The law was first passed in 1986, modified in 1988 and ratified in 2014. In the section of the wiki on *doblajes* (dubbing), the following statement for Article 1 appears (this is the only section of the law that alludes to the concept of *neutro*): "El doblaje deberá ser realizado en idioma castellano *neutro*, según su uso corriente en nuestro país, pero comprensible para todo el público de la América hispanohablante." Two years later, in 1988, the following amendment further clarified the concept (obviously responding to a complaint about vagueness): "Se entenderá por idioma castellano neutro al hablar puro, fonética, sintáctica y semánticamente, conocido y aceptado por todo el público hispanohablante, libre de modismos y expresiones idiomáticas de sectores."

The addendum is still vague because it clearly originates from non-specialist attitudes towards language. This sense of *neutro* was probably intended to mean standard vs. colloquial but it was taken to an extreme, for commercial purposes. In 2014, there was more regulation as to what national agency would enforce the law's application, and the government at the time encouraged public celebrations on the premise that the law would promote the creation of new jobs for "national" actors.

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For purposes of this paper, I only mentioned this law insofar as it illustrates how an institutional decision (authority, as in Milroy, 2001) triggered a flurry of business ventures devoted to coaching speakers on *neutro*; more concretely, *marketing neutro* (MN), as preparation for work in dubbing, telemarketing and international call centers, which included coaching videos, Internet advice on *neutro,* private coaching classes and so on. I argue that *neutro* types (a), *folk neutro,* and (b), *broadcast neutro*, feed into type (c) or *marketing neutro* (MN), which is described in its own separate section (4) given that it is the focus of this paper.

4. The *marketing neutro* (MN)

The following discussion applies to marketing *neutro* and broadcast *neutro,* since they are both equally rooted in the "ideology of the standard," as Milroy (2001 and elsewhere) theorizes.

4.1 Phonetic and phonological elements

4.1.1 *Rate of speech*

Speech rate in MN is very important and it is part of a general "clear speech" strategy by the networks, as can be deduced from *Telemundo*'s statements. At any rate, this seems to be the kind of strategy involved in the creation of a standard packaging (as discussed above in relation to Milroy, 2001).

4.1.2 *Non-Spanish phonotactics*

In addition to the avoidance of weakening coda consonants in MN (which is also a characteristic of conservative dialects) and slower speech rate, MN in dubbings displays word-boundary effects that are not present in either conservative or radical dialects of Spanish. The (a) examples below illustrate the common processes of resyllabification (6), when a final consonant is linked with the initial vowel of the following word, and sinalepha in (7) and (8). Sinalepha is a process whereby contiguous vowels in different syllables are pronounced in one syllable. There are two possible results of sinalepha, depending on whether the neighboring vowels are identical, in which case they fuse into one vowel (7a), or whether the vowels are different sounds. Non-identical vowels can then diphthongize, as in (8a) or not, or in some cases result in a triphthong. My examples illustrate the most problematic cases of *neutro*'s non-alignment with natural Spanish phonotactics, as the (b) examples in the following pairs show:

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(6) a. los usos [lo. ˈsu.sos]
b. los usos [los.ˈu.sos] no resyllabification

(7) a. la alfombra [lal.ˈfom.bɾa]
b. la alfombra [la.al.ˈfom. bɾa] no sinalepha resulting in fusion

(8) a. me interesa [mejn.te.ˈɾe.sa]
b. me interesa [me. in.te.ˈɾe.sa] no sinalepha resulting in a diphthong

These are exactly the kinds of processes which Guitart (1978) argues are rejected by learners of L2 Spanish, making them more conservative than speakers from conservative dialects.[2] No Spanish dialect, however conservative, is devoid of assimilatory phenomena, in which segments adopt at least some of the features of the segments they are in contact with (Guitart, 1978, p. 58). The following examples from dubbed TV shows are illustrative of the features I have just discussed, including links with the exact time at which the examples occur:

(9) No sinalepha
a. tu __ejército 3:50 *Stargate 1*-Syfy-NBC Universe <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oz4VN3awEJ8>
b. mi __ a'[b]ue.la 1:53 *Sid, el niño científico* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kws7CRQRegQ>

(10) No resyllabification
a. los | ojos 5:13 *Hi 5*, in Discovery Kids – Discovery en español <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oz4VN3awEJ8>
b. Buenas noches | hijos 6:00 *Mil y una noches*, episode 125 <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x6cx98b>

(11) No sinalepha resulting in fusion of identical vowels
a. Mi siguiente__evolución 0:46 *Dragon Ball Z* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fmBxgUWcwe4>
b. presta__atención 2:06 *Bob Esponja* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tgPyYum3bIs>
c. la__abuela 2:04 *Sid, el niño científico*
d. los niños, ¿qué va __ a pasar? 6: 26 *Mil y una noches* <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x6cx98b>

2. A reviewer appropriately points out that this might vary, depending on whether such processes take place in the learner's first language (L1).

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4.1.3 *Other sounds*

Beyond the odd phonotactics mentioned above, other observed features of MN are:

1. *The v/b distinction in pronunciation.* It does not occur, systematically, in any variety of Spanish but it may exist in contexts where Spanish is in contact with other languages (with Catalán in Spain, with Portuguese on the Uruguay – Brazil border, with Guaraní in Paraguay (Trovato, 2018) and with English in the USA; or in varieties that preserved voiced labiodental during the 16th century (e.g. in Andalucía) and were then carried over to other parts of the globe (Judeo-Spanish, cf. Hualde, Olarrea, Escobar & Travis, 2010, p. 413) and to the Americas, where the voiced labiodental [v] remained in Traditional New Mexican Spanish and Isleño in Louisana (Hualde et al., 2010, pp. 466–7). There is scarce information and no large-scale studies of U.S. Spanish phonology (Trovato, 2018, p. 24), although occurrences of labiodental pronunciation of the grapheme <v> are attested in New Mexico, due to contact with English and also stemming from earlier Spanish varieties, viz. the archaic [v] (Torres Cacoullos & Ferreira, 2000).
2. *Intervocalic voiced stops [bdg] instead of approximants [βðɣ].* Spanish features an important process of lenition of voiced stops into approximants, not available for English as allophones of stops. Still, the voiced stops lose that allophonic variation in MN. At first sight, some of these phenomena could be attributed to contact with English, although much more research is needed for that assumption to have any solid basis. Hualde et al. (2010, p. 408) mention the preservation of stops after consonants and glides "in parts of Central America, in Colombia and the Andean region."

The following sections provide some background on the mechanics of the dubbing process, the relationships between the different global TV networks and the role of MN.

5. U.S. Latino and Latin American multimedia networks

The first topic discussed in this section includes a review of the industry related to the main topic of this paper; namely, dubbing, TV marketing (commercials), service call centers, and telemarketing. According to Sinclair (2005), there were at least three big corporations in Miami that handled production, distribution of dubbing and subtitling: the Cisneros' group (comprised of Mexican and Venezuelan groups), Coral Pictures-Venezuela and their associated groups, and Tepuy productions-Colombia. But the media market and global networks scene

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is in a constant state of flux. In 2019, the dominance of the Cisneros' group continues <http://www.cisneros.com>. Coral Pictures-Venezuela underwent several name changes and closures by the Venezuelan government and is now RCTV Producciones and RCTV Internacional, which have headquarters in Caracas and offices in Miami and Houston.

A year after Sinclair's 2005 publication, Tepuy productions was acquired by Telemundo Communications Group, becoming an internal division for producing original content as Telemundo Internacional, which became Telemundo Global Studios in 2018 as part of NBCUniversal Telemundo Enterprises, under Comcast as the parent company. Independent studios like The Kitchen in Miami <https://www.thekitchen.tv> often share dubbing production with other companies, as a recent joint venture with the Cisneros group demonstrates (Korn, 2015). Below, I discuss some of the main dubbing and production structures located in Miami and, in Section 5.2, I present a panorama of Latino TV networks and corporations in the USA.[3]

5.1 The dubbing journey

Production companies often outsource to Latin American countries in search of voice talents. First, a casting process is carried out to find the right voice actors. In a publicly available interview at a dubbing studio in Chile (DINT), typical stages in the process were explained:

1. Spanish script is sent to Latin American countries; most prominently to Southern Cone countries and Venezuela (at least, during times prior to the current political situation).
2. The South American dubbing companies send recordings by several local voice actors who have been trained in MN.
3. Production studios in Miami decide on the best voice for the job.
4. The final product is then shown in the USA and Latin America.

In sum, dubbings are made in Latin America, selected or perhaps modified in Miami, and then distributed to U.S. Spanish networks or in Latin America. These different paths, along which producers, content originators, and dubbing and

3. Valencia and Lynch (2016) present interviews with network staff in Miami, including actors, accent instructors, and a former TV news editor. They also provide information about the U.S. Hispanic TV market. Their research was published at the same time I was developing this essay; thus, there are some intersecting elements in both of our works.

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subtitling agencies move, call for an exploration of the dubbing industry scene from the perspective of globalization theory. I will take up this issue in Section 6. The figures below illustrate a typical configuration of the production process. Figure 1 involves the Spanish dubbing of a show from Discovery Kids (original audience: USA; additional audience: most countries in Latin America). Figure 2 shows a slightly different process because the original production is from Turkey so the dubbing is from Turkish into Spanish:

Figure 1. Children's show dubbed in three different countries (Doblaje Wiki, retrieved 2017)

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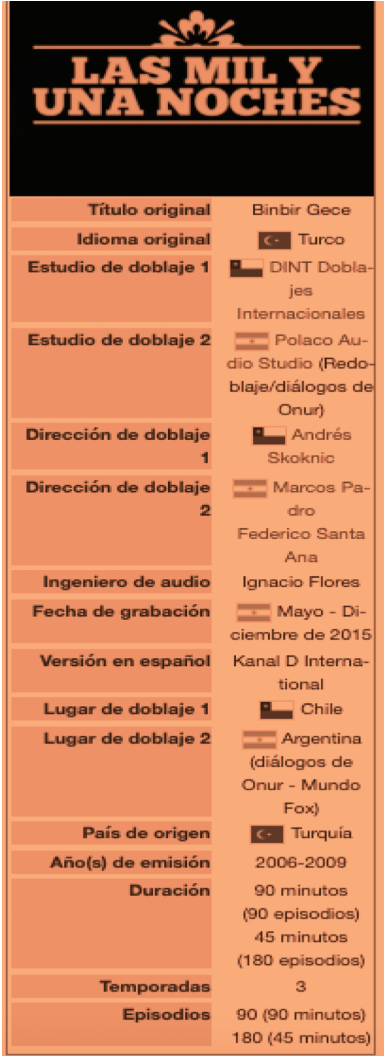

LAS MIL Y UNA NOCHES

Título original	Binbir Gece
Idioma original	Turco
Estudio de doblaje 1	DINT Doblajes Internacionales
Estudio de doblaje 2	Polaco Audio Studio (Redoblaje/diálogos de Onur)
Dirección de doblaje 1	Andrés Skoknic
Dirección de doblaje 2	Marcos Padro Federico Santa Ana
Ingeniero de audio	Ignacio Flores
Fecha de grabación	Mayo - Diciembre de 2015
Versión en español	Kanal D International
Lugar de doblaje 1	Chile
Lugar de doblaje 2	Argentina (diálogos de Onur - Mundo Fox)
País de origen	Turquía
Año(s) de emisión	2006-2009
Duración	90 minutos (90 episodios) 45 minutos (180 episodios)
Temporadas	3
Episodios	90 (90 minutos) 180 (45 minutos)

Figure 2. Soap opera from Turkey dubbed into Spanish in Chile and Argentina (Doblaje Wiki, retrieved 2018)

Finally, the motivation of global conglomerates for including MN and conservative dialects is clear. "For McNamara, who was born in Panama, the son of a Defense Department contractor, embracing the Mexican dialect is good business. About 80 percent of Telemundo's potential audience – households whose viewing habits are monitored by Nielsen – is Mexican." Elsewhere, McNamara, as quoted by Ahrens (2004), states that "Commercials on the *telenovelas* account for nearly 60 percent of Telemundo's total revenue."

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In addition, Mexico is the Spanish-speaking country that is geographically closest to the USA and, further, the pioneering Mexican dubbing industry started in the 1940s for dubbing Hollywood movies into Spanish that were then distributed across Latin America. I have presented an overview of MN's phonetic/phonological characteristics and its departure from pan-dialectal phonotactics, its role in business and programming decisions, its standardization for economic reasons (in the mass production sense, as in Milroy (2001), and the efforts made towards a uniform pronunciation for actors. Not everything is as unpalatable as MN, though. Networks are indeed aware of regional differences and of public attitudes against MN. Therefore, they are trying different strategies to reach as many viewers as possible in the Spanish-speaking market, as detailed by Gómez (2016), as will be described in the next section.

5.2 Latino TV networks in the United States

Gómez (2016) proposes a graphic representation (Figure 3) of how TV contents are exchanged in the Spanish-speaking market in the Americas and the USA.

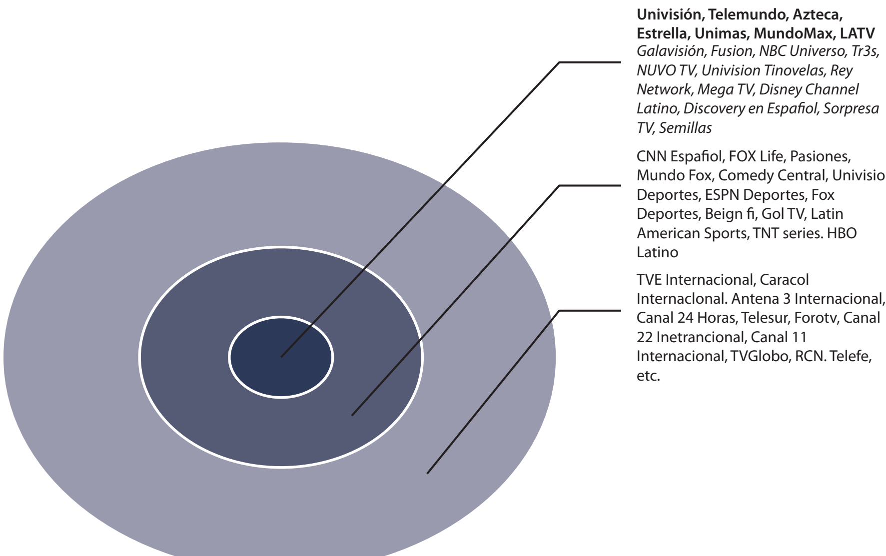

Figure 3. Latino core, semiperiphery, and periphery TV networks and cable channels in the USA. (Gómez, 2016, p. 2820)

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The core circle includes national broadcasting TV networks and national cable channels based in the USA, whose main concern is U.S. Latino audiences (in English and Spanish, or both), for whom they produce fiction, news, sports, and entertainment; they carry the largest Latino viewership. The semi-peripheral circle consists of U.S. cable channels with a simulcast Spanish version and/or shared productions with channels in Latin American countries; their audience has some link with U.S. Latinos and wider audiences through pay TV or premium channels in Latin America. Finally, the peripheral circle comprises international signals of national TV channels from different Spanish-speaking countries; with audiences in individual countries and the rest of Latin America or the USA, depending on the availability of premium channels in the USA. Gómez's (2016) concentric characterization is not static but

> must be understood as a dynamic process; it could happen that one of the channels and its content could transition or be relocated to different parts of the cycles proposed. For example, *Fox Deportes* and *MundoFox* started as core Latino channels, but over time, and with the aim to reach more audiences according to company strategies, those channels relocated to attract Latin American audiences as well, and thus moved from the nucleus to the boundaries of the Latino TV semiperiphery. (p. 2820)

It is interesting that within each of these circles, one can find different ways of approaching dubbing or generation of original content. Even though Gómez does not mention what kind of Spanish is involved in each of the circles, he has indicated whether the delivery of content is in Spanish or English for example, as alluded to above for each circle. One can find some perfect matches between linguistic varieties and each of the circles, due to the different formats with which each network works.

5.2.1 *Linguistic profile of each of Gomez's circles and representative channels*

Our examples with the least Spanish-like phonotactics, as discussed in Section 4, are found in the core circle. Those are programs with MN, dubbed products, or Discovery Kids in English. *Sid the science kid* (Figure 1) was originally produced by Discovery Kids in English, and then it was dubbed as part of *Discovery en español*. At the core level, one can also find the *Mundo Max* channel, which acquired the Turkish soap *Las mil y una noches*, and the Latin American agencies associated with the channel, which produced the dubbings to later relaunch them (from Miami) to Latin America.

The semi-peripheral or intermediate circle involves U.S. cable channels that work in combination with Latin American channels in a variety of arrangements such as simulcast Spanish versions of the English or co-productions with channels

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in Latin American countries. Premium cable channels can be found at this level. One illustrative example I found is HBO's series *Epitafios*, co-produced with Argentina. The peculiarity of the co-production exemplifies a different way of reconciling dialectal differences. The series takes place in Buenos Aires and the *rioplatense* pronunciation of the actors is maintained. Some elements of this variety include aspiration, yeísmo rehilado or sheísmo and an intonation contour that visibly sets the *rioplatense* variety apart from other South American varieties. Gabriel, Pešková, Labastía, and Blásquez (2013) provide a full description of the intonation of Buenos Aires, while the phonological variation of Argentina is presented by Colantoni and Hualde (2013). *Yeísmo rehilado* and the appearance of *sheísmo* are described in detail by Rohena-Madrazo (2013).

As a compromise for preserving the authentic *rioplatense* accent, the regional norm of *voseo* (cf. Fontanella de Weinberg, 1977; Carricaburo, 2013); more specifically, the one pertaining to the Argentinian sub-variety of *rioplatense*, with *vos* verbal forms as the 2nd person singular address pronoun; was replaced by the *tú* verbal paradigm The outer or peripheral circle includes channels from each country and the medium is the regional norm; they are available through their international signals in premium cable or through their websites or app.

6. MN and globalization

Debates about a standard or common form have been happening for centuries and continue to take place. But the influx of technology and the speed of communication have changed the way notions of correctness, variation and prestige are spread, especially when they are based on pronouncements by non-specialists; MN's presence in the international scene is a case in point. As hinted at previously, the issues discussed in this paper lend themselves well to an analysis from the point of view of globalization studies. In a way, MN is a kind of *Spanish from nowhere*, in the sense of Woolard (2007). This author explains that deterritorialized varieties result from hybridization/homogenization caused by *disembedding*; which happens when one variety is spread across the globe through indefinite spaces; representatives examples occur when the same speech style is used for different genres (in our case; the use of one variety for different contexts, viz. documentaries, animated cartoons, and soap operas), or when one variety is chosen over others (cf. Colombians' complaint that their actors' voices are being "mexicanized" (Ahrens, 2004)), or when intentional homogenization causes voices to be "neutralized" or "flattened" at the studio.

Another example of hybridization caused by disembedding is the appearance of non-nativelike features, cf. non Spanish-like phonotactics discussed in this paper.

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Commodification (Appadurai, 1996) is another concept related to globalization; in our case, voice talent in the dubbing process became commodified because mastering MN provided a path to success, spurring a proliferation of coaching schools and videos that would teach voice actors such a coveted commodity. The degree of *agency* an individual has over their production fluctuates with globalization; this is illustrated when dubbing agencies act as brokers between the networks and dubbing professionals who, as mentioned in one of the interviews in a dubbing studio, are paid by the word (this means that they have no fixed salary). I contend that, for dubbing "workers" and the dubbing industry, the symbolic capital of the *neutro* (à la Bourdieu, 1999) supersedes loyalty to local varieties, thus illustrating centripetal/centrifugal tension and consensus/fragmentation (Coupland, 2010). For individuals, this applies to the lack of loyalty to their regional spoken norm; for the production companies located in Miami, the lack of loyalty is towards the prevalent Cuban variety of the majority of Spanish speakers in the area (recall the discussion from Valencia & Lynch (2016) about Cuban reactions in Miami regarding the linguistic choices of a local TV channel).

7. Further research directions

For those interested in this topic, there is fertile ground for exploring the issue from different vantage points and in different areas of linguistics. One bourgeoning field for Spanish, when compared to descriptive studies of speech production, is the study of language attitudes and perceptions of non-experts towards the speech of others. In this respect, there are already interesting works like those by Alfaraz (2014), Boomershine (2006), Carter & Callesano (2018), Díaz-Campos & Killam (2012), Díaz-Campos & Navarro-Galisteo (2009), Montes-Alcalá (2011), and Quesada Pacheco (2014).

A project derived from this chapter could involve attitudinal or perceptual studies like the ones reviewed here, based on viewers' reactions to the media contents discussed in this paper (cf. Dávila, 2000; Lansberg-Rodríguez, 2015). Linguistics in the public domain is an urgent area to explore; more specifically, specialists need to develop ways to divulge well-informed accounts in different fields of linguistics via outreach to the press and to national organizations related to the teaching of Spanish, as well as to cultural and social issues involving Spanish-speakers in the U.S. and Latin America (cf. the work done by the Linguistic Society of America).

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CHAPTER 10

Language policy and education in Peru

The central role of language ideologies in recent studies

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This chapter presents a state of the art in language policy and education in Peru, focusing on the importance of language ideologies when designing and applying policy. Within the Peruvian context, I have selected three works published in the last decade to give an account of certain common beliefs behind the decision-making of the government and other institutions regarding language in education. Next, based on some of the ideologies presented by these scholars, I reflect both on the progress and the challenges that policy-makers still need to face to create deep and long-lasting change. If we do not discuss underlying language ideologies in the educational and academic spheres and analyze them critically in order to contest their biased and discriminatory nature, they might change but popular mentalities will not.

Keywords: language ideology, language policy, language planning, education, Peru

1. Introduction

Peru is a multilingual country that, throughout its history, has had to deal with a culturally and linguistically diverse population. Therefore, language policy is part of its history too. Since the time of the Inca Empire or before, authorities had to confront the reality of a territory with languages such as Mochica, Culle, Quechua and Aymara, some of them extinct in present day. Linguists (and scholars from other disciplines like anthropology) such as Cerrón Palomino (1989) have studied the ways in which linguistic policies were developed according to challenges experienced in different historical moments.

For instance, during colonial times, it is well known that the Spanish Crown promoted the spread and supremacy of Spanish as the official language spoken in its domains, having monolingualism as the final goal. However, the rulers and the Catholic Church quickly learned that it was an unrealistic goal and that their

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colonies needed some kind of lingua franca,[1] for which Quechua was used (*lengua general*). In the case of the Church, the Third Council of Lima (1582–1583) decreed that indigenous languages should be used in religious teaching and that religious texts should be translated into Quechua and Aymara. It also allowed for the foundation of a school for the sons of indigenous nobles so that they could eventually convert the wider indigenous population (King & Hornberger, 2006, p. 183). Despite of this, it bears asking what linguistic ideologies were behind this sort of change of policy, and if indigenous languages had the same status as Spanish in colonial times. Clearly, this does not seem to have been the case.

Linguistic ideologies are the perceptions held by people about language and, more importantly, the way these perceptions are projected onto speakers. Irvine (1989, p. 255) defines language ideology as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests." Due to the fact that linguistic ideologies are perceived as natural, they tend to be considered as unquestionable truths. In general terms, ideologies refer to relevant aspects of a group or a characteristic that makes it different from the others (van Dijk, 2003). Furthermore, because these ideologies belong to the social and collective memory of that group (Kroskrity 2004; van Dijk 2003), there are often ideologies in conflict within any society (Heros 2008).

As Andrade Ciudad and Zavala (2019, p. 90) state: "We know that in the field of formal education both society and culture are reproduced, since it is through education that hegemonic discourses shape individuals in a certain manner."[2] To show different samples of how language ideologies influence language policy and education, I will present insight from three academic works published during the last decade by Peruvian linguists, who discuss different aspects of education and language policy conceptually informed by language ideology theory. My first selection is the book *Utopía y realidad: nociones sobre el estándar lingüístico en la esfera intelectual y educativa peruana*, by Susana de los Heros Diez Canseco; my second selection is a text written by Serafín Coronel Molina, *Language ideology, policy and planning in Peru*; and my third selection is the article *De la lingüística a las aulas: ideologías en la educación peruana*, written by Luis Andrade Ciudad and Virginia Zavala.

After presenting the ideologies discussed in the aforementioned publications, I will delve into three in order to give a more specific account of their strong impact on the present day. Moreover, I will discuss those ideologies in connection with

1. Although the idea of Quechua as lingua franca in South America has been recently contested by scholars like King & Hornberger (2006)

2. All translations are mine.

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language policy-making and pedagogy by providing concrete examples such as the design of Intercultural Bilingual Education programs. Finally, I will present some insight into the progress and challenges we face in our efforts to increase understanding of the complex Peruvian reality.

2. Works on language ideologies in language planning and education

2.1 The inevitability of a standard language ideology in Peruvian education

Heros (2012) explores how linguistic ideologies rise in the Spanish-speaking world, and more specifically in Peru, and how they are retransmitted in social practices. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Heros' research studies "ideological phenomena in order to provide more information about the process of linguistic normalization, as well as to point out the advantages and disadvantages when transferred into the educational sphere in Peru" (p. 16). The author shows how linguistic ideologies spread when they settle in the (metalinguistic) discourse of scholars and are consequently adopted in textbooks and discursive practices, which promote the adoption of the standard as the preferred variety in schools. In the same vein as Andrade Ciudad and Zavala in Section 2.3., Heros analyzes language ideologies in terms of how they are formed, compete among them, and finally get set in the collective unconscious. They are afterwards reproduced in social practices as unchallenged 'truths', where we can find underlying notions such as verbal hygiene,[3] *panhispanismo*,[4] and linguistic marketplace,[5] as the scholar points out. Unfortunately, based on these still prevalent ideologies, dialectal diversity and multilingualism haven't yet been considered as an integral part of *peruanidad*.

Heros approaches the curricular sociolinguistic contents of the school textbooks she discusses in her book with a critical discourse analysis perspective. In her analysis, she finds contradictory language ideologies, such as the promotion of language equality while, at the same time, a favoring of the use of the standard. Another ideological inconsistency she finds is praise for multiculturalism but not multilingualism. Contradictory ideologies towards Spanish exist not only in the classroom: they are also shared by scholars, educators and private and public

3. Term coined by linguist Deborah Cameron to explain the desire to regulate language and adjust it to 'superior' standard forms; verbal hygiene practices hide a range of deeper social, moral and political aspects.

4. Emphasis on the alleged unitary nature of the Spanish language.

5. The symbolic market, where linguistic exchanges happen.

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institutions. The author's final analysis shows us the complex ways in which ideologies form, compete and coexist in everyday practices, saying that "Many might think that ideologies are just a reflection of different interpretations of reality; however, as we have seen, they directly affect social practices by contributing to their reproduction" (p. 205).

2.2 Language policy and planning in Quechua

Serafin M. Coronel-Molina's *Language Ideology, Policy, and Planning in Peru* explores the role of language academies in preserving and revitalizing minority or endangered languages, focusing specifically on the *Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua*[6] in Cuzco, as he presents the positions, attitudes, ideologies and practices of this institution, as well as the role it has played in language policy and planning in the Andean region. He uses an ethnography of communication framework to offer a solid analysis of the efforts involved in maintaining and revitalizing Quechua, an official indigenous language of Peru since 1978, although people in the Andes have spoken different dialects of this linguistic family since pre-colonial times, and they are still used by over one-third of the modern Peruvian population.

Throughout his book, language ideologies are identified and discussed. For example, when Coronel-Molina describes the dynamics of language change, he highlights the importance of language loyalty and choice as a central ideology linked to the *Academia (HAQL)*. This concept is based on the high value that speakers give to certain dialect or language, despite of its social prestige, and their choice to use it (or not) and it is central when talking about the maintenance of languages like Quechua (against Spanish), in the Peruvian context.

It is important to acknowledge that this institution was founded in the city of Cuzco, a place considered the historical capital of the Inca empire and, "[l]ike many *cuzqueños*, a number of the more senior Academy members are convinced that Cuzco and the Inca Empire are the authentic basis for the Peruvian nation." (p. 108) Therefore, the *Academia* raises the status of Cuzco Quechua to the point that it is considered superior to all the other varieties spoken throughout the Andes:

> The HAQL considers itself to be the ultimate arbiter of qhapaq simi, or Inca Quechua. They are the owners, so to speak, of this variety [...] It is in many respects an artificial construct of the Academy itself, the refined and purified version that they have created without having any real recourse to the Quechua-speaking communities to check for validity of terminology or community acceptance of coinages. (p. 122)

6. High Academy of the Quechua Language (HAQL), founded in 1980

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Coronel-Molina also points out the critical relations between language academies and their purist approach. Linguistic purism inevitably leads to a diglossic relationship among different varieties of Quechua, where HAQL's preferred variety of Quechua is presented as superior because of its members' historical pride in their Inca ancestors, a pride which creates an imaginary divide between the Quechua spoken by the Inca and that spoken by current indigenous speakers. A conservative approach like this usually responds to a socially or politically threatening context; in this case, the fear of losing the status and prestige that history has given to Cuzco Quechua, according to HAQL's essentializing discourse (Jaffe, 2007).

2.3 Education as an instrument of social differentiation

Andrade Ciudad and Zavala (2019), basing their approach on the notion of symbolic market and the view of education as an instrument for social distinction (Bourdieu, 2002, 2008), show the links between linguistics and education in Peru. In order to do so, the article discusses the language ideologies embedded in the academic work of two scholars, whose ideas have influenced Peruvian education at the basic and higher level, respectively: José Jiménez Borja (1901–1982) and Luis Hernán Ramírez (1926–1997). Their main objective is to point out the role that linguistics have had in generalizing a hierarchical and discriminatory view. In addition to the concept of symbolic market, Andrade Ciudad and Zavala frame their inquiry within the realm of sociocultural linguistics, a field that studies the relationship between language, culture and society from an interdisciplinary perspective.

A main aim of this piece is the identification and analysis of certain language ideologies found in Jímenez Borja's and Ramírez' work, ideologies that, in many ways persist today in the educational sphere, a space where difference is expressed via language. Andrade Ciudad and Zavala show their commitment to the linguistic discipline when they confer it an important role in terms of its contributions to the pedagogical field. However, for (socio) linguistics to truly contribute to education, a critical review of its epistemological presuppositions is mandatory. A change in the traditional approach would mean, for instance, the recognition of individual agency in the center stage and of power as the driving force in linguistic production.

In his article *El problema del bilingüismo en el Perú*, José Jiménez Borja (1941) supposes the 'inevitability' of the fact that certain varieties possess more status than others; educators, given this situation, should provide their students with access to the most prestigious dialects, without even questioning their different statuses. From the title, it is obvious that bilingualism is seen as a problem that needs to be solved, which triggers a collective conflict. The ideology behind this idea is that this phenomenon is a dissociative element at the individual and the social level.

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A second ideology detected by Andrade Ciudad and Zavala is a purist vision of bilingualism, the unchallenged assumption that linguistic contact will lead to the degradation, impoverishment, and inevitable death of languages.

What underlies Jiménez Borja's language ideologies is the perspective that monolingualism is the natural state of things, and thus any kind of linguistic differentiation constitutes a troublesome scenario. His diagnosis for the Peruvian multilingual reality in the 1940s was that it had to be 'solved' with a violent and fast castilianization,[7] which was the only possible outcome that could achieve the desired progress of the country. Therefore, the role of educators involved helping students to transition into Spanish as fast as possible and, while doing so, to abandon their native languages.

In 1969, the scholar Luis Hernán Ramírez wrote the manual *Estructura y funcionamiento del lenguaje*. In his work, Ramírez conceives of language as a living and autonomous organism, whose existence has no connection with the reproduction of social inequality. In the same line as Jiménez Borja, he represents monolingualism as the norm and bilingualism as a deviation, a problem. However, his main focus of interest is the idea of a standard variety and of linguistic correctness. For this scholar, antagonisms and power have no impact on speakers' linguistic production, which is a dangerous point of view that, in many cases, can turn intellectuals and educators into accomplices of social inequality practices.

One of the language ideologies spread by Ramírez is the erasure of power relationships associated with prestige by naturalizing them: what he named *buen lenguaje* 'good language' was, coincidentally, the standard spoken by privileged groups. This deterministic perspective of normativity impedes us from questioning where linguistic forms come from, or why they are interiorized by speakers. Furthermore, under this view, the standard becomes a product of collective will instead of the result of symbolic and material resources unevenly distributed. Power relationships have created a sort of 'truth' around the standard variety that is supposed to come from common sense, and that is justified and even defended by speakers of marked varieties. Finally, underlying this educator's discourse, we can find the idea of appropriateness, a linguistic ideology associated with certain interests (Fairclough, 1992; Flores & Rosa, 2015). When an instructor, for instance, tells students that there is nothing wrong with their Spanish but, at the same time, that it is not appropriate in an academic or professional context, that instructor is normalizing the superiority of certain dialects in favor of others in a prescriptivist manner. This example illustrates the same kind of contradictory language ideologies that Heros describes.

7. Castilian (castellano) is used in this chapter as a synonym of Spanish (español)

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3. Language policy, education and ideology today: Progress and challenges

My review of current literature provides a broad account of which and how ideologies interfere in the creation and development of linguistic and educational policies in Peru. By definition, language ideologies are biased and respond to a particular perspective or interest, but they will nonetheless always be a cultural and social component in any community. Ideologies are not negative by definition; it is only when they remain hidden, or are accepted as objective fact and cannot be challenged, that they do not serve the public well-being. Thus, without a thorough analysis of the sociopolitical contexts in which policies operate, they cannot be successfully implemented.

In the following paragraphs, I focus on some of the linguistic ideologies described in the works selected for this chapter, in order to discuss both the progress and the multiple challenges involved in the process, as well as ways in which researchers can contribute to probe the role of language ideology through concrete investigative and analytical projects.

3.1 Standard Spanish and dialect variation in Peruvian schools

From the language ideologies highlighted by Heros' work, I believe that the pervasive idea of a 'superior' standard Spanish needs to be addressed most urgently. Peru has a complex sociolinguistic reality that represents a challenge in terms of the implementation of educational and linguistic policies. Therefore, it is not rare to find contradictory language ideologies coexisting. Even though the discourse nowadays is more liberal, and promotes and celebrates equality and diversity to a certain extent, in practice the use of standard Spanish is still strongly favored under the assumption that other dialects are inappropriate for use in public spheres.

It is important to mention that Lima, the Peruvian capital, is today the most developed city in the country due in part to the historically centralist[8] government's policies, which are focused on the progress of this city and often systematically exclude the Andean and Amazonian regions of the country. Thus, a main issue regarding both language and educational policies is the fact that other realities present in the territory are not always taken into consideration or well-represented. As Siegel (2006: 158) states, "it is no coincidence that social groups who speak marginalized varieties are themselves often marginalized or disadvantaged in society."

8. Centralism: the concentration of power and control in the central authority of an organization (as a political or educational system). <www.merriam-webster.com>

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For instance, school textbooks are mainly created and published in Lima, then distributed throughout the country. Thus, as the Spanish taught in schools becomes the standard, the variety spoken in Lima becomes the norm. The message, even when not explicitly conveyed, is clear: status matters and, in order to be 'successful,' you should be proficient and educated in a Spanish variety that entails progress rather than backwardness. Unfortunately, after years of research and work on non-standard dialects to advocate for their value, still not enough ground has been gained because it has "not filtered down to many educators and administrators" (Siegel, 2007, p. 76).

To break this vicious cycle, a central step would be to incorporate the expertise of educators, language experts and teachers from different regions and cultural backgrounds so that they can participate in the creation of policies that they will eventually be the ones to implement. But before that step, teachers need to be aware of the positive value of their regional variety of Spanish. There is a widely-reported tendency for speakers of nonstandard-dialects to accept and sometimes perpetuate negative stereotypes of their speech styles (Edwards, 2009). There needs to be an effort to stop reinforcing negative perceptions and start promoting pride.

3.2 The impact of ideology in the reevaluation of indigenous languages in Peru

Various initiatives have contributed to the current debate on how to address Peru's linguistic diversity in an inclusive manner. For example, the Peruvian Congress passed the *Ley de Lenguas Originarias* ('Law of Aboriginal Languages,' Law 29735) in 2012, which determines the scope of individual and collective rights and guarantees established in Peru's constitution in linguistic terms. It proposes different measures for the state to implement linguistic rights; among others, it defines the national policy for the promotion, conservation, recovery and use of indigenous languages. One of these strategies consists of the training of interpreters of 35 different indigenous languages with the goal of facilitating intercultural dialogue, a measure sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and the Directorate of Indigenous Languages (Haboud & Limerick, 2017).

Interest in preserving indigenous languages is based on the search for a collective identity, as the law itself states, and the intention to understand and describe Peruvian realities. However, we have already witnessed other linguistic policies fail because a change in the law doesn't necessarily propel change in society; it is not easy to change the status of historically discriminated languages. Thus, there is still a lot of work that needs to be done in order to convince the speakers of these languages themselves that studying their native languages is worth it and that being

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bilingual will not be an obstacle for their development and inclusion as citizens. Prestige and revaluation can only be achieved when indigenous peoples who speak these languages can use them in public spaces, such as in higher education or mass media. It is the government's responsibility to create these spaces, to include these communities, and to avoid the potential extinction of their languages.

In this sense, to claim the superiority of a particular variety of Quechua, the Cuzco Quechua, contradicts the current efforts of recognition, maintenance and revitalization of minority languages. In a country that is trying to vindicate indigenous languages and improve their status, a debate about which Quechua is the most prestigious, or which was spoken by the Incas, is an immense disservice to the progress achieved.

A purist ideology contradicts what should be one of the main objectives of HAQL: the survival and revitalization of Quechua. Linguistic conservatism, in this context, is directly linked to a standard language ideology. The selection and praise of Cuzco Quechua by the *Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua* attributes a higher status to that particular dialect, albeit to the detriment of the many other members of the Quechua family and, even worse, delays progress in the implementation of positive policies which will benefit all Quechua speakers. Furthermore, it can lead to the stigmatization of common language practices such as code-switching or contact-induced linguistic changes, portraying them as manifestations of cultural deficiency (Jaffe, 2007).

It is my belief that the role of HAQL should be to promote the unity of historically relegated Peruvian indigenous languages, all of them with their different varieties, instead of creating division. The discussion that takes place should not be about the status or superiority of this or that Quechua dialect, but against the imposition of Spanish, under the outdated ideology of monolingualism, to supposedly ensure the viability of a modern nation-state. In the words of Haboud and Limerick (2017), when discussing intercultural education, "such efforts must rediscover individual and collective particularities beyond standardization. Though laws promote inclusion and respect, they oftentimes lead to new social hierarchies and the exclusion of other voices" (p. 11).

3.3 Multilingualism and interculturalism in language planning and policy

In Section 3.2, I have described the relatively new *Ley de Lenguas Originarias* as an example of the progress that Peru is making toward developing a more inclusive country. Even though the distance between legislation and the actual implementation of better adjusted linguistic and educational policies can sometimes seem insurmountable, the truth is that we are moving forward, no matter how slowly.

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This progress has to do, among other factors, with a change in perception of what a state-nation constitutes in terms of the linguistic profile of its citizens. Law 29735 is proof of how multilingual language policies are increasingly popular, since they recognize cultural and linguistic pluralism as resources for, not as an impediment to, the construction of a national identity.

Along the same lines, a second set of initiatives worth mentioning is the Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE or *EIB* in Spanish) programs under the direction of the Ministry of Education, even though they have been subject to harsh criticism throughout the years. Under different labels, in different areas, and promoted by different actors, including the government and international institutions, bilingual education started in the second half of the twentieth century. According to Hornberger (2001, p. 27), these policies "open up new worlds of possibility for oppressed indigenous and immigrant languages and their speakers," when confronting conservative homogenizing and assimilationist policy discourses with voices of diversity and emancipation.

Unfortunately, the progress obtained by these programs since they started has not been always constant or consistent. Some of the challenges they face include a shortage of intercultural education materials and the rejection of IBE by several bilingual teachers who do not agree with either the ideologies or methodologies involved (Haboud & Limerick, 2017). In 2004, author María Elena García claimed that IBE included paternalistic practices that tended toward exclusion, no matter how inclusive the rhetoric of the programs. Another issue that she brought up was the great distance between policy-makers at the macro-level and the teachers and trainers at the micro-level that were responsible for implementing the policies. These issues persist today.

In their article discussing the problematization of bilingualism in José Jiménez Borja's discourse, Andrade Ciudad and Zavala (2019) consider IBE as somewhat of a compensatory and remedial measure that would not be necessary if all kinds of bilingualism had the same status. In other words, many of the children who participate in IBE programs are already speakers of Spanish and one or more indigenous languages; however, their Spanish is perceived as 'incorrect,' 'deficient,' and lacking the prestige of the standard. Again, this is a case of certain linguistic practices being perceived and presented as more or less appropriate, without taking into consideration power relationships, which situate indigenous communities in a historically disadvantaged position.

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4. Concluding remarks

According to the 2017 census, it is estimated that more than 25% of Peruvians identify themselves as indigenous and 48 indigenous languages are spoken throughout the country. In this context, adequate language and educational policies to address the needs and guarantee the rights of these citizens cannot be postponed any longer.

There is no doubt that language ideologies play a central role when experts design policies, thus it is essential to first determine which are the most prevalent and which will be most detrimental to the successful implementation of a certain program. In Section 2 of this chapter, I reviewed relevant research of four Peruvian scholars on this matter.

First, Heros (2008) denounces the coexistence of contradictory ideologies, like promoting language equality while simultaneously having policies that support the superiority of standard Spanish. These ideologies are found not only in school textbooks but also among scholars, educators, and private and public institutions.

Second, Coronel-Molina (2015) discusses the way in which language ideologies percolate within the *Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua* in Cuzco and how this is detrimental to other dialects of Quechua and, more generally, to the promotion of a Quechua curriculum for schools and Quechua usage in public spaces. The beliefs behind the attitudes shown by the HAQL's members have to do with linguistic purism caused by a conscious and overt language loyalty and result in the promotion of a diglossic relationship between Cuzco Quechua and other varieties.

Finally, Andrade Ciudad and Zavala (2019) argue in favor of dialogue between the linguistic and educational fields using a critical and historical approach. If discourse does not change, linguists will continue to disseminate "a hierarchic and discriminatory agenda in Peruvian schools and universities" (p. 106). The authors discuss various ideologies found in the work of two scholars from the twentieth century: José Jiménez Borja and Luis Hernán Ramírez. Jiménez Borja perceived bilingualism as a problem, not as a resource that could be encouraged and explored. Ramírez, on the other hand, defended the existence of a standard, which he argued 'naturally' possessed inherent prestige, implicitly denying that such prestige is socially constructed.

Throughout the third section of this chapter, I analyzed pervasive ideologies accounted for in the previous section and described the role they play today in the development of projects and laws supposedly destined to improve the quality of language policy. In addition, I presented the progress and shortcomings of some initiatives that are currently taking place in the country. It is important to point out that, despite the great challenges that must be confronted on this path towards a more democratic and inclusive society, and despite the enormous work that still needs to be done, there is progress. As an example, Andrade Ciudad, in a personal

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communication, shared his hypothesis that IBE programs might have played a role in increasing the number of Quechua speakers shown in the 2017 census; an improvement of the status of indigenous languages, as well as their more common use in public spheres, can lead to the revitalization and maintenance of historically relegated languages.

On the other hand, linguists and language educators should not ignore the fact that the implementation of policies that have been designed to rectify historical discrimination and fight inequality also carry problematic issues that need to be detected and corrected. The participation of interdisciplinary teams of linguists, anthropologists, educators, language planners, teachers, indigenous community leaders, and language users in general is central to future progress: policies designed by people who are not affected by them tend to result in failure. After all, the final goal and the importance of all these policies should be long-term social change.

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CHAPTER 11

Twenty years of Guaraní-Spanish bilingual education in Paraguay

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The Paraguayan constitution instituted Guaraní-Spanish bilingualism in 1992. Although law provides for Guaraní literacy instruction with Spanish as a second language, the *de facto* model for the two decades following officialization was one of Spanish literacy instruction with Guaraní as a second language. This model works well in bilingual districts; however, the 2002 Paraguayan census reported 1,319,777 monolingual Guaraní speakers, and 146,618 households that identified as Guaraní-dominant. Test results of over 300 third graders are incontrovertible: Spanish literacy instruction with Guaraní as a second language produces semilingualism (i.e., written production at less than half of comprehension). Bringing Paraguayan education into line with legal requirements is a priority for the sake of children's academic linguistic proficiency and the future of Guaraní.

Keywords: Guaraní, bilingual education, Spanish, indigenous languages

1. Introduction

The most renowned situation of bilingualism in the New World is found in Paraguay, the only country where, in 2002, the majority of the non-indigenous population spoke an indigenous language, Guaraní (see Gynan, 1998, 2001a, 2007). A smaller, but nonetheless large percent, also spoke Spanish. Since 1992, Guaraní has been co-official with Spanish. In 2010, the *Ley de lenguas* 'Law of Languages' clarified and made specific the notion of linguistic rights in Paraguay.

Despite the tremendous progress that had been made during the twenty years following co-officialization of Guaraní and Spanish with respect specifically to the right of a Guaraní-speaking child to literacy instruction in the mother tongue, most Paraguayan elementary schools by the end of 2012 were being conducted in Spanish. Ministry of Education (MEC) officials defended the progress that had been

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made during the two decades following co-officialization of Guaraní and Spanish (Benítez, 2009), insisting that a space had been opened up in the public school system for Guaraní, whereas previously the language had been banned; and rejecting the analysis that Spanish submersion of Guaraní-speaking children was producing a *torcido* 'twisted' semilingualism, representing a non-scientific conclusion.

Nevertheless, the Guaraní modality, designed to teach Guaraní literacy and Spanish as a second language to Guaraní-speaking children, had been abandoned in favor of the Spanish modality by 2008. The subsequent neglect of appropriate language education was documented by Mansfeld de Agüero (2008), later included in a volume published by Catholic University (Mansfeld, Marino Lugo Bracho, Mansfeld Agüero, & Gynan, 2011). Most rural, Guaraní-speaking students were being Castillianized, but even in these situations of submersion, books were insufficiently supplied by MEC.

In 2001, when the Guaraní modality was still being used, the academic bilingual abilities of children in rural schools were measured quantitatively ($N = 153$). The results of this testing are covered in detail later in this chapter. At that time, the advantage conferred to students by proper literacy in Guaraní, their mother tongue, was demonstrated. Conversely, the disadvantage of Spanish submersion of Guaraní-speaking children was shown. A pattern of good passive bilingual ability and low writing skills in both Guaraní and Spanish, referred to here as SEMILINGUALISM, that resulted from submersion in the second language, was revealed.

By 2009, after support for the Guaraní modality was eliminated, an opportunity presented itself in two rural, Guaraní-speaking districts to confirm the results of Spanish submersion that had been shown eight years earlier. The director of one of the schools declared that MEC had established Spanish as a priority and that the task of the school was to get the children academically functional in Spanish as quickly as possible. The results were nearly a repeat of the semilingualism witnessed in 2001. Spanish submersion was shown once again to be the wrong way to educate monolingual, Guaraní-speaking children.

Semilingualism was documented in the third grade at an elementary school in Central Department in 2013. Importantly, the 2013 study showed that the negative impact of Spanish submersion on the cognitive-academic linguistic proficiency of Guaraní-speaking children goes deeper than mere averages, revealing the large number of Guaraní-speaking children who performed below average in bilingual written production. Spanish submersion works if the child already knows some Spanish, but fails with many monolingual Guaraní-speaking children. The blame for low bilingual written proficiency cannot be ascribed to a lack of effort on the part of students or to incompetent teaching. The cause is a modality that fails to allow children to develop literacy skills in the mother tongue *before* tackling Spanish as a second language.

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The reversion to Spanish submersion in 2008 is contextualized by examining the historical, demographic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and legal foundations of bilingual education in Paraguay. The linguistic results of the shift in MEC policy are discussed below in detail. What makes this study unique is the use of the same test (with some changes) for the ten schools in this report over a period of twelve years. The testing method described is successful in that virtually all students were able to write bilingual essays and the test could be applied in a relatively short amount of time.

The consequences of a *de facto* policy of Castillianization are bad for the future of Guaraní, but not irreparable. The third grade marks the end of the first cycle of elementary education. Without literacy, children cannot succeed in the second cycle. Many children drop out and Guaraní is blamed. The purpose of this analysis is to provide evidence, amassed over a decade, that the policy of mother tongue education, first established constitutionally in 1992 and implemented shortly thereafter, is theoretically sound. For those who cherish the Guaraní language and work for its protection, this review of research provides support for mother tongue literacy that will contribute to prolonging the vitality of Paraguay's enduring gift to humanity, the indigenous Guaraní language.

2. Historical, demographic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and legal foundations of Paraguayan bilingual education

2.1 A sociolinguistic history of Paraguayan bilingualism

This brief sociolinguistic history tells of those events relevant to the unique survival of Guaraní over the centuries. A broader, dialectological view is available in Dietrich, Thun, Symeonidis, & Aquino (2009) and Symeonidis (2018). In the case of Paraguay, that means identifying cultural and social forces (Turner, 1996) that contributed to the success of the Guaraní language. These same forces have also made officialization of Guaraní, and specifically maintenance bilingual education, difficult.

First contact between Guaraní and Spanish may have occurred as early as 1524, during expeditions led by Sebastian Cabot (See Gynan 2001a for documentation of the following history). By 1537, the city of Asunción had been founded on the east bank of the Paraguay river. In 1556, the first governor of Paraguay, Domingo Martínez de Irala, divided approximately 20,000 indigenous Guaraní speakers among some 320 Spaniards. Service (1954) analizes the significance of the *encomienda* in Paraguay, which was based on a tribute of labor. Since the Guaraní were originally semi-nomadic, the creation of sedentary populations in towns facilitated their cultural assimilation; however, the Spanish *encomenderos* were vastly

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outnumbered and Guaraní continued to be spoken (see Gynan 2001a for a fully documented history of Paraguayan language policy).

Melià writes that the Franciscans were the first religious group to evangelize the Guaraní in their language. Fray Luis Bolaños, founder of the city of Caazapá, wrote the first Guaraní grammar, now lost (Melià 1997). Hernando Arias de Saavedra, Hernandarias, who governed Paraguay at the end of the 16th century, was opposed to the *encomienda*, and encouraged the Jesuits to come to Paraguay in 1587. Despite a decree from the Spanish crown in 1596 ordering the evangelization of the Guaraní in Spanish, the Jesuits, like the Franciscans, preferred to evangelize in Guaraní, for which they wrote grammars, dictionaries, and catequisms.

The language policy of the Jesuits gave rise to a flourishing of written Guaraní, in a version stripped of almost every word related to pre-contact gods and beliefs. *Arte y bocabulario de la lengua guaraní* 'Art and vocabulary of the Guaraní language,' the accompanying *Tesoro* and catequisms by Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1640), are among the oldest of a long line of works in Colonial Guaraní. The written history of Guaraní is relevant to bilingual education. Significant scholarship remains to be done in, among other fields, botany, biology, history, mass media, language, literature, popular culture, folk medicine, poetry, song, and theatre. There is easily enough material to fill a curriculum from elementary school to the university. Bilingual education across the public system, promised by law current at the time of this writing, would provide a body of students and future teachers to strengthen the prestige of the Guaraní language, restoring its former glory of Jesuit times, a process referred to as *reivindicación* in Spanish.

The Jesuit mission was a successful business enterprise, despite *malocas* 'raids,' during which, between 1628 and 1631, more than 60,000 Guaraní were kidnapped and taken to Brazil to be sold as slaves in San Paolo (see Gynan, 2001a, for documentation of these figures). In order to fight the economic competition of the Jesuits, the *encomenderos* collaborated with the *bandeirantes* 'robbers' in the *malocas*. Despite attacks and kidnappings, by 1732, the Guaraní-speaking population of the missions reached its maximum of 141,182 people in an area almost as big as (but only partly contiguous with) Paraguay today.

In the same year, the *Comuneros*, mostly *criollos*, who opposed the Jesuits, sacked the House of the Jesuits in Asunción, February 19, 1732. That sacking constituted one of the earliest acts of independence in the Americas. Mestizos, *criollos* bilingual in Guaraní and Spanish, and not monolingual Guaraní speakers from the missions, fomented Paraguayan independence.

The Guaraní had been allowed to arm themselves in 1642. By 1651, the mission Guaraní had repelled the last *maloca*. In 1750, Spain signed a treaty with Portugal, according to which the Crown would keep the Colony of Sacramento in exchange for land on the east bank of the Uruguay River, where 30,000 Guaraní lived in Jesuit missions.

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The Guaraní turned back a team of mediators from Portugal and Spain, thinking that they were defending the interests of Spain. The Jesuits were accused of fomenting rebellion and, in 1767, the Spanish crown ordered all Jesuits expelled from the Americas. In 1765, Don Francisco de Paula Bucareli had been appointed governor of Buenos Aires, and in July of 1766, he was put in charge of running the Jesuits out of Paraguay. A decree against Guaraní by Charles the Third had little practical effect on Castillianization of the population.

In 1814, a Guaraní-speaking congress of some 1,000 people elected Doctor José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia as Supreme Dictator. Francia instituted economic policies that favored development among Guaraní speakers, fomenting agricultural and industrial development in order to supply his army of 5,000 soldiers and another 25,000 in reserve. In 1826, Francia expropriated vast territories from the *latifundistas*.

Francia, known to his Guaraní supporters by the nickname *Karai Guasu* 'Big Chief,' either imprisoned, exiled or executed the political opposition, mostly Spanish-speaking. The *pyrague* 'hairy feet,' Guaraní speakers who enforced the will of *El Supremo* 'The Supreme One,' are another indication of the support lent to the administration by the Guarani population. Despite the economic measures that supported the Guaraní-speaking population of Paraguay's interior, documentary evidence of early literacy education in Guaraní remains to be unearthed.

Carlos Antonio López continued the policies of Dr. Francia. López, the first elected president of Paraguay, developed foreign relations, for which Spanish was necessary. In 1848, the year in which the remaining 5,000 Guaraní who lived in *encomienda* towns were made citizens, López changed their last names from Guaraní to Spanish. Despite this posture apparently against Guaraní, the practical effect of his presidency was a continuation of the economic policies of Francia. There again are no commonly available educational materials in Guaraní from this period. Castillianization of the rural Guaraní-speaking population of children appears to have been limited because the education system had scarcely penetrated the interior.

When his father died in 1862, Marshall Francisco Solano López ascended to the presidency. Two years later, he headed the defense of Paraguay against the triple alliance of Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. The majority of the army was Guaraní speaking, and during the war, gazettes were published in Guaraní (See López, 1858.). During this disastrous war, roughly half of the Paraguayan population was killed. The only survivors were 150,000 women, 14,000 men and 81,000 children. Almost every Spanish speaker died during the war, leaving a largely Guaraní-speaking population (see Gynan, 2001a, for documentation of these figures).

The *Colorado* party, founded by General Bernardino Caballero, came to be identified with populism and militarism, an ideology that again supported Guaraní speakers. Between 1904 and 1936, a period of Liberal political power, Guaraní was prohibited by ordinance. The Liberal period after the War of the Triple Alliance

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came to an end when Paraguay, under the leadership of Eusebio Ayala, won the Chaco War against Bolivia in 1935. Guaraní was strengthened as a symbol of national unity.

The Chaco War intensified the sense of nationalism in Paraguay. Juan O'Leary headed a movement to rehabilitate the political memory of Francisco Solano López. The remains of López were moved to the Pantheon of Heroes in Asunción in 1936. That same year, during the presidency of Rafael Franco, 200,000 hectares were distributed among some 10,000 *campesinos* 'peasants.' The land distribution bolstered the economy of rural, Guaraní speakers. By 1947, President Morínigo relied on the help of 15,000 *py nandi* during the civil war, at the end of which the *Colorado* party came to power. After the 1947 civil war, General Alfredo Stroessner rose in the ranks and was president from 1954 to 1989. In 1967, Guaraní was declared a national language (Paraguay [PR], 1967), but this did not result in a transformation of the educational system to one that fomented mother tongue literacy in Guaraní.

The coup of 1989 that ousted Stroessner initiated a less repressive period, but also one of economic and cultural change that disfavored the Guaraní-speaking *campesino*. Nevertheless, the legal status of the Guaraní language has advanced significantly. Since 1992, Guaraní has been a co-official language, the other being Spanish. The National Bilingualism Comission was founded in 1994 and in 2010, the sweeping Ley de Lenguas was promulgated. This led to the foundation of the *Secretaría de Políticas Lingüísticas* 'Secretariat of Language Policy' and the Academy of the Guaraní Language.

2.2 Demography and sociolinguistics of Paraguayan bilingualism

According to a 2006 MEC document, the implementation of bilingual education is based on data from the 2002 census:

> The Paraguayan linguistic reality is such that a majority of children are exposed directly to both languages and, in many cases acquire them simultaneously
> (Paraguay [MEC], 2001b)[1]

The data from the 2002 census indeed show that at the national level, just over half (52.6%) of Paraguay was bilingual (Table 1). As can be seen from Table 1, the level of bilingualism has remained close to 50 percent since 1950. The rate of Guaraní monolingualism decreased over the same period, but in 2002 was still at 28.8 percent. On the other hand, Spanish monolingualism had increased to 8.6% by 2002.

1. All references are originally in Spanish unless otherwise stated, and the translations are my own.

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The trends of language use are more clearly illustrated by comparing annual rates of increase or decrease (Table 2). From 1992–2002, the rate of monolingualism in Spanish and other languages increased and the rate of monolingualism in Guaraní decreased for the first time in the history of the census. This is a warning sign that Guaraní vitality is waning, a fact which will alarm partisans of the language. Bilingualism remained relatively stable during the period 1950–2002.

The distribution of households by predominant language gave the impressión of a Guaraní-speaking country in 2002 (Table 3). Especially impressive were the departments of San Pedro, Paraguarí, Caazapá, Caaguazú, Guairá, and Cordillera, in all of which Guaraní was identified as the predominant language in over 80% of the households. The notable exceptions were Asunción, where only 20.4% of the population lived in predominantly Guaraní-speaking households, and the Central and Boquerón Departments.

Distribution of the population by language use (as opposed to predominant language of household) reveals that 2002, no department in Paraguay was predominantly Spanish-speaking. (Table 4). In reference to the MEC statement that the majority of children is exposed to both languages, in numerous departments (Cordillera, Itapúa, Misiones, Paraguarí, Central, Ñeembucú and Presidente Hayes) and in Asunción the majority was bilingual in Guaraní and Spanish; however, the majority of four large departments (home to over half a million people) was Guaraní-speaking.

The two 2002 census questions were not only structured differently (recall that for the survey of households, one could not choose "bilingual" as the predominant language), they apparently measured different dimensions. This is clear from the data in Table 5. Of 628,444 households in Paraguay in 2002, 418,387 (66.6 percent) were identified as predominantly Guaraní and 210,057 (33.4 percent) were identified as Spanish dominant. Of the 418,387 Guaraní-dominant households, only Guaraní was used by 146,618 couples (35.04 percent). Children coming from such households should be imparted literacy in Guaraní.

In Table 6, it can be seen that 172,220 eldest children spoke only Guaraní. While MEC was correct that most children (70.9%) were exposed to Spanish, a substantial minority spoke only Guaraní. This minority clearly has a constitutional right to mother tongue literacy in Guaraní and instruction in Spanish as a second language. These 172,220 children and their younger siblings constitute the entire demographic future of the Guaraní language. The anti-constitutional Castillianization is endangering the future of Guaraní. At the time of this writing, Paraguay embarks on a new administration with a well-established but still young Secretariat of Language Policy (2010) and Academy of the Guaraní Language (2012). It will be their job to effectuate *reivindicación* of Guaraní.

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Table 1. Languages spoken by Paraguayans five years and older, 1950–2002 (column percents)

	Census year									
	1950		1962		1982		1992		2002	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total, Paraguay	1,328,452		1,819,103		3,029,830		4,152,588		5,183,080	
Total, five years and older	**1,110,812**	**100.0**	**1,504,756**	**100.0**	**2,565,850**	**100.0**	**3,503,650**	**100.0**	**4,584,303**	**100.0**
Only Guaraní	414,032	37.3	648,884	43.1	1,029,786	40.1	1,345,513	38.4	1,319,777	28.8
Guaraní-Spanish	633,151	57.0	761,137	50.6	1,247,742	48.6	1,736,342	49.6	2,409,334	52.6
Only Spanish	48,474	4.4	61,570	4.1	166,441	6.5	227,204	6.5	458,739	10.0
Other languages	15,155	1.4	33,165	2.2	121,881	4.8	194,591	5.6	396,453	8.6

Sources: Gynan, 2001a, 2007.

Table 2. Rate of increase of language use by Paraguayans five years and older, 1950–2002 (row percents)

	Census period									
	1950–1962		1962–1982		1982–1992		1992–2002		1950–2002	
	Total	Annual	Total	Annual	Total	Annual	Total	Annual	Total	Annual
Total, Paraguay	36.9	2.7	66.6	2.6	37.1	3.2	24.8	2.2	290.2	2.7
Total, five years and older	35.5	2.6	70.5	2.7	36.5	3.2	30.8	2.7	312.7	2.8
Only Guaraní	56.7	3.8	58.7	2.3	30.7	2.7	−1.9	−0.2	218.8	2.3
Guaraní-Spanish	20.2	1.5	63.9	2.5	39.2	3.4	38.8	3.3	280.5	2.6
Only Spanish	27.0	2.0	170.3	5.1	36.5	3.2	101.9	7.3	846.4	4.4
Other languages	118.8	6.7	267.5	6.7	59.7	4.8	103.7	7.4	2,516.0	6.5

Sources: Gynan, 2001a, 2007.

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Table 3. Paraguay 2002: Predominant household language (row percents) (in descending order by predominance of Guaraní)

	Predominant household language													
	Guaraní		Spanish		Portuguese		German		Indigenous		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
San Pedro	58,260	92.4	3,300	5.2	240	0.4	1,130	1.8	140	0.2	0	0	63,070	100
Paraguarí	43,070	88.1	5,760	11.8	20	0	20	0	0	0	30	0.1	48,900	100
Caazapá	24,900	87.6	1,890	6.6	1,150	4	40	0.1	450	1.6	10	0	28,440	100
Caaguazú	72,630	83.8	10,090	11.6	1,760	2	1,090	1.3	1,070	1.2	60	0.1	86,700	100
Concepción	28,640	83.0	5,220	15.1	440	1.3	50	0.1	150	0,4	0	0	34,500	100
Guairá	31,550	82.1	6,360	16.5	30	0.1	310	0.8	170	0.4	20	0.1	38,440	100
Cordillera	41,600	81.9	9,090	17.9	10	0	70	0.1	0	0,0	20	0	50,790	100
Ñeembucú	14,840	76.3	4,600	23.6	10	0.1	0	0	0	0	10	0.1	19,460	100
Misiones	17,150	73.9	6,020	25.9	20	0.1	30	0.1	0	0,0	0	0	23,220	100
Alto Paraguay	1,810	72.1	290	11.6	60	2.4	0	0	350	13.9	0	0	2,510	100
Itapúa	61,840	63.9	30,850	31.9	1,770	1.8	1,130	1.2	430	0.4	830	0.9	96,850	100
Amambay	15,550	63.2	6,090	24.8	1,690	6.9	10	0	1,170	4.8	90	0.4	2,600	100
Canindeyú	17,430	59.2	2,790	9.5	7,620	25.9	410	1.4	1,180	4	20	0.1	29,450	100
Presidente Hayes	10,030	58.0	3,610	20.9	20	0.1	1,010	5.8	2,600	15	10	0.1	17,280	100
Alto Paraná	66,610	55.7	34,940	29.2	15,970	13.3	920	0.8	540	0.5	650	0.5	119,630	100
Central	124,200	41.8	172,230	57.9	210	0.1	140	0	160	0.1	320	0.1	297,260	100
Asunción	23,890	20.4	91,430	78.1	450	0.4	320	0.3	10	0,0	100	0.9	117,100	100
Boquerón	1,420	15.8	1,030	11.5	180	2	3,070	34.1	3,260	36.3	30	0.3	8,990	100
Total	**655,420**	**59.2**	**395,590**	**35.7**	**31,650**	**2.9**	**9,750**	**0.9**	**11,680**	**1.1**	**3,100**	**0.3**	**1,107,190**	**100.0**

Source: Paraguay [STP/DGEEC], 2004.

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Table 4. Paraguay 2002: Population five years and older, language spoken by department (row percents, by predominance of Guaraní)

Department	Language(s) spoken											
	Guaraní		Guaraní-Spanish		Spanish		Portuguese		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
San Pedro	187,957	67.9	78,646	28.4	2,768	1	1,314	0.5	6,265	2.3	276,950	100
Caazapá	70,049	57.5	43,050	35.3	2,519	2.1	3,263	2.7	3,024	2.5	121,905	100
Caaguazú	201,682	53.1	151,289	39.8	9,480	2.5	4,692	1.2	12,616	3.3	379,759	100
Concepción	82,756	53	63,630	40.8	4,761	3	2,786	1.8	2,187	1.4	156,120	100
Canindeyú	55,135	46.2	20,860	17.5	10,137	8.5	24,412	20.5	8,820	7.4	119,363	100
Guairá	73,187	45.8	77,774	48.7	4,973	3.1	482	0.3	3,401	2.1	159,816	100
Paraguarí	86,781	43.6	106,057	53.3	4,400	2.2	283	0.1	1,353	0.7	198,874	100
Alto Paraguay	3,750	37.7	3,652	36.8	291	2.9	371	3.7	1,873	18.8	9,937	100
Amambay	36,900	36.7	24,498	24.4	15,215	15.2	16,530	16.5	7,281	7.3	100,424	100
Cordillera	75,293	36.3	123,110	59.3	7,044	3.4	427	0.2	1,798	0.9	207,672	100
Ñeembucú	22,232	32	42,841	61.6	3,700	5.3	100	0.1	645	0.9	69,518	100
Misiones	25,712	28.3	58,896	64.9	4,778	5.3	297	0.3	1,119	1.2	90,801	100
Itapúa	111,400	28	224,862	56.5	35,668	9	4,583	1.2	21,251	5.3	397,764	100
Alto Paraná	135,087	27.8	199,508	41	65,188	13.4	64,478	13.3	21,849	4.5	486,109	100
Presidente Hayes	12,149	16.9	39,165	54.5	3,456	4.8	157	0.2	16,995	23.6	71,922	100
Central	117,920	9.8	866,036	71.8	178,907	14.8	7.311	0.6	35,791	3	1,205,964	100
Asunción	20,257	4.3	278,596	59.7	103,888	22.3	6,069	1.3	57,919	12.4	466,730	100
Boquerón	1,532	4.2	6,864	18.9	1,567	4.3	278	0.8	26,029	71.8	36,269	100

Source: Paraguay [STP/DGEEC], 2004, Tables P01 y P19.

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Table 5. Languages spoken by parents at home 2002 (row percents)

Predominant home language(s)	Languages(s) spoken by the father	No mother		Language(s) spoken by the mother							
				Speaks only							
				Guaraní		Guaraní-Spanish		Spanish		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Guaraní	No father	0	0.0	38,248	48.3	204	0.3	40,790	51.5	79,242	100
	Guaraní	11,060	6.2	146,618	82.3	554	0.3	19,846	11.1	178,078	100
	Guaraní-Spanish	26	2.6	411	41.4	158	15.9	397	40.0	992	100
	Spanish	9.073	5.7	16,029	10.0	438	0.3	134,535	84.0	160,075	100
	Total, Guaraní households	20.159	4.8	201,306	48.1	1,354	0.3	195,568	46.7	418,387	100
Spanish	No father	0	0.0	1,018	2.2	8,632	18.4	37,266	79.4	46,916	100
	Guaraní	340	6.8	1,512	30.1	1,428	28.5	1,738	34.6	5,018	100
	Guaraní-Spanish	1,030	4.3	455	1.9	17,249	72.0	5,237	21.8	23,971	100
	Spanish	5,541	4.1	788	0.6	8,377	6.2	119,446	89.0	134,152	100
	Total, Spanish households	6,911	3.3	3,773	1.8	35,686	17.0	163,687	77.9	210,057	100
Total households	No father	0	0.0	39,266	31.1	8,836	7.0	78,056	61.9	126,158	100
	Guaraní	11,400	6.2	148,130	80.9	1,982	1.1	21,584	11.8	183,096	100
	Guaraní-Spanish	1,056	4.2	866	3.5	17,407	69.7	5,634	22.6	24,963	100
	Spanish	14,614	5.0	16,817	5.7	8,815	3.0	253,981	86.3	294,227	100
	Total Households	27,070	4.3	205,079	32.6	37,040	5.9	359,255	57.2	628,444	100

Source: Paraguay [STP/DGEEC], 2004.

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Table 6. Language spoken by the eldest child, 2002 (column percents)

The eldest child speaks only	Predominant home language					
	Guaraní		Spanish		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Guaraní	170,945	40.9	1,275	0.7	172,220	29.1
Guaraní-Spanish	9,668	2.3	65,877	38.1	75,545	12.8
Spanish	237,774	56.8	105,677	61.1	343,451	58.1
Total	**418,387**	**100.0**	**172,829**	**100.0**	**591,216**	**100.0**

Source: Paraguay [STP/DGEEC], 2004.

3. Legal foundations of bilingual education in Paraguay

Although Guaraní has become a minority language among Paraguayan children, the language has been declared co-official with Spanish since the 1992 constitution (Paraguay [PR], 1992, author's translations). Part 1 of the constitution regards fundamental declarations, rights, responsibilities and guarantees. In Chapter VII, which deals with education and culture, Article 77, on instruction in the mother tongue, states that:

> Instruction at the beginning level of school shall be in the official mother tongue of the student. The knowledge and use of both official languages of the republic shall be taught.

Part III of the constitution addresses the political organization of the country. Title 1, on the nation and the state, includes Chapter 1, general declarations. Article 140, on languages, declares that

> Paraguay is a pluricultural and bilingual country. Spanish and Guaraní are official languages. The use of one and the other shall be established by law. Indigenous languages, as with those of other minorities, form part of the cultural patrimony of the Nation.

3.1 Unesco 1996: Universal declaration of linguistic rights

The co-officialization of Guaraní occurred in an international context of recognition of linguistic rights that had been first articulated by UNESCO (1953). A discussion of the passages from the 1996 Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (UNESCO, 1996) that are relevant to Paraguayan bilingual education follows. According to the declaration,

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> Linguistic rights are declared to be fundamental human rights:
>
> The non-governmental institutions and organizations, signatories of this Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, having met in Barcelona, from June 6 to 9,1996,
>
> Considering the Universal declaration of linguistic rights of 1948 that in the preamble affirms the "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and in the value of human beings and in the equal rights of men and women"; and that the second article establishes that "everyone has all rights and all liberties" without regard for "race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic status, birth or any other condition"[.]

In Article 2, one reads that:

1. This Declaration states that, in those cases in which different linguistic communities and groups cooccur in a shared territory, the exercise of the rights formulated in this Declaration must be respected by all and within maximum democratic guarantees.
2. From the moment that a satisfactory sociolinguistic equilibrium is established, that is, adequate articulation of the respective rights of these linguistic communities and groups and of the people that are part of them, factors that may require a compensatory rebalancing: the coercive nature of migrations that have led to contact between different communities and groups or the extent of political, socioeconomic and cultural precariousness, must be taken into account, along with relative historicity and democratically expressed will.
3. This Declaration considers that the collective rights of linguistic groups, as well as those established by their members as established in the previous paragraph, also may include, in accordance with the specifications in article 2.2:

   the right to instruction in one's own language and culture;
   the right to access to cultural services;
   the right to an equitable presence of the language and culture of the group in mass media;
   the right to be attended in one's language at public offices and socioeconomic relations.

Paraguay's 1992 constitutional co-officialization and subsequent language policy was consonant with these linguistic rights. The closest Paraguay came to the international standard was around 1998. Shortly after that, reliable census data show that some 170,945 eldest children between the ages of 5 and 18 spoke only Guaraní (Table 6). The total enrollment in 1998 involved 38,492 students, but an undetermined number of these students were in bilingual districts. The majority of Guaraní-speaking children were not served directly by the program; however, the coordinator of the National Bilingualism Commission, Ramiro Domínguez,

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explained that the principle of *cobertura blanda* 'soft coverage' was to be employed throughout the entire educational system (Domínguez, personal communication, 1995). Even without official support, educational districts were free to implement the Guaraní modality.

As anticipated in the UNESCO declaration, there are two linguistic communities that cooccur in the same national territory, rural Guaraní speakers and urban Guaraní-Spanish bilinguals. Both groups are affected by the linguistic rights made explicit in this declaration. Respect of linguistic rights of rural Guaraní speakers is a special challenge to be met in Paraguay.

The second clause of Article 2 is relevant as rural areas face economic pressure from well-heeled agribusiness interests, leading to migration of rural dwellers to urban centers. In such a context, the rights of the increasingly large population of urban Guaraní-speakers must be respected as well.

The third clause specifies linguistic rights. Guaraní speakers have a right to mother tongue education, a right already specified in the 1992 constitution. The equitable presence of Guaraní in mass media is particularly problematic, the vast bulk of television broadcasting being in Spanish (There was a somewhat more conspicuous presence of Guaraní on radio). When a Guaraní speaker goes to the urban centers, this declaration gives him or her the right to use and be addressed in Guaraní.

In Section II, on Education, the following relevant language is found in Article 23:

1. Education must contribute to fomenting the capacity for linguistic and cultural self-expression of the linguistic community of the territory where it is imparted.
2. Education must contribute to the maintenance and development of the language spoken by the linguistic community of the territory where it is imparted.
3. Education must always serve linguistic and cultural diversity, and harmonious relations among the many linguistic communities of the world.
4. In the framework of the above principles, everyone has the right to learn any language.

Clause 1 expresses the importance of mother tongue literacy, which is more than a transitional stepping stone to Spanish. Literacy in Guaraní is an essential tool of self-expression. A Guaraní modality will enable education to contribute to the maintenance and development of Guaraní, the exclusive language of 1,319,777 Paraguayans in 2002.

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3.2 Law 4251 "of languages" (December 29, 2010)

David Galeano, director of the Atheneum of Guaraní Language and Culture, wrote:

> After 18 years, on December 29, 2010, the Executive Power promulgated Law 4251, of languages. The Law of Languages regulates Articles 77 and 140 of the National Constitution of the Republic of Paraguay; creates the Secretariat of Language Policy and the Academy of the Guaraní Language; it also protects and guarantees indigenous languages of Paraguay and sign language. (Galeano, 2018)

Chapter II of the law, "On language rights" Article 6, "On the teaching of foreign languages," declares that:

> All those residing in the Republic have the right to […r]eceive from the beginning of school formal education in his or her mother tongue, as long as it is one of the official languages of the country or an indigenous language.

Chapter 2, Article 6 restates the guarantee of mother tongue education expressed in Article 77 of the 1992 constitution. The right of indigenous peoples to mother tongue education is made explicit.

In Chapter III of the law, "On use of the official languages in the public sphere," Article 10, "National collective linguistic rights" declares that "linguistic rights of the national community" include:

> A plan of Guaraní – Spanish bilingual education in the entire national education system from kindergarten to university, and with differentiated plans for indigenous peoples.

The law specifies that bilingual education be planned for all levels of school. As will be emphasized, the first cycle of education is crucial to the success of subsequent use of Guaraní as a language of literacy and for teaching content.

In Chapter IV of the law, "On languages in education," Article 27, "On participation of the educational community" reads in part as follows:

> The Ministry of Education will involve the participation of the educational community in decision-making regarding the choice of language of initial literacy. The selection of the bilingual education design will result from the application of instruments of language proficiency to the student and of the collective will assumed by the educational community.

Article 30, "On teacher training" provides that:

> Normal schools shall produce bilingual educators in Guaraní and Spanish. According to the circumstances, during the course of their teaching, teachers shall use both official languages as a teaching medium. Within the territory of an indigenous language, teachers must be trained in that language, which will be used additionally as a didactic medium.

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This report includes information gleaned from the application of instruments of language proficiency, and thus provides a model for compliance with this article of the Law of Languages. Note that in the ideal indigenous community, children acquire language in their mother tongue, which is subsequently used for instruction. (This problem, the linguistic education of the indigenous language, will have to be treated elsewhere.)

4. The first National Plan for the Maintenance of Bilingual Education, 1995

María Mansfeld de Agüero, Ida Genes & María Elvira Martínez de Campos, authors of the 1995 National Plan for the Maintenance of Bilingual Education (Paraguay [MEC/SSE/DC], 1995), based their work on the *threshold theory* of Cummins (1989). The theory holds that submersion in a second language negatively affects the development of cognitive academic linguistic proficiency (CALP) of the child. The resulting semilingualism may be operationally defined here as linguistic production that is less than half of comprehension in both languages.

The single design for bilingual education consisted of beginning with the majority of school time (85%) devoted to the mother tongue (see Gynan, 2004). The goal was to achieve parity in both languages by the sixth grade. By third grade, the time devoted to the second language increased from 15 to 25 percent.

By 1998, almost 40,000 students were in the Guaraní modality (Table 7). The greatest number of students (over 3,000 in each department) was in Caaguazú, Paraguarí, Guairá, Central, Alto Paraná, Cordillera, and Concepción.

Table 7. Enrollment in the Guaraní Modality, 1998
(in decreasing order by total enrollment)

Department	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade	Total
Caaguazú	2,156	1,871	1,270	1,325	691	0	7,313
Paraguarí	1,391	966	767	774	454	0	4,352
Guairá	1,225	845	841	670	371	231	4,183
Central	567	601	514	1,146	1,147	63	4,038
Alto Paraná	933	838	729	913	503	0	3,916
Cordillera	848	679	773	786	557	48	3,691
Concepción	1,114	983	661	669	76	55	3,558
Other	479	400	390	269	143	50	1,731
Itapúa	464	424	379	459	0	0	1,726
San Pedro	546	346	306	248	55	67	1,568
Amambay	249	202	200	96	0	0	747
Canindeyú	381	190	85	51	0	0	707
Misiones	140	146	138	120	58	0	602
Caazapá	68	64	66	67	0	0	265

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Table 7. (*continued*)

Department	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade	4th grade	5th grade	6th grade	Total
Ñeembucú	0	0	0	95	0	0	95
Total students	10,561	8,555	7,119	7,688	4,055	514	38,492
Total teachers	510	435	374	391	192	35	1,937

Source: Paraguay [MEC/SSE/DPE], 1999.

Census data enable identification of linguistic characteristics of the departments that were included in the Guaraní modality. One criterion for inclusion in the program could be the predominance of Guaraní at the departmental level, since the Guaraní modality was designed for predominantly Guaraní-speaking districts. (Even better would be linguistic information at the district level, but these were not available from MEC.) Census data from 2002 show that among the departments of Paraguay, San Pedro, Caazapá, Caaguazú and Concepción had majority Guaraní-speaking populations (Table 8). Returning to Table 7, it could be seen that Caazapá and San Pedro were underrepresented.

Table 8. Population by language and department (including Asunción), 2002 (in decreasing order by percent Guaraní)

	Guaraní		Bilingual		Spanish	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
San Pedro	187,957	67.9	78,646	28.4	2,768	1.0
Caazapá	70,049	57.5	43,050	35.3	2,519	2.1
Caaguazú	201,682	53.1	151,289	39.8	9,480	2.5
Concepción	82,756	53.0	63,630	40.8	4,761	3.0
Canindeyú	55,135	46.2	20,860	17.5	10,137	8.5
Guairá	73,187	45.8	77,774	48.7	4,973	3.1
Paraguarí	86,781	43.6	106,057	53.3	4,400	2.2
Alto Paraguay	3,750	37.7	3,652	36.8	291	2.9
Amambay	36,900	36.7	24,498	24.4	15,215	15.2
Cordillera	75,293	36.3	123,110	59.3	7,044	3.4
Ñeembucú	22,232	32.0	42,841	61.6	3,700	5.3
Misiones	25,712	28.3	58,896	64.9	4,778	5.3
Itapúa	111,400	28.0	224,862	56.5	35,668	9.0
Alto Paraná	135,087	27.8	199,508	41.0	65,188	13.4
Presidente Hayes	12,149	16.9	39,165	54.5	3,456	4.8
Central	117,920	9.8	866,036	71.8	178,907	14.8
Asunción	20,257	4.3	278,596	59.7	103,888	22.3
Dpto. Boquerón	1,532	4.2	6,864	18.9	1,567	4.3
Total País	1,319,777	29.0	2,409,334	52.9	458,739	10.1

Source: Paraguay [STP/DGEEC], 2004.

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The figures in Table 9 are intended to illustrate the way in which the distribution of students in the Guaraní modality corresponded to the distribution of all Guaraní speakers among the departments of Paraguay. Some Guaraní-speaking departments were underserved. Some were served at an appropriate level. Some largely bilingual departments had an overrepresentation of Guaraní modality students.

As an example of underrepresentation of Guaraní speakers, at 67.9 percent, the department of San Pedro had the highest percentage of Guaraní speakers. Of all Guaraní speakers in Paraguay, 14.2 percent lived in San Pedro; however, only 4.2 percent of students in the Guaraní modality were in San Pedro. Similarly, in Caazapá, where 0.7 percent of the students in the Guaraní modality were located, 5.3 percent of Paraguayan Guaraní speakers lived. Guaraní speaking students were also underserved in Itapúa. Only 4.6 percent of Guaraní modality students were located in Itapúa, which was home to 8.4 percent of the nation's Guaraní speakers.

In other Guaraní-majority departments, coverage was roughly commensurate with the percentage of the nation's Guaraní-speaking population resident in the department. In Caaguazú, home to 15.3 percent of all Guaraní speakers in Paraguay, 19.4 percent of students in the Guaraní modality were located. In Concepción, another majoritarian Guaraní-speaking department, home to 6.3 percent of all Guaraní speakers, 9.4 percent of Guaraní modality students were located. In multilingual Alto Paraná, home to 10.2 percent of Paraguay's Guaraní speakers, 10.4 percent of the nation's Guaraní modality students were located.

In several majority bilingual departments, there was a disproportionate representation of Guaraní modality students. For example, 11.5 percent of the Guaraní modality students were located in largely bilingual Paraguarí, home to only 6.6 percent of Paraguay's Guaraní speakers. Similarly, 9.8 percent of the Guaraní modality students were located in the bilingual Cordillera Department, where just 5.7 percent of Guaraní speakers of Paraguay lived. Another 11.1 percent of the Guaraní modality students were located in the bilingual Guairá department, where 5.5 percent of Guaraní speakers of Paraguay lived. Some 10.7 percent of the nation's Guaraní modality students were located in the bilingual Central Department, home to 8.9 percent of Paraguay's speakers of Guaraní.

The reason for these disparities is simple: access, as explained by Ramiro Domínguez to the author in 1995. The underserved departments were difficult to travel to in 1995, and the overrepresented departments, all bilingual, were nearby. This practical consideration brought the nascent Guaraní modality to bilingual districts. Some parents of bilingual students were outraged that their children were being taught in Guaraní (Paraguay [MEC], 2001a). Parental opposition hastened the end of the Guaraní modality (Paraguay [MEC], 2001b).

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Table 9. Distribution of Students in the Guaraní Modality and of Guaraní speakers (by predominance of Guaraní at the departmental level, 1998 and 2002)

	Guaraní speakers (2002)	Departmental % of Guaraní speakers (2002)	National % of Guaraní speakers (2002)	National % of students in the Guaraní modality (1998)
San Pedro	187,957	67.9	14.2	4.2
Caazapá	70,049	57.5	5.3	0.7
Caaguazú	201,682	53.1	15.3	19.4
Concepción	82,756	53.0	6.3	9.4
Canindeyú	55,135	46.2	4.2	1.9
Guairá	73,187	45.8	5.5	11.1
Paraguarí	86,781	43.6	6.6	11.5
Alto Paraguay	3,750	37.7	0.3	0.0
Amambay	36,900	36.7	2.8	0.0
Cordillera	75,293	36.3	5.7	9.8
Ñeembucú	22,232	32	1.7	0.3
Misiones	25,712	28.3	1.9	1.6
Itapúa	111,400	28	8.4	4.6
Alto Paraná	135,087	27.8	10.2	10.4
Presidente Hayes	12,149	16.9	0.9	0.0
Central	117,920	9.8	8.9	10.7
Asunción	20,257	4.3	1.5	0.0
Boquerón	1,532	4.2	0.1	0.0
Otro	N/A	N/A	N/A	4.6
Total	**1,319,779**		**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Paraguay [STP/DGEEC], 2004; [MEC/SSE/DPE], 1999.

5. Measurement of bilingual proficiency in Guaraní-speaking towns of the Paraguayan interior (2001, 2009, 2013)

5.1 Instrument validity and reliability

The instrument used for this study was designed to measure bilingual comprehension and production of children between eight and twelve years of age. The oral comprehension test requires neither reading nor writing. Each child was given a drawing and a grid for answering (Figures 1 and 2). The reading related to the drawing was followed by a series of true-false statements.

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Figure 1. Drawing used for testing oral comprehension and writing
(*Source*: Mansfeld Agüero, 2009)

	Ha's	Ndaha'ei
p	☺	☹
1	☺	☹
2	☺	☹
3	☺	☹
4	☺	☹
5	☺	☹
6	☺	☹
7	☺	☹
8	☺	☹
9	☺	☹
10	☺	☹

Figure 2. The oral comprehension test in Guaraní
(*Source*: Mansfeld Agüero, 2009)

The description in Guaraní was 61 words long. After the administration of the oral comprehension test in Guaraní, the drawing and answer sheet were collected and children were given the reading comprehension test in Guaraní (Figure 3). After the reading comprehension test, the answer sheets were collected and each child was given the picture, for which they were asked to write a creative description about what they had heard and read. This testing technique was successful in that even the weakest students were at least able to write a few words. Almost no tests were returned blank.

The same testing procedure was then repeated in Spanish. The Spanish version, an exact translational equivalent of the Guaraní version, was 104 words long. The difference between the lengths of the two descriptions was due to the polysynthetic

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Rosa oho y rekávo			
Mitãkuña'i hérava Rosa oiko oga'imi potĩetépe oĩva yvyty rapópe. Ko óga mbokajaty hovyũ asýva ikupépe. Korapýre oguata kure ha ryguasu oheka yso hembi'urã. Ko mitãkuña'i ose kuri oguata ha' eñomi tape po'ĩre y rekávo. Yvoty porãita ombojegua tape po'i. Omyenihe rire ikambuchi, Rosa ikane' õ'imi ha oguapy opytu'u haguã ita ári yvu ykére. Rosa oma'e mombyry, ijykére oĩ tapiti rague vuku ojesarekóva hese.	1 Mitãkuña'i hérava Rosa oiko oga'imi potĩetépe.	☺	☹
	2 Rosa oiko óga guasu potĩetépe.	☺	☹
	3 Oga'imi oĩ yvyty ru'ãme.	☺	☹
	4 Ko óga imbokajaty hovyũ asýva ikupépe.	☺	☹
	5 Korapýpe oguata kavaju.	☺	☹
	6 Ryguasu oheka yso hembi'urã.	☺	☹
	7 Ko mitãkuña'i osékuri oguata isy ndive.	☺	☹
	8 Mitãkuña'i oho y rekávo.	☺	☹
	9 Yvoty porãita ombojegua yvu.	☺	☹
	10 Ojoka rire ikambuchi, Rosa ikane'õ.	☺	☹
	11 Oguapy opurahéi hagua.	☺	☹
	12 Oguapy opytu'u ita ári yvu ykére.	☺	☹
	13 Rosa oma'é tapiti rague vukúre.	☺	☹
	14 Oí tapiti rague vuku ojesarekóva hese.	☺	☹

Figure 3. The text read in Guaraní (61 words) (*Source*: Mansfeld Agüero, 2009)

and agglutinative nature of Guaraní, as opposed to the inflectional character of Spanish. Expressing written production as a percentage of the instrument facilitates control of this difference between the languages, and also enables comparison with the comprehension scores.

Rosa va a buscar agua			
Había una niña que se llamaba Rosa que vivía en una casita muy limpia que estaba en la falda de una cordillera. Cerca de la casa había unas palmeras muy verdes. En el patio caminaba un chancho y una gallina buscaba gusanos para el almuerzo. Esta niña salió a caminar sólita por un caminito para buscar agua. Lindas flores adornaban ese caminito. Después de llenar el cántaro, Rosa se sintió un poco cansada y se sentó a descansar en una piedra al lado de un manantial. Rosa miraba a lo lejos, y a su lado había un conejito peludo que la miraba.	1 Rosa vivía en una casita muy limpia.	☺	☹
	2 Rosa vivía en una gran casa limpia.	☺	☹
	3 La casa estaba en la punta de la cordillera.	☺	☹
	4 Cerca de la casa había unas palmeras muy verdes.	☺	☹
	5 En el patio caminaba un caballo.	☺	☹
	6 Una gallina buscaba gusanos para el almuerzo.	☺	☹
	7 Esta niña salió a caminar con su mamá.	☺	☹
	8 La niña salió a buscar agua.	☺	☹
	9 Lindas flores adornaban el manantial.	☺	☹
	10 Después de romper el cántaro Rosa se cansó.	☺	☹
	11 Se sentó a cantar.	☺	☹
	12 Se sentó en una piedra al lado del manantial.	☺	☹
	13 Rosa miraba al conejito peludo.	☺	☹
	14 Había un conejito peludo que la miraba.	☺	☹

Figure 4. The text read in Spanish (104 words) (*Source*: Mansfeld Agüero, 2009)

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The validity of the test revolves around the question of whether each test measures a given skill. The oral test allows for focus entirely on oral comprehension without any need to read or write. The reading test involves no oral comprehension, although the preceding test of oral comprehension may help with reading comprehension. The writing task involves no oral comprehension. Because some students found it difficult to mark the correct row, the first four answers were given as practice. Each teacher administering the tests was encouraged to help students locate their answer in the correct row, without indicating if the student's answer was right or wrong. Correct marking was verified by the test administrators. These steps helped reduce student error that was due to incorrect marking of the answer.

Reading comprehension was measured after oral comprehension. The test sheets for reading comprehension are illustrated in Figures 3 and 4. The test sheet did not include the illustration. This meant that the student had to rely on his or her memory and his or her ability to decipher written language. This technique enables the teacher to focus exclusively on the act of reading.

Reliability is easier to confirm quantitatively. In the most recent administration of the instrument, the teachers opted for a single comprehension test, reading the description aloud while the children read along. The results were analyzed using the Cronbach alpha test. For the test in Guaraní, the alpha coefficient was 0.824 ($N = 115$). For the test in Spanish, the alpha coefficient was 0.773 ($N = 119$). Since 0.7 is considered an acceptable coefficient, the results indicate that the instruments are reliable.

5.2 Guaraní and Spanish modalities, compared (2001)

In 2001, a unique opportunity to compare the consequences on Guaraní-speaking children of Spanish submersion with Guaraní as a second language (the Spanish modality) or mother tongue literacy instruction with Spanish as a second language (the Guaraní modality). The results of the tests of bilingual proficiency are presented in Table 10. Results for both third and sixth grades are presented, but the sixth grade results are not easily comparable because many of the weaker students dropped out. The scores on the comprehension tests differed only slightly between the two modalities. There was generally more variance in the Guaraní modality. These third graders comprehended an average of 60% of the spoken and written descriptions.

Interesting differences were revealed in the production scores. The Guaraní modality students produced over twice as many words in both Guaraní and Spanish as the children in the Spanish modality. Even though the children in both modalities produced slightly more words in Spanish than in Guaraní, expressing the lexical

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Table 10. Bilingual proficiency of Guaraní-speaking children in the Guaraní and Spanish modalities (2001)

		Spanish modality		Guaraní modality		F test	T test
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	P (%)	P (%)
3rd year	Guaraní oral comprehension	60.0	16.20	60.5	21.09	0.29	0.94
	Spanish Oral Comprehension	57.6	12.51	61.4	26.89	0.00*	0.57
	Guaraní Reading Comprehension	55.9	9.39	52.9	27.59	0.00*	0.64
	Spanish Reading Comprehension	58.8	14.53	61.0	26.25	0.02*	0.75
	Lexical total Guaraní	8.8	4.67	23.2	9.24	0.01*	0.00*
	Lexical total Spanish	11.8	6.98	23.4	9.73	0.18	0.00*
	Lexical percent Guaraní	20.4	10.86	53.9	21.50	0.01*	0.00*
	Lexical percent Spanish	24.6	14.11	34.9	14.53	0.92	0.03*
6th year	Guaraní Oral Comprehension	81.1	18.44	85.71	11.4	0.32	0.44
	Spanish Oral Comprehension	83.9	18.19	88.6	14.83	0.22	0.42
	Guaraní Reading Comprehension	85.6	13.38	85.7	27.02	0.17	0.98
	Spanish Reading Comprehension	85.6	17.90	87.9	14.14	0.26	0.69
	Lexical total Guaraní	32.2	8.73	38.3	7.81	0.05*	0.01*
	Lexical total Spanish	42.9	13.38	56.0	27.72	0.21	0.03*
	Lexical percent Guaraní	74.8	20.29	102.0	37.48	0.05*	0.01*
	Lexical percent Spanish	64.1	19.97	83.6	41.37	0.21	0.03*

Source: González Ramos de Benítez, 2001.

production as a percentage of the original instrument revealed that children in the Spanish modality only produced 20.4 percent of the Guaraní instrument. In other words, their production was about three times less than their comprehension. The Spanish production of the Spanish modality children was not much better, only 24.6 percent, about half of their level of comprehension. The bilingual production of the Guaraní modality children was dramatically higher. Children wrote essays that were on the average 53.9 percent of the Guaraní, a level of production nearly commensurate with their oral and written comprehension. Despite the fact that for the last three years, they had devoted roughly 20 percent of their school time to acquisition of Spanish, their production in Spanish was 34.9 percent, lower than

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their production in Guaraní, but still significantly higher than their peers in the Spanish modality.

The results for the sixth grade were not as dramatic, but still significant. Guaraní modality children produced essays that were commensurate with their level of comprehension, and longer than those of their submersed counterparts. That the differences were not as great as those in third grade may have been due to the weaker students in the Spanish modality dropping out. Nevertheless, Spanish production was notably less than comprehension in both languages in the Spanish modality.

Cummins (1989) labeled the result of submersion 'semilingualism.' This has been a somewhat controversial claim, implying that a submersion model of bilingual education impairs the linguistic competence of children. Without going so far as to purport long-term damage to linguistic competence in two languages, 'semilingualism' can be operationally defined as significant underproduction in both languages. By this definition, many Guaraní-speaking children in the Spanish modality ended up being semilingual.

The rival hypothesis arises as to whether teachers in the Spanish modality perhaps were less competent than those in the Guaraní modality. The superior performance of the students in the Guaraní modality could be due to superior teaching. In Table 11, the performance of the children in the Guaraní modality discussed above is compared with results from four other schools. While the author of this chapter personally supervised the administration of the tests that produced the data presented in Table 10, the tests in the other schools (Table 11) were not administered in the author's presence. This might explain the abnormally high oral and reading comprehension scores from school 3308. The other scores are similar to those of the supervised study. If anything, the scores for the supervised administration of the comprehension tests for the Guaraní modality school were generally lower.

The production scores of two Guaraní modality schools, 295 and 666, were higher than in the supervised school, but note the pattern was the same, with more production in Guaraní than in Spanish. The level of production in Guaraní was again commensurate, more or less, with oral and reading comprehension. For example, in School 295, which produced results very similar to those of the supervised school, the mean essay in Guaraní was 60.3 percent of the instrument. Oral comprehension of the Guaraní instrument was 61.7 percent.

In Guaraní modality Schools 295 and 666, the scores for written production in Spanish, at 41.4 and 55.7, respectively, were notably better than in the supervised school, but still not nearly as high as the Guaraní scores. This was to be expected since children had spent an average of 20 percent of their time studying Spanish as a second language.

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Table 11. Bilingual proficiency in Guaraní modality schools, 3rd grade (2001)

School	Mean or standard deviation	Guaraní oral comprehension	Spanish oral comprehension	Guaraní reading comprehension	Spanish reading comprehension	Lexical total Guaraní	Lexical total Spanish	Lexical percent Guaraní	Lexical percent Spanish
295	Mean	61.7	61.7	67.8	72.2	25.9	27.7	60.3	41.4
	Standard deviation	19.2	19.8	19.3	26.2	10.9	9	25.3	13.5
666	Mean	72.9	82.9	87.1	90	28.6	37.3	66.4	55.7
	Standard deviation	13.8	12.5	12.5	11.5	5.2	17	12.1	25.4
669	Mean	54	70	69.3	65.3	14.6	17.8	34	26.6
	Standard deviation	32.5	32.1	20.5	16.8	9.1	10.9	21.1	16.3
3308	Mean	85.3	85.3	88.7	85.3	16.9	20.7	39.4	30.9
	Standard deviation	20.3	23.9	22.9	20.7	5.8	6.5	13.4	9.7
796	Mean	60.5	61.4	52.9	61.0	23.2	23.4	53.9	34.9
	Standard deviation	21.09	26.89	27.59	26.25	9.24	9.73	21.50	14.53

Source: Gynan, 2004
295, Yaguarón, Paraguarí – rural school; $N = 18$
666, Yaguarón, Paraguarí – rural school; $N = 7$
669, San Ignacio, Misiones – urban school; $N = 15$
3308, Empalada-mi, Caaguazú – rural school; $N = 15$
796, Arrua'í, Itá, Central – rural school; $N = 22$

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Two schools did not produce as much as those in the supervised school. For example, in School 3308, Students produced only 39.4 percent of the Guaraní. Note that this level of production is not at all commensurate with the levels of oral and written comprehension of 85.3 and 88.7 percent, respectively. The scores for written production are more valid because the lexical counts were based on the author's personal analysis of the children's written production.

The supervised Spanish modality scores are the lowest of the four Spanish modality schools represented in Table 12. Whereas the population of the other three schools is urban bilingual (albeit interior and therefore somewhat more heavily Guaraní-speaking), the supervised test site was rural, and therefore more Guaraní-speaking and less bilingual. The Spanish modality works well in bilingual districts. Especially notable was School 152, where both the Guaraní and Spanish production scores were roughly commensurate with the comprehension scores. School 1112 was located in Paraguarí, a bilingual district of the interior that was nevertheless heavily Guaraní-speaking. The performance of the children in Paraguarí was similar to the semilingualism in the supervised school. In both schools, Guaraní production was less than half their bilingual comprehension.

5.3 Confirmation of semilingualism caused by Spanish submersion of Guaraní-speaking children

By 2009, most Guaraní modality schools had been replaced by Spanish modality ones. Two examples of Spanish modality schools in rural, Guaraní-speaking districts near Asunción were tested. The results are presented in Table 13. The oral and reading comprehension scores were similar to the results obtained previously in 2001, at around 70 percent. As was found in 2001, students produced more words in Guaraní. This production was less than half of the length of the instruments, and lower in Spanish for both schools. The Spanish modality was shown to be less effective in teaching Spanish to Guaraní-speaking children. The children displayed the same pattern of semilingualism, whereby they produced much less in writing in both languages than they understood.

All children in this study were interviewed one by one in Guaraní and Spanish. They were asked to retell the story about which they had heard, read, and written. Interestingly, the children in Inglés-kue spoke Guaraní at a level nearly commensurate with their comprehension. They actually produced more in Spanish orally than in writing. These figures are helpful, in that many children were identified as superior speakers of Guaraní.

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Table 12. Bilingual proficiency in Spanish modality schools, 3rd grade (2001)

School	Mean or standard deviation	Guaraní oral comprehension	Spanish oral comprehension	Guaraní reading comprehension	Spanish reading comprehension	Lexical total Guaraní	Lexical total Spanish	Lexical percent Guaraní	Lexical percent Spanish
152	Mean	62.5	77.5	66.9	76.3	22.8	34.7	53.1	51.8
	Standard deviation	18.4	13.9	23	13.1	8.6	8.5	20	12.6
669	Mean	62.7	78.3	72.7	82.3	20.8	27.6	48.3	41.2
	Standard deviation	17	16.8	17.2	17	4.6	6.7	10.8	10.1
1112	Mean	74.6	81.5	73.1	85.5	15.5	17.1	36	25.5
	Standard deviation	10.5	16.3	18.9	9.3	2.6	5.1	6.1	7.6
2404	Mean	60.0	57.6	55.9	58.8	11.8	17.6	27.4	26.2
	Standard deviation	16.20	12.51	9.39	14.53	6.98	10.41	16.23	15.54

Source: Gynan, 2004
152, San Ignacio, Misiones – urban school; $N = 16$
669, San Ignacio, Misiones – urban school; $N = 30$
1112, Paraguarí – urban school; $N = 13$
2404, Oculto, Itá, Central – rural school; $N = 17$

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Table 13. Bilingual proficiency in Spanish modality schools, 3rd grade (2009)

School	Mean or standard deviation	Guaraní oral comprehension	Spanish oral comprehension	Guaraní reading comprehension	Spanish reading comprehension	Written lexical percent Guaraní	Written lexical percent Spanish	Oral lexical percent Guaraní	Oral lexical percent Spanish
Inglés-kue	Mean	70.8	71.5	53.8	70.0	35.7	23.8	48.3	32.6
($N = 10$)	Standard deviation	5.2	7.1	7.1	6.2	3.02	2.57	5.16	4.89
Nueva	Mean	72.4	69.2	60.8	69.6	26.38	24.78	37.86	28.75
Colombia ($N = 23$)	Standard deviation	3.8	5.1	5.1	4.5	1.93	1.64	3.37	3.20

Source: Mansfeld Agüero, 2009

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6. Sociolinguistic and academic consequences of Spanish submersion for the Guaraní-speaking interior of Paraguay (2013)

6.1 Bilingual profile of four classes

In 2013, an opportunity arose to measure the bilingual proficiency of 123 third-grade students, divided among two sections, A and B, and two shifts, morning and afternoon. The school was located in a bilingual district. The National Bilingualism Commission hypothesized that the afternoon class had more Guaraní students.

The 123 students produced a total of 8,924 words, 3,307 in Guaraní and 5,617 in Spanish (Table 14). In all four classes, students produced more words in Spanish. In both the morning and afternoon shifts, Section A outperformed Section B. The two A sections and the two B sections did not differ greatly,

As was done in the previous studies, lexical production was divided into the lexical total of the instrument, in order to control for the typological differences between the two languages. The average production in both languages is the same for the third grade, as is comprehension. Importantly, production is substantially less than comprehension, indicating semilingualism.

The comprehension scores are considerably higher than those obtained under supervision in 2001 and 2009. The teachers opted to read the narrative as students read along. Nevertheless, the comprehension scores revealed that both Section Bs comprehended and produced less in both languages. What could explain the consistently superior performance in the A sections? A closer look at each class will help to answer this question.

Table 14. Total and average words produced by language, section, and shift

Group	Spanish composition (total)	Guaraní composition (total)	Spanish composition (mean)	Guaraní composition (mean)
3A, Morning (*N* = 31)	1,728	995	55.7	32.1
3B, Morning (*N* = 33)	1,303	690	39.5	20.9
3A, Afternoon (*N* = 27)	1,373	941	50.9	34.9
3B, Afternoon (*N* = 32)	1,213	681	37.9	21.3
Total (*N* = 123)	**5,617**	**3,307**	**46.7**	**26.9**

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Table 15. Average percentage of instrument and comprehension by language, section, and shift

Group	Spanish composition % (mean)	Guaraní composition % (mean)	Spanish comprehension % (mean)	Guaraní comprehension % (mean)
3A TM (*N* = 31)	54.6	53.5	89.0	95.0
3B TM (*N* = 33)	38.7	34.8	74.0	73.0
3A TT (*N* = 27)	49.9	58.1	91.0	96.0
3B TT (*N* = 32)	37.2	35.5	78.0	75.0
Total	**44.8**	**44.8**	**82.0**	**84.0**

6.1.1 *Third grade, morning shift, section A (*N = *31)*

This class stands out in that the average production was nearly the same in Spanish (54.6%) and in Guaraní (53.5%). Nevertheless, while only 12 students (38.7%) produced less than 50 percent in Guaraní, 16 students (51.6%) wrote less than 50 percent in Spanish. Of the students who wrote less than 50 percent in Spanish, 12 students (75%) wrote more in Guaraní.

When these students are compared to the entire third grade using standardized scores ($z = X - \mu / \sigma$), a predominance of Spanish speakers, whose Spanish production is above the mean, is revealed.

6.1.2 *Third grade, morning shift, section B (*N = *33)*

In this class, low levels of production were revealed in both languages, an average of 38.7 percent in Spanish and 34.8 percent in Guaraní. This disproportionately low performance (in comparison with much higher comprehension), is similar to the pattern of semilingualism seen in situations of Spanish submersion of Guaraní speakers in 2001 and 2009. Of the 33 students, 26 (78.8%) wrote less than 50 percent in Guaraní and 27 (81.8%) wrote less than 50 percent in Spanish.

The use of standardized scores ($z = X - \mu / \sigma$) clarifies the large difference between the A and B sections of the morning shift. In Section B, half of the class was below the third grade average in bilingual production. This is precisely the semilingualism that the Spanish modality produces when applied to Guaraní-speaking children.

6.1.3 *Third grade, afternoon shift, section A (*N = *27)*

Section A of the afternoon shift is similar to Section A of the morning shift, but their Spanish production of 49.9 percent is notably less than their Guaraní production of 58.1 percent (see Table 15). Of the 27 students, only 11 (40.7%) wrote less than 50 percent in Guaraní, whereas 12 (44.4%) wrote less than 50 percent in Spanish.

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The use of standardized scores revealed a group of students who were dominant in Spanish, but there was a large number of students whose performance was below average.

6.1.4 *Third grade, afternoon shift, section B (*N = *32)*

The performance of the afternoon B section is similar to that of the morning B section. In Spanish, average production was 37.2 percent, while in Guaraní it was 35.5 percent.

As with the morning B section, these low levels of production (in comparison with their high level of comprehension) are typical of Guaraní speakers submersed in Spanish. Of the 32 students, 24 (75%) wrote less than 50 percent in Guaraní, and 24 (75%) wrote less than 50 percent in Spanish. Standardized values show that the majority of the class performs below average in both languages.

The analysis shows that the Spanish modality works well for Spanish dominant students, most of whom were assigned to Section A. For the Guaraní-speaking students, most of whom were assigned to Section B, the result for many was semilingualism.

7. Discussion, conclusion, and recommendations

The historical context of Guaraní as a language of the conquered and the poor has rendered bilingual education in Paraguay difficult. While Guaraní use continued to be widespread in 2002, Spanish has made significant inroads as urbanization of the Paraguayan population has increased. Implementation of the Guaraní modality in bilingual districts only served to exacerbate negative feelings toward academic Guaraní. Popular resentment and rejection of Academic Guaraní notwithstanding, the Guaraní modality is clearly better for Guaraní-speaking children. Since there are still many thousands of children being raised in Guaraní, and because the legal framework supports Guaraní mother tongue literacy, the Guaraní modality should be resurrected. The result would be less dropping out, and a population academically proficient in both official languages.

The testing methods used for this study produced valid and reliable results. Two full school days were required to administer the eight tests in Nueva Colombia. Correction of the production requires that the original essays be transcribed and quantified. The tests have provided a wealth of linguistic data on the bilingual proficiency of Paraguayan children. Much remains to be done to make explicit the morphosyntactic, phonological, and lexical, even stylistic dimensions.

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This study of third grade proficiency confirms the importance of early mother-tongue literacy. The results reported here, using versions of the same instruments over a decade, show how damaging Spanish submersion is to the cognitive academic linguistic proficiency of many Guaraní-speaking students. Paraguay demonstrated 20 years ago that it was capable of providing effective Guaraní mother tongue literacy and instruction in Spanish as a second language. It is hoped that the new administration in MEC and SPL can work together to fulfill the promises made in law. At the time of the writing of this report, partisans of Guaraní faced the urgency of diverting more resources to mother tongue literacy in the first basic cycle. Taking the difficult steps now to bring Paraguay into compliance with national law will greatly strengthen the future prestige and vitality of Guaraní.

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CHAPTER 12

Bad grammar

The persistence of inadequate explanations

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Although linguists have made great strides in revealing the internal logic of the Spanish language, as evidenced by the chapters in this volume, the debate about whether, or how, grammar is to be taught in Spanish classes has largely ignored the content of grammar explanations themselves. I explore three varieties of bad grammar: (1) failure to account for normal usage, exemplified by conventional explanations of *ser/estar,* (2) rules that could not possibly be acquired by native speakers, exemplified by the "emotion" category of subjunctive usage, and (3) failure to link usage with meaning, exemplified by preterite/imperfect rules. In addition, I call for linguists to contribute their expertise to the formulation of pedagogical grammar and the linguistic training of future teachers.

Keywords: copula, mood, tense, pedagogical grammar

1. Introduction

This is not an essay about whether or not grammar should be taught in Spanish classes, an issue which has inspired a great deal of research and commentary. Rather, this essay departs from the premise that grammar is taught, independent of academic opinion on the practice, both officially in textbooks and manuals, and unofficially on websites. Because the academic debate has been focused elsewhere, little attention has been paid to the linguistic adequacy of the grammar explanations found in these places. But, acknowledging that grammar is, in fact, taught means that the explanations relied on by teachers should be evaluated. Unfortunately, most explanations don't stand up to examination.

Linguists have made great strides in revealing the internal logic of the Spanish language, as evidenced by the essays in this volume. However, linguistics has had very little trickle-down effect on popular explanations of Spanish grammar. On the contrary, much of the grammar that was presented to me as a student in the 1960s

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is still being taught, unchanged by linguistic insight. This essay explores three varieties of bad grammar: (1) rules that fail to account for normal usage (exemplified by conventional approaches to the use of the copula *ser*), (2) rules that could not possibly be acquired by native speakers (exemplified by the "emotion" category of subjunctive usage), and (3) rules that fail to link usage to meaning (exemplified by lists of usage of preterit and imperfect verb forms).

2. Failure to account for usage: Conventional explanations of *ser*

If you look at most textbook or website explanations of *ser* 'to be,' you will probably see some version of this: *ser* is used with occupations, time/date, nationality, composition, possession and characteristics. It is easy, of course, to come up with example sentences for each of these categories (*Juan es músico* 'Juan is a musician,' *Son las seis* 'It's six o'clock,' etc.), but many of the uses of *ser* do not fall into any of these categories. Indeed, virtually any stretch of spoken or written Spanish containing the verb *ser* will provide examples that fall outside of the textbook explanation. For example, take a look at this short text about Puerto Rico (adapted from Wikipedia):

> Puerto Rico, oficialmente Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico, **es** un territorio no incorporado estadounidense con estatus de autogobierno. Puerto Rico **fue** colonia española desde la llegada de Cristóbal Colón en 1493 hasta la promulgación de la Carta Autonómica de Puerto Rico en 1897. Luego, brevemente, **fue** provincia española hasta la guerra hispano-estadounidense de 1898. Aunque su relación con Estados Unidos es similar a la de un estado de la Unión, los poderes existentes en la isla son revocables. Los puertorriqueños **son** ciudadanos estadounidenses pero, a menos que **sean** residentes oficiales de alguno de los cincuenta estados o del Distrito de Columbia, no pueden votar en las elecciones presidenciales. El inglés y el español **son** los idiomas oficiales de Puerto Rico. Sin embargo, aunque jurídicamente es bilingüe, Puerto Rico es hispanohablante de facto. El español **es** el idioma hablado por la mayoría de la población. ("Puerto Rico," n.d.)

The words that follow the underlined cases of *ser* above (*territorio* 'territory,' *colonia* 'colony,' *provincial* 'province,' *ciudadanos* 'citizens,' *residentes* 'residents,'and *idioma(s)* 'language(s)') do not fit into the categories of occupations, time/date, etc. On the conventional explanation, the only way to explain these perfectly ordinary uses of *ser* is to add categories to the list, but even these few words would generate several new categories. And, inevitably, more categories would have to be added to account for the use of *ser* in other contexts, rendering the "generalization" unworkable. What the words in the example above have in common is not what they refer to, but what part of speech they are: they are all nouns. The textbook categories

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single out some of the kinds of nouns that appear with *ser*, but the criterion for inclusion is based on examples in the textbooks themselves: *Soy estudiante* 'I'm a student,' *Hoy es lunes* 'Today is Monday,' etc.

The linguistic alternative is simply to recognize that only *ser* – not *estar* 'to be' – is used to link the subject of a sentence with a noun or pronoun. The part-of-speech generalization is very productive; note the number of *ser* + noun constructions in the example text above, for example. Failure to point this out has ensured that the *ser/estar* contrast is a perennial source of errors and confusion. Ironically, this generalization is what students want to have: a reliable, exceptionless rule. (What looks to be a noun in rare apparent exceptions is in fact an adjective, as in *Está muchacho* 'He is a boy' = *Está joven* 'He is young.')

Of course, application of this rule requires that students be able to identify nouns, and it might be objected that learning about nouns requires conscious analysis and is therefore inconsistent with true acquisition. There are two answers to this: first, learning categories of words that appear with *ser* as a list or as the acronym DOCTOR (Description, Occupation, Characteristic, Time/Date, Origen, Relationship), omnipresent on Spanish grammar websites, isn't natural either – and certainly doesn't lead to correct usage. Second, the linguistic behavior of native speakers shows that they can identify parts of speech. I once heard the following exchange, for example:

Mother: I'll be back pretty soon. You behave.
Child: (indignantly) I'm being have!

This child didn't know the word "behave" but she took it to be a combination of "be" + adjective, as in "be careful/gentle/good/nice/quiet." Anecdotes like this – of which readers of this essay can surely provide other examples – reveal that native speakers use their (unconscious) knowledge of the parts of speech to understand new utterances. Arguably, this is knowledge that learners should have as well. And it follows from this assertion that academic debate should be about how to teach the parts of speech, not whether they should be taught at all.

In summary, the rule found in textbooks and on websites that *ser* is used with occupations, time/date, nationality, composition, possession and characteristics simply does not account for normal usage. Often, it accounts just for textbook language, resulting in a loop of grammar explanations designed to explain examples, and examples chosen to exemplify grammar explanations. In contrast, the linguistic generalization that *ser* links the subject of a sentence with nouns and pronouns accounts for a substantial portion of real usage.

In addition to eliminating much of the confusion caused by the bad grammar about *ser* and *estar*, the linguistic generalization also reveals a clear contrast

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between the use of *ser* with nouns and the use of *ser* with adjectives: the former is syntactically motivated and categorical, while the latter carries semantic meaning. When the use of *ser* + adjective is labeled "characteristic" and put in a list with uses of *ser* + noun labeled as "occupations" and "time/date," this important distinction is lost. Only by setting aside the invariable use of *ser* with nouns and pronouns is it possible to focus on the meaningful use of *ser* with adjectives – and so to describe the *ser/estar* contrast in a revealing and helpful way.

The ability to identify parts of speech is involved in the use of both *ser* and *estar*. The conventional explanation of *estar* is summarized by the acronym PLACE: Position, Location, Action, Condition, Emotion. The latter two categories are exemplified by sentences such as *El tomate está rojo* 'The tomato is red' and *La niña está triste* 'The girl is sad,' in which there is a potential contrast with *ser*. Failure to identify adjectives means that the meaningful contrast between *ser* and *estar* in these cases cannot be distinguished from the invariable use of *estar* with gerunds (Action).

3. Failure to account for acquisition: The "emotion" category of subjunctive usage

Conventional explanations treat the subjunctive mood as a carrier of meanings that cluster around doubt, unreality and futurity: when the information in the subordinate clause is not true or cannot be confirmed, then the verb in that clause must be in the subjunctive. Since this explanation can be applied to many occurrences of the subjunctive, it is usually accepted as adequate. It has several flaws, however. First of all, it credits the subjunctive itself with carrying specific meanings that are actually expressed elsewhere. In the sentences below, for example, it is not the verb sea that expresses doubt, unreality and futurity; these concepts are expressed in the main clause.

No creo que sea así.	'I don't believe that it's [*sea*] so.'
Dudo que sea así.	'I doubt it's [*sea*] so.'
No es cierto que sea así.	'It's not true that it's [*sea*] so.'
Quiero que sea así.	'I want it to be [*sea*] so.'
Hablaremos cuando sea así.	'We'll talk when it is [*sea*] so.'

Doubt, unreality and futurity have a semantic commonality which lends an aura of coherency to the conventional explanation, but this does not mean that the subjunctive expresses these meanings directly.

The conventional explanation has another, more damning, flaw: it does not address the use of the subjunctive in factive predicates. There are many sentences

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in which the main clause is a comment on information that has already been introduced into the universe of discourse. Crucially, this factive information does not have to be true; it just has to be known. Here are some examples:

> *Me conmueve/conviene/encanta/gusta/llama la atención/molesta… que sea así.*
> 'It moves me emotionally / It suits me that / I love that / I like that / It draws my attention / It bothers me … that it is [*sea*] so.'
> *Es comprensible/conveniente/fantástico/increíble/interesante/ normal… que sea así.*
> 'It's understandable / It's convenient / It's fantastic / It's incredible / It's interesting / It's normal… that it is [*sea*] so.'

These sentences can be uttered only when the information in the subordinate clause (*que sea así* 'that it is so') is known to both speaker and hearer. Indeed, if this is not the case, the hearer will bring the conversation to a halt by asking to be informed about what the speaker is commenting on. If the doubt/unreality explanation were not so firmly entrenched, examples like this would serve to undermine it. Instead, they have given rise to a separate – and linguistically anomalous – category of subjunctive usage. Because the veracity of the information in factive predicates is not at issue, the new rule refers to the main clause, which is said to express "emotion" that then triggers the use of the subjunctive in the subordinate clause.

Is it possible for native speakers of Spanish to acquire this rule? In order to do so, they would have to be able to discern the presence of emotion in the speech of the people around them, and then associate emotion with the use of the subjunctive. But in the process of acquisition they would soon come across utterances in which emotional avowals are followed by the indicative:

> *Creo con toda mi alma que es así.*
> 'I believe with all my soul that it is [*es*] so.'
> *Te juro sobre la vida de mis hijos que es así.*
> 'I swear on the life of my children that it is [*es*] so.'

They would also hear utterances in which emotion is disavowed, but the subjunctive nevertheless appears in the subordinate clause:

> *Me da igual que sea así.* 'I don't care that it's [*sea*] so.'
> *No importa que sea así.* 'It doesn't matter that it's [*sea*] so.'

Finally, learners would encounter the subjunctive after the phrase *el hecho de que* 'the fact that,' which announces that the information that follows it is, quite literally, factive:

> *Se está investigando el hecho de que sea así.*
> 'The fact that it is [*sea*] so is being investigated.'

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Clearly, "emotion" is not a linguistic category, and the use the subjunctive is not based on whether, or how, emotion is linguistically represented. Just as "hard cases make bad law," stubborn exceptions make bad grammar. The use of the subjunctive to mark known information is a stubborn exception to the characterization of the subjunctive as an expression of doubt/unreality/futurity, and has resulted in the invention of an unlearnable category of usage. The linguistic solution is an explanation that covers all uses of the subjunctive: mood marking in Spanish serves to label information for its potential contribution to communication, with highly useful information marked with the indicative, and information that is either redundant or unreliable marked with the subjunctive. This explanation is based, in turn, on a fundamental fact about human language: the mass of information that makes up ordinary discourse is of varying degrees of usefulness, and successful communication requires that the usefulness of information be labeled in some way. In Spanish, the grammatical tool used for this purpose is mood.

4. The problem with acronyms

For many grammatical contrasts (e.g. *ser/estar, por/para* 'for'/'for,' preterit/imperfect, subjunctive/indicative), the internet provides acronyms that are intended to summarize conventional explanations. These acronyms are based on the premise that students already understand the grammar involved, and simply need to be reminded of it. This premise is false; learners cannot be reminded of what they do not know (though the acronyms may be useful reminders of "what's going to be on the test"). In practice, students who have not yet acquired the grammar involved use the acronyms as learning tools.

When I taught intermediate and advanced grammar, I found that many students relied on these acronyms because they found them reassuringly simple and accessible. In other words, they took the acronyms seriously. If we take the acronyms seriously, and analyze them linguistically, it becomes clear that they contain inaccuracies that are not just distracting, but downright misleading. Let's take a close look at two common acronyms for the subjunctive.

W (wish)
E (emotion)
I (impersonal)
R (recommendation)
D (doubt/denial)
O (*ojalá* 'Hopefully')

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and

W (wish)
E (emotion)
D (doubt)
D (desire)
I (impersonal)
N (negation)
G (God, i.e. *ojalá*)

Note that the format creates problems of its own, because the categories are defined not by data but by the letters in the acronym. For example, Wish and Recommendation, or Wish and Desire, are treated as separate categories, although a sentence like *Quiero que sea así* 'I want it to be [*sea*] so,' could be an example of any or all of them. Both acronyms need the letter I, so the category Impersonal is included, which is meant to remind students of sentences like *Es importante que sea así* 'It's important that it's [*sea*] so,' although not all impersonal sentences contain the subjunctive: *Es verdad que es así* 'It's true that it's [*es*] so.' The second acronym needs the letter N, hence the category Negation, meant to summon up sentences like *No creo que sea así* 'I don't believe that it's [*sea*] so,' though there are negative sentences that contain the indicative: *No dijo que es así* 'She didn't say that it's [*es*] so.' And, the final category in each acronym serves to account for the use of the subjunctive with just one word: *ojalá*. In summary, some categories overlap, some categories have exceptions, and one category contains a single member.

And then there's the category of Emotion, the E in both acronyms. As discussed above, this category exists to salvage the conventional description, which is focused on the semantic notion of unreality and so cannot account for the use of the subjunctive with factive predicates. The presence of the Emotion category in both acronyms shows how pervasive this misunderstanding is.

5. Failure to link usage to meaning: Conventional approaches to preterit and imperfect

At the most basic level, the problem with conventional approaches to this contrast is one of vocabulary. In textbook after textbook, on website after website, the two forms are called preterit tense and imperfect tense. This terminology invites the misunderstanding that there can be degrees of past-ness and that, somehow, one form must be more past than the other (the preterit is awarded this distinction). Of course, the contrast is not one of tense, but of aspect. However, since most writers

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of textbooks and website content are unfamiliar with the term “aspect” and the concept that it names, they continue to use the misleading word “tense.”

The preterit/imperfect contrast is a hard one for speakers of English to master, and this difficulty has fueled ongoing attempts to identify lexical cues to the use of one form or the other. This search for preterit/imperfect triggers has resulted in some claims that are false, and others that are true but unhelpful. Attempts to tie usage to the presence of certain adverbs, for example, are contradicted by usage; some textbooks say that the imperfect is paired with *siempre* ‘always’ and the preterit with *ayer* ‘yesterday,’ but counterexamples abound – and are easily found on the internet. More accurately, numerous studies have shown that because of their semantic nature some kinds of verbs (accomplishments and achievements) are more likely to appear in the preterit, while others (states and activities) are more likely to appear in the imperfect. This is true, but the opposite pairings are not ungrammatical, or even uncommon.

The contrast between preterit and imperfect can only be defined in terms of aspect, and this concept plays no part in conventional explanations. So, most textbooks simply offer lists of what the forms are used for. The lists below are typical (and acronymical):

Preterit (ICES):
Interruption of an ongoing event
Completed action
End or beginning
Series of events

Imperfect (WATERS):
Weather
Age
Time
Emotion
Repetition
Setting/description

These lists have two serious defects. First of all, they do not correspond to actual usage. A series of events, for example, can be narrated in the imperfect (*Todas las mañanas se levantaba, se duchaba y se tomaba un café* ‘Every morning, she woke up, showered and drank coffee’); weather can be described in the preterit (*Ayer hizo mucho frío* ‘It was very cold yesterday’), as can emotions (*Estuve nerviosa toda la tarde* ‘I was nervous all afternoon’). Secondly, it is impossible to work backwards from either list to a core meaning for these verb forms, which gives the impression that the lists are arbitrary. Arbitrary information is, of course, hard to understand and therefore hard to learn.

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The difference between defining a term and listing its uses is crucial to the discussion that follows. Here is a non-linguistic example of the difference.

> The meaning of "hammer:" a hand tool with a heavy, solid head at right angles to a handle
> The uses of "hammer:" to drive nails, break solids into pieces, flatten dents in metal, loosen bolts, and crack nuts

Of course, anyone who has ever used a hammer for a purpose other than driving nails knows that this list of uses is incomplete. We have all used hammers in other ways, to crush spices, perhaps, or to pound ill-fitting pieces into place. In fact, because it is impossible to foresee all of the uses to which a hammer might be put, any list of uses will be incomplete. Going in the other direction, i.e. starting with a list of uses, we can work backwards to a number of objects that might be employed to those ends; there is no list of uses that leads directly back to "a hand tool with a heavy, solid head at right angles to a handle."

Now think of preterit and imperfect aspect as grammatical tools. Spanish speakers use these tools creatively – within, of course, the parameters established by the nature of the tools – which makes it impossible to list all of the uses of the forms. But, if we know what preterit (perfective) and imperfect (imperfective) aspect mean, we can understand both the most common uses of these forms – the ones listed in the textbooks – as well as other uses to which native speakers put them. The core meaning of the preterit is "past situation with limits," which is an appropriate choice for these common uses:

– situations that stand out from background: interruptions of ongoing events, completed actions
– changes in situations: beginnings and endings
– situations that end before others begin: series

The core meaning of the imperfect is "past situation without limits," and is frequently used to refer to:

– inherently unlimited situations: time
– situations whose limits are irrelevant: setting/description
– situations viewed from a distance: repetition

Knowing what preterit and imperfect mean also allows us to understand how situations can be described using one form or the other, depending on the speaker's point of view. The weather, for example, can be the focus of attention (*Ayer llovió todo el día* 'It rained all day yesterday') or the background to something else (*Tomé el bus porque llovía* 'I took the bus because it was raining'). The same is true of

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emotions, which can be described as completed wholes (*Fui feliz hasta que me engañó* 'I was happy until he cheated on me') or without reference to beginning or end (*Nunca sospeché nada porque era feliz* 'I never suspected anything because I was happy'). And, because aspect is the grammatical expression of point of view, and point of view is idiosyncratic, a speaker's use of aspect allows us to draw conclusions about the clarity, or lack of clarity, of the speaker's thought processes: the preterit implies focus, detachment and objectivity, and the imperfect implies lack of focus, vagueness and disorientation.

Though any list of the uses of preterite and imperfect is necessarily incomplete, textbooks never reveal this fact. As a result, any unlisted uses may be labelled as odd, or ungrammatical, or literary. The list-of-uses approach to the preterit/imperfect contrast can result in some very strange claims. Here we examine an egregious example from French literary criticism. (The contrast between the compound past and the imperfect in French is parallel to the contrast between preterit and the imperfect in Spanish.) In *French Lessons*, Alice Kaplan (1993), who has written extensively about Camus, says that [At the end of Camus's *L'Étranger* the title character says] "*…'je me suis senti'(passé composé)* ['I felt (compound past)'] and not the expected *'je me sentais' (imparfait)* ['I was feeling (imperfect)'].[1] Feelings are usually supposed to be in the imperfect. The whole point of the book, the point that this nuance of tense expresses all by itself, is that nothing in the Stranger's life lasts long enough to be written in the imperfect" (pp. 143–144).

There are two misunderstandings here, both of them fomented by bad grammar. The first misunderstanding is that speakers are "supposed to" use the imperfect to talk about feelings. Speakers do indeed often use the imperfect to talk about feelings – or the weather, or physical appearance – simply because they often consign these topics to the background of other, more salient, events. But the use of the imperfect is "expected" only in the statistical sense; probability does not constitute a rule of grammar. Camus is describing a thought that occurs to the Stranger as he awaits his execution, and the verb is a conventional use of perfective aspect to refer to a discrete moment. The brevity of the Stranger's life is communicated by the plot; grammatically, Camus does nothing radical, or even unusual. Quite simply, this is how you say it in French (and in Spanish).

The second misunderstanding flows from the first. Note the author's use of the term "tense": once an aspectual contrast is misidentified as a contrast of tense, the search is on for clues that can distinguish one past tense from another. One product of this misguided search is a belief that verbal situations of long duration

1. The French verbs are equivalent to *sentí* and *sentía* in Spanish.

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must be described in the imperfect. But, of course, the aspectual contrast is not one of duration but of perspective; in fact, imposing the limitless perspective of the imperfect on a situation can create an aura of duration.

To be sure, students do not sign up for foreign language classes in order to learn linguistics, and arguing that classroom grammar should be based on linguistic insight is not an effort to sneak some linguistics into the curriculum. But bad grammar has some serious side effects. Misapprehensions like the one described above invite students to view literary texts as havens for incomprehensible language, rather than particularly accomplished examples of language use. Future foreign language teachers who are exposed to bad grammar may not end up teaching literature, but they'll almost certainly end up teaching grammar.

In 1971, William Bull and Enrique Lamadrid published an article in *Modern Language Journal* with the polemical title "Our Grammar Rules Are Hurting Us." In it, they criticized the fact that "The Preterit and Imperfect, which are aspectual forms of the same tense, are generally described as different tenses" (p. 453). More than forty years have passed, and the misunderstanding persists.

6. How did we get here?

One of the targets of Jane Austen's satire is the character of Lady Catherine de Bourgh in *Pride and Prejudice*, who boasts of her love of music and claims that, though she had no musical training, "If I had ever learnt, I should have been a great proficient." Readers are expected to find Lady Catherine's self-proclaimed expertise ridiculous – and we do. In this spirit, let us cast some Austenian light on the issue of teaching grammar: the proficiency required to teach grammar is not self-proclaimed expertise, but an acquired ability to distinguish an adequate grammar explanation from an inadequate one. It is lack of this proficiency that has led to the repetition of the same old rules: the uses of *ser* can be contained in a short list; the meaning of the subjunctive is doubt; the preterit and the imperfect are different tenses. And these are the rules that are taught to future teachers, who then teach them to their students.

To some extent, bad grammar rules are an artifact of the time when textbooks constituted the only Spanish that students had contact with. The rules in the textbook only had to explain the limited examples in the textbook. Students and teachers now have access to counterexamples to inaccurate grammar rules in the Spanish they read in print and online, and in the Spanish they hear on TV, in movies and online. One might expect that bad grammar would wither in the face of this access, but it is enshrined in textbooks and on the internet, where it continues to thrive.

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7. What can we do?

As linguists, we have a responsibility to share what we know about how the grammar of Spanish works. It is not enough to train future linguists; we also have a responsibility to students who are not going to specialize in linguistics, but who can benefit from a working knowledge of it. Undergraduate Spanish majors (the pool from which future teachers will come) and practicing Spanish teachers need to be exposed to linguistics. One of the insights I gained from teaching with Terrell Morgan in the Summer Seminars Abroad for Spanish Teachers (SSAST) is that very few Spanish teachers have had any training in linguistics, which means that they accept the grammar rules in their textbooks because they do not have the tools to evaluate them. However, they respond enthusiastically to gathering and analyzing data, and formulating data-based generalizations.

1. Disseminate good grammar to future and practicing Spanish teachers by writing textbooks. Many of the textbooks on the market simply repeat the bad grammar criticized in this essay. However, textbooks co-written by linguists, such as the three editions of *Modern Spanish*, to which Dwight Bolinger, Donald Bowen, Norman Sacks and Robert Stockwell contributed, and the seven editions of *Dos Mundos*, written by a team headed by Tracy Terrell, have been remarkably successful. Most beginning textbooks are group efforts, to which linguists can contribute descriptive expertise.
2. Collaborate in teacher training and in-service training for practicing teachers. Linguists can help teachers distinguish grammar description from grammar packaging. Foreign language materials are marketed on the basis of up-to-date technology and methodology, but these materials often contain the same old grammar presented in modern formats. This same criticism can be made of the websites that supply materials to Spanish teachers, such as the popular Zambombazo website, which many Spanish teachers rely on for creative exercises and activities. The games, songs and videos are clever and timely, but the grammar generalizations are not.
3. Take part in TA training. TAs are going to become professors, and when they do, they may teach grammar, regardless of their specialization. Introducing linguistics into TA training would go a long way towards improving the teaching of grammar in university classes, since non-linguists are likely to rely on textbooks (see point 1 above) and handouts from their graduate student days.
4. Encourage the AATSP to do a service to teachers and students by setting up a linguistics-based grammar website. Everybody else seems to have a website, why not the experts?

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8. Conclusion

This chapter is not a report on current research; the brief descriptions of *ser/estar*, subjunctive/indicative and preterit/imperfect are generally accepted among linguists. (For example, the fact that *ser* links subjects to nouns/pronouns is taught in *Modern Spanish*, first published in 1960. That preterit and imperfect are distinguished by aspect, not by tense, is argued in the Bull and Lamadrid article of 1971.) Rather, this essay is a report on how linguistic research has largely failed to have an impact on the teaching of Spanish grammar. There is an urgent need to address this failure by introducing the techniques and insights of linguistics to the next generation of students and teachers of Spanish. I hope that readers will follow in the footsteps of Terrell Morgan and contribute to making this happen.

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This book focuses on contemporary sociolinguistic approaches to Spanish dialectology. Each of the authors draws on key issues of contemporary sociolinguistics, combining theoretical approaches with empirical data collection. Overall, these chapters address topics concerning language variation and change, sound production and perception, contact linguistics, language teaching, language policy, and ideologies. The authors urge us, as linguists, to take a stand on important issues and to continue applying theory to praxis so as to advance the frontiers of research in the field. This edited volume in honor of Professor Terrell A. Morgan is a means of celebrating an amazing friend, advisor, and human being, who has dedicated his career to teaching graduate and undergraduate students, performed key research in the field, and helped to further pedagogy in the classroom through his textbooks, seminars and websites.

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