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**"Changes in Contemporary Standard
Spanish: A Socio-phonetic Appraisal"**

A thesis submitted to Dublin City University in
candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this material which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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ABSTRACT

"Changes in Contemporary Standard Spanish: A Socio-phonetic Appraisal"

This thesis aims to highlight recent developments in the spoken Spanish of educated speakers, and challenges the relevance of published accounts of what currently constitutes standard spoken Spanish.

Based on a large case-study of predominantly upper-middle class speakers (largely diplomatic corps and newsreaders), it proves, by means of phonetic analysis, that linguistic variables considered to represent non-standard speech are increasingly used and accepted by such speakers.

The data upon which these findings were founded were obtained by means of taped recordings of televised newscasters over a three year period, and interviews involving a variety of reading tasks and introspection.

The analysis points to the significance of age, gender, education and socio-economic background in accounting for differences between speakers. Nonetheless, differences are outweighed by similarities. All speakers were found to produce many and varied non-standard phonetic realizations.

This thesis shows that the existing descriptions -or more clearly prescriptions- of contemporary spoken standard Spanish need to be revised in the light of the enormous gap between official accounts, and the reality of spoken Spanish among those regarded as being representative of the most prestigious spoken Spanish.

For Harry

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Introduction

Language is a complex ability which most of us acquire almost effortlessly from an early age. What we finally speak as adults is the result of what we have heard, learnt and what we have consciously or unconsciously processed. As speakers of a common language we speak very differently but we also speak similarly to one or many different groups or communities with which we identify ourselves. It is fascinating to study children as young as three years of age already speaking with notable differences depending on the child's specific socio-economic and cultural background. It is with this notion, the speaker's socio-economic and cultural background, that I have concerned myself in this research project. But it is ultimately the complexity which lies behind oral expression that I have concentrated on.

My interest in my own use of language is probably a life-long effort. First, I strived to acquire Spanish immersed in a Galician-speaking community. Then, I acquired Basque in a Galician/Spanish environment. Then, at the age of twenty I started to learn English in a bilingual Spanish-English environment where Received Pronunciation was taught. And finally, I struggled to use English in a Hiberno-English community. My own pronunciation of Spanish and English are -like everybody else's pronunciation- the product of a very complex linguistic background that is unique to everyone of us.

Each speaker's language production is the reflection of a complex linguistic baggage, but when shared linguistic behaviour outweighs individual peculiarities is when we can identify and study a shared common language variety.

Perhaps not everyone is exposed to so many different languages as I was myself, but most people share an interest in language and how we pronounce it, particularly when the pronunciation we use exposes more about ourselves than simply the information we are attempting to convey. A striking example of this is the academic community in Belfast. I have never been part of any speech community for whom the R. P. of my English companion was viewed with so many socio-political connotations, was ever before so noticed, commented upon and discussed more profoundly than during a visit to Queen's University, Belfast.

If we delve a bit further, the attention that a particular group of speakers confers upon pronunciation can reflect a very complex social and political situation. Likewise, if we scrutinize the deep and rapid changes in pronunciation which have taken place in Spain in the last few decades, this can also provide many interesting cues as to what socio-political and cultural changes have occurred in society. This is the perspective I have taken in researching into the pronunciation of educated speakers of Spanish.

"Analizad la lengua de un pueblo y lo conoceréis"
(Pedro Felipe Monlau 1859)

Sometimes the analysis of one's nation is better achieved when one stands aside and observes. Living abroad and returning to Spain twice a year it soon became apparent that many prestigious public speakers of Spanish were using in their pronunciation some traditionally regarded non-standard pronunciations. These initial observations are presented in Chapter 1 together with the questions arising from such insights. Although the Real Academia Española was issuing statements as to the decline in the correct usage of Spanish the subject was largely left unresearched or inadequately researched.

The fundamental issue of how words have served in the past and how language, and particularly standard language, has developed and how the historical evolution of Spain has been mirrored in Spanish is the main subject of Chapter 2.

The focus of my project was the contemporary situation of the Spanish language and, more precisely, those current phonetic features which were potentially capable of conveying the socio-economic and cultural background of the speaker. A considerable effort was therefore invested into identifying standard and non-standard features. This, together with the evolution of perceptions towards standard and non-standard Spanish, is the subject of Chapter 3.

In order to interpret the information provided, it was necessary to delve into the implications that the evolution of social class perceptions has had in Spanish. This is the main subject of Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 attempts to give an insight into the revealing distinction yielded by my data when the gender of the speaker is taken into account. This broad insight into the language and gender differences was given as an orientation into the specificity of women's speech. This chapter draws together many strands of gender related language issues, in particular socio-phonetic aspects. It also delves specifically into

Spanish women and how their past and present role in society has greatly affected their language.

One would expect today that after more than half a century predominantly employing and relying upon Navarro Tomás *Manual de pronunciación española*, 1985 (first published in 1926), to revise and review educated spoken Spanish, some stimulating and novel research would have been carried out. Not so. Certainly not any which encompasses the sociolinguistic complexity of educated Spanish at present. Therefore, my research provides a more updated view on educated contemporary Spanish and fills a glaring gap in contemporary research into the Spanish language. The methodology and theoretical framework also allow the research to avoid the pitfalls largely associated with Spanish sociolinguistics up to now.

Thus, Chapter 6, conceived as a full-scale theoretical framework, was viewed as necessary as it identifies and discusses the main areas of concern for a sociolinguist. The overview is selective and largely concentrates on socio-phonetics. Also, this chapter serves to contrast a large number of sociolinguistic projects with those published regarding sociolinguistic work already carried out in Spain.

The initial hypotheses of this research are formulated in Chapter 7. Also, the sometimes contrasting positions presented in existing bibliography are given the form of 'traditional expectations', and the questions listed are offered as they constitute the starting point of this research.

Starting from what has already proven successful in sociolinguistic research into pronunciation, Chapter 8 deals specifically with the methodological criteria employed in my sociolinguistic study into contemporary educated Spanish which makes use of some of Labov's concepts, approaches to data collection and analytic techniques, while also delineating other procedures specific to my group of speakers thus providing scope for the particularities and idiosyncrasies of my interview and interviewees.

In Chapter 9 I analyze and discuss the data provided by my informants giving an overall view of the phonetic realizations of the variables selected for this research from the perspective of the individual speaker as well as from the perspective of the group.

The final Chapter, Chapter 10, summarizes the main points of my research drawing conclusions on the production of variables from the perspective of gender, age and socio-economic background. It also gives some final conclusions drawn in the light of the socio-economic, political and cultural changes which have occurred in Spain in the last few decades. The implications which these conclusions have for contemporary standard Spanish are additional issues which I raise in this conclusion.

Lastly, I would like to emphasize that this project yielding some unexpected results on spoken standard/educated Spanish leans towards a non-prescriptive phonetics/sociolinguistics and in favour of a descriptive discipline. It is in this light that my findings and observations into standard and non-standard Spanish should be viewed throughout.

CHAPTER 1 Initial observations and questions arising

As researchers our primary role is to observe as objectively as it is possible the particular phenomenon we may be investigating. In socio-linguistic terms this means that the perceptual processing of speech is made so much easier when we are an integral part of the speech phenomenon itself.

However, this 'membership' or inclusion in the phenomenon may in turn pose certain restrictions as to what in reality we are capable of observing. From the perspective of my own research, my own perceptual processing of Spanish paradoxically became enhanced as I detached myself from the speech itself. It was only when I left Spain and I was no longer a member of Spain's speaking population that my capacity for scrutiny was heightened. It was only then that I was finally able to 'hear' certain pronunciations which were new to Spanish and/or that I had not previously taken notice.

In the late eighties and beginning of the nineties I began to observe speakers in the media, whom I would regard as educated, use a number of non-educated patterns in their speech. It was most astonishing to me to hear Felipe González, then President of Spain, use 'hemos meditao y madurao' in formal circumstances or for the conservative leader of the Partido Popular, José María Aznar, speak of 'los diputaos', the bishop of Bilbao speak of 'diputaos' and the king of Spain say 'trasciende' instead of 'transciende'; 'legitimida' instead of 'legitimidad' and 'comunida' instead of 'comunidad', all this in front of television cameras and in public speeches.

Watching other television programmes, I became aware how widespread the use of such variants was. It seemed to me that a certain degree of relaxation had appeared in the speech of television presenters, politicians, bishops, economists and journalists.

Simultaneously, the notion that Spanish was no longer spoken correctly found supporters not only among academics, but also among a large proportion of Spanish speakers in general. It became apparent that there had been a departure from traditional standard Spanish but the extent of this departure was totally unexpected.

"Todo el mundo habla mal", proclaims the President of the Real Academia Española (R.A.E.) while this view is reinforced by other researchers who reason that this is

due to the permeability between different levels of Spanish social strata and the principle of 'flexibility' which Spanish society applies to all aspects of human interaction. This speech trend precisely coincides with the arrival of the democracy in Spain and the end of nearly forty years of Franco's regime.

The key question was whether the trend by educated speakers of employing non-educated Spanish was the rule rather than the exception. Regularly observing politicians, economists, newsreaders, journalists, the clergy it emerged to be so widespread that the following questions were inevitable: has standard Spanish been undergoing deep alterations assimilating some traditionally regarded non-standard features unnoticed to me?, or was it perhaps that those professions traditionally embodying educated Spanish speech ceased to do so? These initial questions had to be answered and became the subject of Chapters 2 and 3, and Chapter 4 respectively. In addition, if these topics constitute primary foundations without which my own experimental design could not have taken place, the issue of gender related differences were also assessed as differences in speech must also be interpreted in terms of the gender variable.

It appears to me that the function of observing Spanish is systematically carried out by the 'académicos' of the Real Academia Española, albeit their limitations due more to their idealistic views and lack of human resources than their unwillingness and lack of dedication to present a complete picture of the Spanish language. Their valuable contributions can be reviewed throughout this dissertation, in particular the opinions of Rafael Lapesa and Camilo José Cela who were interviewed. Also, several areas of this dissertation were discussed with them at some length.

Even though the object of study in this project was to be the present situation of standard Spanish, other areas of study were also covered as secondary issues related to the primary, such as the capacity or incapacity of the Spanish language to convey socio-economic and cultural differences, perceptions on regional varieties of Spanish and the evolution of standard Spanish.

In order to systematically study the present situation of standard or educated Spanish, it was necessary to devise a series of procedures which would elicit many of the phonetic features I had encountered. The first stage in my methodological approach was to identify those variables which might mark certain speakers as members of the upper classes or make them be regarded as educated speakers of Spanish (initially reviewing the literature available and studying the speech of various newsreaders) and secondly, to find a corpus of speakers that would clearly represent standard

speakers of Spanish (students at the Escuela Diplomática in Madrid were finally selected). Prior to this, it was appropriate to turn to a detailed examination of whom those speakers were, identify the most privileged members of society and establish the professions they normally hold.

After exploring the value of a combination of methods, the following procedures were established: (1) observations of natural speech, (2) review of existing bibliography, (3) recording of newsreaders, (4) exploratory interviews and (5) interviews with informants from Escuela Diplomática of Madrid.

Attention was also drawn to the glaring gaps in linguistic research and the tradition among many Hispanists to largely concentrate their work on the theoretical aspects of language. The writing of this dissertation has made it clear to me that there is much to criticise in this tradition and much to praise in the work of many North-American and British researchers. Work initiated by Navarro Tomás in 1926 has -according to its publishers and members of the R.A.E.- never been updated and has only been partially continued with certain methodological deficiencies by a few linguists. This is not to say that no methodological difficulties were encountered in my research project but the solutions found do not -in my estimation- present any risks to the reliability of the results.

If there is a bias in my selection of topics covered in this dissertation then it is in favour of those topics which will be of most interest and relevance in explaining the relationship between changes in society and changes in language. The following three chapters are critical in the examination of such changes. Drawing together insights from a number of branches of linguistics explored in the earlier chapters of this dissertation will provide a more complete and reliable background account of the phenomenon empirically investigated in the latter ones. This model is, of necessity, complex but it hinges on the interaction between a multi-faceted socio-cultural phenomena and a mechanism of linguistic changes.

CHAPTER 2 Evolution of Spanish towards a national standard language

We shall see from a diachronic point of view the lengthy and arduous process of the standardization of the Spanish language. At one time it had to compete against Latin, French and Arabic, had to absorb and digest various different internal and external influences and struggle against the socio-cultural discrimination which regarded it as a '*lengua vulgar*'. Through unification and the revival of nationalist fervour Castilian or Spanish won a place among the official languages of Europe and became standardized into one language, thus departing from the earlier multifold linguistic mapping of Spain constituted as it was in the not so distant past by a multitude of dialects.

A review will be also made on how Spanish became standardized and how regional varieties were perceived. The role of the Real Academia Espanola will be also explored from a historical perspective. Nationalistic fervour which led to the unification of Spain and to the use of one single variety is equally found to be a keypoint. In subsequent chapters the above topics will be further discussed from a contemporaneous perspective.

Despite or possibly because of its eventful past, Spanish has achieved a richness and complexity which personifies the essence of the peoples who use it. In the following sections we shall delve further into this heterogeneous make-up.

2.1 Castilian or Spanish, the significance of a name

Castellano (Castilian) and *español* (Spanish) are generally considered synonymous in today's usage. There can, however, be significant differences in the political connotations both terms bear. For example, in the Basque Country and in other Autonomous Communities the term '*castellano*' is preferred to designate the language spoken in the Peninsula, as '*español*' entails certain pro-Spanish connotations (and therefore, non-nationalistic and non-Basque implications) to which the great majority of the Basque population are very sensitive¹. In a sociological study carried

¹The same applies to other Autonomous Communities, such as Catalonia.

out in 1994 it was observed that in fact the Basques are of all the Autonomous Communities the people least inclined to identify themselves as Spanish, (De Miguel 1994(a):37).

The earlier term for the language spoken in Spain was 'Romance'. There are also the later terms of 'lengua vulgar' or simply 'vulgar' to refer to the Spanish language at a time when it was viewed as an inferior language compared to Latin. Even in the 15th century the most preferred term was still 'Romance', followed closely by 'lengua vulgar' or 'vulgar'².

In the 15th century Queen Isabel of Castile referred to the Castilian language as her own language instead of French or Latin. Significantly, she nevertheless questioned Nebrija on the real use of publishing a grammar of the Castilian language³. By the end of Carlos V's reign, the Spanish language was adopted by the King of Spain not only as his official language and that of his court, rather than French or Latin, but also as its official name instead of the term Castilian. To illustrate this newly found status, I shall refer to the occasion when King Carlos V used Spanish to address the Pope and several foreign delegates. It is reported that the French Ambassador, the Bishop of Macon, complained that he was not able to understand this language to which the King replied,

"Señor Obispo, entiéndame si quiere, y no espere de mí otras palabras que de mi lengua española, la cual es tan noble que merece ser sabida y entendida de toda gente cristiana."

(Alonso 1938:13-23)

Much earlier, Alfonso X⁴, also known as 'Alfonso X El Sabio', had the remarkable vision for his time of using the Spanish language as the official language for a newly formed nation and ordered all letters and official documents dealing with sales and contracts to be written exclusively in Spanish, (Marcos Marín 1975:281).

'Castellano' was the dominant term in the first part of the 16th century even though there are some works that include the term 'español' in their title, (Marcos Marín 1975:280).

²Section based on Alonso (1938:13-4). For further information on the influence of Latin in Spanish see Alvar, Badía, Balbín and Lindley (1970:153-269) and Entwistle (1962:46-82).

³For further information on Spanish as it was spoken in Nebrija's time, see Alonso (1949).

⁴For a full discussion on the Spanish language during king Alfonso X's reign, see Lapesa (1984:209-238).

Only as recently as 1924 the Real Academia Española (R.A.E.)⁵ replaced the term 'castellano' in the title of its official dictionary in benefit of the term 'español' and so, since 1924, its official title is "Diccionario de la Lengua Española". This change was led, in part, by the support by Navarro Tomás in the early part of the century and Menéndez Pidal (1918) of the use of 'español' rather than 'castellano'⁶.

Generally, Spanish speakers use "castellano" and "español" indiscriminately. However, the views of Camilo José Cela, member of the Real Academia Española, as well as the referred institution itself regard "español"⁷ as the correct term to designate the language spoken in the Peninsula by Spanish people.

2.2. The development of the Spanish language, a process towards standardization

2.2.1 Language standardization and the role of the R.A.E.

"Los estándares suelen coincidir con los estilos más formales del sociolecto alto de cada zona; él es realmente la variedad manejada en asuntos oficiales, en la educación, en los tribunales, en los medios de comunicación y, por supuesto, en la creación literaria."
(López Morales, 1989:43)

The written form of any language has traditionally portrayed the educated representation of a language. And even if this takes certain features from other sociolects, some of these with time will become so inextricably absorbed that they will be also regarded as standard. As Lorenzo (1980) reflects,

"entran voces y giros coloquiales a menudo en la prosa de nuestros más engregios estilistas, impregnándola de frescura y vivacidad"
(Lorenzo 1980:32)

Even so, the written representation of language does not always faithfully depict the spoken language. Sometimes it reluctantly and slowly allows certain forms, regarded as non-educated, to become part of the written form. In recent years, 'Gonna' (in

⁵Real Academia Española will also appear abbreviated as R.A.E.

⁶See Hills (1926:190-191) for a critical analysis of several articles which support the use of Spanish instead of Castilian.

⁷For a more detailed study on the possible origins of the term "español" ("hispanione" or "españón"), see Lapesa (1984:132-137).

written American English particularly), 'eejit' (in written Hiberno-English), 'lao', 'bailaor' and 'cantaor' (in written Spanish) are no longer rare occurrences in their respective written languages.

For many centuries, Latin came to personify the language the educated classes aspired to speak and use in their written texts. Later, "castellano" replaced Latin, Arab, or French, and became the educated standardized language to be used by kings and ordinary people alike. The development of the Spanish language⁸ towards its standardization is examined in section 2.2.2 of this chapter.

The written form in a language sometimes represents quite a different linguistic form from the spoken language. The spoken language develops at a greater pace than the written. Sometimes a phenomenon in the spoken language becomes so widespread among its users and for such a duration of time that this becomes introduced into the written language. Sometimes they do not. As Alarcos Llorach (1994) points out,

"los cambios experimentados por las lenguas a través del tiempo son causa de que la escritura alfabetica ofrezca inadecuaciones"

(Alarcos Llorach 1994:25)

We should bear in mind that the written form of Spanish is but the expression of its changing status. Through the centuries, we shall see how Spanish gained only a small place at first among the languages to be used for the written word, then a more substantial one until all written texts in Spain were finally written in Spanish⁹. The significance of the language choice for the written form can never be underestimated and should be viewed with all its implications.

Dealing with the historical evolution of how Spanish became standardized we encounter the important factor of a shortage of sources and little concrete evidence upon which we can base our research. As Lázaro Carreter (1981) highlights,

"Qué duda cabe de que la lengua va adquiriendo así sucesivos estados <<más modernos>>; pero esos cambios, que es imposible detectar en el pasado por escasez de fuentes."

(Lázaro Carreter 1981:243)

⁸By Spanish language or 'español', I refer to the Spanish spoken in the Peninsula. For references on Spanish spoken in South-America in the past and present, see Lapesa (1991:535-602), Navarro Tomás (1943), Alfonso (1964), Vidal de Battini (1964), Moreno de Alba (1988), Rivarola (1990) and Betancur (1992).

⁹Hartzenbusch (1859:31-63) and Lapesa (1984 and 1991) explore the linguistic significance of written texts as a source of study of the Spanish language.

Despite this obstacle, source materials and the literature available offer some glimpses as to the characteristics of Spanish at different times in its history. We have to interpret what is available to us.

We are aware that all languages need some degree of standardization¹⁰, some level of regulation so that speakers of one language successfully communicate using that particular language. When terms, expressions or pronunciations are first introduced or regulated is not always a matter of chance. Language policies (such as the one in Catalonia, Galicia, the Basque Country, Jamaica, Israel, Nigeria among many other countries) have served to linguistically unify these nations.

On occasions, terms or expressions are planned or created and languages standardized by institutions or specialized bodies. Sometimes these functions are achieved simply by a person or persons. In Spain and France, the Academies proclaim to standardize the language; in some African countries, the head or chief of a tribe is the person empowered to create in their languages new terms for new concepts or objects. And in some Amazonian tribes, women are the ones chosen to enrich the language by inventing terms and expressions they need.

In Spain, the Real Academia Española (R.A.E.), is the official authority since 1713 empowered to officially accept, regulate and standardize new terms.

Similarly, in France the Académie Française carries out this function and in English speaking countries, such as Britain or the United States, dictionaries such as the Oxford or the Webster Dictionaries seem to be considered the supreme authorities as to what standardized English is and should be¹¹.

The French Academy¹² is one of the oldest and one of the most eminent language academies. The founding principle of the Academy provides an excellent example of the principle that language planning¹³ cannot be understood without reference to its social context. Richelieu founded the Académie Française in 1634 with a political purpose. He strove for an academy of scholars to give public support to his views. A

¹⁰Standardization, as I understand it, is a process of fixing and regulating concepts and terms.

¹¹For better or for worse, the English language has never had an academy. Samuel Johnson explained that the absence of an English Academy of this nature was due to the fact that having one would inherently be very un-English.

¹²Section based on Alvarez-O'Neill's lectures on terminology at Dublin City University.

¹³For further information on language planning and language standardization in different speech communities see, Gold (1981), Guxman (1977), Ray (1977), Haugen (1971 and 1966), Hofman and Fisherman (1972), Eastman (1984), Halliday (1968) and Haas (1912). For more information on linguistic borrowing, see Ray (1977). For a historical view on the spread of Castilian and Spanish standardization see Entwistle (1962), Lapesa (1964(a)) and Zamora Vicente (1964).

dictionary was produced, the last edition of which was to be published in the nineteenth thirties. True to the spirit of its founder, the Académie excluded words supposedly 'not used' by polite society. Traditionally, the main purpose has been to regulate and control the French language.

Similarly, the Real Academia Espanola was created with the following motto in mind, 'limpiar, fijar y dar esplendor a la lengua'. It is widely accepted that standard Spanish is that represented by the Spanish Royal Academy¹⁴ which is the supreme authority in linguistic matters, (Dalbor 1980(a):8) and it regularly publishes manuals and studies on standard Spanish. Its members review, generally on a weekly basis, the evolution of the language and accept or reject terms and usages into standard Spanish. These decisions concern new terms or usages which have been solidified in our language and which are less likely to be simply a fad. Therefore, "El diccionario lo hacemos entre todos", notes De Miguel¹⁵. Its authority is widely admitted and its resolutions on linguistic matters are accepted as the final answer¹⁶.

Among its many functions, the R.A.E. publishes manuals on grammar, syntax and orthography. Since it was formed, the R.A.E. has taken important decisions on the Spanish orthographic system throughout histas we shall see in the following section. In very recent years, we have witnessed general attempts to orthographically standardize loan words which come mainly from English. 'Standard', 'slogan', 'meeting', 'clubs' and 'leader' have recently become accepted into Spanish as 'estándar', 'eslogan', 'mitin', 'clubes' and 'líder'.

Speakers choose one new word or employ a new usage which in time might become officially part of their language. This is a tendency shared by politicians, who often invent new terms to flavour their language or to give their speech a certain sophistication which marks them out, as do radio and television personalities and journalists of all kinds. This profusely complex language is viewed by many as prejudicial. As Camilo José Cela highlights (quoted in De Miguel 1982),

"los políticos, en su distanciador orgullo, desprecian más de
lo necesario la lengua que habla el pueblo que les votó y,
contra estos desmanes, nadie se pronuncia"
(De Miguel 1982:94)

¹⁴The existence of other Academies of the Spanish language is also noted. See Echeverri Mejía (1964(a):91-108) on the Spanish Academy of Colombia.

¹⁵Observation made during my interview with him in Madrid in 1992. For further information on this interlink between speakers and dictionary see Melzi (1978).

¹⁶I shall refer to this institution for its observations on numerous occasions.

Therefore, the official role of incorporating neologisms into the standard language¹⁷ falls solely, at least officially, onto the R.A.E. In recent years, for example, it has finally accepted the expression 'tener michelines' or 'un michelín' (originally from the Michelin advertisements for tyres) to describe a fat person.

Although it suffers many shortcomings¹⁸, the compilers of the Dictionary by the R.A.E. (D.R.A.E.) pursue the daunting task of updating the dictionary and keeping up with the daily innovations and changes in the Spanish language. However, this work leaves many gaps, as has been exposed by De Miguel (1994(b)),

"Los académicos de la Real Academia Española están hechos de la misma pasta que el resto de los hombres públicos. El desfase entre la realidad y los diccionarios se hace patente."

(De Miguel 1994(b):23)

It is clear that definitions given in the second last edition of the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española (D.R.A.E.), 1984, for 'socialismo', 'hachís', 'comunismo', 'pintada', 'tecnocracia', 'etarra'¹⁹ are totally inappropriate given the current usage.

If the dictionary reflects the spoken language, then the failure to include other commonly used terms such as 'ADN', 'apartheid', 'perestroika', 'interrupción del embarazo'²⁰ can be interpreted as a failure to maintain pace and possibly contact, despite considerable efforts, with current changes and developments. Likewise, the avoidance of expressions which are considered 'malsonantes' reflect a failure by the D.R.A.E. to reflect the society in which we live today²¹.

From the intense pace in which language develops, we can infer that, from a historical point of view, very little in the language of a speech community remains 'invariant', but despite this, without some degree of standardization a common language would verge on the unattainable.

As Haas (1912) explains,

"Probabilities may become rules, and rules be weakened to mere probabilities. But at any particular stage in the

¹⁷The process towards standardization of the Spanish language will be dealt with in more phonetic detail from a diachronic point of view in the following sections.

¹⁸Some of which are discussed in De Miguel (1994(b):135-49).

¹⁹More examples can be found in De Miguel, op. cit., p. 137.

²⁰Based on D.R.A.E., 1992.

²¹In Chapter 3, section 3.4.1 I shall examine the present usage of euphemisms and swear words in today's language.

development of a language variability is balanced by standards. The inherent variability of language would be a threat to communication if it were not held in check by an equally inherent normative tendency to maintain rule-governed standards of usage. Without the former, language would lose its adaptability to changing conditions; without the latter it would disintegrate"

(Haas 1912:19)

This statement is proven in any language by reading texts from the past. A language needs to develop and by developing some terms, expressions and pronunciations gradually become obsolete and outdated. Eventually some become discarded and new ones are embraced to perhaps stay for a long period of time or possibly just for a few decades, years or even days²².

For example, reading the 1952 Spanish translation by José J. de Urríes de Azara of 'Pride and Prejudice' by Jane Austen, we find, "*¿por qué eres tan posma?*", (Austen 1952:1), meaning 'stupid', and "muchos pollos", (Austen 1952:8), meaning 'young men', expressions which have become obsolete in just a few decades. Likewise, the expressions, 'guateque', 'me lo estoy pasando chupi' which originated in the sixties, are hardly ever used today.

The media -television, radio and written publications- execute an enormous influence upon standard Spanish on a daily basis. Lorenzo (1980) admits that:

"El barniz lingüístico de la mayoría de los locutores de radio y televisión, de cuyos usos depende grandemente la unidad de la lengua, no hace más que aumentar el confusionismo."
(Lorenzo 1980:214)

An example of the above could be the term 'tio/a' to designate a person. It originated in the late seventies in a pop song and was then limited to slang use. With time, it has become widely used, has lost its slang connotations and is also now consistently employed by educated speakers even in semi-formal situations.

I shall conclude this section with a quotation from Etxebarria Aróstegui (1985) of some considerations made by Philipp (1969:393-399) which summarizes in a few lines the tendency of the most powerful and prestigious groups of speakers, that is, the upper classes, to successfully establish their variety as the standardized language of a nation.

²²This same view is articulated by De Miguel (1994(b):157) as follows, "El lenguaje es la institución más democrática. Las palabras cobran nuevos significados o los pierden porque el pueblo parlante así lo decide en el plebiscito permanente que es el habla de una nación."

"En la mayor parte de las ocasiones, la variedad estandarizada surge a partir de la variedad regional utilizada por aquel grupo social que posee un mayor prestigio y poder y se impone al resto del país."
(Etxebarria Aróstegui 1985:51)

In the following section examples of the above and particularly the phonological and phonetic process of how standard Spanish has diachronically developed until today will be briefly examined. Section 2.2.2 represents a brief review on the changing status of Spanish throughout history and its process towards standardization, and is not a full review on the historical development of Spanish as a whole. For an analysis of the latter refer to the bibliography cited throughout.

2.2.2 Historical evolution of phonetic/phonological features, a review of their changing status in a process towards standardization

This and subsequent sections on the phonetic and historical development of the Spanish language are based on Lapesa (1991) and Lázaro and Tusón (1977).

Latin is the basis²³ of the three Peninsular Romance tongues (Galician, Catalán and Spanish, also known as Castilian)²⁴. The Romans²⁵ began the invasion of the Peninsula in the year 218 B. C., (see Fig. 2.1²⁶), and remained until the third century A.D. Roman civilization influenced the beginning of a new period in Spanish history, while Christianity efficiently intervened to complete the latinization of the provinces within the Peninsula²⁷. However, the Basque language stands aside as a language which largely retained its original configuration with only some Latin words filtering through due to religious fervour.

²³For more information on the origin, development of the Spanish language, and the influence of other languages, see Monlau (1859:5-28), Bosque (1987), Gili Gaya (1960), Iguilaz y Yanguas (1886), Alfaro (1964) and Baralt (1855). For a view on the process from Latin to Spanish, see Barón Castro (1975:5-10).

²⁴For information on the Pre-Roman languages spoken in the Peninsula, see Lapesa (1991:40-306).

²⁵Section based on Lapesa (1991:40-306).

²⁶Source from figure 2.1 by García Ballesteros and Pozo Rivera (1994:14).

²⁷Numerous research projects have centred on the phonological/phonetic evolution of the Spanish language. For a full discussion on the conditions and phonetic changes which took place in the Spanish language, see Quarta (1978), Lapesa (1991), Entrambasaguas (1966), Malmberg (1965), Martínez Ceclráñ (1984), Quilis (1970), Quilis and Fernández (1975), Hartman (1974:123-191), Frengle (1980), Aldrete (1606), Real Academia Española (ed.) (1960), Quarta (1978), Alonso (1958) and Alonso Martín (1958). For a review of language change from a more theoretical viewpoint, see Stockwell and Macaulay (1977).

Fig. 2.1: Territorial division during the Roman invasion.



Castilian or Spanish language originated in the kingdom of León known as Cantabria²⁸. The beginning of the Spanish language finds its roots in the *Romance*, a language which derived from the colloquial or 'vulgar' variety of Latin and which was brought to Spain by the Roman Empire and which in time developed its own particular characteristics. This was known as 'Latín Hispánico'. The literature of the time adopted the educated Latin variety, which was taught in schools, and which Lapesa (1991:51) refers to as the language most people aspired to write. Popular Latin, known as 'Latin vulgar', was spoken by the middle and lower classes and was to be avoided in the written form.

Thus, Latin was simply reserved for the educated upper classes and for religious matters, as well as for the written form. At the time there were different variations of the Romance language: the 'Romance leonés', 'Romance ovetense', 'Romance

²⁸See García Ballesteros and Pozo Rivera (1994:13-40), Criado del Val (1945) for outlines and maps of the territorial divisions of Spain prior and after 1833.

'castellano'. The Romance language was also referred to as 'romance', 'vulgar' or 'lengua vulgar'. Due to the cultural expansion of Castille, the Spanish language gradually became known as 'romance castellano' and later 'castellano'²⁹.

In the 7th century, Latin was mainly used by the clergy and scholars who continued to use it while also adopting variations from the 'vulgar' Latin. Both varieties of Latin, the educated and 'vulgar', had substantial differences not only regarding the vocabulary but also in word order, morphology, syntax and phonology³⁰.

The failure of the Roman empire in the 5th century, together with the failure of the Roman administrative body to unify the Peninsula, the decline of the military service and the decline of schools in which educated Latin was taught, led to the development of regional linguistic innovations in the Peninsula. The starting point for these language varieties was 'Latin vulgar' which produced a varied range of languages and dialects in the Peninsula in the space of a few centuries (from the 6th to the 10th centuries). These dialects were Gallego-Portuguese, Leonés, Castilian, Navarro-Aragonés and Catalán in the North³¹. In the South the Arabic dialects, which developed at a slower pace, were partly overtaken by the use of Arabic as the language of the educated classes³².

The Sacred War against the Christians saw the Arabs gradually invade from the South and advance towards the North of the Peninsula. During that time, the Romance language lived side by side with Arabic. The influence of Arabic on Spanish is the second most important after Latin. Spanish owes over 4,000 words³³ to the Arabic influence. These were borrowed from agriculture, mathematics, gardening and architecture, among many other fields. Also, Spanish pronunciation is deeply influenced by Arabic with some phonemes taken from Arabic. Many others were replaced by the closest sounds taken from the Romance language.

²⁹In the 15th century the most preferred name was still 'romance', although 'lengua vulgar' and 'vulgar' were other preferred terms. Latin was used at the time and is still sometimes used today, for official purposes. Until recently many religious ceremonies in Spain were celebrated in Latin, some scientific papers are written in Latin, and certain ceremonies such as weddings and conferrings are still carried out in Latin.

³⁰For a more profound analysis of these differences, see Lapesa (1991: 52-60).

³¹I shall use English terms to refer to languages or dialects in Spain when they are available and I shall use Spanish ones when the English counterpart does not exist.

³²For more information on specific differences and shared features, see Lapesa (1991:127-130). For further information on the linguistic areas in Spain from a diachronic perspective see Baldinger (1972), Alvar (1962).

³³The presence of Arabic in the Spanish language is almost as evident as the Latin influence in vocabulary (Alambra), word formation (suffix -i- as in 'jabalí', -al- as in 'alcalá'), and sounds (-l- added to de such as in 'aldea'). For further information, see Lapesa (1968).

The Arab invasion in 711 and the occupation which lasted for five centuries, broke Spain geographically and culturally into two blocks: the North on the one side, and the Centre and South, on the other. However, Romance did not surrender to Arabic, as it was, in fact, the language of the marketplace, of women and of unofficial business, while Arabic was used for official administrative purposes, in literature and by the upper-classes. This Southern variety of Spanish with its greater presence of Arabic was known as 'Mozárabe'³⁴, (Entwistle 1951:106).

Despite the extent of the influence of Arabic in the Peninsula, vernacular Spanish continued to be used by the great majority of women. The upper classes were entirely bilingual (Spanish and Arabic) however, in some areas not all social groups could speak Arabic.

The Arabs scarcely touched the Basque language whose speakers found the labiodental /f/ very hard to pronounce, a fact which certainly helped Castilian replace /f/ by the aspirated /h/ or omit it completely (for example, 'facer' became 'hacer').

This process established the Castilian language as an independent dialect. Its evolution was faster than that of other dialects as it underwent continuous changes which the other languages either did not undergo or only did so much later.

Romance language, or primitive Spanish prevalent from the 9th to the 11th century has not reached us in official documents, but has left its legacy in the literature of the time, for example in the *Glosas Emilianenses* or in the *Glosas Silenses*. Both pieces were written in the Navarro-Aragonés dialect. These 'Glossas', which were written with the help of a Romance-Latin dictionary, are the first works written in Spanish or as it was known at the time, in 'lengua vulgar' or 'lengua Romance'.

This primitive Spanish shows an overwhelming lack of standardization. One can see various forms of words used at the same time which represent different stages in their linguistic evolution, (for example, 'altariu', 'carraria' (from Latin) and 'autario', 'carraira' (ProtoRomanic) were used simultaneously). This almost chaotic situation in which different forms coexisted was the backdrop against which linguistic evolution continued and archaisms were slowly obliterated from the language.

³⁴For further reference on Mozárabe see Galmés de Fuentes (1979) and Sanchís Guaner (1970).

Until the 12th century the Romance language was considered by scholars and educated people alike to be a 'rustic speech', a 'vulgar language' relegated to non-intellectual tasks, and certainly not to be used for literary purposes, a notion which was substantially reversed in later years. Nevertheless, its status changed with time and became increasingly valued. Around 1150 in *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, the Romance language is already referred to as 'nostra lingua' and *El Cantar de Mío Cid* (1140) was entirely written in Castilian tinted with some regional features.

From the 10th century Castilian was increasingly used as the literary language of the Peninsula, hence the change of its status. *El Cantar de Mío Cid*³⁵, published at the time, was not only written to be performed in town squares but also to be listened to in castles by the nobility. This shows a much higher regard for the Romance language, even by the educated classes, than at any time previously. In fact, in the 12th century a proliferation of literature written in the 'lenguas vulgares', the languages of the people, of the lower classes occurred. One of the most widely used of these was Castilian.

In the 12th and 13th centuries Arabic dialects gradually disappeared as the South was reconquered by the Christians. After the disappearance of the Arabic dialects, the Peninsula was divided into five main linguistic areas, with the central one (which comprised the regions of Toledo, Plasencia, Cuenca, Andalusia and Murcia) using Castilian.

During this time (11th-13th centuries) there was an increase of the influence of French on the Castilian language which was largely a direct result of marriages between Spanish kings and French princesses, and also partly due to the pilgrimage to Santiago by a large proportion of French devotees. So many French speaking pilgrims took part that the route became known as 'El camino francés'.

The French influence remained throughout the Middle Ages³⁶ and has been manifold throughout Spain's history. Its linguistic input into Castilian has been notably greater than that of any other language, with the exception of Latin and Arabic, and it has been constant through the centuries. This was so to such a degree that a very large section of the upper social strata in Spain were labelled

³⁵See Lapesa (1984:11-42) for a full study on the linguistic characteristics of the language employed in *El Cantar de Mío Cid*, in which heroic achievements are narrated. The archaic forms employed were destined for the appreciation and delight of an aristocratic audience. Many words which might have been considered too popular or too 'vulgar' were avoided. Words such as 'siniestro' and 'can' were preferred to 'izquierdo' and 'perro'. *El Cantar del Mío Cid* was the first major piece of literary work written in Castilian, a patriotic work in the national language for a newly unified Spain.

³⁶For a more detail insight into the Spanish spoken at this time, see Lapesa (1967 and 1981).

'afrancesados', as their political, cultural and linguistic sympathies laid with the French. This was a time when there were an abundance of French terms imported into Spanish, such as the final -e- in words such as, 'noch' becoming 'noche', or 'mont' which became 'monte', (Lázaro and Tusón 1977:38).

Hispanic Latin also developed and at different stages in its history Iberian, Celtic, early Greek, Byzantine, Germanic, Hebrew and Arabic elements among others were assimilated. Nevertheless, by the 13th century, (Entwistle 1951:46-7), there was a wave of classical influence, initiated in the 11th century by the monks of Silos. The first steps towards the standardization of the Spanish language were taken during the reign of Alfonso VI, in the 11th century. Spanish standardization began to take effect as a symbol of unity against the division brought about by the Arabs, (Entwistle 1951:151).

However, in the 12th century, there was still no uniformity in the Spanish language either in its written or spoken form. It still contained regional variations of words such as 'mort' and 'muort' (dead) or 'fort' and 'fuort' (strong) which in the Castilian found in Burgos had already developed into 'muert(e)' and 'fuert(e)'. Even in the 13th century, during Alfonso X's reign, not all texts translated into Spanish employed a standardized form, (Lázaro and Tusón 1977:42-7).

Due to these standardization attempts, there was an increasing need to establish a fixed orthography for the official standard Spanish, and therefore the phonetic and orthographic systems³⁷ were adjusted, with further modifications in the 16th, 19th and 20th centuries.

King Alfonso X was one of the most culturally influential kings of the Middle Ages, particularly with respect to the standardization of Spanish and its spread throughout the Peninsula. During his reign in the 13th century he commissioned thousands of translations of Arabic, Hebrew and Latin works into Castilian. A large number of translations, mainly from Eastern languages, were carried out not only into Castilian but also into Latin. However, more often than not, these works never reached the Latin version, possibly due to the reluctance of Jewish translators to use the traditionally Christian language, Latin.

³⁷In the last decades, we have seen further steps taken by the R.A.E. towards adapting the Spanish orthographic system so that it reflects more closely the pronunciation. The R.A.E. now accepts as correct the spelling/pronunciation of 'sicología' (as well as the sole previous form 'psicología'), 'setiembre' (formerly only admitted as 'septiembre') or 'sicólogo' (formerly 'psicólogo'). For a study of the origins of the Spanish orthographic system, developments, and the relation between orthography and the pronunciation of Spanish, see Cuervo (1985:1-69). For further information on policy making with respect to orthographic issues, consult Esteve Serrano (1982). For further information see Entwistle (1951:168).

The result of King Alfonso X's interest in culture, learning and language brought about the establishment of the *Escuela de Traducción de Toledo* to translate all this work and which represents the major prose work in Castilian at the time. The 'Cantigas', a collection of lyrical poems dedicated to the Virgin written in Galician³⁸ are also attributed to him.

The vast enterprise of translating a wide range of works by so many different translators with different skills and training resulted in a non-standardized language being employed, despite the King's initial overt desire.

King Alfonso X had a far-reaching and substantial influence upon the evolution of educated Spanish, and to some degree on the evolution of the Spanish language as a whole. Aware of the lack of consistency in many translations, he appointed 'emendadores', that is, editors, to check the language employed in the translations of the works he had commissioned. He also worked personally on the corrections. He tried to regularize the language, to rid it of inconsistencies and 'undesirable influences'; a role he conferred upon himself and which today is accomplished by the Real Academia Española.

Lapesa (1991:168)³⁹ records that in the *Libro de la Ochava Esfera* (1276) King Alfonso X deleted repetitions and fixed the language in such a way that it was written in 'castellano drecho', or correct Spanish.

The language in the above book, tinted with regional features from Burgos, Toledo and León, was to be regarded as the model to follow in the linguistic standardization of the nation. It was, in fact, the variety of Castilian spoken in Toledo which Alfonso X considered to be the most prestigious and educated and so he ordered it to be used for all official usage throughout the whole kingdom.

During the reign of Alfonso X, and in subsequent centuries, there was a decisive process towards the standardization of the Spanish language, at this time known as 'Castellano' or 'lengua Romance'. This standardization process can be seen in the language employed throughout *Crónica General* (1270). In the first part, there are some archaic forms which are not present in the remaining sections, written later.

³⁸This language choice was possibly due to the non-educated associations the Castilian language continued to have at the time.

³⁹As Lapesa (1991) explains, "tolló las razones que entendió eran sobejanas et dobladas et que non eran en castellano drecho, et puso las otras que entendió que complían; et cuanto en el lenguaje, endreçó lo él por sise", (Lapesa 1991:168).

The first section in the book reflects the language of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th, evidenced, for example, in the loss of final -e- (such as in 'recib', 'pued', 'dim') while the rest of the language appears more standardized (there is a decrease in the loss of final -e- with forms such as 'mont' and 'monte' appearing simultaneously).

The 14th century saw a further advance towards the standardization of Spanish⁴⁰ and Castilian became the language in which a large amount of poetry, as well as prose, was written (Juan Ruiz started the tradition of employing popular sayings and 'refranes').

During the last few years of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century a new cultural wave emerged in Spain with Humanism, whose influences were the *Divina Comedia* by Dante and Boccaccio's *Caídas de Príncipes*. However, a strong ongoing French influence in the Spanish court and aristocratic circles remained, coupled with an Italian flavour.

At first, the language of the court did not respond well to the introduction of Latin forms, as the Spanish language and customs were still considerably influenced by French language and culture. This profound admiration of French was much criticised in literature and by certain sections of Spanish society. In the satirical verses by the Marqués de Santillana the following incisive comment can be read, "con fabla casi extranjera, / vestido como francés", (Lapesa 1991:183), a criticism which reflects an underlying attempt to protect the Spanish language.

In the 15th century much linguistic uncertainty remained (such as the alternation of the pronunciation and orthography of -t- and -d- which were at the time in free distribution; as in 'edad', 'edat' or initial -f- and -h- as in 'facer'/ 'hacer')⁴¹.

Still, not all literary writings expressed the most educated form of Spanish. Some attempts at writing Spanish as it was spoken by ordinary people were timidly made, examples of which are illustrated in *La Celestina*, a work published in 1499 and written by Fernando de Rojas.

⁴⁰See Lapesa (1991:176-8).

⁴¹See Lapesa (1991:184-5) for more information on other linguistic features at this time.

In the 15th century Castilian was still considered 'too vulgar' a language to be used by the most refined writers of the Court of king Juan II, and so poets, such as Santillana and Mena tried to incorporate as many Latin words as possible into their Castilian.

By the end of the reign of the 'Reyes Católicos', the pronunciation of -f- in initial position was replaced by aspirated -h- (in Castille first which was more linguistically advanced than other regions) and -t- in final position was replaced by -d- (such as in 'voluntat', which became 'voluntad').

Still in the 15th, Queen Isabel I of Castille and Fernando II of Aragón, known as 'Los Reyes Católicos', finally reconquered Granada, the last Arab stronghold in the country. This marked a new stage in the development of Castilian, (see Fig. 2.2⁴² below).

Fig. 2.2: Territorial division during the reign of the 'Reyes Católicos'.



⁴²Source: Figure 2.6 by García Ballesteros and Pozo Rivera (1994:18).

It could be said that, by then, there was a strong linguistic unity in the centre of the Peninsula. The dialect of León and the dialects from other central regions were relegated to the lower classes, and in fact, the Leonese dialect became typically the 'language of the lower classes', at least for literary purposes. This recently unified Castilian nevertheless gave scope for regional differences in pronunciation.

When Antonio de Nebrija published *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* in 1492, the Spanish language was enjoying a period of stability, and when in 1517 *Gramática y Ortografía* was published, a number of developments had already been standardized in Spanish. The publication of *Gramática* marked a new phase for Spanish for those who believed that the language of a unified nation needed to be given the status only held previously by Latin or Greek. *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* signified a breakthrough in history and an important step towards the standardization of Spanish. As Lapesa (1991) highlights quoting Nebrija,

"lo que agora i de aquí adelante en él se escririere, pueda quedar en un tenor i entenderse por toda la duración de los tiempos que están por venir, como vemos que se ha hecho en la lengua griega y latina, las cuales por aver estado debaxo de arte, aunque sobre ellas han pasado muchos siglos, todavía quedan en una uniformidad"
(Lapesa 1991:193)

His grammar was the first to be published in a 'lengua vulgar' (or language spoken by the lower classes) in Europe and was the first study whose sole purpose was essentially to standardize a language. This work also reflected the newly acquired status of Castilian⁴³ among the 'educated languages'.

With King Fernando II and Queen Isabel I, and later with King Carlos V, Spain expanded militarily and culturally over Europe and South-America⁴⁴. In the 16th century the Spanish language lived what is known as its *Golden Age*. It was an age of borrowing neologisms from Classical Latin,

"there is in the latinizing of the vernacular a moment of crisis, which is termed gongorismo or culteranismo"
(Entwistle 1950:50)

⁴³In previous years/centuries, it had been regarded as a 'lengua vulgar' with Latin being considered the educated and refined form of expression.

⁴⁴The expansion of Spanish to South-America is reviewed by García Morejón (1964), Carrillo Herrera (1964), Morreale (1964), Lincoln Lansfield (1981) and Lapesa (1991). For a study on the Spanish in South-America in this century see Menéndez Pidal (1942), Herrero Mayor (1964), Lapesa (1964(b)), Tovar (1964) and Duncan (1991).

Spain rose to an intellectual rank and the supremacy of the Spanish language is seen in the literature published at the time, such as the work by Santa Teresa and by San Juan de la Cruz. In Italy and France it is reported that "así entre damas como entre caballeros se tiene por gentileza y galanía saber hablar castellano", (Lapesa 1991:197).

On the other hand, in the Spanish court of King Carlos V, the King and his courtiers spoke many foreign languages although Castilian remained the predominant language. According to Lapesa (1991:200), the King showed a preference for Italian when speaking to the ladies, French when speaking to men, and Castilian when speaking to God⁴⁵.

Thus, Castilian was transformed from a language basically spoken by the lower classes into a language spoken by the Court; from a regional dialect to a national language; and from a national language to an international one in a relatively short space of time.

With the imperial acquisitions in Europe and America, Castilian was seen as one essential element in the conquest and in the unification of the Spanish Empire and so, in 1580, Francisco de Medina with full patriotic spirit wrote⁴⁶,

"veremos estenderse la magestad del lenguage Español,
adornada de nueva i admirable pompa, hasta las últimas
provincias donde vitoriosamente penetraron las vanderas
de nuestros exércitos."
(Lapesa 1991:200)

In the 16th century, the concept of language correction was possibly stronger than in any preceding or subsequent century. Both literary and spoken language placed considerable emphasis on standardization. Thus, a number of publications reflected this emphasis⁴⁷.

⁴⁵Quotation by Buceta (1937:11), quoted in Lapesa (1991:200).

⁴⁶During the reign of Philip II, Castilian was "general y conocida en todo lo que alumbría el sol, llevada por las banderas españolas vencedoras con evidia de la griega y latina, que no se extendieron tanto", (Lapesa 1991:201-2), quoting the Preface to the *Obras de Garcí Lasso de la Vega* with annotations by Fernando de Herrera, in Seville, 1580.

⁴⁷Juan de Valdés produced some works on the correct form of language and its use, as did Cristóbal de Villalón who published *Gramática* in 1558, Bernardo de Aldrete who published *Origen y principio de la lengua castellana* in 1606, in which he studies the phonetic changes from Latin to Romance, and Sebastián de Covarrubias who published *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* in 1611 among others, (Lapesa 1991:266-7). Also, *Reglas de Orthographia, Arte o Gramática para saber hablar y escrevir en la lengua castellana; colegrida de la autoridad de los sabios, conforme a la costumbre y uso común de la lengua no corrompida*, and *Gramática Castellana. Arte breve y compendiosa para saber hablar y escrevir en la lengua Castellana congrua y decentemente*, both by Villalón (1558), *Libro apologetico que defiende la buena y docta pronunciación que*

At the end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century⁴⁸, some decisive developments with regard to the phonological system took place. For example, -b- and -v- continued to be phonetically distinguished but in certain areas, such as in Aragón, Castile and the North, the majority of speakers no longer made this distinction,⁴⁹ a phenomenon which has affected the entire nation and which remains in contemporary Spanish.

An expression of the emphasis on correctness which continued until the 18th century was the foundation of the Real Academia Española⁵⁰ in 1713 created for this purpose. Its primary task was to standardize and safeguard Spanish and to achieve this aim it published a series of works, such as the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726-39), *Ortografía* (1741), *Gramática* (1771), and its most widespread and popular publication to date, *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*⁵¹.

The 17th, 18th and 19th centuries are also marked by the influence of academic reforms in spelling. The purpose of these modifications in the orthographic system was to reflect more closely the pronunciation of the language⁵². Some changes and some expressions taken from spoken Spanish were very occasionally and reluctantly introduced into standard Castilian⁵³. As Lapesa (1991) expresses it, the 18th century was a time when,

"Prejuicios aristocráticos y librescos -tanto más explicables cuanto profundo había sido el mal del avulgaramiento- impidieron muchas veces que el arte dignificara las aguas vivas de la expresión cotidiana",
(Lapesa 1991:274)

guardaron los antiguos en muchos vocablos y acentos, by Fray Miguel de Salinas (1563). Quoted in Pozuelo lvancos (1984:81-2). For further information consult, Alonso (1967).

⁴⁸See Lapesa (1991:245-267) for further information on the characteristics of the Castilian language at the turn of the 17th century.

⁴⁹Also, consonant clusters (examined in today's Spanish in Chapter 3, section 3.2, and Chapter 9) such as -kc-, -gn- mainly of Latin influence, were at this time either pronounced as a consonant group or in the reduced form. Both forms were generally accepted and used without any socio-cultural connotations attached to either form. Therefore, the choice was left to the speaker's preference. Such pronunciations, 'dino' and 'digno' or 'perfección' as well as 'perfición', were entirely acceptable and are found in the literature of the time.

⁵⁰Sometimes abbreviated a R.A.E.

⁵¹Based on Lapesa (1991:419-20).

⁵²At this time it takes place the reinsertion of -g- as in 'digno', the retention of -c- as in 'luctuoso' and the introduction of some neologisms from Greek, (Entwistle 1951:50).

⁵³The eighteen century saw a reaction against the written literary style of previous years, a reaction against the excess of metaphors, intricate structures and elaborate expressions. French prose was admired and its influence was widely felt in the written and spoken educated speech which caused great concern and criticism among some academics and literary writers.

Aristocrats and the educated classes in society showed a preference once more for the most conservative aspects of the language, rejecting predominantly the linguistic innovations which could be traced to the spoken un-educated language, such as the omission of /d/ in intervocalic position as in 'colorada' reduced to 'colora', (Lapesa 1991:467).

During that time a decision was taken with respect to the phonetic realization of consonant groups⁵⁴. The Royal Academy finally took the decision that the correct form was to be the pronunciation of both consonants. However, its members had to accept exceptions due to the widespread use of some reductions such as 'luto', 'fruto', 'respeto', 'afición' instead of 'lucto', 'fructo', 'respecto', 'aficción'.

This source of orthographic instability has many times been efficiently dealt with by the R.A.E. The Academy likewise has taken other decisions on the orthographic system and consequently it has standardized Spanish orthography so that, with time and several interventions throughout history, the differences between the written and the spoken forms have been reduced to a minimum.

The literary circles of the 19th century demanded a more varied and flexible language to potentially create new literary styles, such as journalistic articles⁵⁵. Its main representative was José de Larra whose articles expressed the spirit of the moment. In his view the standardization of the Spanish language was excessive and highly restrictive. As he explained, quoted in Lapesa (1991),

"las lenguas siguen la marcha de los progresos y las ideas; pensar fijarlas en un punto dado a fuer de escribir castizo, es intentar imposibles."
(Lapesa 1991:278)

Bécquer and Espronceda represent the poetry of the Romantic Era and even though Romantic writers combined the sublime with the profane and quotidian, their language consistently showed an elaborate style through the use of repetitions, metaphors and other literary devices.

⁵⁴Until then, there were two tendencies; firstly, to pronounce them according to the phonetic reforms; that is, reducing consonant groups/clusters to one consonant, and secondly, to pronounce them as they were done so in Latin (the main source language), such as in 'concepto', 'efecto' or 'digno'. Based on Lapesa (1991:421).

⁵⁵In Spain, perhaps more so than in Britain or Ireland, certain journalistic articles are given the status of literature. Larra's (1982) articles, from early 19th century, are one example of the above.

In contrast with this literary movement, Benito Pérez Galdós, principal representative of the Spanish realist movement of the 19th century⁵⁶, articulated concerns about the Spanish of his time. In his view there were essential differences between what *should* be spoken (exemplified in the works of the R.A.E.) and the language which *was* in practice generally spoken. He also argued that the written Spanish language had not developed enough for day-to-day ordinary conversations to be transferred with all their richness into the written form. As he put it, quoted in Lapesa (1991),

"Una de las dificultades con que tropieza la novela en España consiste en lo poco hecho y trabajado que está el lenguaje literario para reproducir los matices de la conversación corriente. Oradores y poetas lo sostienen en sus antiguos moldes académicos, defendiéndolo de los esfuerzos que hace la conversación para apoderarse de él; el tercio régimen aduanero de los cultos le priva de flexibilidad. Por otra parte, la Prensa, con raras excepciones, no se esmera en dar al lenguaje corriente la acentuación literaria, y de estas rancias antipatías entre la retórica y la conversación, entre la Academia y el periódico, resultan infranqueables diferencias entre la manera de escribir y la manera de hablar, diferencias que son desesperación y escollo del novelista"

(Lapesa 1991:280-1)⁵⁷

However, Clarín, a contemporary of Galdós, admitted that his personal difficulty was rather the opposite: to be able to express the educated and refined forms of the language in his writings. (Lapesa 1991:281). These conflicting points of view reveal two different interests in portraying the Spanish language.

To end this section I shall only give an introductory note to the fuller description of the phonetic characteristics of the Spanish spoken in the twentieth century and particularly in the last few decades which are dealt with in later chapters.

The early 20th century⁵⁸ represented a period of glorification of the Spanish language with a decrease in the use of Catalán, Galician and Basque⁵⁹ (whose use was confined to the home), as they were considered 'vulgar' languages or mere dialects of Spanish. During the Republic in the early part of the century, Spanish underwent a momentous liberalization which brought about a number of borrowings from other

⁵⁶Based on Lapesa (1991:280-1). For further reading on the language constrictions in this century, see Mourelle-Lema (1968).

⁵⁷Lapesa (1991:280-1) quoting the preface written by Galdós for *El sabo r de la tierra* by Pereda.

⁵⁸This is the century I shall concern myself more directly, particularly in Chapter 3. For further information on the unity of the Spanish language from a contemporary perspective see García de Diego (1964).

⁵⁹For further information on the history of the Basque people throughout history see Caro Baroja (1972).

languages but as the century progressed Spanish went through a period of linguistic restrictions and to a large extent of immobility.

The introduction or the spread of Andalusian features into standard Spanish already recorded in the first half of the century by Savador (1964) is one of the most influential phonetic phenomena of this century. Fernández Ramírez (1964:183-8) noted that the social and linguistic propagation of phonetic traits characteristic of Andalusian speech had entered educated standard Spanish language at this time even in Northern areas such as Toledo and Avila.

In the following chapter I shall discuss at some length phonetic characteristics in the Spanish language traditionally regarded as non-educated. Several arguments will be pointed to in order to demonstrate that these phonetic features are undergoing a social and geographic propagation, which help in their introduction and general acceptance into standard Spanish⁶⁰.

Also, many pronunciation characteristics⁶¹ which are discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.2 (such as the reduction of the sound orthographically represented by -cc- to one consonant, the realization of -x-, as it is represented orthographically, to /s/, or the avoidance of regionally tinted Spanish) are already gaining strong momentum at this time⁶².

⁶⁰See Chapter 3, section 3.4 for a detail discussion on this issue.

⁶¹In the early part of the century, some prosodic changes are recorded to have taken place. In comparison with earlier years, the stress in words tended to fall on the first syllable among educated speakers and so, many ambiguities were created due to this factor. For example, 'ex-presidente', with the stress falling on the beginning was sometimes confused by 'es presidente', (Lorenzo 1980:211-2). Likewise, De Miguel (1969:122) already observed that "es de buen tono en ciertos ambientes intelectuales españoles actuales cargar el acento en primera sílaba."

⁶²For additional information on the phonetic characteristics at the beginning of this century see Chapter 3, taken mainly from Navarro Tomás (1985, 22nd edition) and which has not been included here as Navarro Tomás still represents for universities and researchers 'the main current source of pronunciation of Spanish'. My findings on contemporary Spanish, which deviate from those expressed by Navarro Tomás (1985), are discussed mainly in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 3 Contemporary Spanish

3.1 The evolution of linguistic perceptions in Spain

3.1.1 The evolution of perceptions of standard and non-standard Spanish

Until recently it was widely admitted by scholars and by Spanish speakers in general that the 'most correct' Spanish was spoken in some areas of the former Castille and more precisely, in cities such as Valladolid and Madrid⁶³. According to Camilo José Cela, "se habla bien en parte de Castilla la Vieja /.../, Burgos y Valladolid"⁶⁴. González Ollé (1964) highlighted the general perception that,

"entre los españoles cultos de nuestro tiempo el habla de Burgos, no ya del habitante ciudadano, sino en boca del campesino, goza de un extenso prestigio como modelo de castellano puro, correcto, castizo, etc."
(González Ollé 1964:228)

Alarcos Llorach as recently as 1994 selects the Madrid variety to represent 'standard Spanish' or '*español culto*' and in particular the Spanish spoken by "familias burguesas de antiguo abolengo madrileño", Alarcos Llorach (1994:102).

Today, sociolinguistic studies depart from this old notion and attest the complexity of language. We now speak of standard, educated or prestigious rather than correct Spanish and we find no reasons or justification to state that certain regional speakers represent the 'best' spoken Spanish in the Peninsula and no longer should we describe some varieties of speech as 'vulgar'. In today's Spain, it is generally considered that, at least in theory, in every region there are speakers of standard Spanish or speakers of Spanish tinted with the regional variety and who are accepted as prestigious speakers of Spanish, even though their speech might contain certain geographically specific features. It is now perfectly acceptable for an Andalusian or a Basque aristocrat to speak with a certain degree of an Andalusian or Basque accent.

⁶³For further information see Alarcos Llorach (1994).

⁶⁴This and many subsequent quotations from Camilo José Cela are taken from my interview with him which took place, in January 1992, thereon referred to as Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992. The interviews with Rafael Lapesa and Camilo José Cela took place in Madrid in 1992, one in the Real Academia Española and the other in his home, respectively. Both were asked about what represents -in their view- educated or standard Spanish, who -in sociological terms- could be regarded speakers of educated Spanish, what are the phonetic characteristics of educated Spanish today and what variations Spanish language has and is undergoing at present.

Therefore, it is wise to point out that the speech of Spanish speakers tinted with many traits of, for example, Galician or Catalán, would nowadays be equally considered as prestigious Spanish.

Furthermore, after many years of the repressive linguistic policy of Franco's dictatorship, and since the democratic transition, many speakers with geographical varieties make efforts to conserve and even emphasize their regional accent as part of their identity without diminishing their role as speakers of educated Spanish⁶⁵.

Therefore, the question of which professions nowadays attract educated speakers of Spanish is a subject of debate. In the view of Lázaro Carreter⁶⁶, journalists, priests, teachers, solicitors and politicians form the main corpus of speakers of prestigious Spanish. However, it could be argued that journalists and politicians are in fact poor users of Spanish,

"Los que no lo [hablan español correcto] hacen, los políticos, los periodistas, en televisión se habla muy mal."
(Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992)

The notion that there are no longer clearly defined groups, communities or professions embodying educated Spanish is further illustrated by Rafael Lapesa. To my question, "¿Quién cree usted que es la persona idónea que representa el español culto?", Lapesa replies,

"En todas partes hay mezcolanza porque incluso en los mismos lingüistas no siempre hay una pronunciación perfecta. Los lingüistas puede darse un uso con norma pero no todos. Un lingüista andaluz siempre hablará con un acento andaluz."
(Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992)

However, Lapesa⁶⁷ adds that the aristocracy, with some exceptions, often personify "un habla más distinguida".

It seems that teachers, lecturers, lawyers, priests, journalists and politicians, who used to embody correct and educated Spanish, have now developed a tendency to use phrases, syntactic constructions and terms which cannot be considered correct⁶⁸. So

⁶⁵See Chapters 9 and 10 on Instrospection for further evidence of this.

⁶⁶Tribuna, 30 December, 1991.

⁶⁷Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992.

⁶⁸See new current tendencies in spoken Spanish in Chapter 3, section 3.4.

much so, that Lázaro Carreter has considered the idea of compiling a book on Spanish style which would establish,

"criterios lingüísticos comunes, aunque luego cada uno tenga su estilo. El idioma es el mismo y evitaríamos la ruptura."

(Lázaro Carreter⁶⁹, 1991)

Due to the lack of certainty as to who speaks educated Spanish, as part of my study, members of the Real Academia Española, as Rafael Lapesa and Camilo José Cela, were interviewed and asked what we should nowadays regard as standard Spanish, what is considered non-standard Spanish and who represents educated speakers of Spanish. In Chapters 9 and 10, I shall outline the views of these members of the Academy and the results of the research I carried out.

In Navarro Tomás's introduction to *Pronunciación Española* (1985, first published in 1926) he attempts to give some conclusive notes and observations on the social considerations related to the geographical differences in pronunciation, educated Spanish, which he calls 'correct' pronunciation ('Pronunciación correcta') and un-educated or low-class Spanish, which he calls 'popular' Spanish or 'vulgar' ('pronunciación popular' or 'pronunciación vulgar'). He writes,

"Hay también considerables diferencias de pronunciación entre el habla popular de Castilla y la lengua culta española. Unas mismas palabras no se pronuncian, por ejemplo, entre las personas de alta sociedad madrileña de igual modo que entre las personas del pueblo bajo de Madrid."

(Navarro Tomás 1985:7)

He observes later on that,

"la opinión general española distingue la pronunciación correcta de cualquier otro modo de pronunciación, como lo demuestran, entre otros casos, los frecuentes reparos que la Prensa señala respecto a algunos actores y oradores por su acento dialectal."

(Navarro Tomás 1985:9)

It would be presumptuous of us to delve into the correctness or incorrectness of the speech of a working-class Andalusian. When Navarro Tomás (1985:8) recorded the fact that, "la pronunciación correcta rechaza todo vulgarismo provinciano y toda forma local madrileña, burgalesa, toledana, etc," he was then merely expressing the

⁶⁹In *Tribuna*, 30th December, 1991.

belief of the time. Today, a lot of educated speakers pride themselves on speaking with their regional accents and there is no question of changing their accent unlike the trend noted by Navarro Tomás (1985) around the early part of this century.

"la clase intelectual [de Madrid], siendo en su mayor parte de origen provinciano, adoptan espontáneamente esta pronunciación, ocultando cada uno, como mejor puede, las huellas fonéticas de su tierra natal."
(Navarro Tomás 1985:9)

Sharing the same view as above, there are some members of the Real Academia Española who believe that educated Spanish should not contain any regional features, whatever they are. Cela's opinion is firm on this matter, "yo creo que para hablar bien una lengua no se debe tener acento de ningún lado", (Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992).

Many still share this opinion. In the seventies, there was quite a furore when a speaker with a Canary Islands accent started reading the news on the Spanish national channel, TVE. There were constant criticisms as to the un-educated Spanish used for newsreading and as to the direction television was taking. After a short period of time, she was replaced. Much has changed regarding the outlook and people's opinions since then, even though at present the main newsreaders on Spanish national channels represent examples of standard Spanish speakers with only the slightest of regional accents.

We can now hear Spanish being spoken with varying degrees of regional accents. However, it has been noted that with time, some of these speakers, when outside their native regions, tend to 'lose', consciously or unconsciously, some of the phonetic realizations typical of their particular region.

De Miguel (1991) offers a substantially different argument. In his view, we all have an idea of what is correct in Spanish and this correctness differs dramatically depending on the person or people with whom we talk,

"Las buenas maneras no consisten sólo en hacer lo que se debe, sino en hablar como se prescribe. La autoridad no es sólo la de la Real Academia de la Lengua. Los padres y profesores transmiten a los chicos cómo tienen que utilizar el idioma común. Todos no corregimos a todos. Hay también una autocorrección en la medida en que nosotros mismo hablamos de uno u otro modo según sean las circunstancias del auditorio."

(De Miguel 1991:90)

It has been bluntly and erroneously pointed out that the lower classes do not confer equal importance upon their use of a language as do the educated classes and that the un-educated variety of Spanish tends to develop more slowly than the educated one. It is said to be characterized by its directness and lack of individuality, according to Carnicer (1969) for example, who claims that:

"El pueblo no aspira a distinguirse por un uso particular de este instrumento. Su lenguaje es comunal y directo, lento en su evolución. Para la gente culta, en cambio, y más aún para la que pretende serlo, la expresión verbal, y sobre todo la escrita, es un signo de cultura /.../. El hombre culto o seudo-culto vive preocupado de su habla. Al hombre popular, la palabra le tiene sin cuidado."

(Carnicer 1969:175)

This, in my view, is not the case. One possible explanation is that Carnicer (1969) was referring to the value some working-class speakers confer to language. For certain members of working-class groups, language is the main means to convey their group membership and so, they retain traditionally regarded working-class phonetic realizations to highlight their loyalty and membership to this group⁷⁰.

Furthermore, according to Lázaro Carreter⁷¹, director of the Real Academia Española, in contemporary Spanish many traditionally regarded educated speakers are incorrectly using Spanish. He points out,

"Hay que llevar a la conciencia de profesores, abogados, curas, periodistas y políticos que tenemos una cierta responsabilidad con la comunidad."

(Lázaro Carreter, 1991)

The younger generations seem to use an even less correct Spanish with impoverished vocabulary due to what Lázaro Carreter calls "dejadez y, luego, hay una actitud que va contra la norma, cualquiera que sea". His opinion is that "todo el mundo reconoce que se habla mal"⁷². This view is reinforced by Lapesa (Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992), "ha habido una relajación general de costumbres, de modo y de trato en las últimas generaciones".

Lorenzo (1980:32) observes that in the Spanish language of the sixties there was a 'permeability' between the different levels of the Spanish social strata. As he

⁷⁰See Chapter 4 to review this issue. For further information on how class is reflected in language, see Labov and Ohmann (1982).

⁷¹Extract from an interview in *Tribuna*, 30th December, 1991.

⁷²In *Tribuna*, op. cit. Refer to Chapters 9 and 10 on introspection for further references.

explained, there was a relative degree of uniformity in the way the majority of the social classes spoke. However, Spanish has taken a further development, and as De Miguel (1994(b)) has observed there is now a widening gap between the speech of the upper and the lower classes. As he notes,

"Algo sutil está ocurriendo en estos momentos de creciente diferenciación social. No es que nos hayamos pasado al esquema japonés o del inglés británico. Esto sería imposible en menos de unos cuantos siglos. No obstante, hemos roto el camino en esta dirección. Los lingüistas tendrán que empezar a registrar la creciente diferencia entre el habla de los ejecutivos y el de los modestos "currantes". Es sólo una pista para futuras averiguaciones."

(De Miguel 1994(b):36)

The gap between standard and non-standard Spanish seems to have been increasingly expanding, and there seems now to be ample evidence which shows that the lower classes are phonetically marked much more clearly than in previous decades, a view which is strengthened by Cela who focuses on the fact that,

"Hay jóvenes que no tienen un léxico rico, no pronuncian bien, y luego hay otro grupo de jóvenes que están creando un espacio grandísimo con otros grupos de jóvenes que pronuncian perfectamente bien, que conservan el *ado*, que conservan el *para*"

(Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992)

This matter is further complicated by the distinct lack of empirical work. I share Criado del Val's (1964) difficulty in finding research on spoken Spanish and I partly share his reservations on the methodology which has sometimes been used. As Criado del Val (1964) points out,

"El estudio del español es quizás el más urgente, amplio y difícil objetivo de la actual investigación lingüística española. Junto a la extensa laguna la falta casi absoluta, no sólo de trabajos monográficos en torno al habla actual, sino de metodologías adecuadas para realizarlos."

(Criado del Val 1964:463)

Nevertheless, today there is some albeit limited research taking place on spoken Spanish and the methodology employed is more reliable⁷³.

⁷³For bibliographical references on current studies on spoken Spanish, see Chapter 4 and for a discussion on methodology see Chapter 8.

3.1.2 The evolution of perceptions of regional varieties

In Chapter 2, I presented a brief diachronic review of the situation of regional languages across time. In this Chapter, I shall analyse the evolution of the regional languages (Basque, Catalán and Galician) and the perceptions of regional accents (such as the Spanish variety spoken in Andalusia), during Franco's dictatorship and particularly in subsequent years and up to the present day.

Linguistically speaking, Spain constitutes a multilingual state in which Spanish, Galician, Basque and Catalán coexist⁷⁴. During Franco's dictatorship (1936-1977), Spanish became the only official language for the Spanish nation while the regional languages (Galician, Catalán and Basque) became relegated to an unofficial status. Speakers of these languages were constantly beset by obstacles which prevented them from using their regional languages. These languages were considered uneducated and official efforts strove to oust them.

The attempt to make the Spanish language the only official language of the Spanish State goes back to similar attempts in the past. As the Euskaltzaindia (Real Academia de la Lengua Vasca) (1979) points out,

"Esta presión lingüística comenzó con los Austrias, se agudizó con los Borbones, y ha tenido su expresión más brutal durante la dictadura franquista"
(Euskaltzaindia 1979:38)

It would be an understatement to say that during Franco's dictatorship, regional languages suffered a dramatic blow. From the idea behind Franco's policies of centralization arose a process of devaluation of the linguistic regional peculiarities which resulted in the prohibition for speakers of mainly Catalán and Basque to use their regional languages in public places. During this time, it was claimed that those languages were mere 'dialects', 'jergas', or 'jerigonzas', (Soldevila-Durante 1982:129-45).

Linguistically speaking, these are years of 'glorification' and 'purification' of the Spanish language, which is described as 'claro romance' or 'idioma o lengua del cristiano' and in which no foreign influence (be it from outside Spain or from

⁷⁴For the purpose of this thesis, I shall not take into account Valencian which some consider a geographical variety of Catalán (therefore a dialect) and some perceive as a separate language. Only four languages are officially recognized in Spain: Spanish, Catalán, Galician and Basque. Thus, these are the ones I shall take into consideration.

regional languages) had a place. Therefore, speakers of Spanish strove to rid their Spanish of any regional tint as this was rejected and largely scorned.

Pejorative terms were consistently and publicly used to refer to Catalán, Basque and Galician. Catalán was supposed to be -according to General Queipo de Llano- "solamente un imitación falsa" or 'ladridos', as it was also described. And the Basque language is "jerigoniza, que es a nuestro idioma lo que la rueda del carro de bueyes es a la hélice del avión"⁷⁵.

In fact, at this time, diglossia occurred in most communities⁷⁶. Such was the situation in the Basque, Catalán and Galician communities where Spanish was used in schools, for poetry, in radio, television or for correspondence and Galician was spoken by family and friends mainly at home.

However, since the end of the dictatorship (1977) this diglossic situation underwent a substantial change. The areas which were previously considered 'regions', after 1977 acquired the status of 'Autonomous Communities' with their own political autonomy, parliament, president and their own legislations. Figure 3.1 shows the Autonomous Communities as they stand today.

⁷⁵Section based on Soldevila-Durante (1982). Both quotations are excerpts from Soldevila-Durante (1982:136).

⁷⁶Ferguson (1990:232) defines 'diglossia' as "where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play". For further reading on the phenomenon of diglossia see Timm (1981).

Fig. 3.1: Territorial division of the Autonomous Communities in Spain at present.

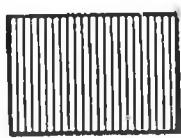


Their languages started a new phase of revitalization at all levels. The languages in these autonomous communities have acquired a similar status to Spanish⁷⁷. The nationalistic movements regained vigour and their languages represented the expression of the new found nationalistic revitalization, (see Fig. 3.2 for a view of distribution of the official languages and the Andalusian dialect in Spain⁷⁸).

⁷⁷Some argue that certain national languages, such as Catalán, might have already acquired a higher status than Spanish. In 1994 parliamentarians discussed whether to regard Spanish or Catalán as the *only* official language of Catalonia (at present Catalonia is officially a *bilingual* community).

⁷⁸Based on map by Dalbor (1980(a):19).

Fig. 3.2: Linguistic distribution of the Galician, Basque and Catalán languages, and the Andalusian dialect in the Peninsula at present.



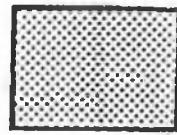
Galician-Portuguese



Catalán



Spanish with dialects



Basque

Today, the 1978 Constitution grants Catalán, Basque and Galician the co-officiality in their respective Autonomous Communities. Nevertheless, the years of consignment to the limits of the home, the social stigma of using those languages, the negative connotations they carried and the prominence of Spanish in most groups of society,

left some national languages⁷⁹, particularly Basque, impoverished and the numbers of their speakers greatly reduced. The following table sets out a current account of the number of speakers of the four official languages⁸⁰.

Table 3.1: Number of speakers of Spanish, Catalán, Galician and Basque at present.

Languages of Spain	No. of speakers
Español/Castellano (100%) ⁸¹	40,000,000
Catalán (17%)	6,800,000
Galician (7%)	2,800,000
Basque (2%)	800,000

Also, for a while, and particularly in the seventies, there were reports of a certain imbalance in favour of Castilian. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) present an outline of the vitality that the autonomous languages enjoyed and consider this vitality interdependently related to Castilian⁸². See table below⁸³.

⁷⁹See Haugen (1979(b)) and Lázaro Carreter (1981(a)) for further information on the development of standard and national languages.

⁸⁰Based on *National Geographic*, Vol. 181, No. 4, April 1992.

⁸¹Statistically speaking 100% of the Spanish population speak Spanish. This does not necessarily mean that 100% of Spanish people speak it fluently, although the great majority would have some basic grasp or would be able to understand it.

⁸²Argument offered by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) discussed in Ros, Cano and Huici (1987:256).

⁸³Based on Ros, Cano and Huici (1987:256)

Table 3.2: Sociolinguistic vitality of the languages of the Autonomous Communities in Spain in the late seventies.

	Status	Demography	Institutional Support	Overall
Castilian	High	High	High	High
Catalán	High	Med-High	Med-High	Med-High
Basque	Medium	Low	Medium	Medium
Galician	Med-Low	Medium	Low	Med-Low

Some modifications to this table are necessary in view of today's perceptions. According to current reports, the Basque language is nowadays also perceived as a national language with very high status (and so, speakers of Spanish with a Basque accent are perceived likewise), and Galician is still perceived in not such high terms.

Table 3.3: Status of the Spanish spoken with geographically tinted accents at present.

	Status
Castilian	high
Catalán	high
Basque	high
Galician	Med
Andalusian	Med-low

The above table reflects that the Andalusian accent is still regarded less favourably than other more northern accents. This general assumption of the 'superiority' of the Spanish spoken in the North is eloquently reflected in the following comment by an Andalusian reader of *El País*,

"me hubiera gustado que don Elio Antonio de Nebrija hubiera completado la primera gramática de la lengua castellana con un apéndice de fonética. Es posible que, si lo hubiera hecho, hoy no presumirían algunos nómadas iberos de hablar el español mejor que los demás."

(*El País*, 1991)⁸⁴

Furthermore, in the work of Ros, Cano and Huici (1987:248-59), the categories more frequently used to describe Autonomous Communities groups are 'sociability', 'personality' and 'identity'.

They obtained results significantly different for the autonomous regions concerned. Galicians are viewed as politically very conservative, rural, lacking in competence and very sociable. Catalans are described as competent but unsociable, stingy and having a strong group identity and a tendency to reject other groups. Basques are viewed negatively in terms of their sociability traits (probably due to the terrorist activity, ETA) but they are also described as having a very strong group identity and positively in personality traits. Castilians are perceived in neutral terms, both regarding their personality and sociability. They are perceived as a coupling of various groups of peoples.

The situation has considerably improved as to the status and number of speakers of the national languages. Today, educational institutions actively encourage the use of Basque, Galician and Catalán inside and outside the bounds of the home.

There are television and radio stations with programmes in Catalán, Basque and Galician in their respective Autonomous Communities, and some newspapers use these languages as means of expression. The presidents of the Autonomous regions of Galicia and Catalonia regularly use their respective autonomous languages in public and non-public speeches, children are taught and speak their regional languages in their schools and at home, pre-school children now have the choice of being taught all subjects through Basque, Galician or Catalán and the same choice applies to primary and secondary students⁸⁵.

Even if the conditions and social perceptions of these languages have enormously improved, Catalán, Basque and Galician are perceived by the other speakers in the

⁸⁴*El País*, Cartas al director, 12 August, 1991.

⁸⁵Of all the autonomous languages the hardest hit by the years of the so-called 'period of linguistic censorship' is possibly the Basque language. For a detailed discussion of the Basque language within the Basque region, see Euskaltzaindia (1979), Etxebarria Aróstegui (1985), Ugalde (1979) and Ruiz Olabuenaga (1983).

Peninsula and by each other with varying degrees of prestige⁸⁶. Speakers of Spanish with phonetic features in their Spanish of Calatán or Basque are generally perceived as more prestigious than the speaker with an Andalusian or Galician accent⁸⁷. It should be stressed that the prestige of a regional accent correlates strongly with the economic success of the region. Thus, Catalonian and Basque accents carry more prestige than, for example, Galician⁸⁸.

However, it is perfectly acceptable for an Andalusian aristocrat or an educated speaker to speak with an Andalusian accent⁸⁹. It has been noted that some upper-class speakers of Spanish from this region, use many regional peculiarities, (such as the aspiration of /s/ in final position, for example 'estas'; the use of /l/ instead of /r/ in certain environments, such as in 'modernidad'; the use of /r/ instead of /l/ as in 'alma' and the use of 'seseo'). However, I have observed several members of upper-class Andalusian society speak with many typical Andalusian traits, except for the 'seseo'. It seems that in their view, not shared by Navarro Tomás (1985:93-94), this is not an acceptable phonetic realization in the eyes of some upper-class speakers. However, some of the phonetic realizations made by upper-class educated Andalusians are regarded in some parts of Spain as working-class or un-educated.

The phonetic features listed below show some of the traits some upper-class Andalusian speakers consider acceptable but which other non-Andalusians speakers consider non-prestigious. Lorenzo (1980) remarks on this topic,

"[la] distribución geográfica del fenómeno [the delition of /d/, por ejemplo, que en Andalucía la desaparición afecta también a las clases cultas y a otros contextos fonéticos (*sufrió* por *sufrido*, *regadera* por *regadera*, *too* por *todo*, *caa* por *cada*). Según esto, la pérdida de -d- en tales contextos no sería en Andalucía un rasgo de diferenciación social o de educación, y en otras partes de España sí.]"
(Lázaro 1980:57)

⁸⁶See O'Donnell (1988) and Woolard (1982) for a discussion on the subject, particularly in relation to Catalán.

⁸⁷The attempts by Andalucian speakers to avoid certain or all traces of their origin was discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.2 and further evidence will be discussed in Chapters 9 and 10 in the analysis of data from my field work.

⁸⁸Catalonia continues to be an economically powerful Autonomous Community, unlike the Basque Country whose economy, based in the past on the iron and steel industries, has failed and it has left this community with one of the highest unemployment levels in the whole country, over 27%. Data referred to 1995. For further reading on the socio-economic differences in the Autonomous Communities, see García Ballesteros and Pozo Rivera (1994).

⁸⁹Observations based on television programmes from Andalusia in which upper class families and their servants were interviewed (example of which is the Cámara family and the Osborne family from Seville and Jaén respectively). Recordings carried out in 1992.

On the other hand, Catalán enjoys great formal prestige (O'Donnell 1988). It is the preferred language of the Catalán born managerial class and the children of Spanish speaking immigrants. However, in the Catalán-speaking eastern fringe of Aragón, Spanish remains the language of formal situations and Catalán is considered a low-status language, while in the highly linguistically conscious area along the Catalán coast, Catalán⁹⁰ is the preferred language.

When Lambert and Hodgson (1960) found that Montréal French speakers evaluated English speakers more favourably than themselves, this was interpreted as a measure of the lack of prestige of French and the self-stigmatization of these French speakers⁹¹. Woolard (1984), on the other hand, has found that Catalán has balanced out the effect of language repression in past years and of diglossia, and that Catalán has not suffered, in the eyes of natives and immigrants, any loss of prestige.

The case of Catalán forms a case apart. Galician and Basque together with Castilian formed, prior to 1977, cases of diglossia. It was believed, and sometimes it still is by some, that these languages still constitute examples of diglossic situations nowadays, (Ros, Cano and Huici, 1987). However, all these three Autonomous Communities have achieved the status of bilingual⁹² communities, in which normally speakers use both languages alternately. This forms a clear picture as to the successes and failures of the 'linguistic normalization' process taking place in different areas in Spain.

This revival of the autonomous languages along with a revitalization of nationalist movements has led many to believe that Spain is a multilingual nation composed by other nationalities. Politically speaking, some argue that Spain forms one nation while others conceive Spain not as one nation but several; namely the Basque, the Galician, the Catalán. As Fasold (1984) elucidates,

"nationality is a group of people who think of themselves
as a social unit different from other groups"
(Fasold 1984:2)

⁹⁰See Argente (1986) for a review on the multilingualism situation in Spain and how this is reflected in law making and political decisions. For additional studies in the Catalán dialects and their classification according to social prestige, see Pérez Alonso (1979), Soler (1987), O'Donnell (1988), Barrera y Vidal (1986:121-45), McDonough (1987:217-40) and Conversi (1985:119-26). For a study of the implications and the effects of language conflict and linguistic identity, measures of stress and dominance in the multilingual communities of Spain, Canada, Belgium, Lebanon, Israel among other countries, see Savard, Vigneault and Heath (eds.) (1975:403-5). On the importance of studying a regional language, see Grosclaude (1975:6-8).

⁹¹This point is reviewed in Woolard (1984:63), although more and more prominent public figures from French-Canadian backgrounds are employing French more. Thus, a change in the status of French may have taken place in the last decade.

⁹²For a definition and further discussion on 'bilingualism', see Fasold (1984:40-3).

This topic will be further dealt with in later chapters, particularly Chapters 9 and 10. The relationship between socio-historical perceptions on regional accents/languages and a more current insight into this topic will be explored at some length.

3.2 Phonetic description of standard and non-standard Spanish

In this section⁹³, I shall outline the phonetic characteristics as reported in the available literature on spoken Spanish⁹⁴. However, my own data will be presented in Chapters 9 and 10⁹⁵ of this thesis. I shall note the contrasts between current pronunciation tendencies as I found them and what the pronunciation manuals advocate. At the same time, an update on what should be considered standard and educated in contemporary Spanish will be provided by presenting observations made by Camilo José Cela and Rafael Lapesa, members of the Real Academia Española.

This section⁹⁶ should be considered a continuation of section 2.2.3 as most of the bibliography available to me represents and generally makes references to non-contemporaneous Spanish. This is the main source of data still currently used in today's universities and by most academics⁹⁷.

As one would expect, there have been many developments in Spanish speech since its publication in the early part of this century. As a result of interviews in 1992 with members of the R.A.E., more current descriptions and data will be provided to what has been stated in earlier publications.

⁹³The phonetic description of standard and non-standard Spanish is included in Contemporary Spanish and not in Chapter 2 section 2.2.2 ('The early twentieth century'), even though much of the information and phonetic detail belongs to the beginning of this century. For further information on standard Spanish, as it is regarded today see sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 and my own findings in Chapters 9 and 10. For a review on the contrasts between current pronunciation of some Spanish consonants and what the teachings and theory of pronunciation manuals dictate, see Dalbor (1980(a),(b)). For further references on manuals which revolve around the teachings of educated pronunciation see Entrambasaguas (1952), Benot (1921), Gómez (1839), Corréas (1954), Alarcos Llorach (1964), Sánchez and Matilla (1974).

⁹⁴I shall neither deal with the articulatory characteristics of Spanish (see Navarro Tomás 1985 for this purpose) nor with purely phonological characteristics of Spanish or any other prosodic features than the ones covered in this section. In order to gain information on these topics, see Quilis (1963, 1970), Navarro Tomás (1985:210-43), Alarcos Llorach (1949), Sánchez (1974), Hartman (1974) and Roca (1988).

⁹⁵This section is complemented in Chapter 4. In Chapters 9 and 10 I shall present and examine current perspectives on several of the phonetic realizations discussed in this section.

⁹⁶*Theoretically speaking*, all the notions mentioned in this section regarding points 1 to 17, which are based on Navarro Tomás (1985), are currently valid.

⁹⁷The main source of information is sought in Navarro Tomás (1926 and 1985) and various publications on Spanish pronunciation by Lapesa (1991), Lorenzo (1980), Seco (1970), Macpherson (1975), Canellada (1972), Malmber (1965), Gili Gaya (1961), Barrutia (1982) and Dalbor (1980(a),(b)).

This section will deal with the phonetic characteristics according to socio-economic and cultural factors involving the pronunciation of vowels⁹⁸, consonants, diphthongs and consonant clusters as they have been envisaged in the literature up to now and should not only help as a description of Spanish but also, and most importantly, they will serve as the basis for a comparison with more current findings covered in Chapters 9 and 10.

The pronunciation⁹⁹ of vowels varies¹⁰⁰ considerably according to the speaker's educational level. (1)¹⁰¹ The pronunciation of /e/ is one example of this. In some regions of the South of Spain /e/ is pronounced markedly open, so much so, that many un-educated speakers are reported to pronounce it as [a]. For example, 'tres' can be perceived as [trás].

In stilted and affected pronunciation, we often hear (2) velarized [a], such as in 'hago' or 'mago'. We might also hear vowels which have been pronounced as a longer occurrence than normal, for example, the /o/ in 'hombre' or the /e/ and /o/ in 'pero yo que se'.

In colloquial speech, we hear (3) a very relaxed pronunciation of final vowels to the point that we cannot differentiate which one has been precisely used, for example, this could be the case in 'símbolo', 'estado' or 'queso'. However, in formal speech, these vowels are fully pronounced.

But it is perhaps when it comes to (4) the pronunciation of diphthongs that listeners are more likely to perceive cues as to the socio-economic status or the education of the speaker. When two vowels which belong to two different syllables become reduced this phenomenon is known in Spanish as 'hiato' and when two vowels which belong to the same syllable are reduced and pronounced with the duration and characteristics of one vowel this is known in Spanish as 'sinéresis'¹⁰². This generally characterizes non-standard or un-educated Spanish. For example, 'te has' might become reduced to [təás] or further reduced to [tás].

As Navarro Tomás (1985) explains,

⁹⁸For a review of the pronunciation of Spanish taking the geographical perspective as a variance factor, see Alvar López (1969), Lapesa (1991).

⁹⁹This section will be based on Navarro Tomás (1985:67-179).

¹⁰⁰Consult De Lacerda and Canellada (1945) and Quilis (1963) for further phonetic/phonological considerations on vowels and consonants.

¹⁰¹For clarity reasons, I shall number each phonetic characteristic dealt with in this section.

¹⁰²The vowel which is normally lost is the less perceptible one and the most open and perceptible is the vowel that remains. For further examples of these two phenomena see Navarro Tomás (1985:70-1).

"La pronunciación vulgar reduce corrientemente a una sola sílaba cualquier grupo vocálico de esta especie."
(Navarro Tomás 1985:67)

The pronunciation of consonants similarly varies profoundly depending on the speaker's education or social status. (5) The voiceless stop /p/ positioned before another consonant is normally pronounced in colloquial Spanish as a fricative [b]¹⁰³. In standard Spanish we can also omit it in 'septiembre', 'suscriptor' and 'séptimo'. And whereas in affected speech we would normally hear it being pronounced as a voiceless stop, in un-educated speech this stop is dropped almost in all occasions.

The phoneme /p/ should always be pronounced, as far a Navarro Tomás (1985:83) is concerned, before /t/ such as in 'apto' or 'concepto'. However, un-educated speakers would normally delete the pronunciation of /p/ in this environment.

Similarly, (6) the phoneme /b/, in consonant clusters before /s/, /t/, /m/, in examples such as 'submarino' or 'obtener', should not be deleted but pronounced generally in standard Spanish as a fricative. However, in careful speech, /b/ in the consonant cluster 'b+t', becomes [p], as may occur in 'obtener' [optenér]. Therefore, generally speaking, the use of the fricative [b] is acceptable and considered standard and educated when /b/ is in initial position and is not followed by /m/ or /n/.

(7) /m/ is regarded as acceptable in standard Spanish if it becomes [n] before a pause or in final position at the end of a syllable, such as in 'emperador' or 'álbum'. It is a non-standard pronunciation when it is totally omitted.

Orthographically speaking, (8) 'b' and 'v' are different but in pronunciation¹⁰⁴ both consonants are normally pronounced as the bilabial stop [b] in initial position and when preceded by /n/, and as fricative [b] in the rest of its environments. This pronunciation merge caused confusion, already mentioned in pre-Roman times, in terms of what is regarded as standard. This confusion was present in the past and still produces some confusion among speakers today, as to its correctness or otherwise.

¹⁰³For additional information on stops, see Gili Gaya (1918).

¹⁰⁴This phenomenon which is sometimes referred to as 'pronunciación ortográfica' or 'fetichismo de la letra' is further discussed in Lorenzo (1980:213-4).

Such confusion was already resolved in the 16th century. However, in schools a few decades ago, the pronunciation of /b/ and /v/ was still distinguished¹⁰⁵ and students made to learn the differences. Nonetheless, even though /b/ and /v/ should be pronounced indifferently, many still believe that such a distinction should be made. Some speakers, among whom I shall name a prominent broadcaster in RTVE, Jesús Hermida, retain in their speech this phonological distinction. This amounts to a hypercorrection. It was already noticed by Navarro Tomás (1985) in the early part of this century when it was already regarded as affected. Lorenzo (1980:213) also shares the same view, and describes the tendency as "caprichosa distinción ortográfica". As Navarro Tomás (1985) explains,

"Hoy sólo pronuncian entre nosotros la v labiodental algunas personas demasiado influidas por prejuicios ortográficos o particularmente propensas a afectación.
(Navarro Tomás 1985:92)

The phenomenon known in Spanish as 'seseo' is the pronunciation of (9) interdental voiceless fricative /θ/ as /s/. It is present in some Autonomous Communities (Andalusia, Canary Islands, Valencia, and in some parts of the Basque Country, Valencia, Catalonia and Mallorca) and is geographical peculiarity of the Spanish in these Communities. Words such as 'cerca' is pronounced as [sérkɛ].

From the point of view of its acceptability as a phonological characteristic of standard Spanish, 'seseo' is considered as a dialectal characteristic in Andalusia and therefore acceptable among the upper and the lower classes of this region. However, this pronunciation is regarded as non-standard and un-educated in the rest of the Autonomous Communities as it is perceived as, "variedades regionales de carácter vulgar", (Navarro Tomás 1985:94).

This presents certain similarities with some French Canadians¹⁰⁶ who purposely pronounce their English with a marked French accent (the Prime Minister of Canada). Some educated Catalans, (such as some eminent scientists and Catalán broadcasters) tend to emphasize their Catalonian origin, their nationalist orientation and empathy with Catalonian causes by uttering their Spanish with a clear Catalonian accent, which sometimes includes the use of 'seseo'.

¹⁰⁵On the differences of opinion by the R.A.E. on this matter, see Cuervo (1995).

¹⁰⁶For further information on the bilingualism in Canada, see Lieberson(1972), Anderson (1979) and Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960).

Contrary to Navarro Tomás's (1985) considerations, Andalusians tend to perceive their 'seseo' as an undesirable phonological feature. Theoretically speaking, the use of 'seseo' by Andalusian speakers is perfectly acceptable in standard Spanish. However, many speakers from this Autonomous Community attempt to rectify this. Felipe González, former socialist president, started off his political career in Madrid in the seventies using 'seseo' on all occasions.

I have observed over the years a tendency by some Andalusians to avoid the use of 'seseo' as much as possible, even when sometimes this clearly requires a considerable effort. Felipe González, as far back as 1993, avoided on occasions falling into 'seseo' and on some public appearances nowadays he avoids it by using even within the same speech /θ/ and /s/ for the sound orthographically represented by -c-, but at times failing. For example 'horizonte' is pronounced with /θ/ but not so 'sencillo'¹⁰⁷. Further examples taken from the 1996 political campaign show that this inconsistency has not been solved and so, he pronounces "socialismo" with /θ/ (and aspirated /s/ in syllabic final position) but 'cercana' is pronounced with /s/¹⁰⁸.

And whereas 'seseo' is widely employed by educated and un-educated speakers of Spanish and therefore, considered educated in some parts, (10) 'ceceo', or the pronunciation of /θ/ instead of /s/, such as 'sí' pronounced as [θí], is a totally unacceptable pronunciation in educated Spanish in Andalusia or in any other parts of Spain (such as Extremadura or bordering regions).

(11) /t/ in final position in a syllable should be normally pronounced as a voiced stop /d/ in standard educated Spanish. Such as in 'étnico'¹⁰⁹ which should appear pronounced as [édnɪkɔ], and 'atmósfera' as [admósfərə].

(12) The combination of 'a+d' pronounced as [aθ] is -according to Navarro Tomás (1985)- a very common pronunciation in Salamanca and Valladolid and used by

¹⁰⁷ Statement made by Felipe González on the 19/4/93 during the Telediario, TVE. One further example taken from his 1996 political campaign is 'socialismo' pronounced with [θ] but aspirated [s].

¹⁰⁸ An outstanding example of an Andalusian who has totally and consciously dropped 'seseo' in his speech is the presenter Matías Prat. But surprisingly, he did so in the past by consciously replacing the /θ/ by a /f/ when he started working in the radio and so, for example, instead of saying [θérke] what he actually pronounces is [férke], a phonological strategy which, from the point of view of the listener, completely succeeds in avoiding 'seseo'. This presenter clearly is taking full advantage of the articulatory similarities between /θ/ and /f/. (This is a change which directly or indirectly results from the pressure exercised by the linguistic policies during Franco's dictatorship, which are discussed in section 3.4). Observation made during an interview in the early eighties broadcast in TVE. Some other Andalusian presenters working in Madrid, such as Bertín Osborne, have also successfully rid their Spanish of any trace of 'seseo' although not other phonetic realizations, such as the aspirated [s] in final position as in 'situaciones', the reduction of 'para' to 'pa' as in 'son pa comentar' or the reduction of 'pues' to 'pos', which give their pronunciation a marked Andalusian accent.

¹⁰⁹ This and many other examples discussed in this section shall be further discussed with more current research results in Chapters 9 and 10.

Madrid working classes¹¹⁰. It is according to this linguist considered non-standard¹¹¹. For example, 'admirable' is pronounced in this fashion as [aθmɪrábla]. However, a considerable proportion of educated speakers of Spanish realized it as [aθ].

(13) Intervocalic /d/, as in 'ado' in the past participle presents an unavoidable dilemma for most Spanish speakers, as the great majority of people pronounces it as '-ao' although this reduction has been traditionally considered a non-standard phonetic realization. According to Navarro Tomás (1985) in standard Spanish /d/ in past participle endings should be realized as fricative [d] whereas in colloquial it could be lost or normally reduced. However, in Andalusia the loss of /d/ is not to be regarded as a feature marking the level of education. (Lapesa 1991:467).

Furthermore, Lorenzo (1980) highlights a tendency for young Madrid speakers to retain this intervocalic consonant rather artificially when most speakers would not. As he explains,

"la restauración de -d- en determinados ambientes jóvenes madrileños podría calificarse de un hecho social y generacional."

(Lorenzo 1980:57)

De Miguel (1994(b)) likewise observed a similar tendency some generations later. This will be further discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

Although there is ample evidence to suggest that in fact older speakers in public employ overwhelmingly the above-mentioned reduction. This remains a predominant feature in the speech of very many upper class speakers of Spanish, such as the King of Spain, the Duke and Duchess of Lugo (daughter and son-in-law of the king of Spain), the ex-Minister for Employment, the governor of Banco de España. Another well known person who constantly uses '-ao' is the former Government spokeswoman, Rosa Conde, who often informed the media that, "Los diputados han votao y mañana se sabrá el resultao", (*Cambio 16*, 1990). When asked about her extensive use of '-ao'¹¹², Rosa Conde argues that this is the way we all speak today, a reply which reflects the relative lack of awareness by some Spanish speakers as to the socio-economic and cultural connotations arising as a direct consequence of one's speech, a subject which is further discussed in Chapters 4 and 10.

¹¹⁰The speech of working-class Madrid speakers is known as 'cheli'. For further information on "cheli" see De Miguel (1991).

¹¹¹See further considerations on this phonetic realization regarded as non-standard in Chapters 9 and 10.

¹¹²Felipe González is also an avid user of '-ao', for example he says "he reiterao a la sociedad", (TVE comment on 15/4/96).

Nevertheless, in nouns, the omission of /d/ is always considered as un-educated. Therefore, the pronunciation of 'abogado' as [abogáo] is to be regarded -in the words of Navarro Tomás (1985:102)- as 'vulgar'.

During Quilis (1981) 'secret interviews', further discussed in Chapter 6, the prevalence of the reduction of '-ado' to '-ao' in today's speech becomes patent as shown in the following passage,

"Inf. B.-Sí, eso fue divertido. Ten cuidado con los <<ados>>
¿eh?, no digas <<he comprao>>, que es muy feo.
Inf. C.- Pues... siempre dice <<he comprao>>, <<soldao>> y todo
eso.
Inf. B.-Pero está mal dicho.
Inf. C.- No, porque, o sea, decir, <<he comprado>> ...
Inf. B.- Decir <<he comprado>> es muy
afectado."

(Quilis 1981:404)

Lorenzo (1980) and Lapesa (Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992) observe that the loss of /d/ in intervocalic position was already taking place in the 16th and 17th century and he considers that in familiar or colloquial environments it is acceptable for educated speakers to use such reduction.

As Navarro Tomás (1985) explained,

"La conservación sistemática de la d de -ado, con articulación plena, en la conversación corriente resultaría, sin duda, afectada y pedante; pero, por otra parte, su omisión definitiva y completa en todo momento u ocasión, sería causa de que en muchos casos la pronunciación resultase demasiado ordinaria y vulgar."
(Navarro Tomás 1985:101)

Therefore, we should infer that even in colloquial speech there are contrasting opinions. The opinion of some is that we should not systematically drop /d/ in '-ado' nor can we use the full form constantly as our pronunciation would sound affected. In my mind these conflicting views do not solve the question as to what is considered standard and non-standard in this regard.

And even when these reduced forms are accepted in oral Spanish the forms " [cansao, estao] son inaceptables para la conciencia lingüística de la mayoría hispanohablante", (Lorenzo 1980:32). This position is shared by Rafael Lapesa

(Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992) and should be applied with regard to educated standard Spanish.

I have recently observed a tendency by broadcasters to use '-ao' in the first verb/noun/adjective in a sentence and if there is another term which might take the '-ao' form, this is avoided. An example of which would be a young female journalist in TVE stating in 1996, "Estamos encantaos de que hayas aceptado esta invitación al programa". And the equally frequent pattern of usage of the first ending in '-ado' and the second in '-ao' is illustrated by Pedro Montalbán who proclaims, "estoy encantado y me lo he trabajao".

However, quite clearly other journalists do not reject the use of this verb formation or reduction, and they use '-ao' in all possible cases within the same sentence. Nevertheless, this tendency needs further research and requires a more exhaustive study. My own contribution is outlined later.

(14) /d/ in final position should never be omitted in standard Spanish, according to Navarro Tomás (1985), although in the first half of this century he already reported that 'usted' and 'Madrid' were commonly heard without final /d/. However, the reduction of /d/ to fricative [ð], and further reduced form [d̪] is nevertheless considered as educated, (Lapesa 1991:467-9). Similarly, it is acceptable to relax the pronunciation of /d/ in final position in 'Madri', 'pare', 'salu' or in 'verda', (Lorenzo 1980:57-8)¹¹³.

According to Navarro Tomás (1985:102) in the 'habla vulgar', un-educated Spanish, all /d/ in this position are dropped and the vowel is lengthened. This in itself marks the user as un-educated. Among educated speakers, some omissions of /d/ are acceptable, but not the lengthening of the vowel. Furthermore, in very un-educated speech, final /o/ sometimes becomes so closed that it resembles /u/, and so 'recado' is heard as [rekáu].

(15) /n/ in consonant clusters (such as in 'i+n+s', 'c+o+n+s', 't+r+a+n+s') presents a further dilemma as to what is strictly regarded as standard and educated nowadays. However, as far as grammar rules dictate, /n/ should be retained in its more relaxed and shortened allophones or variants. The pronunciation of its full form /ns/ on all occasions is a mark of "afectadamente culto", (Navarro Tomás 1985:112).

¹¹³For further information on this phonetic realization see Lapesa (1991:467-9).

Unlike what Navarro Tomás (1985) observed in the early part of this century, some omissions of /n/ in the above consonant clusters have become so widespread among a large proportion of educated speakers, that I have been asked by educated adult speakers of Spanish if 'constipado' and 'constatar' are spelled with 'n'. This reflects a general tendency by standard speakers of Spanish to drop this consonant in this environment in a varied number of examples¹¹⁴.

The influence that pronunciation has had on spelling is patent in the several orthographic changes viewed as necessary and implemented by the R.A.E. throughout history. The most recent one (in the last decade during which 'sicología' and 'setiembre' have become accepted as standard forms alongside the traditional spellings 'psicología' and 'septiembre') is yet another example of the attempt by Academy to standardize in the written language forms already accepted in the spoken language.

- (16) The /k/ in the consonant cluster 'k+t' should not be fully pronounced but uttered as the fricative counterpart [g]. Consequently, 'actor' should normally be pronounced by educated speakers as [agtór].
- (17) The consonant cluster orthographically represented by 'c+c' is normally realized by educated speakers of Spanish as [gθ], and so 'dirección' is realized as [diregθjón] and in an emphatic form it is realized as [direkθjón]. In un-educated speech, this consonant cluster is reduced to one consonant and so 'dirección' is pronounced as [direθjón].
- (18) The consonant cluster usually spelt by 'c+n' should be pronounced as [gn], as in 'técnica' [tégn! kə] or as [kn] [téknika]. The failure to pronounce both consonants is always regarded as un-educated.
- (19) The consonant represented in the Spanish orthography as 'x' should normally be pronounced as [gs] as in for example 'examen' [egsámen], whereas in un-educated speech this is realized as [s], as in 'exacto' [esákto].
- (20) Finally, with respect to vowel groups¹¹⁵, the standard form is to fully pronounce all the vowels in the vowel group, and so 'alcohol' is pronounced is

¹¹⁴This reduction will be further examined in Chapters 9 and 10.

¹¹⁵Consult Chapters 9 and 10 for further evidence on how these vowel groups are realized in contemporary Spanish.

educated speech as [alkoól], whereas in un-educated speech this is reduced. Therefore, among un-educated speakers of Spanish 'alcohol' is pronounced as [əlkóól].

As we have seen, Spanish spoken in certain regions in Spain is often marked by certain particularities. Until recently¹¹⁶ any speech marked with some or many of these regional particularities was not considered standard or educated and we have seen how some journalists have attempted to eliminate those regional traits from their speech.

At present this situation seems to be undergoing a reversal and while most think that speaking with traits of the regions one comes from is perfectly acceptable, others strive to emphasize these particularities due to their socio-political and cultural loyalties and feelings¹¹⁷. Others still consider ridding their Spanish of any trace of their regional accent as highly desirable. There is some evidence which indicates that in each region or Autonomous Community a standard variety of Spanish has developed. For example, in the Basque Country a certain variety of Spanish spoken with some clear regional phonetic features is now regarded as a prestigious variety of Spanish and has the status of a regional standard form. Nevertheless, the Madrid variety seems to have remained the variety with the highest value.

3.3 The influence of the English language, the media and the R.A.E. upon Spanish

We have all witnessed the creation of at least one new word in our lifetime. 'Erótica del poder' was initially used in the seventies when male members of the new rising socialist party were holding a considerable number of powerful positions and were attracting a lot of female attention. An etymological study of a new term is so much more exciting when we are aware of the origins and the development of this term;

¹¹⁶For further information on language policies which affected the use and development of national languages in Spain, see Chapter 3, section 3.1.

¹¹⁷For further information on the phonetic/phonological characteristics of Spanish as it is spoken in different regions or Autonomous Communities, see Lapesa (1991:476-523), Lázaro Carreter (1981(b):365-400), Badía (1964). Particularly on the Spanish spoken in Galicia, see Cotarelo Valledor (1927), Rabanal (1967), Abuín Soto (1971). For a more profound study on the characteristics of Andalucía, see Lamiquiz and Ropero (1987), Lamiquiz and Carbonero (1985), Lamiquiz and De Pineda (1983), Lamiquiz and Rodríguez-Izquierdo (1985), Carbonero and Palet (1990), Lapesa (1991:508-515) and Alvar (1959). On Spanish spoken in Asturias see Galmés de Fuentes (1960:11-25), García Alvarez (1960), Navarro Tomás (1920:382-383), Lapesa (1991:489-492). On Aragonés Umphrey (1913), Lapesa (1991:492-499) and García de Diego (1918). On Extremadura and Murcia, Cabrera (1916:653-666), Lapesa (1991:515-520), Canellada (1941). On Canarias, De Lugo (1920:332-342), Alvarez Delgado (1947:205-235), Pérez Vidal (1968:219-253), Alvar (1965:293-319). On the Spanish in León, see Menéndez Pidal (1906:128-172).

and particularly when we witness its origin and spread to more speakers, until it is finally widely used¹¹⁸.

Undoubtedly, Spanish has never before had to adjust and/or find new terms¹¹⁹ for so many new concepts, objects and actions. We borrow from scientific fields terms which we then use in general language. We are exposed to the world of computers, genetics, telecommunications and medicine in our everyday activities and almost unavoidably, we end up introducing terms from these fields into general language. We hear 'she is doing a lot of *networking* lately' or '*ha caido en informática por defecto*', expressions which would have left earlier generations with no clues as to what they mean.

Chapter 2 outlined briefly the impact of other languages (French, Latin, Italian, English) upon Spanish. Scholars and ordinary people alike have on occasions welcomed this influence and at other times despised it. However, as some members of the R.A.E. have repeatedly remarked, the Spanish language has rarely seen such a vast and sometimes overwhelming influence by a foreign language, such as that of the English language nowadays, permeating into all levels of the Spanish language.

The English language has provided the main means of communication in the scientific field in the last few decades, and so it is not surprising that it has exercised an enormous influence on the adoption and creation of new terms in Spanish¹²⁰ and on the development of new pronunciations.

The Real Academia Española, guardian of the Spanish language, has had to accept terms and expressions and alien pronunciations whose origin are clearly directly linked to English¹²¹, not without great reluctance and criticism. However, as López Facal (1982) explains, the role of a linguist is very clear:

"creo que los presentes [lingüistas] no intentamos frenar la aparición de neologismos, sino que intentamos

¹¹⁸Peng (1979) discusses the theories of language change and proposes the theory that language change could be observed and captured while in progress, being the manifestation of human change in society.

¹¹⁹For additional information on the process of creating new words in Spanish, see Chapter 2.

¹²⁰De Miguel (1994(b):42) states, "una gran parte de la renovación del léxico llega hoy del inglés", although other languages, such as Italian also exercise some effect. For example, "*El tiempo de la situación*" and "*Vete piano piano*" are very much used at present.

¹²¹For further information on "anglicismos" see See Lorenzo (1980:96-121), Carnicer (1969) and Echeverri Mejía (1964(b):64-90), Alfaro (1964), De Miguel (1994(b)), Lapesa (1991) and for current examples in the press, see De Miguel (1994(a):726-736, 1990:41-60, 173-182, 1982). The influence is so profound in the press, that newspapers such as *El País* or *ABC* felt it necessary to compile some guidelines to the correct journalistic Spanish to be used by all their writers and to avoid false friends and other influences from the English language. *El Estilo del País* was compiled and later published to reach the general readership.

racionalizarlos, sistematizarlos, adaptarlos a las estructuras de nuestras lenguas"
(López Facal 1982:46)

Camilo José Cela, linguist and member of the R.A.E., quite unequivocally shares this view,

"[la importación de anglicismos] es muy peligroso porque solamente se deben de importar de cualquier otra lengua aquellas voces de las que carecemos en español, pero no voces innecesarias, no conduce a nada. Es pedantería y horterismo."

(Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992)

Correspondingly, De Miguel (1994(b)) makes calls for such imported foreign terms to be phonetically, orthographically and grammatically converted into Spanish¹²². He argues,

"Si no hay más remedio que trasplantar una palabra de otro idioma, por lo menos introduzcamosla en las reglas de la prosodia y sintaxis del castellano para que no desenton en el paisaje verbal."

(De Miguel 1994(b):176)

In the eighties, López Facal (1982) questioned whether English terms such as 'hardware', 'software', 'plotter', 'scalextric' 'container', 'out-put', 'in-put' would finally conquer the Spanish language. Today all the above terms and many more (such as 'royalties', 'interfaz', 'reality-show', 'top-model', 'un nuevo look', 'póster', 'fan', 'hooligan', 'hobby', 'jet-set', 'magazine', 'remake', 'top-less', 'shock', 'cardigan', 'leasing', 'marketing', 'lobby') have been eagerly absorbed into Spanish. With his, Spanish speakers have also had to adjust their phonetic/phonological system and adopt (very often failing) many unfamiliar pronunciations, such as the consonant cluster 'rd', as in 'hardware'. Very often, Spanish speakers have applied the same phonetic rules to this particular English pronunciation as they would do to existing Spanish ones and so they delete one consonant ('d') in this consonant cluster.

Camilo José Cela and many others who have spent a lifetime dedicated to the study of the Spanish language, are no doubt surprised everyday when they listen to people speak Spanish or read newspapers and magazines, by the magnitude of the influence of the English language. Some call it a 'fashion', others an 'invasion', but most agree that the extent to which English is transforming our language is verging on

¹²²He further discusses the phenomenon of 'anglicismos' by stating, "Primero la gran fuerza política de los Estados Unidos y luego la técnica que está toda en inglés. Por ejemplo, el lenguaje oficial de la aviación de todo el mundo está en inglés. Esto es así, no podemos añorar", (De Miguel, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992).

dangerous limits¹²³. Early in the century, linguists were already calling for some kind of ruling or restriction, and as early as the 1950s, Lorenzo (1980:96) demanded "un serio planteamiento por su trascendencia lingüística, social y nacional"¹²⁴.

The French, undergoing a similar phenomenon, are taking measures to reduce the amount of music and films in English which people are exposed to in France and in Spain similar calls are being made. This is not to say that we should deny the English language an input into our language when this enriches Spanish and when this does not replace perfectly suitable Spanish terms and expressions. No language can cease to acquire neologisms. This would be impossible if any language is to develop naturally.

Nevertheless, some language purists reject any external or English influence upon our language and consider it to be totally negative, even though, this is not always the case. If we had done that in the past, then the Spanish language would have been a very impoverished language and would have possibly died long ago. The views of Lázaro Carreter (1994) are quite the opposite and express the following yearning:

"si fuera posible acordar a los medios de comunicación de España y América hispana en un comportamiento común ante los neologismos (no siempre de rechazo), y ante el empobrecimiento que, en sus dos orillas, está experimentando el idioma"¹²⁵.
(Lázaro Carreter 1994:10)

Yet, some linguists voice a much less fearful opinion and see the future of the Spanish language in a less pessimistic light. López Facal (1982) remarks that:

"yo no comparto la opinión de aquellos que piensan que esta invasión de neologismos va a desconjuntar y triturar nuestras lenguas hasta hacerlas irreconocibles a la vuelta de pocos lustros"
(López Facal 1982:46)

Decisions on whether to accept or reject new terms, pronunciations and usages have generally been taken by the R.A.E. and are reflected in its dictionary. Decisions like

¹²³See notes on opinions by Camilo José Cela, Rafael Lapesa, the president of the R.A.E. and De Miguel throughout this chapter.

¹²⁴The Spanish spoken in Central and South America is extensively affected by English, more so than the Spanish of Spain. For further discussions on this matter, see Lorenzo (1980) and Alfaro (1948).

¹²⁵Observation made much earlier and to which De Miguel (1982:107-8) replies: "Como buen gramático [Lázaro Carreter] pone una aduana demasiado severa en la importación de palabras /.../ La lengua inglesa es idioma universal porque exporta vocablos, pero también importa todos los que puede. Lo que hay que vigilar es que la importación no sea de mercancía averiada, de gato por liebre".

these are fundamentally taken on the basis of the consistency of the use of this/these new term/s during a long period of time.

Lázaro Carreter (1991, *Tribuna*)¹²⁶ argues that,

"El purismo ya pasó de moda /.../ Realmente, creo que no somos unos timoratos a la hora de hablar y de escribir. El problema es que nuestro diccionario sale de tarde en tarde y que la Academia tiene una función notarial. No somos guardias con porras para impedir que se instalen palabras nuevas. Decía una vez Unamuno a un corrector: <<No se preocupe porque esa palabra no esté en el diccionario, que ya la pondrán>>"

(Lázaro Carreter, *Tribuna*, 1991)

Politicians, radio and television personalities are a great source of renewal in Spanish as they often invent terms to flavour their language or to give their speech a certain sophistication which marks them out. But, this is labelled as 'exhibicionismo' by Lázaro Carreter (1991, *Tribuna*)¹²⁷ who illustrates his point by saying,

"El problema es que en la radio hay mucho exhibicionismo y cuando algo tiene éxito se lo compian los demás"

(Lázaro Carreter, *Tribuna*, 1991)

Many English borrowings are perfectly acceptable to most linguists when there is a lexical gap which has not been filled by the Spanish language, and particularly when this borrowing is coupled with the adaptation of the foreign word to the Spanish phonetic/phonological system. And so 'snob' which presented a lexical gap in Spanish has been accepted in Spanish by the R.A.E. only when it has acquired an initial 'e' ('esnob') in its pronunciation and spelling¹²⁸.

This extensive borrowing from English is partly due to the enormous prestige which this device brings to the user's speech in today's Spanish. As Gutierrez and De Miguel (1989:46) unequivocally state, "La introducción de palabras inglesas en la conversación da prestigio al habla".

It is not surprising that on occasions, the D.R.A.E. cannot keep up with the expansion of our language and it does not reflect either the expansion or borrowing of terms

¹²⁶*Tribuna*, 30 December, 1991.

¹²⁷*Tribuna*, op. cit.

¹²⁸It would still be possible to present optional translations or Spanish equivalents. In the case of 'esnob' Spanish could convey this meaning by using 'engreido' or 'clásico', among other options, depending on the context.

from scientific fields (information technology or medicine¹²⁹) into the general language¹³⁰. As De Miguel (1994(b)) explains,

"Los académicos de la Real Academia Española están hechos de la misma pasta que el resto de los hombres públicos. El desfase entre la realidad y los diccionarios se hace patente."

(De Miguel 1994(b):23)

These English loan words, borrowings or 'anglicismos'¹³¹, as they are known in Spanish, sometimes come from scientific and technical fields (such as 'software', 'hardware') and very commonly from the general language and pass into Spanish (such as 'esnob', 'espot', 'esmoquin', 'corner'). On occasions, some English terms disappear from our language once the novelty or the impact of the term wears off. A few years back, terms such as 'single' (in music), 'duty-free', 'travellers cheques', 'compact disc' were commonly used, now 'sencillo', 'tienda libre de impuestos', 'cheques de viaje' and 'disco compacto' are generally preferred. Camilo José Cela (Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992) recalls the same occurrence in the past with terms such as 'basketball' which for a while was used instead of 'baloncesto'¹³². Camilo José Cela reflects on the influence of the media in the elimination of certain English terms from general usage,

"pero siendo yo muy joven se decía basketball, y sin embargo ha caido, ahí tiene una gran influencia la prensa. Si fuesen inteligentes se podría pactar con ellos para que defendiesen nuestra lengua."

(Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992)

As pointed out in the previous section, the media and politicians exercise an enormous influence on today's Spanish language¹³³. Their influence should not be underestimated with regard to the configuration, change and unification of standard Spanish. In the words of Lorenzo (1980),

¹²⁹Spanish had traditionally only one term, 'aborto' to refer to 'the interruption of foetal growth'. In the last few years, 'interrupción voluntaria del embarazo' and 'interrupción involuntaria del embarazo' have been created possibly to dispel this confusion risen from the usage of the English terms 'abortion' and 'miscarriage' or to dispel the linguistic confusion due to the introduction of legal abortion in Spain.

¹³⁰The political field does not seem to have been currently updated in the D.R.A.E., as terms such as 'socialismo', 'franquismo', among many others do not present temporaneous definitions.

¹³¹The influence of English in Central and South-America is notorious. But particularly, with reference to Spanish speakers in the U.S.A., to which in many cases their Spanish is so affected by English that their language is no longer considered Spanish but a mixture of Spanish and English, known as 'hispaninglish'.

¹³²At present, 'basketball' has been largely eliminated from our everyday language. Lapesa (1991:458) exemplifies this historical phenomenon with further examples such as, 'speaker', 'referee', 'interview', 'container'; which were used in the past but which have been replaced by the Spanish counterparts, 'locutor', 'árbitro', 'entrevista', 'contenedora'.

¹³³Already in the 19th century its power over language was pointed out, "en el siglo XIX, y en el ámbito de ese lenguaje liberal, sirvieron de agente mediador los discursos políticos y la prensa, que sembraron el idioma de voces o de acepciones nuevas", (Lázaro Carreter 1981:247).

"El barniz lingüístico de la mayoría de los locutores de radio y televisión, de cuyos usos depende grandemente la unidad de la lengua, no hace más que aumentar el confusionismo."
(Lorenzo 1980:214)

It has been often observed that the English language via newspapers, radio, television and the cinema is finding a prominent place in the sources for the renewal of language. De Miguel (1994(a):70) goes further stating that newspapers and journalists often 'pervert' the Spanish language, "los periódicos son una de esas vías de perversión de la lengua común."

Using English terms or 'anglicismos' has inherently become such integral part of today's educated Spanish language that its usage verges on the pedantic. It is often incorrect. Many educated Spanish speakers resort to constructions derived from English due to the cultural and linguistic belief that,

"cuanto mejor situado esté un individuo un medio de comunicación, tanto más oscuro y retorcido será su lenguaje"
(Miguel 1994(b):22)

At present, the advertising, media and finance worlds all use the English language extensively as one of their main sources of material, when on the great majority of occasions, Spanish counterparts are perfectly acceptable from the semantic point of view.

This excessively fashionable borrowing from other languages is not a novel tendency of Spanish. Already in 1847, Salva (1980) warned,

"el [vicio] más frecuente /.../ consiste en adoptar sin discrección nuevos giros y nuevas voces, dando a las cosas que ya conocieron y llamaron por su nombre nuestros antepasados, aquel con que a nuestros vecinos les place designarlos. Para hablar con pureza conviene evitar uno y otro escollo; pues nuestra lengua debe a la latina gran parte de su riqueza"
(Salva 1980:262)

The reason for this, as I understand it, lies in the force to draw the public's attention, to sound sophisticated, learned and innovative, but on occasions the reasons for this extensive use of English are unanticipated and quite obscure.

It would be impossible to fully understand the readiness with which Spanish people adopt foreign terms, concepts, products and in general foreign influences if we were not sufficiently aware of the lack of appreciation towards Spanish national traits¹³⁴. By comparison, in Ireland national products and the national culture are not only emphasized but highly regarded in sales pitches.

This widespread 'anti-Spanish' feeling and perception that 'everything foreign is better' is a product of many years of political oppression and isolation in the past and a decline in the economic and cultural importance of Spain as a nation. This left Spain for many years in a very vulnerable position, and even though today there is a revitalization of Spanish ways of life, products, ideals, idiosyncrasies and generally of its identity as a whole, some vestiges from the past remain in the consciousness of Spanish people in general. The following cartoon illustrates this point well¹³⁵.

¹³⁴De Miguel (1994(a):128-56) deals with the varying degrees of Spanish nationalistic feeling throughout Spain. He highlights that people from Madrid identify more strongly with their Spanish identity and show more Spanish fervour than any other community.

¹³⁵Jueves, 21-27 March, 1990.

Fig. 3.3: Vestiges of inferiority in the Spanish subconscious.



When we examine the spoken aspect of these English words in Spanish, this then becomes a totally different issue. Due to the deep differences between the Spanish and the English phonetic systems¹³⁶, some sounds present for Spanish speakers a significant complexity. Therefore, we hear Julio Iglesias being described by an affectionate fan as 'un showman', meaning a very talented artist, pronouncing /ʃ/ in 'showman' with the closest phonetic equivalent in Spanish which is /ĉ/. Likewise, 'me he llevado un shock' is pronounced by a young Spanish woman as [ĉók]¹³⁷.

This sound has become almost an inseparable component of any English word in the minds of many Spanish and so, we hear /ʃ/ pronounced as /ĉ/ when in fact there is not such a sound in the English word they are trying to emulate. Recently, in a restaurant in Madrid, a customer was asked by a waiter if she wanted a ham or a tuna 'sandwich', being actually pronounced as 'sanchwich', possibly because it sounds more English and presumably this way the sandwich tastes better.

Similarly, De Miguel (1994(b):173) reports that 'by-pass'¹³⁸ is not only used instead of 'rotonda' but it is also pronounced as 'bi peis'¹³⁹ to make it sound more English¹⁴⁰.

It is from spoken English¹⁴¹ that we import some English words and it is in the belief that they look more English that some journalists write 'stablishement' (Cambio 16, 1990)¹⁴² and 'fifthy-fifthy', (De Miguel 1994(b):175).

Much research and follow up is required if a full picture is to be drawn as to how English continues to influence Spanish. What may emerge from future studies is only at this point debatable and I eagerly await the results of future research and of future direct observation.

¹³⁶See Alvarez Pascual (1988), M.Phil. dissertation, Trinity College. For a description of both phonetic systems and those phonetic features which present an extreme difficulty for Spanish speakers.

¹³⁷Due to similar reasons, the company which promotes Head & Shoulders shampoo have changed its name in Spanish to II. S. to avoid the difficulty of the Spanish public having to pronounce two English words, one of which contains the unavoidable /ʃ/.

¹³⁸As De Miguel (1994(b):173) observes, "En Valencia circula la expresión *by pass* /.../ Lo grave no es la cursilería del terminacho foráneo, sino que algunas personas encumbradas lo pronuncian así: «bi peis»".

¹³⁹I shall not use phonetic transcription for this example as this is a secondary source, provided by De Miguel (1994(b):175) and consequently, I could not provide a valid transcription.

¹⁴⁰For further discussion on pronunciation of English words and particularly of English names commonly used in Spanish (such as 'Greenwich', 'Schweppes' or 'Wagner') see Lorenzo (1980:215-6). Further and more contemporary research is needed in this area.

¹⁴¹English in films, how they are subtitled and their influence into Spanish is discussed in De Miguel (1994(b):173-4).

¹⁴²Cambio 16, 6 August, 1990, No. 976.

A few centuries back¹⁴³, Spanish was widely used among the educated classes in Europe. French also enjoyed a similar status among the ruling classes in the past. It seems that English has and will inevitably become the 'lingua franca' of this century or, at the very latest, the beginning of the next one. In which particular way English will influence Spanish, French, Italian, German, Japanese or any other language is a matter of debate and so we await the development of these languages with eagerness. Our duty as linguists is to watch closely and record what is occurring at present.

3.4 New tendencies in spoken Spanish and particularly in the speech of Madrid

This section represents an introductory note to a full discussion of phonetic characteristics of contemporary spoken Spanish. My own data and results are fully discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

Analyzing films and radio programmes from pre-war and post-war Britain, one immediately notices how much standard British English has changed. It is rather remarkable that in such a short time span people in films spoke so considerably differently. 'BBC English' or R.P. in the forties and fifties differs considerably from the BBC or R.P. English of today. The same can apply to American English or Spanish with different time scales¹⁴⁴. Pronunciation in any language develops. Sometimes this change is largely audible in just a few decades, sometimes more time is required. As Menéndez Pidal (1929) postulated,

"Un cambio fonético no suele ser nunca obra exclusiva de las tres o cuatro generaciones en que de un modo arbitrario se considera dividida la población conviviente, sino que es producto de una idea o un gusto tradicional que persiste a través de muchas generaciones de hablantes."

(Menéndez Pidal 1929:562)

The media and essentially all those speakers who are in the public eye play an essential role in the changes and developments taking place in the pronunciation of a language. As De Miguel (1994(b)) eloquently observes,

¹⁴³The new education laws concerning foreign languages in schools for children from the age of 3 will now include English as a compulsory subject. Their language will no doubt have some effects in the configuration of future Spanish.

¹⁴⁴Pre and post-war Spanish is not the adequate time scale in order to perceive Spanish in terms of the evolution of its pronunciation. Spanish before and after the democratic transition is a more adequate time framework, in my view.

"En el lenguaje como en la política, hay verdaderas autoridades, personas con poder legítimo para sancionar los cambios. Hay asimismo grupos (y señores) de presión, medios de expresión más influyentes."

(De Miguel 1994(b):157)

Thus, when renowned journalists on television are heard differentiating /b/ and /v/ in their pronunciation, have eliminated from their speech most traces of 'seseo' and lengthen /s/ in final position, they are exercising an often too underestimated influence on the rest of speakers,

"La televisión, que es maestra del lenguaje, se encarga de propagar la nueva cruzada. Su San Bernardo redivivido se llama ahora Jesús Hermida. Terminaremos todos hablando como él. La Academia de la Lengua entra por los rayos catódicos"

(De Miguel 1980:100)

There is a general perception¹⁴⁵ shared by many linguists, academics and journalists and generally by most speakers of Spanish that we now speak Spanish 'badly'. Most people would agree with the statement by Camilo José Cela who argued that,

"[hace unos años] había un acento ortodoxo. Yo lo que entendía por pronunciación correcta del español es algo que se está batiendo en retirada /.../ Se ha dado cabida excesiva a los popularismos y a los anglicismos"

(Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992)

In particular, the younger generations seem to epitomize in the eyes of many undesirable features of pronunciation. On the one hand, Rafael Lapesa observes that,

"ha habido una relajación general de costumbres, de modo y de trato en las últimas generaciones. Por de pronto, hay una cosa en la pronunciación madrileña, los jóvenes no articulan, hablan si precisar, sin el esfuerzo articulatorio, relajan todo el esfuerzo articulatorio de las consonantes"

(Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992)

And on the other hand, as outlined earlier, scholars have observed that some young groups of speakers in Madrid tend to retain a very standardized pronunciation of Spanish in which, for example, there are very rare occurrences of '-ao' or any other deletions in consonant clusters, (De Miguel, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992; Camilo José Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992 and Lorenzo 1980:56).

¹⁴⁵All the notions and phonetic characteristics mentioned in this section which are not a product of my own observation are based on Navarro Tomás (1985) and are still, theoretically speaking, considered valid in today's Spanish. Therefore, in terms of what the pronunciation norms included in this manual dictate they are or should be currently observed.

Many phonetic changes appearing in the pronunciation of Madrid's educated speakers of Spanish originated in Andalusia and were already gaining momentum by the middle of this century, as has been observed by Fernández Ramírez (1964). The incidence of 'yeismo' (the realization of /ʎ/ as /y/, as in 'llama') serves as an example. The 'yeismo' originated in the Andalusian dialect but quickly spread to the rest of Spain, so much so that today most regions in the North (such as the Basque Country and Galicia) have adopted this phonetic realization.

Another phonetic phenomenon which spread at this time from Andalusia was the aspiration of post-vocalic 's' in final position, such as 'pues' on which Fernández Ramírez (1964) observed that "Se dan hablantes del centro de la Península que no aspiran ninguna otra s".

Furthermore, the loss of /d/ between vowels which has been mentioned before and which I shall discuss further in later chapters originated as a dialect feature of the speech in Andalusia but was regarded in the rest of Spain as un-educated. This has now been acquired by educated speakers in other parts of the Peninsula. Fernández Ramírez (1964) concludes:

"El andaluz no tiene frontera en su penetración vertical:
llega a las capas más altas de la sociedad. Y llamo altas a las
capas cultas, que son las que podrían nivelar o hacer
frente a la penetración."

(Fernández Ramírez 1964:186)

The reduction of vocalic groups¹⁴⁶ in Madrid among the educated classes was already observed in the sixties by Flórez (1966), such as 'se ha ido' reduced to 'sia ido'¹⁴⁷. At present, it has been noted that the journalist Rafael Ansón pronounces certain phrases often shortening two vowels into one, and so what he actually says is 's'ha decidido', 'm'han dicho', 'q'ha tenido lugar'¹⁴⁸. Likewise, the Duchess of Feria does not hesitate in saying 'sa ido'. (The extent or presence of this articulatory phenomenon among educated speakers is further discussed in Chapters 9 and 10).

Another public person whose pronunciation has been noted for representing a departure from more traditional grounds is that of Mr. Samaranch, president of the

¹⁴⁶Some of the phonetic characteristics mentioned in this section are further discussed in 2.2 of this chapter and in Chapters 9 and 10.

¹⁴⁷Lorenzo (1980:217) quoting Flórez (1966).

¹⁴⁸I shall not provide the phonetic transcription of these utterances as they are taken from a secondary source and I have no access to primary recorded data, De Miguel (1994(b):154-5).

Olympic Committee, who often drops in his pronunciation the 'r' in 'problema'¹⁴⁹. The loss of certain consonants in consonant groups is likewise a prominent tendency observed in his speech and in other educated speakers¹⁵⁰.

The following is presented by way of a summary of the main current phonetic characteristics in Spanish in terms of its inclusion of non-educated features.

From the point of view of borrowings from the non-educated varieties of Spanish by educated speakers of Spanish the most outstanding feature by prominent public figures is the use of 'abogao del estao', 'he estao'. This is a tendency which I have lately observed being used by Infanta Elena de Borbón, daughter of king Juan Carlos I of Spain. For example, she publicly commented on the victory by the cyclist Indurain in Paris on the 23rd of July, 1995 and in her comment which lasted for approximately one minute she used, 'estao', 'clasificao' and 'aprovechao'. Her husband likewise, during their formal engagement ceremony and speaking with the journalists covering their engagement, announced 'hemos pensao que así es mejor'.

We have seen in section 3.2 that the use of 'seseo' by Andalusian speakers is perfectly acceptable in standard Spanish, although many speakers from this Autonomous Community attempt to rectify this. Felipe González, former president of Spain originally from Andalusia, provides a good example of this tendency. He started off his political career in Madrid in the seventies constantly employing 'seseo'. Nowadays he successfully avoids 'seseo' on some occasions and fails to do so on others.

On the other hand, the speech of the Madrid lower classes is -in my opinion- acquiring many relatively new phonetic features. Examples of this is the replacement of [r] by [d], as in 'irnos'; a lengthening of some final vowels, as in 'concierto'; the aspiration of final /s/¹⁵¹, as in 'hemos decidido', 'pues', 'es que', 'digimos', 'más o menos' are all relatively new pronunciations. Also, some of these linguistic changes, which are influenced by the speech of Andalusian public figures, have finally filtered into the speech of the middle and the upper classes in Madrid ¹⁵².

¹⁴⁹De Miguel, op. cit.

¹⁵⁰See De Miguel (1994(b):154-5).

¹⁵¹For further information on the deletion or aspiration of /s/ and how it operates in many varieties of Spanish see Terrell (1977).

¹⁵²Originally the influence came from the lower classes. More research in phonetic matters is needed in the speech of this community and many others throughout Spain.

Also, some phonetic realizations which until recently were mainly traits of working class speakers of Spanish have manifested themselves in the speech of educated speakers, such as vowel groups becoming reduced, for example 'pues' becoming 'pos', 'fuimos' becoming 'fumos', 'muy' becoming 'mu'. /d/ in intervocalic position or between a consonant and a vowel is dropped, as in 'donde' which becomes 'onde' and 'columpiado' which becomes 'columpiau'¹⁵³.

Among the educated classes there are some further reductions of vowels and consonants as for example, 'Hasta luego' which becomes 't'logo', (De Miguel 1994(b):117).

According to De Miguel (1994(b)), we can constantly hear people pronounce 'runión', 'oropeo', 'logo', 'amosférico', 'téñico', 'del' (instead of 'de el')¹⁵⁴; all which are manifestations of vowel or consonant reductions.

The above personalities and almost the entire former socialist government have cultivated for over a decade a 'natural style in pronunciation' in order to highlight their 'down-to-earth', ordinary man in the street and democratic public image. Thus, many public figures have adopted speech traits which until recently were almost exclusively the domain of the lesser educated. De Miguel (1994(b)) interprets this development in pronunciation as follows:

"Todas estas comunes incorrecciones llevan a lo que /.../ podríamos denominar <<retórica de la afectada naturalidad>>. El lenguaje hablado no resulta más asequible por faltar a las reglas de la evolución léxica."
(De Miguel 1994(b):156)

Immediately after the death of Franco, whose dictatorship lasted from 1936 to 1977, there was a strong reaction against the former political regime and against images which were directly connected to it. People reacted against any of the traditional socio-cultural traits which had direct or even indirect links with the former regime, including language patterns.

From this time it became apparent that the social perceptions of right wing political parties were irredeemably associated with the fascist dictatorship were extensively shared by most Spaniards. Likewise, this was a time when there was *backlash* against

¹⁵³Occasional recording made from TVE of three young men in the working class area in Madrid known as 'Coslada' in 1993. More research is needed in this area.

¹⁵⁴Based on De Miguel 1994(b):155-7).

the dress code and speech form of those associated with the right of the political spectrum; that is, people who wore suits and ties¹⁵⁵ (known as 'fachas') and who spoke 'stiffly'.

During the democratic transition a very large number of politicians and public figures adopted a more casual style of clothing and a more casual way of speaking. This is a time when Felipe González speaks without any noticeable modifications in his speech and like, most political observers, wears 'pana'.

Once democracy had been consolidated, and mainly during the socialist government (1982-1996), both dress codes as a symbol of status and political beliefs, and language underwent a considerable evolution. As we saw in section 3.2, Felipe González no longer speaks as he did at the beginning of his political career. He now avoids 'seseo' and, remarkably, wears suits and ties on almost all occasions, except on political rallies. Although some evolution (or what some might consider reversal has taken place), the main figures of the former socialist government -mainly of Andalusian origin- have retained and even adopted more traits of a low-status variety of Spanish (for example, many consonant reductions). Thus, language is used to assert solidarity and becomes a badge of political correctness or of political loyalty.

The link between political beliefs and pronunciation choices which I present here is not a novel idea in sociolinguistics. Holmquist (1985) presented evidence of speech in Cantabria (Northern Spain) which showed that speakers who voted for the Partido Popular (right-wing party) had more standard features in their pronunciation than voters of left wing political parties.

With the victory in 1996 of the Partido Popular (PP), now regarded as a centre-right party, the geographical origin of senior politicians has shifted from Andalusia, stronghold of the socialists. The PP leader is from Castille and his cabinet of ministers is formed of 6 ministers from Madrid, 2 ministers from Galicia, 1 minister from the Balearic Islands, 1 minister from the Basque Country, 1 minister from Santander, 1 minister from Catalonia and only 1 minister from Andalusia. They are overwhelmingly of Northern extraction¹⁵⁶, and therefore , with only one exception, speakers of Northern varieties of Spanish.

¹⁵⁵For a analysis of the importance and implications of clothing from a socio-economic and cultural perspective in Spain, see De Miguel (1994(a)).

¹⁵⁶For further study on the phonological/phonetic characteristics of Spanish as it is spoken on different Autonomous Communities, see Lapesa (1991:462-534).

Although the use of '-ao' does not seem to be associated with any particular party of the political spectrum, (I have heard various prominent figures of the P.P. say, "marcao por las autoridades de la seguridad del estao", Rodrigo Rato¹⁵⁷ and "estoy impresionao", "estoy encantao" and "diputao", José María Aznar)¹⁵⁸, other phonetic realizations by prominent speakers of the PP substantially differ from those of well-known figures of the socialist government. Socialists used to reduce consonant groups, such as in 'constante' and 'éxito', but the PP speakers are generally perceived to be pronouncing them with no reduction. The influence that the speech of prominent politicians will have on the Spanish language is at this stage a matter of hypothesis. In the next chapter, I shall develop the question of social class and language in Spain.

¹⁵⁷Noted in March 1996.

¹⁵⁸Noted in November 1992.

CHAPTER 4 The evolution of social classes in Spain and its implications for language

4.1 A sensitive subject

This section based on earlier work¹⁵⁹, provides essential background information to understand many points and references made in the presentation of my original data. Particularly, it forms the backbone for understanding the interviewees' socio-linguistic assessment, their class membership and many socio-linguistic observations on Spanish which arose in the *Introspection* section. This background is therefore critical for the understanding of the primary data presented in Chapters 9 and 10.

'Hola. ¡Hace mucho que me estás esperando?'

This utterance can be spoken in Spanish and one may be able to detect whether the speaker has uttered this sentence with a certain degree of confusion, eagerness, irritation or even irony but one might not be certain about the region the speaker comes from, the education (s)he has received or to which social class the person belongs. Unlike English, Spanish has long been considered by many to be incapable of expressing class or educational distinctions and on this so-called 'socio-linguistic incapacity' De Miguel (1994(b)) emphatically states,

"Se ha dicho muchas veces que uno de los rasgos del español es que no distingue los acentos o la dicción de acuerdo a las clases sociales"

(De Miguel 1994(b):37)

A mature Irish student attempting to translate the word 'classless' into Spanish wrote the following annotation,

"Everything that has to do with 'class', either working-class, middle-class or upper-class is difficult to translate into Spanish because English people are much more aware of social class differences than the Spanish. Spanish people talk instead of 'aristocracy' or 'monarchy' and have no words for social class differences".

¹⁵⁹Alvarez-O'Neill (1992(a)).

In the English speaking environments of Ireland and Britain, terms such as 'middle-class', 'working-class' and 'upper-class' appear in the conversations of most people at some stage or another. Barry Norman, the British film critic, described the film 'Stepping Out' as depicting a group of middle-class women trying to learn how to dance. I cannot image a Spanish film critic using the term 'clase social' to label a group's identity.

Neil Kinnock, former leader of the British Labour Party, once said "I don't know any other country so obsessed by class as Britain is"¹⁶⁰. This so-called 'obsessive' tendency of British people is reflected in the following quotation by a Spanish journalist explaining whom the Spanish royals marry and so, he makes an incisive annotation alluding to the British notion of class divisions and in particular to the lower class,

"La verdad es que la conveniencia ha dictado al menos tantas bodas como el amor en los enlaces de *plebeyos* (como llaman los anglosajones a los no tocados por un parentesco real)"

(*Cambio 16*, 1994)¹⁶¹

However, we cannot draw the conclusion that Spanish society is not divided into classes or that the Spanish language does not convey in any way social-class differences. Nevertheless, one feels that classifying people into a class so openly is almost a taboo¹⁶². Spain has its own aristocratic circles which form a class of its own but since the end of the Franco era, speaking about class differences reminds some people of 'the old times', of the 'previous political regime' and is generally perceived as anti-democratic. Mentioning class and classifying people into social classes (with the possible exception of linguists, sociologists and other academic researchers alike) remains a highly sensitive topic.

An incident during a congress at the Universidad de Granada in 1992 exemplifies this point. I was concluding a paper on Spanish language and social-class divisions¹⁶³ when a Spanish academic stood up and argued that it was undemocratic to classify people into social classes. He asserted that in Spain there are no social-class divisions. This tense moment illustrates how sensitive a lot of Spanish people still remain to overall references to social-class divisions and to direct or indirect references to social inequality.

¹⁶⁰Observation made on television, in the *Wogan* show (9/1/1993).

¹⁶¹Excerpt from "Con quién se casan los Borbones", *Cambio 16*, 4th July, 1994, No. 1180.

¹⁶²For further reading on the interference and influence of taboos in language, see Haas (1964(b):489-495).

¹⁶³Alvarez-O'Neill (1992(a)).

According to De Miguel, "No se utiliza la palabra clase porque la historia de las clases sociales en España ha sido la historia de la lucha de clases, /.../ hemos llegado tarde al proceso."¹⁶⁴ This bore certain consequences when devising my questionnaire and interview as we shall see in Chapters 8, 9 and 10¹⁶⁵.

López García and Morant (1991:221) make a profound analysis of the sex or gender differences in language and have noted that in personal advertisements women who wish to highlight their upper social-class status do so avoiding the term 'clase'. Instead 'buena familia', 'elevada socioeconomía' or 'alta sociedad' are employed. On occasions, we may even find 'dama' to describe themselves. Furthermore, it has been noted that Spanish women, particularly up to the late seventies, perceived their social standing to be the same as that of their father, husband or even their male children, (Grace 1987:708)¹⁶⁶.

The above topic, women's position within the system of social classification, has been the concern of many studies of social inequalities. Many researchers still consider the family as a 'unit of equivalent valuation', (Delphy 1984:28) in terms of their social standing, and it is assumed that the social position of the whole family is entirely determined by the main outside working member of the household. This perspective is known as the 'criterion of association through marriage', (Delphy 1984:36).

Some studies are also criticized for the inconsistent practice of classifying women into a social stratum regarding their own occupation when they are single, but abandoning this criterion when they are married. Thus, the social class of the husband is automatically attributed to his wife, which is further reinforced when the wife does not have a job outside the home. The equivalence between husband and wife's social class is re-valued when women are in paid employment. It is then that women become independently assessed in terms of their social status.

The issue of women's inequality which stems from the gender division of labour pervades all places of most societies and impinges on other aspects of inequality.

¹⁶⁴Observations recorded in 1992 in Madrid to my question *¿Usamos en España la palabra 'clase'?*. This and subsequent observations by Amando de Miguel are product of an interview which took place in 1992. During this interview we discussed social classes, language and socio-economic and linguistic changes in Spain.

¹⁶⁵The question on the informants' social class membership is never asked directly to them in order to avoid an uncomfortable situation. Instead, issues about the interviewees' parents' professions, hobbies, life-style, education and future prospects are dealt with.

¹⁶⁶Quoted in López García and Morant (1991:220).

Therefore, its importance in a woman's social and cultural make-up cannot be ignored or underestimated.

In the light of the above objectionable assumptions, we should view women independently from their husbands. Many sociolinguistic studies (for example, Trudgill (1972)) still classify women partly on the basis of their relationship to someone else, be it their husbands or their fathers. (In Chapters 9 and 10 I make enquiries and distinctions as to the mother's and father's professions of the respondent). I have also adopted the notion that there can be differing social class positions of the children within a marriage compared to the social class position(s) of the parents. The implication of this is that education, social activities, friends, self-regard are other dimensions which may affect a person's membership of a particular social category.

The initial part of my research aimed to deal with the general perception that Spanish language cannot convey social-class differences. Thus, the notion of the existence of standard/non-standard phonetic mapping of Spanish is discussed by implication. Rafael Lapesa, Camilo José Cela, Amando de Miguel, Antonio Quilis among many other university lecturers, interviewees, researchers and Spanish people to whom I have spoken, all agree that Spanish is capable of conveying the economic and socio-cultural level of the speaker in our language, a sociolinguistic area rarely explored in Spanish. Specifically, Rafael Lapesa has highlighted this is an inherent characteristic which has been present throughout the history of the Spanish language.

There are a number of pronunciation and diction features I selected for the purpose of my research. The most outstanding pronunciation features which at present mark a speaker as educated or belonging to the upper sections of our social structure formed the starting point and main corpus of research.

The translation into English of the term "clasista"¹⁶⁷, a pejorative term to refer to somebody "que es partidario de las diferencias de clase o se comporta con fuerte coincidencia de ellas", (Diccionario de la Real Academia Española) may create some difficulties. It also has connotations of somebody who belongs to the upper-class and

¹⁶⁷The closest translation for 'clasista' would be 'social snobbery' but to refer to a person then 'class-ridden', though we should bear in mind the differences in its usage. (See the Oxford Dictionary of the English Language). 'Class-conscious' now tends to have Marxist connotations, but can be used to mean 'snobbish' for people conscious of middle-class status.

who has a contemptuous attitude towards the lower classes. On occasions, in today's usage 'hostile' and 'unapproachable' are synonymous of 'clasista'¹⁶⁸.

On many occasions, we favour expressions such as 'estamento social', 'estrato social', 'posición social', 'nivel social', 'categoría social', 'diferencia social', 'capa social', or we use 'pequeña burguesía', 'alta burguesía', 'ambiente acomodado' or 'el pueblo' or 'el pueblo llano'¹⁶⁹. However, it has come to my attention that in recent years -in a very small degree- terms such as 'clase' and 'clase trabajadora' are being used in the press, perhaps as another example of the influence of the English language upon Spanish¹⁷⁰. One of those rare uses of 'clase' comes from the weekly magazine *Cambio 16* in which a key-ring is described as being very middle-class (*Cambio 16*)¹⁷¹. Inversely, people attending the funeral of a comedian is described in the newspaper *El Mundo* as 'pequeña burguesía, muy pequeña. Tenderos, menestrales, en su mayoría de una cierta edad' (*El Mundo*, 1992)¹⁷², where the more favoured term in Spain is being used.

Unlike the situation with regard to English, in Spanish conversations, one normally needs a longer spoken occurrence before one can draw some first impressions on the social group to which an interlocutor belongs, and even after a long period of speech the listener might still not feel confident enough to identify that person's specific class or cultural level.

However, there are a number of traits in speakers' pronunciation, diction, intonation (prosodic features) which mark them as speakers of educated Spanish or members of the upper-class. During my exploratory studies, when interviewed, all of my respondents stated that they were able to recognize an educated or upper-class speaker solely by the way (s)he spoke. However, their description of the

¹⁶⁸The extreme deprecatory connotation of 'clasista' is repeatedly seen as, for example, in a comment by the magazine *Mía*, 1992 about the personality of the actress Sharon Stone, "Pero Sharon Stone añade a su fama de buena actriz un carácter tremadamente antipático y *clasista*, lo que le ha traído bastantes problemas", (*Mía*, 3 - 9 August, 1992, No. 308).

¹⁶⁹Other terms employed instead of direct references to 'clase' are: capa, casta, categoría, condición, esfera, estado, estalación, estrato, extracción, jerarquía, nivel, origen, posición, situación; aristocracia, burguesía, burocracia, estado llano, gente adinerada, gente baja de campanillas, posición social modesta, clases humildes, gente baja de dinero, gente distinguida, gente humilde, gente de poca importancia, gente miserable, gente modesta, gente pobre, gente de poco más o menos, pudiente, gente rica; mesocracia, nobleza, orden ecuestre, plebe, plutocracia, proletariado, pueblo, buena sociedad, tenocracia, aristocracia, burgués, caballero, capitalista, célebre, ciudadano de a pie, hidalgo, infanzón, intocable, obrero, paria, productor, proletario, propietario, señor, siervo, gleba, sociedad de buen tono, mundo de buen tono, among many others. Based on Moliner 1990:643) with modifications and additions.

¹⁷⁰For a study on the influence of English into Spanish, known as 'anglicismos', see Chapter 3.

¹⁷¹*Cambio 16*, 6th August, 1990.

¹⁷²*El Mundo*, 26th of September 1992.

pronunciation variables which constitute this particular speech variety¹⁷³ was vague and in most cases inconclusive (see Chapters 9 and 10 for more information).

Furthermore, those asked were not able confidently to name anyone who could typically represent the members of this speech group nowadays. This reflects an underlying mobility and instability of Spanish society.

Traditionally, speakers from certain areas in Spain, such as Madrid, Valladolid or Burgos¹⁷⁴, were reputed to speak the best and more educated Spanish in Spain and their speakers provided examples of standard Spanish. Even nowadays, several members of the Real Academia Española de la Lengua have presented statements as to which *regions* speak the most educated, prestigious variety or standard Spanish¹⁷⁵ rather than which speakers.

Deep social and linguistic changes are occurring at present in Spain and, as De Miguel¹⁷⁶ has noted, the gap between the educated and the less educated is emerging and becoming more apparent. Consequently, this will probably mean that hispanists will no longer -if at all- be able to refer to one specific region or city as exemplifying the 'best spoken standard Spanish in the Peninsula' without any further considerations.

Linz (1984) already observed in the mid eighties a particular uncertainty in the Spanish social order, especially among the lower and middle-classes. He points out that due to the rapid changes in Spanish society in the last few decades, Spanish society is not yet settled or as he reasons this argument , "[la sociedad española es] una sociedad que podemos caracterizar como «no sedimentada»", (Linz 1984:63). And he concludes,

"lo que es evidente es que el bienestar material logrado en pocos años por importantes sectores de la población, e incluso una mejora sustantiva en los sectores menos privilegiados, no ha legitimado el orden social."
(Linz 1984:63)

¹⁷³For more information see Chapter 8.

¹⁷⁴Alvar López (1969:175-93) explores the variety of Castile to illustrate standard Spanish. Earlier, Navarro Tomás (1921) carries out a similar analysis.

¹⁷⁵For the purpose of this thesis, these three terms, educated Spanish, prestigious Spanish and standard Spanish are synonymous.

¹⁷⁶Results of De Miguel, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992.

4.2 The mobility of social classes and its relevance in language

4.2.1 A socio-historical view

Spanish society has experienced significant upward and downward mobility in class membership (referred to sometimes as 'transgression of classes') throughout history. In this section I shall briefly review what has occurred in the past and how the past has affected the present situation. The importance of classifying who belongs to what class in today's Spain will become particularly relevant in Chapters 9 and 10, when dealing with my interviewees' class membership and their comments related to this topic.

Spain is today, as many other nations in the West, an industrial society. However, Spain did not experience the industrial revolution in the 19th century as many other European countries did. Up to middle of this century, Spain was mainly an agricultural nation in which classes were clear-cut and were characterized by their own peculiar values and attitudes, among which religion stands out. The upper-classes were customarily deeply religious, and were members of the Catholic Church, while the lower classes were not such profound believers¹⁷⁷.

This late industrial or economic development was a direct factor in producing two different classes in the middle stratum: the 'burguesía'¹⁷⁸ and a 'new middle-class', sometimes considered upper-class. This middle-class was formed in the 19th century as a consequence of the access to university and formal education of some members of the low rural strata in, for example, Castille, some cities in Andalusia and Madrid, (Linz 1984:61). This upward mobility by the lower classes did not mean that they shared the same values and attitudes of the traditional *burguesía*¹⁷⁹.

From the point of view of the transgression or breach of class membership, Spanish society has been characterized to the present day by two opposite phenomena, which are the 'cursileria', also known in more modern terms as 'horterada', and the 'plebeyismo' or 'populismo'¹⁸⁰. The 'cursi' or 'hortera' is essentially a member of the

¹⁷⁷De Miguel, op. cit.

¹⁷⁸I shall use Spanish terms in this dissertation when their meaning is somewhat different to their English translation and therefore, more appropriate.

¹⁷⁹For a study of the development of social classes throughout time in Spain, see González Páramo, González Marotas and Ríos (1981:657-718), De Miguel, (1974, 1977(a), 1977(b), 1992 and 1994(a)), Díez Nicolás (1992), Salustiano del Campo and Navarro López (1985), Tezanos (1975, 1978, 1981), García San Miguel (1980), Murillo Ferrol (1983), Giner (1982), Larra (1982:66) and Linz (1984).

¹⁸⁰Section based on De Miguel, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992.

lower class who artificially adopts the forms of the upper-classes. The pejorative term 'hortera' has its origin in the Galdós literature in which the hortera was a member of the lower classes who, due to their profession, had to come into contact with the upper-classes and so they adopted attitudes, manners and language which were not characteristic of their own class. Despite their efforts, this was clearly artificial and so such people were called 'hortera'. Therefore, 'hortera' is the violation of the norms or limits of the ridiculous.

The opposite phenomenon to the 'hortera' is 'plebeyismo'. It is also known as 'populismo', and is unique to Spanish society or at least the Spanish upper-classes. Plebeyismo is, as De Miguel defines it, when "a la clase alta le gusta disfrazarse de clase baja"¹⁸¹; that is, when a member of the upper-class adopts language and attitudes which are more typical of the lower classes.

There are reports from as early as the 16th century which record the fact that some ladies from the aristocracy made successful or unsuccessful attempts to sound like the lower classes. This peculiar phenomenon is known as 'aristócratas majas'¹⁸². But perhaps the most outstanding example of *populismo* or *plebeyismo* is King Alfonso XIII, who used to frequently be seen among women of ill repute, in down market taverns and who used to speak 'arrastrao' (speech of the lower Madrid classes). This was greatly admired by all his subjects.

Similarly, King Juan Carlos I, the present king of Spain, is also known to be "unstuffy, even slightly raffish" and "when out of camera shot, he likes to joke, swear and generally behave like any other Spaniard", (*The Irish Times*, 1995)¹⁸³. He has also reportedly had to "curtail his own escapades, which included roaring into the night on his high-powered motorbike", (*The Sunday Times*, 1995)¹⁸⁴. All this contributes to give the king great popularity.

Likewise, it is not strange to see members of the upper-class publicly reduce their social standing and as De Miguel (1994(a)) has observed,

¹⁸¹British Trotskyists/Maoists did this in the seventies too. See Giddens and Held (1987) for further information on this topic.

¹⁸²Observations result of Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992. For a definition of 'majo/a' see Moliner (1990). For further reading on upper classes adopting the pronunciation styles typified by the speech of other classes see Roberts (1981).

¹⁸³Extracted from "The reign in Spain" in *The Irish Times*, 18th March, 1995.

¹⁸⁴Excerpt from "Spain celebrates a royal wedding with flags, fanfare and fiestas" in *The Sunday Times*, 19th March, 1995.

"una fracción considerable de la clase dirigente rebaja sus expectativas y se considera también de «clase media». Este acto de (falsa) humildad suele hacerse por razones ideológicas."

(De Miguel 1994(a):374)

If the 'hortera' is widely scorned, the 'plebeyismo' or 'majeza personal' is accepted and greatly encouraged. This admiration of those who take traits from the lower classes, that is the 'majeza' or 'plebeyismo', is unique to Spain. Nowadays, this remains to be admired as a feature in a man's personality or behaviour but not so much so in women's. It has been observed that one in ten members of the upper-class define themselves as members of the lower classes (because they are unemployed or due to ideological reasons or political alliance; that is, they empathize with the lower classes), De Miguel (1994(a):377).

The social distance, social divisions or the boundaries between classes in Spain have been undergoing a destabilising process throughout the last few centuries and particularly in the last few years they have come to an abrupt change¹⁸⁵. Many foreigners, particularly the British, are keen to highlight the ease with which different social groups live with each other in Spain. Social boundaries are almost disappearing and this is reflected in the language. According to Gibson (1992),

"there is nothing approaching the peculiarly nasty form of stand-offishness practised in England, based on where you come from. I find the lack of snobbery, and of anything approaching a "posh" voice, a great relief."

(Gibson 1992:54)

Although verging slightly on exaggeration, this observation gives a on-looker's first general impression of Spanish society. Perhaps compared to Britain, the degree of stand-offishness is so much less apparent that it is regarded as non-existent.

As De Miguel has pointed out, "Ha existido una democratización [social] muy extraña porque aquí hemos tenido una clase como la de los hidalgos"¹⁸⁶.

The boundaries between classes have become fuzzier with time. This is partly due -according to De Miguel- to the lower members of the aristocracy, known as 'hombres'. These were members of the aristocracy with breeding but no money ('the genteel poor'), and with whom Spanish society reportedly first came to see social

¹⁸⁵See Longhurst (1995) for further evidence.

¹⁸⁶Observation noted during De Miguel, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992.

class transgression or mobility and to witness the first examples of the acceptance of social mixing.

Until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, to become an army officer in Europe a man had to be from an aristocratic origin. In Spain, this norm was broken with the Independence War from the French in 1808. During this time, 'guerrillas' and 'partidas', alongside the official Spanish army, were created to fight the French. Members of these guerrillas conferred titles upon themselves, such as 'general' or 'commanders', and after the French defeat, being a member of the nobility was no longer a requirement to become an army officer.

However, forty-one years of Franco's dictatorship did very little to encourage this levelling process. The contrary seems to have been the case. This period of time broadened the privileges of the few and cast a certain degree of social immobility onto the lower classes¹⁸⁷.

A strong reaction against this was to be seen with the arrival of democracy in 1977. The democratic transition saw among other social changes the unprecedented access of large numbers of students from working-class families to university. Even in private universities traditionally attracting the élite, such as the University of Deusto (Bilbao) in the late eighties, only 60% of the student population belonged to upper or upper-middle class families. Del Campo and Navarro López (1985:170) reflect on the fact that "las posibilidades de acceso a la enseñanza se han ido ampliando progresivamente en las últimas décadas".

4.2.2 Education and occupation as factors in the social class equation

Unlike Britain and very similarly to what occurs in the U.S.A.¹⁸⁸, it is overwhelmingly perceived that education has been and still is one of the most -if not the most- decisive factors in socio-economic improvement or upwards social mobility. As De Miguel (1994(a)) has repeatedly emphasized,

¹⁸⁷For further information on social and political changes in Spain see Giner (1982).

¹⁸⁸Roberts (1987:469) emphasizes that "In England, class differences have often been more prominent than those of age or place" and in relation to language in the U.S.A. he explains, "Language differences on the social plane in America are likely to correlate with education and occupation rather than with birth", (Roberts (1987:470).

"El nivel educativo condiciona muchas opiniones y conductas. Estamos ante uno de los resortes que explican la formidable capacidad de transformación social de la sociedad española. El desarrollo educativo de los últimos lustros se ha producido a pesar de coincidir con el periodo de una intermitente crisis económica"

(De Miguel 1994(a):35)

Furthermore, according to De Miguel (1994(a):376) the probability of people identifying themselves with the middle or upper-class increases as people's level of education ascends and, conversely, people without formal education tend to perceive themselves as belonging to the lower classes as the following table¹⁸⁹ shows:

Table 4.1: Identification with social classes according to sex and level of education.

<u>Nivel de estudios</u>	% se identifican con la clase ...		
	<u>Alta</u>	<u>Media</u>	<u>Baja</u>
Varones			
Universitarios	25	58	15
Medios	17	63	19
Secundarios	12	62	22
Primarios	4	54	39
Sin estudios	2	34	63
Total	1 1	5 5	3 1
Mujeres			
Universitarias	25	61	11
Medios	17	69	12
Secundarios	16		18
Primarios	9		30
Sin estudios	2		57
Total	1 2	5 8	2 9

¹⁸⁹Table extracted from De Miguel (1994(a):376).

Social mobility on this greater scale has only recently started. Linz (1984) concludes,

"en la sociedad española la diferenciación entre sectores de clases medias antiguas y nuevas, entre trabajadores manuales y empleados de oficina, quizás esté menos articulada que en algunas sociedades centroeuropeas."
(Linz 1984:82)

There were profound changes in Spanish society in the 19th century and this is even more the case this century. Many of these changes occurred as a result of a late industrial revolution and relative economic wealth. Specifically, Spain has witnessed an upward social mobility of the lower classes, which has resulted in two different and sometimes conflicting upper-middle classes. A settling process is taking place at present in Spanish society, which as yet remains to be completed.

Spanish society is today, as a consequence of the last fifty years of social change, "una sociedad menos diferenciada en sus valores y estilos de vida, a pesar de la persistencia de importantes desigualdades económicas y sociales", (Linz 1984:65).

Today, class perception, class membership and in general class structure in Spain are viewed very differently. In a study carried out among members of the Madrid industrial working-class by Tezanos (1981:91-2), it was found that informants vary in their perceptions of the class system. A small proportion think that there are no social classes nowadays (1.2%); some consider that there are only two social classes: workers and employers (23.6%); a large number believe that there are three social classes: workers, employers and a middle-class (35.6%); and there is a fourth section that think that in Spain there is a more pluralistic and complex system of classes (35.2%).

Among all informants (factory workers) studied by Tezanos (1981), 36.8% of them consider themselves to be middle-class, which represents an extraordinarily high proportion of working-class people rating themselves higher than expected (Tezanos 1981:99). This is known in sociological terms as 'aburguesamiento obrero'¹⁹⁰.

De Miguel (1994(a):373-374) also agrees that there is a general tendency for Spanish people to classify themselves within the middle-classes and he points out,

"Las expresiones «media alta» y «media baja» son un poco forzadas, pero no hay más remedio que presentarlas

¹⁹⁰This sociological phenomenon has been also observed in Britain (where is known as 'the affluent working-class') and in France (where is known as 'l'embourgeoisement').

porque, si no, casi todos los entrevistados se sentirían de clase media"
 (De Miguel 1994(a):373-4)

We see in the following table¹⁹¹ the increasing number of people who perceive themselves as members of the middle-classes from 1966 to 1992.

Table 4.2: Evolution of the identification with social classes.

	% se identifican con la clase ...		
	Alta	Media	Baja
1966	1	34	65
1969	6	49	45
1975	5	57	38
1991	14	58	28
1992	12	60	26

It has been observed that a large section of Spanish society has progressively joined the middle-classes. In 1966, 65% identified themselves with the lower classes, however, in 1992 only 26% did so, (De Miguel 1994(a):374-5).

Overall, as an underlying factor in this research, it is noticeably apparent that education (third level education) plays a key role in upward social mobility. It is widely believed among people (63% of informants) that education along with personal work and effort are the basis for improving one's socio-economic situation, (Tezanos 1981:96)¹⁹².

¹⁹¹Table from De Miguel (1994(a):374) based on De Miguel (1992:264).

¹⁹²Equally, in a British sociological study carried out for Channel 4 titled, *Class by Class*, results of which were broadcast in three successive programmes in September 1991, it was noted that three families, each belonging to three social classes (working class, middle class and upper class), the three agreed on the importance of education in evaluating their social status and as means to "bring them up in class". As to social class division in the United States of America, see Roberts (1981:470) and further references throughout this section.

4.3 Social class divisions

4.3.1 Difficulties encountered in setting social class divisions

This section should not be considered as an exhaustive account of social class divisions, but merely some observations on the relevant issues dealt with in this thesis.

It should be noted at this point the subjectivity involved in classifying people into pre-established social classes¹⁹³. There is no question that factors such as one's parents' professions and education or one's own education, self-regard and own profession (among many other factors) could complicate the task of narrowly classifying oneself into one particular class. Therefore, we normally should envisage social classes as 'clases sociales subjetivas'¹⁹⁴.

More and more Spanish people are classifying themselves as middle-class¹⁹⁵. It has come to light that particularly manual workers and specially working-class women are more prone to think they are middle-class, partly due to the fact that interviewees compare themselves to the socio-economic situation of their parents and see their socio-economic improvements as an essential factor. (De Miguel 1994(a):376).

This 'relative' or subjective classification depending on one's position in the social ladder came to light very recently reading the news about the Infanta Elena's wedding (daughter of king Juan Carlos I) to Jaime de Marichalar Sáenz de Tejada. The

¹⁹³There seems to be a lack of current research on the social class divisions in Spain, as pointed out in González Marotas, et al (1981:657), "Es necesario destacar la escasez de estudios empíricos actuales seriamente tendentes a la objetividad". However, the following should be noted, De Miguel (1994(a)) and (1977), García San Miguel (1980), Tamames (1977) and Tezanos (1981).

¹⁹⁴For further discussion on the subjectivity of applying a social class structure to Spain see De Miguel (1994(a):373-86). Many determinants employed by sociologists to divide Spanish population into social classes (such as self-declaration, occupation, education, wealth, residence and leisure) are examined at some length by Longhurst (1995).

¹⁹⁵On the Irish social class strata see Brown (1981), Morgan and Purdie (1980), Clancy, et al (eds.) (1986), O'Dea (ed.) (1994), Whelan and Whelan (1984). Much has also been written about the changes to the British old social order and about Britain as a 'classless society'. For further references on the latter and on the British social order see Hopkings (1991), Williams (1986), Price (1985), Erickson (1979), Lockwood (1985), Giddens and Held (eds.) (1987), Mallet (1985), Goldthorpe (1980), Heath (1981), Sorokin (1959), Gorz (1985), Mann (1985), Giddens (1985, 1986, 1987). Also, "Class of '94 from a 3-D perspective" (*The Sunday Times*, 21st August, 1994). In "Stand up and be" in *The Sunday Times*, 26th February, 1995, one can read, "Some 30 years ago, Britain's class structure was firmly in place. From a person's occupation, you could deduce most things about a person's life /.../. Class, of course, still matters. It remains the most accurate single guide to a person's health, for example /.../. But class no longer dominates our culture, as it once did. The ways of living, the range of lifestyles, the pathways through life, have become infinitely more varied."

following comment by Armando de Fluvia, an expert in royal genealogy, could be read with reference to the choice to Jaime de Marichalar as future husband,

"The first step, for the prestige [of the royalty] to begin to be lost, is to marry with the middle class,"
(*The Irish Times*, 1995)¹⁹⁶

For most people, Jaime de Marichalar, son of Conde de Ripalda and grandson of the Minister of Defence to King Alfonso XIII, the present king's grandfather, and whose family have titles dating back to the 17th century, would hardly be considered by most people as 'middle-class', but the perspective of one's social standing may substantially vary depending on the viewpoint. Viewing members of society from the very top of the social scale, he may be considered by many as a member of the middle-class.

In today's society, a much higher percentage of young people, men and women, consider themselves middle-class (66%), perhaps because nowadays more young people have had a higher formal education (De Miguel 1994(a):375). As De Miguel (1994(a)) explains:

"La influencia del nivel de estudios resulta determinante. Según se asciende por la pirámide educativa, sube la probabilidad de identificarse con la clase media y la acomodada; y viceversa, las personas sin estudios con la clase baja. Esto es así tanto para los hombres como para las mujeres."

(De Miguel 1994(b):376)

In his exhaustive and thorough study, De Miguel (1994(a)) presented the following options to interviewees, so that they could identify themselves by class: 'clase alta' or 'acomodada', 'media alta', 'media', 'media baja' and 'baja'. He acknowledges 'media alta' and 'media baja' are awkward distinctions, but considers they are necessary to prevent interviewees from broadly responding they belong to the middle-class.

Hence my own preference for acknowledging the subjectivity of social class divisions and my preference for the expression 'clase social subjetiva'. In De Miguel's (1994) research project, three categories were finally decided upon: (1) alta and media alta (which were labelled «alta»), (2) media (labelled «media») and (3) media baja and baja (labelled «baja»).

¹⁹⁶Except from "The reign in Spain", *The Irish Times*, 18th March, 1995.

There is, however, as has been pointed out before, a striking absence of research work in this area, particularly when it comes to dividing Spanish society into social class groups. As Longhurst (1995:15) highlights, the difficulty is not simply encountered due to the impact that recent socio-economic, political and cultural changes have had on class attitudes, class allegiance and class habits, but most importantly the difficulty arises when different surveys render quite different results. The right criteria are yet to be found. One final suggestion is shared with Longhurst (1995),

"while occupation must remain at the heart of any attempt to quantify, it has to be qualified by other attributes, namely education, lifestyle (which can be equated to expenditure though not simply to income), and salary as a measure of scarcity value."

(Longhurst 1995:15)

4.3.2 A snapshot picture of the Spanish social class structure

However difficult it may be accurately to determine the social strata of a nation and despite the significant absence of research in this area in Spain, it was essential for the purpose of this present research work that I had clear guidelines as to membership of each social class, criteria of membership of each social class and what those classes are. In order to achieve this, I interviewed De Miguel in 1992.

I present below the results of this interview. The following division presents the social class composition of men and women in Spain on the basis of their occupational categories, as used by De Miguel.

- (1) The '*working-class*' is mainly represented by manual workers. In this category, for example, building workers, miners, iron and steel workers¹⁹⁷.
- (2) The '*middle-classes*.' There is a clear distinction between,
 - (a) 'Traditional middle-class', or '*clase media antigua*', formed by farmers/land owners among others and,
 - (b) 'Modern middle-class' or '*clase media urbana*', formed for example by computer technicians and accountants¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁷For a more inclusive list of occupations and its categorization into socio-economic groups, see De Miguel (1994(a):150).

¹⁹⁸Farmers were included in this category by De Miguel, not so much so -in all cases- for their income but for their values which they clearly share with the middle class.

- (3) The '*upper-classes*.' A distinction is made between
- (a) 'Traditional upper-class', which includes the aristocracy, higher up military officers, high-ranking civil servants, diplomats, and established professional people and,
 - (b) The 'New upper-class', such as new higher up executives and business people¹⁹⁹.

4.3.3 Socio-economic and cultural associations in Spanish occupational strata

With the ever changing face of the workforce it is essential to my research that we define clear boundaries as to the socio-economic prestige which professions hold in Spain at present.

It is worth noticing the different social identification that certain professions in Spain hold. That is, some professions in Spain are regarded as socially higher in Spain than in, for example, Ireland or Great Britain, and viceversa²⁰⁰. Nurses in Spain are normally better paid and generally enjoy the lifestyle of the middle-classes. Bank managers and some bank clerks, civil servants and doctors normally enjoy a lifestyle that in Britain or Ireland would be perceived as upper-class. This discussion will become essential when we view the background of the members of the Escuela Diplomática in Madrid, the informants object of my sociolinguistic research.

An informant of mine, an Irish university lecturer working in Britain, recalled recently the surprise when a travel agent was able to tell him about the weather in a very exclusive skiing resort in the Pyrenees. The travel agent explained to him that she knew exactly the temperature in the area at that time of the year because she owned a holiday house in that particular resort and had only been there a couple of days previously. Obviously, the profession of a travel agent seems to enjoy greater status in Spain than in Ireland.

This informant has often commented on the differences between professions in Spain and Ireland/Great Britain. Many of us are aware that college lecturers in Spain

¹⁹⁹For other criteria socially dividing Spanish society, see Tamames (1977) referred in González Marotás, et al (1981:660).

²⁰⁰For further discussion on this topic, see Goldthorpe and Hope (1974).

'viven como los ricos' (as this college lecturer has put it) and that civil servants or better known in Spain as 'funcionarios', remarkably drive expensive cars, wear expensive clothes, go on expensive holidays and live in up-market neighbourhoods, something unthinkable in Ireland. It would seem that public office, or employment by the State -notoriously underpaid in Britain and Ireland- connotes status and high financial reward in Spain.

According to the most resent study carried out (De Miguel 1994(a):150-1)²⁰¹, we can categorize the Spanish population according to the following occupational groups, starting from the top of the professional pyramid,

1. *Professionals and managers.* In this category, professionals with a university degree such as in Science and Engineering, 20% of the armed forces and managers of public offices are included. Surprisingly -from a British and Irish perspective- the following are also included: writers and artists, teachers and lecturers.
2. *Middle strata and services.* Again some differences from the Anglo-Irish perspective become immediately apparent. In this category De Miguel (1994(a):150-1) includes some science and engineering staff (of secondary status), service workers, agricultural workers (including farmers), workers in the transport sector and 80 % of the army forces.
3. *Manual workers.* Manual workers in the building, mining and iron-steel industries are included. Also, workers who operate industrial equipment, workers with no particular skill as well as handicraftsmen are incorporated in this category.

Although this study is based on the male population, De Miguel (1994(a)) highlights the fact that,

"Lo más destacado es que en esa generación más joven [de 16 a 34 años] se han borrado ya las diferencias por sexo, que caracterizan a las generaciones más veteranas."
(De Miguel 1994(b):151)

Spanish occupational strata contain basic distinguishable factors which make them remarkably distinct compared to those in other European countries. Clarity is essential in this area if one is to refer to occupations in Spain as I shall do in subsequent chapters.

²⁰¹For further reading, see Martín Moreno and De Miguel (1982).

CHAPTER 5 Language and gender differences

5.1 Spanish women, a late start

In order to understand the results presented in Chapters 9 and 10, it is essential that we review the profound changes occurring in women's situation within Spanish society in the last few decades²⁰².

To understand the enormous change Spanish women²⁰³ have made, we must understand first the social background against which these changes occurred. This coincides with socio-political change in Spain, from the forty-one year dictatorship to fully formed democracy. The period of democracy has witnessed an overwhelming increase of women in the work force, in education, in politics.

The Spanish '*women's revolution*' did not take place in the sixties along with their other western counterparts²⁰⁴. The political and social situation at the time was profoundly different and so women as well as men did not encounter the necessary socio-political breathing space until the mid seventies. The first timid expressions of equality came in the early to mid seventies²⁰⁵. If equality was to be gained partly by education and partly by women's economic independence through work outside the home, then these first timid efforts came to be fully realized much later.

In 1971, only 15% of Spanish women worked outside the home in comparison to 40% in Great Britain and 25% in Ireland (De Miguel 1974:272). In general, a large proportion of the female population, particularly if we move towards the lower end of the social scale, believed that the woman's place was in the home.

In the seventies, upper-class women held the most liberal attitudes towards working women. Upper-class women totally approved of single women and women, with or without children, working outside the home. In comparison to this, lower middle-

²⁰²Section based on Alvarez-O'Neill (1992(b)) and on the public lecture entitled "*¿Cómo hablan las mujeres hoy en España?*", at the Instituto Cervantes, Dublin, 1995.

²⁰³For a review on the social situation of women in Ireland, the U.S.A., and Great Britain, and some general concepts which apply to women worldwide, see Daly (1993), Ang and Hermes (1991), Smyth (1993), Bendix and Lipset (1953), Acker (1973), Key (1975), Garnsey (1987) and Delphy (1984).

²⁰⁴For more information on the feminist movement in Spain, see Falcon (1969), Levine and Waldman (eds.) (1982), Martín-Gamero (1975) and Rollin (1995).

²⁰⁵For a study of the changing role of women in the late seventies and how this is reflected in advertising, see Smith (1992).

class and working-class women did not share the conviction that women should work outside the home, particularly if they had children, (De Miguel 1974:290).

This stereotype of the woman as homemaker survived much later in Spain than in other European countries. The Catholic Church with its strong political and social influence during the Franco years, asserted this recurrent image of women²⁰⁶. Guix Ferreres (1967:35)²⁰⁷ shares the ideology of Pope Pius XII on his traditionalist view of the working woman, as De Miguel (1974) recalls,

"El trabajo de la mujer fuera del hogar encierra algunos peligros para la mujer en general, y en especial para la joven... El problema se agrava cuando se trata del trabajo de la madre de familia fuera del hogar... (En ese caso) la misión de la mujer dentro de la familia queda muy amenazada... Fácilmente se resquebraja la jerarquía familiar, se enfria y apaga el amor conyugal... La mujer debe resistir a la corriente (de trabajar fuera) para mantenerse fiel al hogar, que es su verdadero reino, del que ninguna evolución social le debería arrancar"

(De Miguel 1974:294)

Women's subordination finds strong justifications by Spanish medical circles of what is perceived as women's natural role in life, an ideology which is rationalized in the following way by Nóvoa Santos (1929:57)²⁰⁸.

"Han de dominar en el macho las actividades adecuadas para la conquista de la naturaleza /.../ al paso que en la hembra todo ha de estar sometido a la primordial función de la maternidad, que reclama una vida más quieta y recogida en el hogar y una actividad física y mental menos compleja y dispendiosa"

(De Miguel 1974:294-5)

In academic circles as late as 1972 there was repeated teaching about women's role in the home. The vice-rector of the Universidad de Navarra, stated that women "fuera del hogar y su acceso a la enseñanza a todos los niveles ... no la hace feliz", (*Diario de Navarra*, 1972)²⁰⁹.

We are to conclude from his words that women are indeed happier at home having not reached their full potential in education; words which indisputably imply that

²⁰⁶For further reading on the topic of feminism during the Franco's years, see Levine and Waldman (1982), Martín-Gamero (1975) and Gibson (1993).

²⁰⁷Quoted in De Miguel (1974:294).

²⁰⁸Quoted in De Miguel (1974:295-5).

²⁰⁹*Diario de Navarra*, 22 October 1972, quoted in De Miguel (1974:294).

women are happier the less educated and the less exposed to the outside world they are.

Even though this view represented the traditionalist position, it was no exception in the seventies. Dr. Botella Llusiá, professor and dean of the Universidad de Madrid, (*Actualidad Española* 1968)²¹⁰ declares,

"Me parece muy bien, y creo que deben todas las que puedan hacerlo, el estudiar una carrera universitaria, pero no aplicativa, técnica, sino esas otras muchas más bellas, a las que, por desgracia, los hombres no nos podemos dedicar, como las letras, la filosofía, el arte, las ciencias naturales o la física. Sería bello /.../ que el hombre, cuando llega cansado a casa, se encontrase no con una mujer también agotada, que viene de un hospital o de una oficina, sino con una mujer que tiene una cultura que, a veces, a él le falta y que le sirve de complemento y reposo"

(De Miguel 1974:295)

These are views which seek to deprive women of the choice of an education, the choice of a profession and above all, the choice of an independent existence. In the light of these views, education was not for women to obtain a position in the workplace, but to the exclusive use in the home; that is, for the enjoyment of their husbands²¹¹. These views allow us to understand the remarkable changes Spanish society has undergone in the last twenty years.

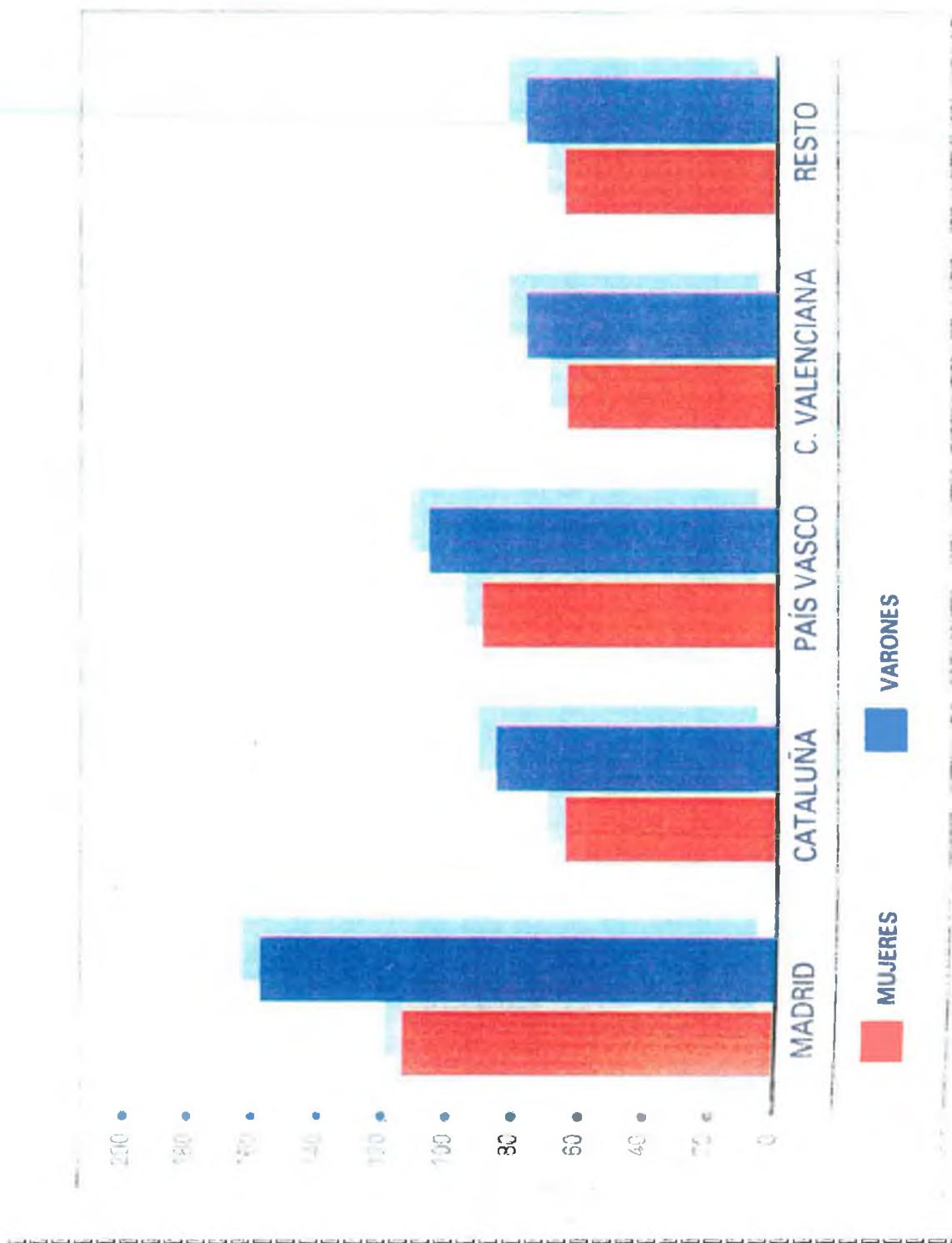
Despite these strong views, women's access to education and to the work force has nevertheless increased greatly, particularly in the last twenty years. It can be more significantly seen in the last ten years, during which period around two million women have started to work outside the home. The table below²¹² shows the level of education among men and women in 1993. These figures compare unfavourably with those of other European countries. In France, for example, women outnumber men in university study and this seems to be also the case in Spain at present.

²¹⁰Quoted in De Miguel (1973:295).

²¹¹Examples of this doctrine, being inbred and followed by the Spanish society, are also provided by Novoa Santos (1929) and Botella Llusiá (1970).

²¹²Extracted from De Miguel (1994(a):155).

Table 5.1: Second and third level education according to gender and Autonomous Community.



One third of all women questioned in a national survey during 1993-4, (De Miguel 1994(a):162-5) responded that being a woman has been an obstacle in life for them and interestingly, the more educated the respondent the more conscious of this obstacle she was.

Since 1991, equal numbers of men and women have entered third level education and if we look at secondary education, nowadays women are in larger numbers than men. De Miguel (1994(a)) summarizes women's present educational situation as follows,

"Lo más importante es que se ha dado la vuelta a la tradicional discriminación que hacía que las mujeres fueran preferidas a la hora de administrar los escasos recursos educativos. Esa discriminación se va aminorando hasta desaparecer en 1991 por lo que respecta al acceso de los jóvenes a la enseñanza superior. Es más /.../ la discriminación se invierte: las mujeres han accedido a ese nivel más que los varones. Por lo que respecta a la composición de la pirámide educativa, edad por edad, es mayor la proporción de mujeres que la de varones."

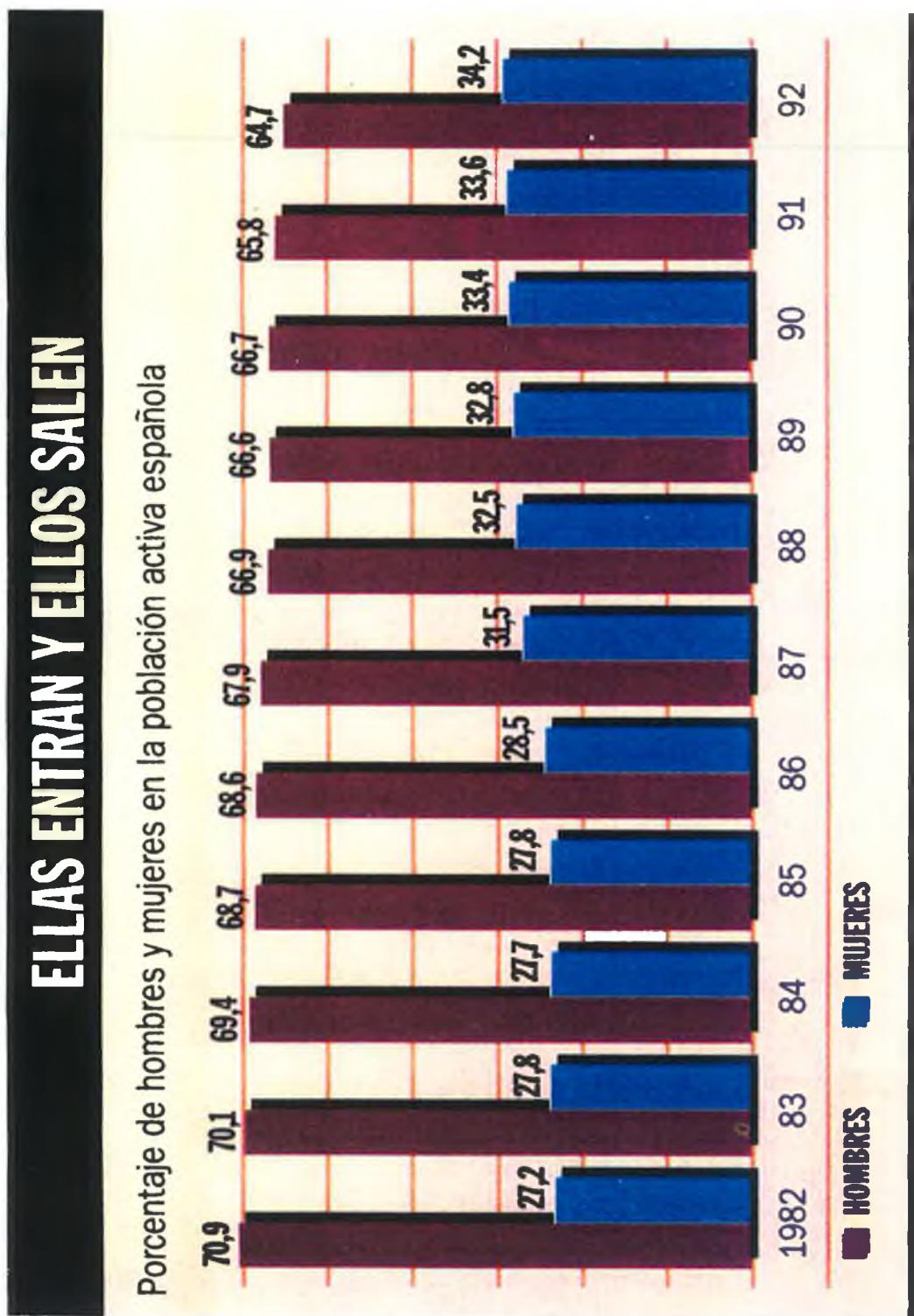
(De Miguel 1994(a):35)

As to the workplace today, the table below shows results of research carried out by the Instituto de la Mujer between 1982-1992²¹³. It appears that more women than men are entering the workforce and that more than 34% of women work outside the home, even though it has also been pointed out that women usually work in administrative and service jobs and are generally paid less in comparison to men who carry out the same job. See table below²¹⁴.

²¹³Results published in *Cambio 16*, July 1994, No. 1182.

²¹⁴*Cambio 16*, op. cit. However, of the 35% of women who work outside the home, only 5% hold managerial positions. For further information on the job distribution of women, see *Cambio 16*, op. cit.

Table 5.2: Percentage of women and men in the workplace.



Although women may have entered the labour market in greater numbers than before, some antagonistic feelings against women's capacities still prevails in society which can be experienced almost on a daily basis.

The recent access of women to traditionally male professions has enriched Spanish vocabulary and where before we had one term to refer to a profession we now have two, for example 'doctor' and 'doctora', 'abogado' and 'abogada', 'juez' and 'jueza', 'ama de casa' and 'amo de casa', 'ministro' and 'ministra'. There are even semantic changes occurring at present and, for instance, the meaning of 'alcaldesa' in the past meaning 'the mayor's wife' does now refer to 'a woman mayor'. Modifications and neologisms (such as 'mujer policía') reflect the rapid evolution of Spanish society. The Academia is clear on this matter,

"The Royal Academy's recommendations (which are in fact prescriptive) are very clear with regard to professions and offices held by women: the ending of the corresponding word has to be changed and made to agree with the sex of the person referred to"

(Olivares 1984:753)

It is noteworthy that Spanish expresses grammatical gender, and therefore since women have entered the labour market, the language has had to create feminine counterparts to masculine lexemes. The Spanish language has had to adapt itself and on some occasions, it has needed the formation of neologisms for professions which have recently opened to women ('mujer policía', 'química', 'fontanera', 'bombera')²¹⁵ and contrarily, for professions beforehand regarded as only female ('enfermero', 'amo de casa', 'asistento', 'niñero').

We have reviewed some of the most profound and long lasting changes in today's Spanish society in terms of women's situation in it. Women now enter University and the workplace in larger numbers than men (52% of students in Spanish universities are women)²¹⁶, enjoy a high degree of independence and social equality and are gaining equal rights before the Law.

There are many social attitudes and norms which do not apply uniformly to women and men²¹⁷. These are norms of inequality that our society has created and we have

²¹⁵For further information, see Melzi (1978), Olivares (1984) and López García and Morant (1991).

²¹⁶Cambio 16, 19 December, 1994, No. 1204.

²¹⁷For a full sociological discussion on masculine roles and arguments against the superiority of male gender, see De Miguel (1973:75-88), Oakley (1972), López García and Morant (1991) and McCary (1971).

lived with. Challenges to these norms have affected even the most traditional areas and even the aristocracy.

In Spain²¹⁸ in 1992 a great number of the almost 400 'Grandes de España' (members of the high nobility and aristocrats) expressed their dissatisfaction with King Juan Carlos I's 'liberal' attitude to the inheritance of nobility titles. He established a precedent by which the succession rights to a nobility title now allow the first born in the family, be it a woman or a man, to inherit the family title, to the dismay of very many. (*Tiempo* 1991)²¹⁹.

The above illustrates an interesting vestige of inequality which was challenged recently in Spain (although never in Britain) and which without a doubt will be further challenged in the future. It is steps like this which will ensure women's position in society as equals and ultimately, this more liberated position within society is what has inevitably reflected itself in the language.

5.2 Observations on women's speech

5.2.1 Considerations on women's linguistic make-up

There are many differences between men and women which are caused by the society we belong to and by the nature and conditioning of our sex. Language²²⁰ is no exception.

It appears from research carried out by Professor Molfese at University of Southern Illinois, U.S.A.,²²¹ that women are at greater advantage in life as their language skills are more developed. Furthermore, he has noted that these differences are evident from birth as girls are able to discriminate between sounds at a greater rate than newly born baby boys.

²¹⁸I shall take examples mainly from English and Spanish as they are the two languages with which I am more involved. However, when appropriate I shall make references to other languages.

²¹⁹Article entitled "Lo que los nobles no perdonan al rey", (*Tiempo*, 17th June, 1991).

²²⁰For other differences according to sex, see Amable (1987) for information on differences in manners expected in men and women. For differences in body language, consult Davis (1980), Knapp (1988), Pease (1988), Ibáñez (1986) and Fast (1988).

²²¹Broadcast by Horizon, BBC, on the 3rd April, 1995.

However, the existence of a tangibly separate language for women has been questioned, studied, widely proved and occasionally disproved. Some feminists deny the fact that women speak and use language differently from men. In their attempts to highlight equality they are reluctant to accept this language distinction while on the other hand, findings published early in this century tried to highlight the profound differences in the language of both sexes; which *inevitably* were meant to be interpreted as clear claims to the inferiority of women's linguistic and mental capacity.

Supposedly, women²²² are more refined, gentle and polite when they speak than men. However polite women might be, the stereotypes also perceive them as bitchy, talkative and gossips. In The Pint Size Guinness Book of Records²²³, the following quotation can be read:

"If the women in your street tend to yak over the garden hedge, do what they do in Meikleour, Perthshire - grow big hedges. The Meikleour beech hedge has a trimmed height of 85 ft. Mind you, it was planted in 1746, so you may have to wait a bit for some peace and quiet."

(Graddol and Swann 1989:1)

The following sketch also reflects stereotyped attitudes to the Spanish woman, (*Mia*, 1992)²²⁴.

²²²On the superiority of men, see earlier works such as, Jespersen (1990, first published in 1922), Novoa Santos (1929) and references later in this section.

²²³No. 4, High Society quoted in Graddol and Swann (1989:1).

²²⁴Published in *Mia*, 3-9 August, 1992, No. 308.

Fig. 5.1: Comic taken from Mía, 1992.



This supposedly incessant tendency of women to speak or chat without thinking has been studied across literature, popular proverbs and sociolinguistics. Oscar Wilde is reported to have said "Women are a decorative sex. They never have anything to say, but they say it charmingly". Also in *As You Like It* Rosalind says 'Do you not know I am a woman? When I think, I must speak'²²⁵. This stereotype is also reflected in popular proverbs such as 'Où femme y a, silence n'y a.' 'Deux femmes font un plaid, trois un grant caquet, quatre un plein marché.' 'Due donne e un' oca fanno una fiera' (Venice), 'The tongue is the sword of a woman, and she never lets it become rusty' (China), 'The North Sea will sooner be found wanting in water than a woman at a loss for a word'²²⁶.

One could almost translate any of these proverbs into Spanish and recognize them. Nevertheless, Spanish society perceives these proverbs with half contempt and half humour, and sometimes half belief, and it is a relatively frequent occurrence to see these proverbs or 'refranes' as text in souvenirs and decorative objects in many households. However, gossip appears to hold a value which might not be self-evident.

²²⁵Both references quoted in on Graddold and Swann (1989:1 and 3 respectively).

²²⁶Quoted in Jespersen (1990:218-9).

Jones (1980) delves into the sociolinguistic importance of the oral culture of women's gossip²²⁷. According to the author,

"Women's gossip illuminates the 'unity, morals, and values' of women as a social group, and provides the informal communications network that transmits these female values and concerns"

(Jones 1980:243-4)

As to women's self-definition and social group membership, according to Bisseret Moreau (1984:47), women like the working-classes define themselves in terms of a group membership and unlike men, women, whatever their class may be, are likely in some point of their daily conversations to use sentences such as 'Good pay for a woman' or explain something as 'A woman would not do that' or 'it's a typically woman's reaction'. This self-definition, applied to language, is perceived by Spender (reviewed by Black and Coward 1990) as follows,

"women, like the working class, are deprived of power; they are always defined by male language and unable to promote their own"

(Black and Coward 1990:13²²⁸)

There are claims which address the inferiority of women's minds, the superficiality of women's thoughts and the lack of profoundness in their thinking. In the early 20th century, Ellis (1990:189)²²⁹ made the following questionable claims:

"In general the feminine traits revealed by this study are an attention to the immediate surroundings, to the finished product, to the ornamental, the individual, and the concrete; while the masculine preference is for the more remote, the constructive, the useful, the general and the abstract"

(Ellis 1990:189)

A comic found in 1994 in a Spanish magazine (*Semana*, 1994)²³⁰, Figure 5.2, ninety years after the above quotation, reflects the same notion. Curiously, this constitutes a regular section in a women's magazine and presumably is read by thousands of women without, one assumes, any criticism or objections arising.

²²⁷For further information on the socio-linguistic interpretation of gossip see Tunnen (1993:96-122) and Hall (1993).

²²⁸For further reading see Spender (1990).

²²⁹Quoted in Jespersen (1990:213).

²³⁰This sketch was extracted from the social affairs magazine *Semana*, 2nd March, 1994, No. 2820. Along with other four sketches this one forms a regular section called 'Ellas son así' which depicts women talking idly, gossiping and generally endlessly speaking with each other on the telephone and showing their alleged 'bitchiness' in all aspects of life.

Fig." 5.2: Extract from a regular feature in *Semana*, 1994.



—... *Chica, ya me conoces, no soy de esas que van por todo el barrio contando chismes de sus amigas... ¡Para eso tengo el teléfono!*

It is hard after reading the latter quotation by Ellis (1990) not to draw the conclusion that men's mental capacity is greater than women's and that, while men's minds

reach profound abstract limits, women's are occupied -using one of Ellis' expressions- in the 'ornamental' side of things.

Moreover, some researchers in the past claimed that women are less creative users of language leaving the role of coining new words²³¹ or expressions to men, (Cutler, McQueen and Robbinson 1990:212). Jespersen (1990) in the early 1920s, expressed the same view:

"the vocabulary of a woman as a rule is much less extensive than that of a man. Women move preferably in the central field of language, avoiding everything that is out of the way or bizarre, while men will often either coin new words or expressions or take up old-fashioned ones /.../ Woman as a rule follows the main road of language, where man is often inclined to turn aside into a narrow footpath or even to strike out a new path for himself."

(Jespersen 1990:212-3)

This is an interesting quotation, if only from the sociological point of view, a quotation which would hardly raise any eyebrows in the twenties but which would be classified today as sexist, unfounded and ill researched²³².

Jespersen's (1990) findings were interpreted as conclusive findings on women's inferiority in terms of their linguistic and mental capability in general. He concludes in the following way:

"another indubitable fact, that women do not reach the same extreme points as men, but are nearer the average in most respects. Havelock Ellis, who establishes this in various fields, rightly remarks that the statement that genius is undeniably of more frequent occurrence among men than among women"

(Jespersen 1990:218)

And as if to cast away any questions about women being intellectually incapable, he adds,

"The greatest orators, the most famous literary artists, have been men; but it may serve as a sort of consolation to the other sex that there are a much greater number of men

²³¹For further reading on this subject see Black and Coward (1990).

²³²Explicitly, according to Jespersen's remarks women's vocabulary and language in general is more old-fashioned and stilted than men's, their mental capacity to learn, retain and use a wide range of vocabulary is limited to the bare basics and presumably this is a reflection of general inferior mental capability as a whole. Not only that, Jespersen quotes other authors to give his observations an academic validity. He mentions Jastrow with respect to the tendency of women not to understand puns, "in being slow to see any point in a pun", (Jespersen 1990:213).

than of women who cannot put two words together intelligibly, who stutter and stammer and hesitate, and are unable to find suitable expressions for the simplest thought"

(Jespersen 1990:218)

If we take the original title to this article, '*Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin*' (1990), one might not be too wrong to think another possible title could have been 'The Origin, development and nature of women's inferiority'. These were the general thoughts at the turn of the century, at a time when women's potential intellectual brilliance encountered many obstacles, not least the general notion that women need not be educated further from those skills normally associated to women or ladies such as social behaviour, embroidery or household management²³³.

Other findings by Zimmerman and West (1975) confirmed by Kramer (1975:46) address the point that women (like children) in conversations in which several interlocutors take part, not only are more frequently interrupted, but also are more often ignored than adult men would be when they start a new topic of conversation, (Nichols 1984:25). According to the results, in cross-sex conversations 96% of all interruptions²³⁴ are made by male speakers and similarly, 100% of overlaps are carried out by males.

There is also some Spanish evidence from the beginning of the century (Pomés 1902:112) and currently by De Miguel (1991) which points out the fact that when in the company of men, one or more women enter the conversation, the group breaks up into two or more groups as women generally prefer speaking in smaller groups of speakers²³⁵. De Miguel (1991) makes the following observations,

"«es muy raro que la conversación en un grupo de una docena de personas continúe siendo general cuando la reunión es muy numerosa y entre los doce concurrentes hay más de una mujer, porque cada una de ellas se transforma en centro particular, en torno del cual naturalmente se agrupan parte de los congregados» /.../ las mujeres suelen romper ese esquema. Les encanta partir la

²³³From the historical point of view, Haas (1964(a):231) also found evidence that women's linguistic forms are older and significantly more basic and consequently, men's linguistic forms derive from women's. However, he also points out that this historical order is not always followed and we find that in Yana, an Californian American language, and Chukchee, a eastern Siberian language, men's forms are more basic than women's. (Fasold 1990:91).

²³⁴For further reading on the dominance and control interpretation of interruptions see Tannen (1993:188-215), Bennet (1981), and Clark and Carlson (1982).

²³⁵As pointed out Dr. Margaret Gibbon (personal communication), this observation requires further investigation, as the ability to hear might count as a factor in the group breaking-up. Women's tendency to discuss more personal topics requiring quieter speech, could also account for this.

conversación general en intercambios de dos o de tres. Es verdad incluso hoy. No se vea en ello ningún reproche."
(De Miguel 1991:138)

Another distinct aspect of women's linguistic capacity or sex differentiation in language is -according to Ellis (1990:195)- the fact that women read more rapidly and are capable of summarizing in much more detail than men do. However, the same author immediately adjoins the observation that these findings are no proof of women's intellectual superiority²³⁶.

Female names have been analyzed in terms of their phonological/phonetic constraints. Women's names are on average longer than men's. They can be formed from male names (normally not the reverse) and are likely to contain the vowel [i] (Cutler, McQueen and Robinson 1990:480). This is linked to the fact that the vowels [i] plus [i:] are often used to denote smallness (for example, 'itsy bitsy', 'teeny weeny'). As Cutler, McQueen and Robinson (1990) explain:

"Perhaps the frequency of [i] in female names has come about, therefore, because smallness and lack of threat are held to be desirable attributes of females"
(Cutler, McQueen and Robinson 1990:480)

There is a long research tradition with respect to differences between men's and women's language, ranging from studies of women's and men's names to the use of interruptions in conversations in which women are present.

The so-called politeness which apparently characterizes women's speech has also been associated with a lack of clarity and forcefulness. According to Lakoff (1990:221) boys experience a *rough talk stage* which is probably discouraged in girls and so their speech from an early age is moulded to become polite.

Lakoff (1990) goes as far as to assume the existence of two languages in most women; on the one hand, a neutral language which is used when speaking in the classroom and in job interviews and, on the other hand, a woman's language used elsewhere.

It has been highlighted that women's speech differs from men's in the choice and frequency of certain lexical items, in the intonation, syntactic rules and in other suprasegmental patterns (Lakoff 1990:222-3). It was noticed, for example, that with respect to lexical items women are able to discriminate between colours more than

²³⁶Quoted in Jespersen (1990:217).

men can, and so a woman is likely to describe something precisely as 'mauve' or 'lavender' rather than merely 'purple'.

This also seems to apply to Spanish women's speech and it has been exploited as a humorous device. Recently, male characters playing the role of detectives in the film '*High heels*' by Pedro Almodovar are ridiculed when they enter into a 'petty' and -from a traditional point of view- effeminate argument about the exact shade of red of a corpse's robe.

In the spoken form of language, women have been deprived of power, being unable to develop their own identity. Women's speech has been generally repressed by verbal taboos in several cultures, such as the Carib in Dominica. In this society, it is reported in the 17th century men and women had different words and phrases which they never interchanged and under no circumstances were women allowed to mention their husband's name. (Jespersen 1990:201-3)²³⁷.

In the Zulu society in Africa, it was reported that women were not allowed to mention neither the name of their father in-law nor their brothers, and likewise women could not include in their speech words or even syllables which were contained in, for example, their father's name. In the royal family of Zulu society, the situation was extremely difficult as a woman was forbidden to mention not only the names of her husband's father but also the names of her husband, her grandfathers and her brothers. Thus, if a woman wished to use the word 'amazi' (water) and the consonant /z/ occurred in the name of her husband's father she had to substitute this consonant and say 'amandabi' (water). The penalties for contravening this rule were grave as she might have been "indicted for sorcery or even put to death", (Jespersen 1990:203).

In other societies, many examples of restrictions of this kind exist even though the penalties may not be as grave. Fasold (1990:90) reports on studies carried out by Ekka (1972) in which it has been found that in Kurux, an Indian language, women use several morphological forms only when they speak to other women but never to address men.

²³⁷Quoted in Fasold (1990:90). Fasold (1990:90-1) provides another example of this community's sex-related linguistic characteristics. In this language, there was a receding tendency for men to use the feminine gender for names of qualities, states and actions while women treat them as if they were masculine. For example, expressions such as 'the other day' for a woman would be 'ligira buga' (masculine) and 'tugura buga' (feminine) for a man.

In Bolivia, the Chiquitos women, as opposed to men, make no distinction between the pronouns 'he', 'she', 'his', 'her', (Henry 1879:305)²³⁸. Therefore, the speech of women is reduced to a large extent²³⁹.

This phenomenon does not only apply to underdeveloped countries. In Western nations, women are still less likely to use words denoting certain parts of the human body and are actively discouraged from employing swear words, often replacing them with euphemistic²⁴⁰ expressions. Girls are taught that it is 'unladylike' to swear.

It has been noted that the speech of Spanish women is markedly characterized by their frequent use of expressions such as '*juy!*', '*¡por Dios!*' and '*¡ay!*', which would hardly ever occur in utterances made by males. However, it was noted by López García and Morant, (1991:92-3) that gay men also use such expressions. Men's favoured expressions are more forceful, with far fewer euphemisms, expressions which would be considered inappropriate for women. In today's speech, women use adaptations of male expressions and so, '*coño*', '*leche*' and '*joder*' (typically male expressions) become in some women's speech, '*coña*', '*leñe*' and '*jolines*', '*jolín*' or even '*jo*'.

In the past when a woman expressed herself using predominantly male expressions such as these, she had a very negative reaction, as Martín Gaite (1987)²⁴¹ recalls:

"[en los años de pos-guerra este tipo de expresiones] no manchaban nunca la boca de las señoritas bien». Las mujeres, al expresar su ira, enfado, fastidio, sorpresa, alegría o admiración, sólo podían hacer uso de formas eufemísticas so pena de ser consideradas unas *verduleras*, unas *rabaneras* o de *hablar peor que los carreteros*."
(Martín Gaite 1988:194)

Today, new generations of women have entered this arena and it is not unusual to hear young, well-educated women use expressions previously reserved for men. This

²³⁸Quoted in Jespersen (1990:205).

²³⁹For further readings on differences based on the speaker's sex in different cultures, see Bodine (1975), Uchida (1992), Steedman, Irwin and Walkerdine (eds.) (1985), Blood (1962), Haas (1964(a)), Henley and Thorne (1975), Lakoff (1975), Coates and Cameron (1989), Ang and Hermes (1991), Mills (1976) and Hymes (1964).

²⁴⁰Euphemism is defined as "sustitución léxica que busca la asepsia de la expresión referente a un concepto considerado tabú." (López García and Morant 1981:114). For the reasons of euphemisms in women's speech, see López García and Morant, op. cit. For further readings on taboo and euphemistic expressions, see Haas (1964(b)), Neaman (1984), Todasco (1973), López García and Morant (1991:114-121) and Montero (1981).

²⁴¹Quoted in López García and Morant (1991:93-4).

phenomenon may be viewed as similar to the democratising 'plebeyismo' of the socialist men.

Recently, I have frequently heard expressions such as 'bullshit', 'fucking' and 'dickhead'²⁴² from young female students at Trinity College Dublin (Ireland), and 'hijo de puta', 'está de puta madre' and 'joder' from young students at Universidad de Deusto (Spain)²⁴³. It seems that women in the seventies and eighties started to break into a traditionally taboo lexicon with few reservations.

León (1984: 21-2)²⁴⁴ set out to examine precisely this new tendency and explains that in the late seventies and eighties, women and particularly young women entered the workplace sharing the professions previously monopolized by men. This exposure to men's environments seems to have prompted -according to León (1984:21-2)- women's speech into two tendencies: one is to use male expressions, such as 'me estoy tocando los cojones', and the second is to make slight modifications to traditionally male expressions. Hence, we hear utterances such as 'estoy hasta el huevo', 'estoy hasta los ovarios' and 'y una teta'.

Despite these exceptions, Lakoff (1990:224) emphasizes the fact that generally women's speech is more polite and also less forceful than men's, a reflection of this being the frequent use of 'meaningless' particles²⁴⁵.

Along these lines, syntactically in English according to Lakoff (1990) women are more likely users of tag-questions than men, although it has been disputed and other studies contradict Lakoff's findings. As Lakoff (1990) states,

"A tag, in its usage as well as its syntactic shape (in English) is midway between an outright statement and a yes-no question: it is less assertive than the former, but more confident than the latter."

(Lakoff 1990:229)

²⁴²It is striking to observe in a male dominated profession (the computer localization), that many women use 'fucking', as in 'this fucking programme' as often as males do.

²⁴³Both universities are fee-paying universities and generally attract a large section of the middle and upper classes.

²⁴⁴Quoted in López García and Morant (1991:94).

²⁴⁵The following example is given to show the difference in the use of such particles between men and women and to demonstrate women's lack of forcefulness in their speech. "Oh dear, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again. [women]/Shit, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again. [men]", (Lakoff 1990:224).

According to Lakoff (1990:230) women's intonation also shows their 'so-called' less assertive and less secure spirit through an intonation pattern found only in women in English²⁴⁶,

"which has the form of a declarative answer to a question, and is used as such, but has the rising inflection typical of a yes-no question, as well as being especially hesitant"
(Lakoff 1990:230)

Fishman (1990) offers further evidence of women's conversational insecurity by studying the question-asking and the use of 'you know'. She uses data from recordings of male-female couples; that is, their conversations in their homes. Fishman (1990:237) found that women use 'you know' five times more often than men and as she interprets it,

"'You know' displays conversational trouble, but is often an attempt to solve the trouble as well. 'You know' is an attention-getting device, a way to check with one's interactional partner to see if they are listening, following and attending to one's remarks"
(Fishman 1990:238)

Fishman's (1990) findings also point at the fact that women use tags and declarative questions more often than men (three times as many) and women ask more questions in general. As Fishman (1990) construes,

"Women ask questions so often because of the conversational power of questions, not because of personality weakness."
(Fishman 1990:237)

Contrary to Lakoff's opinion, Fishman (1990:240) considers that in conversation women's feelings of insecurity and hesitance depend on the situation rather than their upbringing and socialization. And she adds,

"Women's conversational troubles reflect not their inferior training but their inferior social position"
(Fishman 1990:240)

An argument for this is offered by Fishman's (1990) who observes,

"And why do women have more conversational trouble than men do? Because men often do not do the necessary

²⁴⁶An example of such an intonation pattern is provided in the following example by Lakoff (1990:231), "When will dinner be ready?/Oh... around six o'clock?".

work to keep conversation going. Either they do not respond, or they respond minimally to conversational attempts by the women. In the few instances where men have trouble in conversations with women they use the same devices to try to solve their problems. I suspect that in conversations with their superiors men use what has been regarded as women's conversational style."

(Fishman 1990:240)

Even though women use language differently, this difference is generally reduced to some forms of the language in question. However, in certain cultures women and men might speak different languages, altogether. For example, men in the French Basque Country, more used to speaking French due to work, sport or social activities, rejected the Basque language in favour of French while their wives tended to continue to speak Basque, (Jespersen 1990:205)²⁴⁷.

This was the situation at the turn of the century but nowadays the position is very different. There is an effort by both men and women to maintain the Basque language. It is spoken in the home and at the workplace instead of giving priority to French or Spanish, to the detriment of Basque.

A curious tendency in linguistic discrimination according to the gender of the speaker has been observed in the town of La Casela²⁴⁸ (Galicia, Spain). In this town, the activity of the five family units or households is farming and agriculture. Men work in the fields, look after the animals and generally leave the town at least once or twice a month to sell or buy goods for the farm. Women work in the fields, look after the children, do the household duties and seldom leave their village. The language of La Casela is solely Galician and there is little opportunity in this village to listen or interact in Castilian. Furthermore, there is very little external influence except when visitors come, normally in the Summer and Christmas months, or when Casela inhabitants watch television or listen to the radio.

Unimaginably, when a speaker of Spanish visits this village, it is mainly the women who make efforts to speak some sort of Spanish, while men almost on all occasions make no effort at all or are unable to communicate in Spanish when spoken to in this language.

²⁴⁷Reviewing Bornecque and Muhlen, *Les Provinces francaises*:53.

²⁴⁸In the village of La Casela (situated in the province of Lugo, Galicia) there are five nuclei or households which in total add to twenty-three people, of whom nine are women. The ages for both men and women vary from one year of age to their late seventies, (data taken in 1995).

It is precisely because women come into contact so rarely with Spanish (infrequently leaving the village and therefore less likely to be exposed to the Spanish language), that their capacity to speak some Spanish is even more surprising.

Due to the similarities, one explanation could be the one found by Angle and Hesse-Biber (1981) who have identified that where inequality of wealth is marked by speech differences, women of the poorer group will be more likely than men to adopt the speech characteristic of the richer group.

Furthermore, the possible explanation given by Zlotchew (1979) strikes me as more than plausible. Male inhabitants of La Casela do not generally communicate in Spanish when the situation might require them to do so, whereas women almost always attempt to do so. As Zlotchew (1979) concedes,

"Anyone who has a thorough familiarity with the Spanish language and who has moved in social circles somewhat lower than the university and diplomatic levels while in Mexico cannot have failed to become aware of a tendency to conceptualize North Americans as pusillanimous or even effeminate /.../ the member of the more powerful nation is regarded as effeminate while the inhabitant of the less dominant country is held to be virile."

(Zlotchew 1979:110)

Spanish is perceived as a language spoken by the 'gente de la capital', and is considered the prestigious language. Even so, or because of it, men generally resist women's trend to speak Spanish when they are immersed in a Spanish-speaking environment.

The above explanation makes a recurrent finding which coincides with other sociolinguistic findings in, for example Britain. Trudgill (1972) found that in Norwich English, women use linguistic forms associated with the prestige standard English more frequently than men. Men, on the other hand, favour a working-class speech as it has more positive connotations. Several arguments are proposed by Trudgill (1972). On the one hand, women are more aware of the status that the use of standard English conveys, and on the other men favour working-class speech as it appears to have connotations of masculinity (a desirable attribute) and it also emphasizes group identification, very important in this community.

As to vocabulary, women seem to differ from men in some choice of words, although this I note is rapidly changing among the younger generations. According to

Kramer (1975:44), women are more likely to use expressions such as 'pretty', 'cute', 'lovely' and 'oh dear'. In Spanish, according to De Miguel (De Miguel, Alvarez-O'Neill, 1992), women are more likely to use adjectives such as 'fabuloso' or expressions such as 'no me lo puedo creer'.

In 1901 women are reported to prefer expressions in English such as "It's very kind of you" instead of "It's very good of you", which would be the most preferred expression for men. (Cutler, McQueen and Robinson 1990:210). According to Lakoff (1990:226) adjectives such as 'adorable', 'charming', 'sweet', 'lovely' and 'divine' are women's exclusive property in American English at present while 'great', 'terrific', 'cool' and 'neat' could belong to both men's as well as women's speech.

We have seen in Chapter 4 the essential role that education has played in the development of people's potential and social improvement. Spanish women have demonstrated with their example the great achievements and profound changes which can be attained in a very short period of time.

5.2.2 Socio-phonetic research into Spanish female speakers

For a long time there had been an undeniable tendency to neglect the changing role of Spanish women, so much so that eventually the former socialist government met the need to create an official *Instituto de la Mujer* and to appoint a Ministra para Asuntos de la Mujer.

Much awareness is also needed in the academic and sociolinguist fields in which I have encountered few but very valuable examples of the study of gender-related linguistics²⁴⁹. Many studies carried out in Spain are indebted to studies which have taken place in other societies and mainly in the English speaking world. In the latter part of this century, researchers have carried out serious and objective studies into sex-differences in language without attempting to find justifications for sex inequality.

What constitutes women's speech has been studied from many different points of view. Differences in voice²⁵⁰, vocabulary, pronunciation, sound discrimination,

²⁴⁹For the purposes of this dissertation, I shall confine my references to mainly research in the field of socio-phonetics.

²⁵⁰See Batstone and Tuomi (1981) on this topic.

speech styles constitute characteristics that apparently set men's and women's language apart from birth. Some linguists in the past have claimed that,

"there is scarcely any difference between the speech of men and that of women, the two sexes speak for all intents and purposes the same language."

(Cutler, McQueen and Robinson 1990:209)

However, today's extensive evidence proves the contrary. And the degree with which language is inflected or modified by sex related differences may vary enormously. Japanese is a clear case of female voluntary linguistic sex-differentiation which has been reported ever since the early 11th century. The style known as *joseigo* or *onnakotoba* evolved among upper-class women. However, Japanese women have control over this style and it is only used when women want to emphasize their femininity. Otherwise, they adopt a neutral style or even a masculine speech style when they want to be assertive²⁵¹.

Other languages express these differences in more subtle ways, such as the frequency of the choice of lexical items or pronunciation, as seen in this section with examples extracted from Spanish and English.

Women and men express their position in society in many different and sometimes opposing ways and we have seen that as women's role becomes more socially prominent, their language changes accordingly. This section aimed to substantiate these differences²⁵² on a small scale.

A large number of studies conducted in the U.S.A. have made women's speech their primarily focus of attention. Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1967) studied the sex differences in Detroit as to the use of '-ing/-in'. The results showed that 62.2 per cent of time '-in' is used instead of 'ing' by men while women only use '-in', 28.9 per cent of the time. Labov (1972) found that lower middle-class New York women's speech tendency is towards hypercorrection in contrast with the men in the same class. Trudgill (1972) found in the community of Norwich that women also speak the prestige standard forms of British English more frequently than men.

²⁵¹Based on Crystal (1989:21).

²⁵²Many other language differences have not been included here. This section is only a token of what linguistic sex-differentiations are formed with. Other linguistic sex differences in English deal with higher frequency of stuttering among men, see Goldman (1967:78-81) and Kramer (1975:46), with the wider intonational range of women, more encouraging noises (such as 'mhm'), see Crystal (1989:21, 38-9, 46-7). For further references on the interlink between language and gender in different speech communities, see Poynton (1989), Mills (1989), kramarae (1980), Alexander (1984), Cambridge Women's Studies Group (1981), Cameron (1985), Coates (1986) and Cheshire (1984).

He also discovered that men accept and place a high value on working-class non-standard speech²⁵³ and he offers different possible reasons as to why this is the case. Extensive research seems to point at the fact that women's speech is closer to the prestige forms of language²⁵⁴ than men's in many different English speaking societies²⁵⁵.

From the literature reviewed, women have been considered to be speakers of the latest and more advanced forms of the language, (Jespersen 1990:208). From a contrasting perspective, linguists such as Labov (1966, 1971(a)), Hymes (1974(b)), Trudgill (1972) just to mention a few, have concluded that women normally speak the most conservative and prestigious language variables.

One of the first Spanish linguists to notice gender related differences in Spain was Lorenzo (1980) who observed:

"Se advierte /.../ una articulación plena o regresiva entre las nuevas generaciones, especialmente en mujeres, condicionadas evidentemente por la mayor resistencia de la -d- en los participios femeninos de la 1ª conjugación"
(Lorenzo 1966:56)

From this starting point (publications by Spanish linguists based on their observations rather than on empirical work), some research projects have been carried out and published on women's speech in Spain. Among those few early research studies Alvar (1969) stands out. This study of the speech of men and women in Andalusia (in the towns of Santiago de la Espada, in the province of Jaén and in Puebla de Don Fadrique, in Granada) was at the time considered not relevant enough to be inserted among his other findings in *Atlas de Andalucía*.

The main differences Alvar (1969:129-146) claimed to exist at the time were: (1) women's speech is characterized by an open vowel in diphthongs /ai/; men pronounced 'aceite', 'rei' or 'pleita', women pronounced 'azaite', 'rai' or 'plaita'; (2) /d/ is pronounced as fricative in intervocalic position by women, men pronounced 'redes' or 'cencerrada' with a stop and women with a fricative; (3) men produced [y] for [l], 'cabayo', 'fueye' while women pronounce both phonemes ([y] and [l]) as [l],

²⁵³For further reading, see Kramer (1975:45) and Chapters 3, 9 and 10.

²⁵⁴For the purposes of this dissertation I shall not explore the extensive bibliography on women's linguistic forms associated with the prestige standard variety. For further studies, see Angle and Hesse-Biber (1981:449-61), Meillet (1964:124-125), Haas (1964(a):228-234) and Martin (1964).

²⁵⁵This seems to be the underlying reason for women in La Casela to use Spanish, regarded as more prestigious.

'caballo', 'fuelle', (4) women pronounced /s/ in plural forms, such as 'casas' or 'pies', while men's plural /s/ becomes aspirated or it disappears all together²⁵⁶.

These results seem to point at the fact that in these two towns of Andalusia two different phenomena were taking place at the time, namely a disposition in some speakers towards archaic forms (namely forms from the Castilian language) and an innovative tendency. Women seem to have retained some phonetic features in their speech, for example maintaining the realization of /l/ and /s/ at the same time that they accepted extreme innovations, such as fricative [d] in intervocalic position. As Alvar (1969) explains,

"El carácter aislado del habla y la falta de una conciencia lingüística que pudiera apoyarse en un «ideal mejor de lengua» hace que las mujeres permanezcan afincadas a rasgos antiguos, pero acepten, por falta de criterio, neologismos que pugnan con los primeros. Por el contrario, los hombres ofrecen lo que pudiéramos llamar estado «medio de lengua»: con cierta tendencia a la corrección /.../ y, a la vez, con aceptación de los elementos dialectales del Sur"

(Alvar 1969:138)

Among the relatively few contemporary socio-phonetic studies in Spanish the findings of Williams (1983) stand out. The author establishes the dialectic of the 'paleto-cursi' in the city of Valladolid, which are opposed pejorative terms to generally describe a person or the way a person eats, dresses or speaks. 'Cursi' means pretentious and 'paleto' clumsy or ignorant²⁵⁷. Inhabitants of Valladolid often use both terms to describe speakers of their own class.

Williams (1983) pointed out that,

"the use of 'cursi' is not, as might be expected, peculiar to those who wish to describe the more refined speech of someone from a higher social class; neither is 'paleto' used only by those who attempt to evaluate the more casual or substandard speech of somebody from a lower social class."

(Williams 1983:173)

²⁵⁶I shall employ the examples as given by the author of this research and not phonetically transcribed as I do not have primary data to do so.

²⁵⁷'Cursi' is defined in the dictionary by Moliner (1990) as "Aplicado a personas, a sus actos o dichos, o a cosas. Se dice del que pretiendo ser elegante, refinado o esquisito resulta afectado, remilgado o ridículo." The definition of 'paleto' is as follows, "Se aplica a los campesinos toscos, también a las personas faltas de trato social /.../ o a las que hablan como ignorantes", Moliner (1990).

Taking the variable [ui] as in 'muy' pronounced as [mwí-muj]/[mu]. Low working-class female informants show an unexpected trend to use the standard form of [ui] in careful style not only more often than their male counterparts (low-working class) but, they also do so more frequently than upper working-class males.

Also, unexpectedly, in careful style, upper-middle class women show a lower score than low working-class women as to the use of the standard form of [mwí], Williams (1983:180). This is a trend which he interprets as one further indication of the changing role of upper-middle class women in Spain.

It appears from the results of the study of this variable that a clear differentiation between middle-class women and working-class women has emerged. Also, middle-class women use the standard [mwí] 100% of the time, whereas middle-class men are much less consistent.

On the other hand, working-class women use [mwí] 73%-100% of the time, whereas men do so on 32%-92% of occasions.

Another variable studied by Williams is the [s] plus a consonant instead of [ks], as in 'expresar'. Contrary to what might have been expected, upper-middle class females are less conservative than their male counterparts in careful style, (Williams 1983:183-4). Also, low-middle class women prove 'less conservative' and more relaxed in their speech than their male counterparts in some styles. Low-middle class males and females increasingly use the non-standard variant [s] more frequently as they move from formal to informal styles.

Taking Williams' (1983) overall results, one might conclude that working-class women normally display prestige variants more frequently than working-class men.

Middle class females show a distinct disregard for some traditionally considered prestige features of speech, more so than their male counterparts, particularly in formal contexts. These results can be compared with my own studies of the upper-class/upper-middle class students at the Escuela Diplomática in Madrid.

The same author argues that the use of non-prestige forms of the language by middle-class females in Valladolid is a clear reflection of the rejection they feel for the established linguistic forms and that low status female speakers try to comply more closely with the norm as they are more conscious of the socio-economic status

language conveys. Therefore, they try to adjust to those standard prestigious forms, more so than their male counterparts.

On the other hand, upper-middle class women, who are more likely to have received third level education, use some non-standard linguistic forms as a reflection of their changing role in contemporary Spain, (Williams 1983:185-6). It seems that upper-middle-class women no longer need to 'appear', since they now 'are'. Their status now derives from their jobs, position, independence and they no longer need language to suggest their status.

In Holmquist's (1985) study of a working-class rural community in Northern Spain (Uceda, Santader, whose speech is known as 'montañés'), composed of farmers, farm workers, housewives, students and workers, he considers the dialectic variable of /o/ in final position. The speech here is coloured by the use of [u] in word final position where in standard Spanish would be an [o], for example 'campu' instead of the standard form 'campo'.

Holmquist (1985:195) found that older women who had been exposed more frequently to standard Spanish through their work as house-keepers or cooks for upper-class families scored lower in the use of the dialectal [u] than men. Men generally use [u] more frequently than women. Furthermore, among those men and women who do not work on the land, their speech shows no difference as to the usage of [u], (Holmquist 1985:198-9).

The rejection of the non-standard [u] by young women might be interpreted as a rejection of rural life rather than a greater exposure to standard Spanish. (Holmquist 1985:199). As a middle aged housewife explains,

"Ahora, donde hay uno que trabaja en el campu, si viene otru que trabaja en una empresa, le prefieren, poque no tienen que trabajar en el campu. Ya no le quieren. El campu, no lo quiere nadie"
(Holmquist 1985:199)

The above interpretation is further enhanced by the attitudes of students. Female students score very low in the use of the dialectal [u] and when queried, they expressed their desire not to work on the land while male students with a high score of use of dialectal [u] showed an interest in living and working in the country, (Holmquist 1985:199-200).

The generalized low usage of [u] by working-class women is interpreted as a feeling of alienation which is suggested by further findings in the female and male group of workers. They do not wish to work on the land and both reject the use of [u], (Holmquist 1985:200).

Holmquist (1985) concludes that working-class women at large, in contrast with men, in the rural community of Ucieda, for reasons of higher exposure to standard Spanish or for a feeling of alienation, reject the dialectal use of [u] preferring the prestige form of language.

In Barcelona, a study has been carried out on the use of '-ado' and '-ao' in the past participle, such as 'he estado' and 'he estao'. Middle-class women, once again, employed the less prestigious variable '-ao' more often than their male counterparts, (Turell 1992)²⁵⁸.

The research discussed above points widely at a twofold tendency in working-class women in today's Spain,

- (1) With certain phonetic realizations, they tend to adopt or at least attempt to use the more traditional and prestigious speech variables (unlike working-class males) such as the use of '-ado' and [ks] and,
- (2) With respect to other phonetic realizations, they use the less prestigious forms of the Spanish language, such as vowel assimilations. For example, 'tas', instead of the more prestigious and standard form 'te has'.

As for the middle-classes (more likely to have received third level education), although they retain some phonetic standard realizations, they nevertheless display in their speech clear indications of rejecting the norm, the standard and prestigious variety of Spanish. This has been interpreted by Williams (1983) as an effort to express their independence, their changing role as a way to broaden the gap with previous generations of women or as a way to accomplish equality, to be similar to their male counterparts. It could also be due to a general tendency followed by both educated men and women alike to adopt certain traditionally less prestigious phonetic variants of the Spanish language. Likewise, on some phonetic realizations middle-class women show a pronunciation closer to the standard form than men's.

²⁵⁸Paper read by Turell T., at the 1992 Congreso Español Lengua Internacional 1492-1992, Universidad de Granada.

As for women and men from the upper-classes, extensive results of a study in Madrid among upper-middle class/ upper-class students of the Escuela Diplomática can be reviewed in Chapter 10.

To add a further point to the already complex state of spoken Spanish, De Miguel (1994(b):52) observed a widening gap occurring in the speech of women from different classes. He noted²⁵⁹ that a working-class person, nowadays, will not 'dare' to describe something as 'fabuloso', but will use words such as 'guay', 'está de puta madre' or even 'de maravilla'. Also, upper-class female speakers use certain non-prestigious forms of the language, which can also be heard being used by King Juan Carlos I, politicians, members of the Real Academia Española or bishops, such as the use of '-ao'. However, as De Miguel (De Miguel, Alvarez-O'Neill, 1992) has observed, it is essential to note that the upper-classes will not adopt non-prestigious forms which contain certain social stigma.

To conclude this section, I shall quote Francisco Umbral, a Spanish prose writer, who in the seventies observed and captured the changing and sometimes uncertain social situation of women in contemporary Spain:

"La española está hecha un lio /.../. La española no sabe si hacerse azafata, hippy, progre, madre de familia, enfermera o marxista. Los tres estamentos más vivos y conflictivos, hoy, en el país, son, los jóvenes, las mujeres y el Colegio de Abogados de Madrid."

(Umbral 1974:11)

²⁵⁹Observations recorded during an interview which took place in Madrid, 1992, (De Miguel, Alvarez-O'Neill, 1992).

CHAPTER 6 Theoretical framework and literature review

6.1 The emergence of sociolinguistics within the study of language

6.1.1 Sociolinguistics as a discipline

In this chapter I shall do a selective review of studies in sociolinguistics, which have some bearing on my own research work and which therefore need some clarification and discussion. Much of what will be discussed in this chapter can be considered to pertain to research in the area of pronunciation within sociolinguistics (what is also termed 'socio-phonetics'), although I shall borrow examples from other areas within sociolinguistics to illustrate points discussed.

The language we speak reflects much of who we are, our background, our state of mind, many of our insecurities and hopes. We convey efficiently much more through language than simply a message. We may use a particular variety of our own language to influence or intimidate others, to gain prestige, to emphasize our group identity, to accommodate someone's speech, to show support or empathy, and these are just a few of the potentials language presents to each of us everyday. Linguists such as Giles (1979(b)), Labov (1969), Trudgill (1972) and Siegman (1977) among many others, explore some of these subtle and not so subtle linguistic capacities.

The kind of activity covered by the term *sociolinguistics* is conceptually straightforward, and definitions abound. Fasold (1984) presents the following explanation of sociolinguistics²⁶⁰:

"the two tasks [communicating information and defining the social situation] can be arrived at simultaneously precisely because language varies - speakers can choose among alternative linguistic means, any of which would satisfactorily communicate the propositional information. It is the selection among these alternatives that defines the

²⁶⁰Others, such as Fishman (1975:3), Hymes (1974(a)), Bright (1971), Ervin-Tripp (1971), Garnham (1994), Pride and Holmes (1972), Grimshaw (1971), Hudson (1980), Pearson (1985) and Beym (1978) offer similarly comprehensive definitions, as well as embarking on discussions of the interdisciplinary links between sociolinguistics, phonetics, sociology and psycholinguistics.

social situation. The study of the interplay between these two facts about language is exactly sociolinguistics."
(Fasold 1984:ix-x)

And Fishman (1967) offers the formulation,

"[Sociolinguistics] is concerned with the characteristics of the code and their relationship to characteristics of the communicators or the communication situation, rather than with the message or communication functions and processes alone"

(Fishman 1967:590)

Sociolinguistics, as a discipline which entails the study of language as well as who speaks it, came to be established when linguists finally appreciated the importance of social factors in the study of language. Therefore, it comprehends the study of the structure and the use of language within a particular social environment. What we convey through the use of a language, apart from the straightforward message or content, is the area covered by sociolinguistics.

The discipline known as sociolinguistics came to a fore in the sixties and seventies with extensive research carried out specifically in this area. I cannot delve much further into the historical development of sociolinguistics. Suffice to say that the SSRC Committee on Sociolinguistics, established in 1963, moved its early interests from autonomous linguistics²⁶¹ and anthropological linguistics²⁶² to a broader concern with the entire range of sociolinguistic phenomena²⁶³. Since the sixties, there has been a marked acceleration of research and publication. Papers in sociolinguistics are now presented at numerous conferences²⁶⁴.

Many standard collections of readings in sociolinguistics provide a comprehensive critique of methods employed in this discipline and areas studied, among which it is noteworthy to cite Hymes (1964,1974(a)); Fishman (1971, 1972(a), 1977(b)); Hudson (1980); Gumperz and Hymes (1986), Trudgill (1984). A number of collections of written papers and symposia, such as Gumperz (1979); Gumperz and Hymes (1964); Bright (1971); Lieberson (1966); Edwards (1985), Ervin-Tripp (1986, 1979), Ferguson (1971), López Morales (1989), Giglioli (1990), Moreno Fernández (1990) and Pride and Holmes (1972) are also important contributions to the area.

²⁶¹For a review on linguistics as a discipline, see Kress and Hodge (1979) and Bartsch and Vennemann (1973).

²⁶²Hymes (1974(a)) highlights the links between linguistics and anthropology resulting in a new discipline: sociolinguistics.

²⁶³Based on Grimshaw (1971:93).

²⁶⁴See Grunsgaw (1971:94) for further information on sociolinguistics activity in the United States.

The study of language as used by certain speech communities did not represent a novelty in the sixties. There was a long tradition in linguistics beforehand which took into consideration parameters such as sex, social status, age, profession, place of birth among others in the study of speech. The implications of this correlation between language and social parameters was a point of interest researched at length in the middle of this century.

Rather than aiming to simplify the spectrum and configuration of language, the concern of sociolinguistics is to report on the intricate and sometimes surprising complexity of language within society. Many empirical and highly esteemed research projects are contributing to dispelling some of the false notions and are contributing to a better understanding of many speech differences. The contribution of sociolinguistics to understanding how and why we speak is essential. As a consequence of this more profound understanding of the language it could be argued that as speakers and members of society we shall benefit from holding clearer and perhaps more tolerant attitudes towards those who speak differently from us²⁶⁵.

6.1.2 The links between sociolinguistics and other disciplines

Sociolinguistics²⁶⁶ has been, and still is, assisted by findings in many related disciplines such as sociology, psychology, education, anthropology, philosophy among others²⁶⁷.

Anthropology and sociology in particular have been of immense assistance to sociolinguistics, especially in its beginnings. Some anthropologists had already pointed out before the sixties that in many North American cultures there were linguistic variants which were not in free-selection as Bloomfield had previously stated. These variants were influenced by social factors such as age, sex, religion.

²⁶⁵ Among many other reviews of the literature discussed here Dillingovsky (1979) presents a review of the literature on children's language and reading.

²⁶⁶ There has been ample discussion on the differences and similarities between sociology of language and sociolinguistics. For the purpose of this thesis both shall be considered as synonyms. See Hudson (1980:4-5,32-4), Fishman (1972(a), 1977(b)), Dittman (1976), Labov (1971(b):152) for a full discussion on both areas.

²⁶⁷ For a study on the links between language, anthropology, psychology and psycholinguistics see Fodor, Bever and Garrett (1974), Paivio (1981) and Ardener (1971). For a view of the links between linguistics and other disciplines (such as phonetics, second-language acquisition, philology or social history) see Bartsch and Vennemann (1973) and Preston (1993). See Regan (1990) for a discussion on sociolinguistics and second language acquisition. For a review on the contribution of psycholinguistics to linguistics, see Garnham (1994).

This initiated an increasing number of studies which at first lacked the theoretical direction and basis of later studies. López Morales (1989) points out that,

"La sociolingüística no había sido concebida más que como objeto de estudio, ni se había establecido consecuentemente la metodología analítica adecuada. Los investigadores se movían en un terreno sin lindes claros, interesándose 'grossó modo' por la influencia de la sociedad en el lenguaje y viceversa"
(López Morales 1989:32)

And on the subject Hymes (1964) argues that,

"Whatever one's views of the nature and goals of anthropology, clearly speech is so fundamental an activity of man, language so integral a part of his culture, that no teaching of anthropology worthy of the name could pass either by."

(Hymes 1964:xxi)

Hymes (1964:xxiii) values the role that anthropology plays within linguistics and he defines '*linguistic anthropology*' as the study of language within the context of anthropology. Nevertheless, he argues that the aims of linguistics and of linguistic anthropology are different. The former aims at co-ordinating knowledge about language from the perspective of language and the latter at co-ordinating knowledge about language from the viewpoint of humankind. Bright (1966), Fishman (1968) and Garvín and Mathiot (1968) were a few of the pioneers who focused on the social factor in language studies. Today one cannot study and describe linguistics²⁶⁸ without its intrinsic social elements.

The pertinence of social psychology shows a deeper relevance to sociolinguistics if we bear in mind the methodology and results which some social psychologists have successfully achieved, such as the studies on forms of address and pronoun usage (Brown and Gilman, 1960), equity (Berkowitz and Walster 1976) and group structure (Cartwright and Zander, 1968)²⁶⁹.

The disciplines mentioned above have profoundly marked shifts and changes of emphasis in sociolinguistics. They have become part of this field and have, with time, interlinked in a manner which makes them unequivocally associated, interdependent and intersupportive.

²⁶⁸The contributions of this discipline is towards understanding "how the thoughts, feelings and behaviours of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined or implied presence of others", (Allport, 1968:15).

²⁶⁹For further information see Giles (1979(a): 2-18).

6.1.3 Spanish sociolinguistics

In the welter of work seeking knowledge in areas such as lexicology, morphology, syntax, Spanish linguists have made few albeit very valuable attempts to elaborate sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics might be long in existence in the English speaking world, but we had to wait practically until the seventies to see it emerge as a discipline in the Iberian Peninsula. As López Morales (1989) highlights,

"La recepción de la sociolingüística en el mundo hispanohablante fue, en cambio, lenta y demorada"
(López Morales 1989:8)

Turell (1986:39) paints a very negative picture of the situation of sociolinguistic research in Spain at present by stating that "en nuestro país por el momento no existe ninguna investigación sociolingüística"²⁷⁰. An approximation to the opposite opinion can be found in González Ferrero (1991), although he admits that the primary area of interest for Spanish sociolinguists is the theoretical aspect of this discipline.

Spain constitutes a complex array of sociolinguistic research potential. Many sociolinguists point out that the task of the investigator has been made so much more difficult in the last few decades due to the renewal of nationalistic fervour, deep social changes and cultural diversity. Geographic factors continue to play a significant role also.

In the last decade a considerable amount of attention has been paid to the phenomena of bilingualism and diglossia in Spain. Catalán linguists seem for the moment to be more prolific than other Spanish linguists in this area. One of the earliest examples is Badía Margarit (1969) who studied some language variations produced by sex differences in Barcelona. Other noteworthy investigations into diglossia and bilingualism are Vallverdú (1972), Strubell i Trueta (1982), Salvador (1987) and Gómez Molina (1986).

Other strong nationalist communities such as Galicia and the Basque Country have seen -particularly in the last ten years- significant sociolinguistic interest. Worth mentioning are studies by Alonso Montero (1973), García (1976), Rojo (1981) on Galician and Spanish interferences; and Sánchez Carrión (1972), Yrízar (1973),

²⁷⁰Work in sociolinguistics carried out on Spanish in North-America can be reviewed in García (1988).

Michelena (1981), Etxebarría Aróstegui (1985, 1992), Urrutia Cárdenas (1992), Millá Lozano (1992), Villarroel López (1992), Portillo Mayorga (1992)²⁷¹. Diglossia and bilingualism are again the main areas of study. Pronunciation is not their primary area of study, so there is a distinct gap in the literature.

Other communities such as the Andalusian (Lamiquiz and Pineda 1983, Lamiquiz 1976, Lamiquiz and Palet 1990, Lamiquiz and Rodríguez-Izquierdo 1985, Lamiquiz and Ropero 1987), León (Aguado Candanedo 1984), Salamanca (Borrego Nieto 1981), Madrid (Alvarez Martínez 1987, Esgueva and Cantero 1981), Burgos (Martínez Martín 1983), and Valladolid (Williams 1983) have drawn some sociolinguistic interest.

If the publication of anthologies shows an underlying interest in a particular field, then the increasing number of anthologies on sociolinguistics published in Spanish must mean that the area is attracting some degree of attention lately despite its sluggish beginning. Publications such as Turell (1986), Schlieben-Lange (1977), Silva-Corvalán (1989), Rodríguez Sala-Gomezgil (1982), Bolaños (1982), López Morales (1979, 1989), Uribe Villegas (1970), Berutto (1979), Garvín and Lastra de Suárez (1974), Abad (1978), Moreno de Alba (1988), Moreno Fernández (1990), Marcellesi and Gardín (1979), Garvín and Lastra de Suárez (1974) and Etxebarría Aróstegui (1989) represent real attempts to delve into this discipline.

These anthological works have tried to fill the vacuum in Spanish sociolinguistics while the most recent publications -particularly López Morales (1989), González Ferrero (1991) and Moreno Fernández (1990)- serve the purpose of updating the recent developments in sociolinguistics worldwide as well as in Spain. Likewise, more recent publications on methodology such as Moreno Fernández (1990) and on theory and analysis of sociolinguistics such as Silvia-Corvalán (1989) must be highlighted for their exemplary work.

The last twenty years have seen anthological works as well as sociolinguistic research being published with various degrees of success. Yet, sociolinguistic studies on pronunciation, which is the main focus of my research work, is virtually an unexplored area with few exceptions, (see Williams 1983, Martínez Martín 1983 and Quilis 1981).

In the mid seventies, Lorenzo (1980) reported that,

²⁷¹On sociolinguistic studies on the Spanish spoken in South-America see Salvador (1987), López Morales (1978, 1979, 1989) and on the Spanish spoken in the U.S.A. see Silva-Corvalán (1992), Barrientos (1992), Pueyo (1992), Demuyakor (1992), Van der Vlugt (1992), Brizuela (1992), Pinzás (1992) and Martín (1992).

"De todos los proyectos de estudio de la lengua española
hablada acometidos, sólo sabemos que haya alcanzado
conclusión satisfactoria /.../ el que dio por resultado la serie
"Vida y Diálogos de España", publicado en París por la casa
Didier"

(Lorenzo 1980:31)

And still in 1992 Rafael Lapesa²⁷² voiced the same view by declaring, "Hay poco trabajo hecho en pronunciación. Quien ha continuado con divergencias la labor de Navarro Tomás es Quilis"²⁷³, (Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992).

It is even more rare to find research carried out on Spanish educated or prestige pronunciation; Esgueva and Cantero (1981) and De Torres Martínez (1981) offer some -albeit limited- help in this area.

However meagre Spanish contributions may seem in comparison with publications in the English speaking world, the last few years go further than in any previous times in building a sociolinguistic spectrum in Spain. Conferences, seminars and symposia on the Spanish language, organized by associations such as the L.R.S.U., the Association for Contemporary Iberian Studies or Asociación Española de Lingüística Aplicada, seem to rarely miss the opportunity to include a sociolinguistic element.

A reciprocal relationship must exist between the development of sociolinguistics, phonetics and sociology which has largely failed to materialize in Spain to date. Equally, experiments performed on speakers must be conducted with a solid base which can only be found in learning, adapting and creating new approaches and methods to be used in fieldwork and to set the foundations of sociolinguistic research work.

A number of Spanish linguists failed to take this initial inquisitive attitude and so fall into treating these, the preliminaries, with less importance than they deserve. Sometimes, they simply copy the methods and devices employed in other languages. Thus, the results and the entire empirical experiment are compromised.

Perhaps a good illustration of the above point is a large study on the speech of Madrid described by Lapesa as the main research project on Spanish pronunciation, being carried out by Antonio Quilis. This study is part of a large scale study of 'la norma'

²⁷²Extract from Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992.

²⁷³Quilis research project on Spanish pronunciation will be reviewed later in this section.

lingüística culta de las principales ciudades de Iberoamérica y de la Península Ibérica se está llevando a cabo, con desigual fortuna, en Buenos Aires, Bogotá, Caracas, Lima, Madrid, Méjico, San Juan de Puerto Rico y Santiago de Chile", Quilis (1981:XIII). It is based on sixteen dialogues between the researcher and the informants, four free dialogues between two or more informants and four further 'secret' or tacit recordings, all of which have been transcribed and are the main corpus of the publication, (Quilis 1981). Despite the ample scope of this project, no mention is given about how informants were selected, how the interviews were administered, the length of the interviews, conditions, problems which arose and methodology employed.

If we are to draw some conclusions on how educated Spanish is naturally spoken, there is some question as to why informants are aware at all times of the 'specific' purpose and objectives of the interviews²⁷⁴, (see Labov 1966 and 1979). I cannot reconcile the fact that the aim of this research is to obtain some relatively reliable speech data from these recordings.

Likewise, informants spend a considerable amount of time awkwardly trying to find a topic to discuss²⁷⁵, Quilis (1981:315). They are told they must speak about 'something' but their conversation prior to this reveals their preoccupation with such task. This unnecessary pressure and discomfort put to interviewees could have been easily avoided if they were given some guidelines as to what to speak about. The length of the free interview, in which two informants must speak 'freely' for a full hour seems somehow excessively long and again makes some informants uneasy, worried and unwilling to participate in the exercise²⁷⁶. As one interviewee -expressing my own sentiment- summarizes during a *secret recording*,

" Inf. A.- Esto está fatal. ¡Hija!, ¡si por lo menos!; yo creo que con un cuarto de hora o veinte minutos de diálogo, ya pueden captar perfectamente la forma de hablar de cada uno".

(Quilis 1981:401)

²⁷⁴As some informants reveal, "Inf. A.- En mi casa que están con un pitorreo conmigo cuando lo he dicho; y mi padre dice: <<Nada, tú tranquila, ¿eh? Tú habla despacio, que siempre hablas muy deprisa>> /.../ Ten cuidado con los <<ados>> ¿eh?, no digas <<he comprao>>, que es muy feo", Quilis (1981:404).

²⁷⁵The awkwardness of the interview is expressed in the following way at some point during some secret recording, "Informant A.- ¿De qué hablamos? /.../ Lo idial sería buscar un tema así, ¡pero si no tenemos nada preparado! Lo podríamos haber /.../ fístamos a tiempo". "Informante B.- Bueno es que estamos muy despitadas; no sabemos de qué hablar", (Quilis 1981:400).

²⁷⁶And further more, excuses as to why the informant must leave the 'diálogo libre' makes it apparent that there was a certain unwillingness to take part, "Informant A.- Oye, yo a las seis también me quiero ir. Que me gustaría ir a buscar a mi madre a casa", (Quilis 1981:400).

Although it is instructive to see the researcher has taken into account age and sex, he appears to fail to take such a competent approach with regard to other variables and some methodological procedures as for example when it comes to the selection of informants. The results could be thus challenged if other sociolinguistic variables, such as the contextual style, life-style, the socio-economic status of the speaker, background or geographical origin, were not taken into account. Furthermore, some informants work in the institution in which this research is carried out, which also should cause us to question the validity of the data drawn from these informants.

It is quite apparent that the conditions in which the interviews took place are somewhat defective and at times make the entire research a little futile. The interviews lack some methodological directions as the informants are not given any topic to discuss or any guidance during their '*diálogos libres*'. In the structured interviews between the informant and the interviewer, informants are puzzled as to what the interviewer wants them to talk about and the questions are sometimes too open. For example, we find questions such as '*¿Me puedes hablar un rato de toros?*', (Quilis 1981:91). Introspection, which has proven for many decades a very valuable part of most interview-based methodological approaches, has not been included in this project.

Despite being considered the major sociolinguistic work in spoken contemporary Spanish in this second half of the century, its value as a study on oral Spanish is somewhat flawed by methodological errors. Quite evidently, Quilis did not take into account many of the directives a sociolinguistic research project should take²⁷⁷ and which many other sociolinguists since have appreciated at their real value.

6.2 Basic concepts of study in sociolinguistics

6.2.1 Participants in communication

In this section I shall introduce a brief review of those linguistic concepts which will be encountered throughout the course of the remainder of this thesis. A multitude of other concepts will not be dealt with as this section does not represent an extensive review of linguistic concepts in general. To cover these I shall make

²⁷⁷For further readings on sociolinguistics within the Spanish framework see López Morales (1977), González Ferrero (1991) and Moreno Fernández (1990).

references to various works in the literature²⁷⁸, I shall start by presenting ways in which interacts can be grouped and I shall continue by introducing some concepts related to the characteristics and variability of the speech of those groups.

Speech community

At times we all aim to be the same and at times to be different, to conform to society while at the same time retain our individuality. We are born into one or various *speech communities* and it is normally first within that community that we initially imitate our parents' speech and then, as our linguistic experience broadens, we may acquire consciously and/or unconsciously our peers' speech habits, the speech behaviour of people we interact with and the speech of those whom we envisage as our models²⁷⁹. Therefore, our language becomes an essential part of our identity.

Speech or *linguistic community*²⁸⁰ was earlier defined as a group of people or community who use a particular speech or language. Hudson (1980:25) defines it as "a community based on a language". According to this belief, for a person to belong to a particular speech community (s)he had to share a language as a means of communication. In that context, definitions such as the following by Lyons (1970) and Bloomfield (1933) fell rather short,

"Speech community: all the people who use a given language (or dialect)"
(Lyons 1970:326)²⁸¹

"A speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech"
(Bloomfield 1933:42)²⁸²

Gumperz's (1971) definition introduces the notion that there should be differences between the members of one speech community. With Labov (1972:120) the emphasis lies on shared attitudes to language rather than shared linguistic behaviour. Hudson (1980:27) modifies earlier definitions which stated that a speech community²⁸³ consisted of a group of people which mainly the linguist and an outsider could

²⁷⁸On the subject see Lieberson (1981), Ervin-Tripp (1986), Dittmar (1976), Sankoff (1978), Gumperz (1971) and other references throughout the chapter.

²⁷⁹There is also an element of internal language processing which is developed within individuals and which processes language independent from the linguistic environment in which a speaker is immersed. This is sometimes known as 'language instinct' and is explored by Pinker (1994) and Chomsky (1972) extensively.

²⁸⁰For further discussion on speech communities see Fasold (1990).

²⁸¹Quoted in Hudson (1980:25).

²⁸²Quoted in Hudson, op. cit.

²⁸³For further references on speech community see Gumperz (1990:219-231) and Martinet (1964).

consider as forming a community, and he proposes that a speech community should be conceived as a group of people who feel they form part of a community.

Roberts (1981:470) adds another detail to the overall picture of what a speech community is. He sums up his views by stating that a speech community is formed by a number of features which should include age, geography, education, occupation and social status.

Borrego Nieto (1981) takes into account the social context when dealing with speech communities and considers the internal diversity of speech communities. Borrego Nieto (1981) (cited in González Ferrero 1991:37) conceives a speech community as,

"los grupos de hablantes que muestran una conducta lingüística similar e intentan hallar los factores sociológicos /.../ que los caracterizan /.../, determinar el repertorio verbal de la comunidad y de cada uno de los grupos en cuestión"

(Borrego Nieto 1981:54)

For the purpose of this dissertation a speech community will be viewed as a community sharing a set of common values and behaviour towards social and linguistic variability and which are interpreted equally by all its members. This does not necessarily imply that one individual cannot belong to many different speech communities: on the contrary a speaker may form part of several speech communities depending on the socio-linguistic context²⁸⁴.

Network

The definitions provided for *network* revolve around the notion of a network as the set of informal relationships an individual speaker has with others²⁸⁵. Social networks can be made up by neighbours or peer groups among others.

It seems from the evidence reviewed that the closer an individual's network ties are, the more closely his/her language will coincide with the specific speech variety of the network. Therefore, the close-knit network or group membership acts as a mechanism for language maintenance, so speakers are in a stronger position to resist external linguistic and social pressures.

²⁸⁴Further detailed discussions on speech communities are provided by Milroy (1989).

²⁸⁵See Milroy (1989) for further discussions on the concept.

Clusters

I shall conclude this section by introducing the concept of 'cluster'. Clusters (or 'natural clusters' as I shall refer to them in later chapters) are generally segments, compartments of networks or 'bands of speakers'. Most people's personal networks consist of series of clusters. The linking factor for clusters and networks are generally kinship, a specific interest, background, race, religion, occupation, dwelling proximity, specific group membership among many others.

My aim was to show that many studies work on the assumption that an individual is only assimilated to one group and that his/her membership to this group is permanent. This is clearly not the case. An individual not only can belong to several speech groups but can also show an alliance to one group in one particular situation or moment in time and wish to signal a non-membership to the same group in other situations or time. The inferences from group membership or speech communities are often subtle and complex.

6.2.2 Linguistic variability

There are three major dimensions when we speak of sociolinguistic variation: the geographical, the social and the stylistic. In this section I shall discuss these dimensions and their implications in sociolinguistics.

Language variety

The manifestation of language takes place in the form of a *language variety*²⁸⁶ and effectively the differences between varieties are characterized by a large range of linguistic features. Language varieties do not occur in isolation but within speech communities. Often terms such as language, dialect and even register become synonyms of language variety.

Many of the concepts and methodological approaches to the study of language variation and change originated in Labov (1966). He elicited data mainly through sociolinguistic interviews in which the investigator asks the respondent questions

²⁸⁶Refer to Lieberson (1981) and Ervin-Tripp (1973, 1978 and 1979) for further reading into language variety. On evidence which points at the fact that members of a network normally live in close proximity, see Falk (1981).

which aim to produce natural connected speech and to encourage the use of particular linguistic forms.

Based on Labov, Fasold (1990) defines a 'sociolinguistic variable' as,

"a set of alternative ways of saying the same thing,
although the alternatives will have social significance"
(Fasold 1991:223-4)

The alternatives to the same sociolinguistic variable are known as *variants*. If certain variants are used more commonly by one particular social class than another, then one could say that this variable is determined by social class stratification, although many other factors, such as age, sex, attitudes, religion (discussed in this chapter) might be intervening and swaying the speaker towards a particular set of variables²⁸⁷.

Register

Register is defined by Hudson (1980:48) as the "varieties according to use". It is the variety which is directly swayed by two different dimensions according to Hudson (1980:50): the technicality and the formality dimensions. Both of these are independent and derived from the degree of formality and technicality present in a communicative expression between two speakers.

Thus the combinations of formality and technicality can be represented in the following four ways, according to Hudson (1980:48):

formal, technical	We obtained some sodium chloride
formal, non-technical	We obtained some salt
informal, technical	We got some sodium chloride
informal, non-technical	We got some salt

Contextual styles or *stylistic variation*²⁸⁸ are sometimes used as synonyms for register. Labov (1966:90-113) is fully aware of the problems of trying to control the context in order to identify the styles of speech which occur within them. He elaborates the different speech styles²⁸⁹, all the variations from careful to casual,

²⁸⁷For further information on speech variables see Denison (1979), Holmquist (1985), Gregory and Carroll (1978) and Bright and Ramanujan (1979). For further discussion on the social pressures involved in the choice of a variant see Fischer (1964).

²⁸⁸This is further discussed by Henderson (1978) and by Lieberson (1981).

²⁸⁹Speech style is defined as "When a speaker varies his speech to cope with different communication settings or speech patterns, (Giles and Powesland 1975)", quoted in Helfrich (1979:23). 'Speech codes' and 'speech registers' are also sometimes considered synonyms.

that may be found in different contexts. (See Chapter 6 for further considerations on speech styles or registers).

Dialect, idiolect and sociolect

However strong our links with our speech community might be, our individualism, our particular set of conditions in our upbringing, education, relationships and aspirations produce diversity in our language. No two members of the same speech community or of the same social group, with similar background and similar education and occupation, will speak in exactly the same way. We have different linguistic experiences, we process language differently, we develop differently and as a consequence we speak differently²⁹⁰. As individuals, our speech differs in phonology, grammar and vocabulary, and this linguistic system found in a single individual is what is known as *idiolect*.

"individual speakers are not 'sociolinguistic automata', (Giles 1977) and there is much room for idiosyncratic and random variation"

(Laver and Trudgill 1979:20-1)

Dialect (or social dialect²⁹¹) could be then considered as a group of *idiolects*²⁹². Contrasted with language, a dialect is considered as being less erudite and is sometimes referred to as language without a written form. Among the first students of speech communities we find dialectologists. Dialectologists have traditionally dealt with geographical/social dialects and have prepared linguistic atlases which show the geographic distribution of the linguistic characteristics of certain dialects. These maps or atlases indicate the boundaries- also known as *isoglosses*- within which certain speech usages take place.

I shall reserve the term dialect to refer to geographical dialect (and I shall refer to regional dialect as a geographical speech variety). The definition supplied by the D.R.A.E. will be followed. It considers a *dialect* to be a,

"Sistema lingüístico derivado de otro; normalmente con una concreta limitación geográfica, pero sin diferenciación suficiente frente a otros de origen común"

(D.R.A.E., 1991)

²⁹⁰On the subject see Hymes (1974(b)), Brown and Levinson (1979).

²⁹¹For a definition and discussion of dialect and social dialect see Martinet (1964).

²⁹²Based on Crystal (1989:24).

Ferguson and Gumperz (1960) and Halliday (1968) discuss the varieties which represent divergent geographic origins which are known as dialects²⁹³. However, geographical dialects may come to symbolize factors other than geographic ones. If, for example, a speech variety from one region becomes associated with the speech of a community with a low social status (from an educational and professional perspective) it may be regarded by others as a low status variety. What was originally a regional variety may become a social variety, social dialect or *sociolect*, (Blanc 1964)²⁹⁴. The terms sociolect or social dialect²⁹⁵ refer to non-regional traits²⁹⁶.

Not all geographical dialects or geographical varieties are perceived similarly in all speech communities. In Britain a speaker may show more speech similarities in his/her language with people from the same social group in a different part of the country than with people from other social groups in the same area. As Hudson (1980:43) points out, "[In Britain] social class takes precedence over geography as a determinant of speech".

One finds more geographical differences among the lower social classes than in the upper classes. This insight into the relationship between the hierarchical social structure and linguistic behaviour in Britain cannot be transposed to Spain. It is, in fact, a peculiarity of some languages, among which we find English, but which does not pertain to Spanish.

Despite the views on this matter by Camilo José Cela and Rafael Lapesa, (see Chapter 3) the fact is that many educated speakers of Spanish speak Spanish with regional accents without any reluctance. This is a feature of speech in Spanish which is fully discussed in Chapter 3.

²⁹³For further reading see McDavid (1979:300-1) and Brown and Levinson (1979) for a study of dialect (social and regional), accent, register, argot and style.

²⁹⁴Section based on Fishman (1975:22).

²⁹⁵For example, Black American English is perceived by some sociolinguists as a dialect, see Rosen (1979). For further information on dialects, see Ilagen (1979(a)).

²⁹⁶For more detailed information on the interference between two or more language communities (linguistic acculturation, language shift) see Gumperz (1971:118-121).

3 How we communicate with others on the basis of our language choice: standard and non-standard varieties

6.3.1 Prestige as a factor in the choice of standard and non-standard varieties

The standard variety²⁹⁷ generally develops from a regional variety which holds a high *linguistic prestige* value and which due to particular socio-economic, historical and linguistic idiosyncrasy finally comes to be regarded as the standard variety²⁹⁸. Standard Spanish is a development of the regional dialect from the areas of former Castille and Burgos which ultimately was to become the official language for the whole Spanish nation.

According to some arguments there could be some upwardly mobile speakers may have such strong views and perceptions on the traditional prestige speech/language that they may sometimes pretend not to be able to speak or even understand other non-prestige speeches/languages. According to Weinreich (1964),

"Sometimes the conditions of social advance may even require the ostensible ignorance of another language -which may be a person's mother-tongue."
(Weinreich 1964:78)

The term 'linguistic prestige' is generally used in today's sociolinguistic research work with certain imprecisions, (see O'Donnell 1988 and Weinreich 1964). Labov (1972) makes the point that,

"the notion of 'prestige' must be redefined in terms of the people using it and the situation in which it is used; brought out of the area of speculation and made the focus of empirical investigation"
(Labov 1972:308)

Linguists such as Fishman (1964, 1965) and Labov (1978) demonstrate the inadequacy of a straightforward classification in terms of low-high prestige differences in language. Fishman (1965:68) observes that a low-prestige variety or language in one

²⁹⁷For further discussion on this topic, see Garvin (1959).

²⁹⁸Leitner (1982) discusses the role of the BBC in the selection, codification, propagation and acceptance process of Educated Southern English in Britain. For further research on Standard British English see Macaulay (1977) and Wells (1982). For further reading on Hiberno-English and Irish see O'Baoill (1990) and Wells (1982:417-38).

speech community may become a symbol of 'group membership' or 'group solidarity' in another²⁹⁹.

I understand the terms 'standard', 'educated' or 'prestige variety' to mean the variety employed by those who embody the educated section of society³⁰⁰. Fishman (1975) adopts a similar view:

"The standard variety of a language is most likely to be that variety that stands for the nation as a whole and for its most exalted institutions of government, education and high culture in general."

(Fishman 1975:31)

This does not mean that those who generally use the standard language are limited in their use of other varieties. One speaker can on the one hand use the standard language in his/her relationship with one particular interlocutor or situation and on the other, (s)he may switch to another variety (language, dialect or non-standard variety) with another interlocutor or in another situation. There is also extensive evidence in sociolinguistics which empirically confirms the widespread phenomenon that speakers and addressees adjust their language to accommodate status relationships, (see Rintell 1990).

Fishman (1975:28) established seven different varieties with respect to language in general: standard, vernacular, dialect, creole, pidgin, classical and artificial³⁰¹, and considered that any given speech community may include in its linguistic repertoire³⁰² one or several of these categories. A speaker's use of these different varieties depends on who his/her interlocutor is and what his/her situation may be. This is known as *code-switching*.

Non-standard varieties can be broadly considered as those varieties which deviate from the standard variety. This could include regional as well as urban varieties³⁰³. These varieties would not normally be considered to have the prestige status of the standard variety. If that is the case, as Ryan (1979:145) asks, "Why, given the types of pressures militating against social advancement, non-prestige language forms have survived today."

²⁹⁹Quoted in O'Donnell (1988:226).

³⁰⁰For other considerations on standard languages see Fishman (1975:24-7).

³⁰¹For more information on these categories, see Fishman (1975:21-9) and Hudson (1980:23-30).

³⁰²The wide range of linguistic repertoire by speakers is also subject of discussion by Ervin-Tripp (1986) and Gumperz (1971), and for a study on reactions to different accents see Giles (1980).

³⁰³For further readings on sociolinguistic studies of urban vernaculars see Dittmar and Scholobinski (1988).

The answer is complex. It has been explained in terms of intergroup identity and loyalty, (Ryan 1979, Ryan and Sebastian 1977, Billing 1976, Giles and Powesland 1975, Lambert 1979, Labov 1969), as an accommodation tendency (Giles and Smith, 1979:45-65), as verbal deprivation (Bereiter 1966) and as a way of integration, empathy and solidarity. People encode their speech styles to maintain, emphasize or even establish their ingroup identity and other times, they may attenuate their speech differences in order to accommodate the speech of others.

Hudson (1980:17) has evidence to suggest that children as young as four already understand the prejudices that some varieties have for certain adults and they have adopted them themselves. It seems extraordinary that the correlation between non-standard varieties and the social significance that those attitudes and those varieties carry within a particular society can be acquired early in childhood. However, it is particularly in our teenage years that we acquire a sensitivity to the social meaning of speech variation. (Halliday 1978:184). This author writes,

"Most of the time what we find in real life are dialect hierarchies, patterns of dialectal variation in which a 'standard' (representing the power base of society) is opposed by nonstandard varieties (which the members refer to as 'dialects')."

(Halliday 1978:185)

The argument drawn from the above discussion seems to point to the notion that *prestige* can also be subsumed and accounted for in identity-based explanations. This approach relies on the differential social functions language varieties perform. For example, in a working class group it may be in fact the less standard form which is considered the most 'prestigious' or desirable within this group³⁰⁴.

Furthermore, it seems that "attitudes towards language are often the reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups"³⁰⁵, (Fasold 1984:148). And as O'Donnell (1988) shows, it even appears that when we personally dislike a language variety we tend not to understand it even when it appears that we should³⁰⁶. Furthermore, when we admire and adopt the language of other speech communities (at least in second language acquisition) we are likely to adopt other behavioural aspects of that speech community. As Lambert, et al (1968) argue,

³⁰⁴ Based on Milroy (1989).

³⁰⁵ For further readings on this topic see Ross (1979) and Williams (1979).

³⁰⁶ In the study carried out among the students of the School of Diplomats in Madrid, a female respondent states that she does not understand people from the Canary Islands. This will be an argument posed in Chapter 9 and further dealt with in Chapter 10.

"an individual successfully acquiring a second language gradually adopts =various aspects of behavior which characterise members of another linguistic-cultural group"

(Lambert, et al 1968:473)

In the next section I shall highlight other factors taking place in language choice in terms of its adherence to different social criteria departing from the notion of prestige as it is generally understood.

6.3.2 Further considerations on language choice: social approval and group membership

The resistance to assimilation and survival of non-standard forms of language are ever so much more surprising when one bears in mind the pressures to conform. This section will outline the motivations for such remarkable variations. Linguists often conduct research on linguistic change but an equally interesting phenomenon is the linguistic resistance to change. I shall start with one personal linguistic experience which will exemplify the complex reasons behind language choice.

I grew up in Galicia, in the North West of Spain, in a bilingual environment. As a child I was exposed to both Spanish and Galician. My parents both spoke Galician (language of the North West of Spain) to each other and to other members of my family. One would assume this would have been the most frequent language to use among us given the characteristics of our language environment. Not so.

Amazingly, neither my sister nor I ever spoke Galician with my parents or with other monolingual Galician speakers in my family (such as my grandparents) or other non-family members, even when they spoke Galician to us. We could, and still can, understand Galician and are reasonably proficient at speaking the language. The reason it was not our chosen language for communication was that both my parents always spoke to us in Spanish, even though they would immediately switch to Galician when they finished talking to us. Galician, in their minds, was not a socially acceptable language and therefore we were never encouraged to speak it. This idea was later reinforced during our initial school years as Spanish was the only language we were allowed to speak in school³⁰⁷.

³⁰⁷Our initial schooling years coincided with Franco's regime when there were strong attempts to eliminate regional languages in benefit of the national language and so their use was prohibited during Franco's dictatorial period.

In considering aspects of language preference which account for the continuity of non-standard language varieties we shall see the following accountabilities or explanations for this preference.

As mentioned briefly in my previous section, Ryan (1979:147-9) argues the view of language as group identity symbol. It appears to be one of the major forces in the preservation of non-standard speech styles and dialects. Glaser and Moynihan (1975) postulate that language functions as an important identity marker of new ethnic groups³⁰⁸. It would appear that the failure of some individuals to acquire the socially favoured language variety is due to a certain amount of language loyalty. This attitude is perhaps more evident in the speech of some adolescents as they often attempt to distinguish their speech from the prestige groups, (Baker 1947, De Miguel 1994(b), Fisher 1971 and Weinreich 1964)³⁰⁹.

Ramírez (1974) has noted a return to the use of a Chicano dialect of Spanish among youths as means to establish their own identity and a feeling of 'brotherhood'. In Labov's (1978) study of sound change in Martha's Vineyard, he found that there was an abundance of non-standard forms among the younger generations in order to separate them from the people who arrive in the island to spend the Summer months and who generally use standard American English.

There are many different and sometimes complex reasons for choosing one particular language variety over another³¹⁰. Hymes (1974(a)) proposes another explanation for the use of several varieties by one single speaker in terms of *social intimacy* and *social distance*. That is, speakers may convey social differences or social intimacy through switching from one language to another or between varieties. Hymes (1974(a)) explains,

"Relationships of social intimacy or of social distance may be signalled by switching between distinct languages (Spanish: Guarani in Paraguay); between varieties of a single language (standard German; dialect); between pronouns within a single variety (German: Du:Sie)"
(Hymes 1974(a):30)

³⁰⁸ References in Ryan (1979:147). For further reading on language as an identity marker in terms of the speakers place within his/her society, see Anderson (1979), Robinson (1977) Billing (1976), Fishman (1977(a)), Ross (1979), Williams (1979), De Vries (1979), Bourhis (1979), Labov (1980), Gumperz (1982), Giles (1979(b)), Giles and Powersland (1975), Giles, Scherer and Taylor (1979), Giles and Saint-Jacques (ed.) (1979), Brook (1963:26) and Macaulay (1977:68). On phonetic and phonological markers considered from the point of view of speech production and perception, see Nolan (1983), Taver and Trudgill (1979) and Iadefoged (1975).

³⁰⁹ References in Ryan, op. cit.

³¹⁰ For further discussion on this topic, refer to Sankoff (1978), Gumperz (1971), Fasold and Shuy (1975), Genesee and Bourmis (1988), Macaulay (1977) Garcia (1988) and Mueller (1986).

The *self-monitoring factor* is propounded by Siegman (1977) as a further underlying element which might influence language choice. According to Siegman³¹¹ (1977), we encode our speech in order to monitor our interlocutor's behaviour. And in order to safe-guard the impression we give to others, we sometimes monitor our own speech.

The relative status of the speaker and the addressee profoundly affects language choice³¹². Beeman (1976) discusses the influence of the status and language choice in Iranian society and finds that lower-status people use lexical terms which imply increased status for the interlocutor, or lower status for himself/herself or both.

Traditionally in Spanish between equals, individuals use a pronominal address form (such as 'usted') and receive the same form ('usted'). In this case, the pronominal address is reciprocal. But in situations of subordination, be it due to persons of different age, parent-child relationship, social class difference or unequal socio-economic status, the superior-inferior relationship can be conveyed through the non-reciprocal use of pronouns³¹³, (the subordinate individual may use the 'usted' form, but the superior individual might not reciprocate and might employ the pronoun 'tu')³¹⁴.

"Breaking the norms of power generally has the meaning that a speaker regards an addressee as his inferior, superior or, equal, although by usual criteria, and according to the speaker's own customary usage, the addressee is not what the pronoun implies."
(Brown and Gilman 1960:277)

The rules of address in the U.S.A. studied by Ervin-Tripp (1979) show that depending on the speaker's relationships and norms within the particular environment different norms of address rule. For example, it was found that criteria such as intimacy, sex, race, culture, age as well as social status also have decisive bearing in choosing one particular form of address over another³¹⁵.

³¹¹Cited in Giles (1979(b):10).

³¹²For more information on this interlink see Goody (1978), Rintell (1990) and Ervin-Tripp (1979).

³¹³On this subject see Paulston's (1974, cited in Fasold 1990:21) study of Swedish address forms whose findings indicated distinct differences in usage according to social classes.

³¹⁴For further information on the 'tu' and 'usted' as symmetrical and asymmetrical address forms, see Sole (1978).

³¹⁵For further reading on the subject see Lambert (1967), Lambert and Tucker (1976) and for an example of address forms in the 'Gitano' communities in Spain see Mulcahy (1979).

However, the correlation between an inferior and a superior position and an unreciprocal use of pronouns of address is not as strong as it could have been in the past. (Brown and Gilman, 1960). De Miguel (1991:99) also reports that in Spain the use of 'usted' (formal 'you') is on the decrease as the informal 'tu' "facilita mucho las relaciones sociales".

There is also evidence presented by Siegman (1977) which suggests that when an interviewer has a higher status or (s)he is perceived as a reserved person, the interviewee's speech behaviour contains considerably more silent pauses than when the interviewer is perceived as warm towards him/her or belonging to the same social status. The reason may lie in what Giles (1973:88) noted, the more formal a social or verbal setting is, the greater the pressure is for the speaker to adopt the prestige variety.

Giles (1980) argues that the choice of one particular variety may be influenced by the occurrence of what he terms *speech convergence* (*modelling, speech accommodation* and *response matching* have also been provided as synonyms)³¹⁶; that is, when a speaker models his/her speech according to his/her interlocutor to obtain social approval. Giles (1980:27) regards this as "an unconscious reflection of speakers' needs for social integration with one another". Earlier he proposed a different explanation. Rather than involving social integration as the incentive for speech change, Giles (1973:90) postulates that this takes place in order to gain social approval.

Such speech convergence could also be interpreted in terms of *empathy* and *trust*. Most of us will have the experience, at some point in life, of trying almost unconsciously to sound less or more standard depending on the interlocutor/s' speech to make the other person feel more comfortable with our company, to show empathy, to facilitate and encourage mutual trust³¹⁷. As Bernstein and Henderson (1972(b)) maintain,

"interactions between different segments of the population are likely to benefit from the existence of a common language because of our general inclination to trust more readily those who speak the same language as we do"

(Bernstein and Henderson 1972:197)

³¹⁶Speech convergence or speech accommodation is defined as a shift in language towards the interlocutor's speech style. For further information see Dillon (1980), Giles (1980) and Giles and Smith (1979).

³¹⁷For further reading on this topic see Halliday (1968).

And Fischer (1964) notes that,

"people adopt a variant primarily not because it is easier to pronounce /.../ or because it facilitates some important distinction in denotational meaning, but because it expresses how they feel about their relative status versus other conversants."

(Fischer 1964:486)

We could therefore conclude that, in many cases, the way someone speaks can affect the manner in which someone else responds. Response matching has also been noted in a number of ways, including how long someone speaks, the length of the pauses, speech rate and voice loudness³¹⁸. This process of modelling one's speech to the other's is also termed 'speech convergence'³¹⁹ and the contrary, known as 'speech divergence'³²⁰ may also occur when a person modifies his/her speech to differentiate it from that of his/her interlocutor.

Most of us modify our speech towards a shared variety when speaking to someone with whom we empathise and on the contrary, we tend to emphasise the differences in our speech when we try to highlight the gap between the interlocutor and ourselves.

Giles (1980) focuses upon one option in the process of accent response matching, (also known as 'accent mobility'³²¹), that is, the upward convergence. According to the author, this may bring three different rewards to the speaker who upgrades his/her accent. These are: (1) increase in perceived status, (2) increase in perceived favourability of personality, and (3) increase in the perceived quality and persuasiveness of the content of the message, (Giles 1980:30). These three rewards in social interaction were tested through the 'matched-guise' technique, which consisted of playing recordings of one male speaker with different accents, reading the same emotional-neutral passage, to listeners who were asked to rate these voices on certain factors, including the status of the speaker³²².

The findings yielded some expected results, such that R.P. was rated the most prestige accent, while certain foreign accents (French, German) had higher social standing

³¹⁸Based on Giles (1980:27). For a further discussion on the extralinguistic voice features involve in communication see Laver and Trudgill (1979:7-10).

³¹⁹For an exploration of the acquisition of language and the learners convergence to the ethnic identity which goes with the language, see Eastman (1984).

³²⁰Speech divergence is defined as a shift in language away from the interlocutor's speech style.

³²¹Accent mobility is defined as the ability of an individual to modify his/her accent or pronunciation. For a full discussion on upwards/downwards accent convergence and upwards and downwards accent divergence see Giles (1973:87-103).

³²²For further information see Ervin-Tripp (1977).

than British regional ones. It also emerged that subjects rated their own regional variety more favourably than listeners from other regions. This bias decreased with age but was more pronounced if the listener was working class and male. It was also revealed that R.P. speakers were seen more favourably in terms of competence (ambition, intelligence, determination) but were viewed less favourably in terms of their personal integrity and social attractiveness. Giles (1980:31) saw in these results an explanation to account for the persistence of regional accents and of their vitality³²³.

We normally assume that most speakers have in their repertoire several speech styles which they can use as circumstances dictates. However, some linguists claim that some speakers do not possess more than one speech style.

"Though most people can both standardize and broaden their most usual way of speaking (ie, their idiolect) at least slightly, it is also true that some people are practically immobile in this respect due to the limitation of their vocal environment (for example, ghetto children); but, perhaps even more so, public school children."
(Giles 1980:29)

An example of such a speech community are the speakers of non-standard black English in urban ghettos in North-America. The *deficit theory*, (Halliday 1978:24) and the concept of *verbal deprivation* have been proposed as reasons for this lack³²⁴. However this argument, the deficit theory and notion of verbal deficiency, is rejected by Labov (1969) who speculates that black children in these ghettos receive a great deal of verbal stimulation and possess the same verbal capacity as other children from more privileged backgrounds.

The reasons behind the use of non-standard black English are clarified by Labov (1969:1-22; 26-31) in terms of the powerful influence of the peer group and loyalty to group membership³²⁵. Thus, this language choice should be interpreted as a way of group integration and membership rather than being interpreted in terms of the lack or deficit of a set of speech styles or registers. Many other non-prestige groups everywhere perceive their language as a powerful symbol of group identity. We

³²³Levin (1981) explore these circumstances with respect to the choice of Latinate words in formal environments and Bell (1982) studied the change in speech style by radio newscasters depending upon who they think is listening.

³²⁴Carroll (1961:340) pointed out arguing that "Since family patterns of behaviours vary to a considerable extent with socio-economic status /.../ language development is faster in the upper socio-economic levels". For further reading on the deficit theory and the difference theory see Halliday (1968).

³²⁵Labov interprets the power of the peer group in terms of their ability to pressurize a speaker into eliminating any deviations from the particular speech pattern of the group, (Labov 1971:100).

could quote examples as divergent as Galician in Spain, Black American in the U.S.A., or Canadian-French in Quebec. Milroy (1989:20) found in fact that the heaviest users of non-standard varieties are normally the members of closed networks.

As linguists we assume that when speakers lack linguistic stimulus their linguistic competence inevitably becomes disadvantaged. The more quality stimulus we present a young speaker, the more probable it is that his/her linguistic abilities will develop. However, it has also been pointed out that a speaker's sex (as discussed in Chapter 5) and even personality³²⁶ might have a fundamental influence upon their speech competence³²⁷.

As to the survival of languages like Galician, we find that with the arrival of democracy in Spain, and the revitalization of nationalism and national identity, not only have regional languages been officially accepted, it has also meant that they are now revived and a certain degree of social prestige associated with their use has been restored. The social prestige input is stronger in some regional languages than others, as we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4. The element of non-prestige associated with these languages has diminished and they now largely share official status with Spanish in the different regions concerned.

The experience of subordination, the difference in power between the speaker and the interlocutor, and the linguistic adaptability of language to this experience are a phenomenon which English, French, Spanish, Italian, German among many other languages share as a common ground.

The above discussion sheds some light regarding why non-standard varieties persist but how they do so, particularly over a long period of time is not so apparent and it has not been widely studied, although Milroy (1989) offers the following line of reasoning. The maintenance of social networks is the key element in explaining how low status varieties continue to exist in society despite all expectations and pressures³²⁸. The reasons underlying the complex task of communicating with

³²⁶It has been noted that introverts find learning a second language a much harder task than extroverts, thus the personality of the speaker seems, at least in second language learning, to have a great bearing in language competence.

³²⁷The final factor comprises questions of extreme convergence. It has been reported (Hudson 1980:10) that in a complex Amazonian society there is a rule that if you listen to somebody you greatly respect, then you should repeat everything he says, word by word, at least for the first few minutes. And in extreme cases of language convergence, (labelled 'mimetismo') has been perceived by the male exploratory interviewee of my research in speakers such as his wife who speaking Spanish she quickly and unconsciously acquires her interlocutor's Spanish regional accent so much so that a listener is capable of guessing where her interlocutor is from, Fermín Zelada (pers. comm.).

³²⁸For further study see Edwards (1979), Ryan (1979) and Giles and Smith (1979).

others are sometimes obscure and riddled with interwoven purposes. Language choice in terms of the variety or style chosen by a speaker bears, on many occasions, some of the elements illustrated in this section³²⁹.

6.4 Sociolinguistic variation

In the following sections, I review the sociolinguistic methodology and those concepts which have some bearing on my research work.

Language variation in speech is affected by a wide range of factors. Chief amongst these are age, gender, occupation, social aspirations, interests, race, education, religion, linguistic environment, feminist convictions/alliance, geographical origin, income, political orientation, place of residence, I.Q., bilingualism, attitudes and social class. Regularly a new determinant of speech behaviour is brought to light through new sociolinguistic research, (see Goffman 1990 on the subject).

I should highlight at this point that linguistic choice is very often an unconscious behaviour and that the discrepancies between actual speech behaviour and the speaker's opinion about his/her actual behaviour may be surprisingly large.

Gumperz (1979:207) provides us with an example of this in his study of residents of a Norwegian community who speak both a dialect and standard Norwegian. The standard variety is used primarily for formal situations and in casual meetings the dialect is preferred. During a number of informal gatherings two of the three groups taking part used their dialect to discuss several topics of conversation but the third group, formed by university students, switched spontaneously to standard Norwegian when the topics of politics entered the conversation. Speakers of this latter group claimed subsequently to have used their dialect throughout the entire conversation. They had not realized that a serious topic, such as politics, had led them to shift into a different language choice. The reason behind this phenomenon is a very complex one and is not the main concern here but what these examples illustrate is that language shift shows the existence of compelling patterns of behaviour in our speech which are not fully realized by speakers. Therefore, when I refer to *language choice* it should be generally interpreted as 'generally unconscious language choice'.

³²⁹For further reading on this topic, see Ma and Herasimchuk (1972:268-295) specifically on speech styles in Puerto Rican bilingual speakers.

Although a large number of social factors affect variability as we saw at the beginning of this section, I shall only analyze those which I have employed directly or indirectly in my own research project.

Age

Age³³⁰ is a decisive factor in determining how we speak. Speech cues which are determined by the age of the speaker are labelled 'age markers'. Like any other marker, they can be reflected in semantics, syntax, phonology and through many other extra-linguistic features.

Our speech is influenced, although not entirely determined, by our parents' speech, then by our peers and people with whom we come into contact and later by people we envisage as our models. It seems that from the linguistic point of view, the peer group exerts the most powerful influence, more so than the family, from the age of nine or ten years of age. Many markers, associated with one particular stage in one's life, may cease occurring once one reaches a certain age. Helfrich (1979:64) exemplifies this point by stating that the use of a specific vocabulary during adolescence will not stay throughout a person's life. Indeed, we can often guess a person's age by the slang they use.

Studies such as Ervin-Tripp's (1978) have made some very fruitful findings on the specific changes in children's conversational abilities in early childhood, which in turn may serve to alter how their interlocutors perceive their abilities to understand. And Weeks (1971) found that children learn to use a number of different speech styles as soon as they begin to speak. She found that high pitch and exaggerated intonation occurred at a very early age and in one case at one year and seven months³³¹.

Even very young children seem to be capable of taking into account the requirements and special conditions of the listener or interlocutor. It was found that children produced fewer, more simple and shorter sentences when they spoke to two year olds than when they spoke to adults, (Shatz and Gelman, 1973). With regard to older children, Hahn (1948) and Houston (1969) found that children as young as six

³³⁰Age in sociolinguistic terms as a determinant in language is further studied by Piche (1978), Labov (1989) and Fisher (1971). See Labov (1969) for a full discussion on the influence of peer groups in non-standard English. For a view of the relationship between age and membership to peer groups, see Wilmott (1966) and Labov (1969).

³³¹Cited in Helfrich (1979:89).

and eleven years of age used a more simplified syntax and shorter utterances when they spoke to teachers and other adult speakers than when they spoke to other children. This may be due to their fear to fail linguistically when speaking to adults. This interpretation is supported by the fact that children when speaking to adults tend to use hypercorrection in phonology, (Houston 1969)³³².

Younger speakers are generally considered to be the generators of innovation in language and older ones to be conservative. Also, the pronunciation of young speakers, particularly in some countries of Europe, has been characterized by a marked departure from standard forms. George's (1986) findings reflect that young French speakers avoid standard forms in their speech in a large number of situations. And with respect to the vocabulary employed by young French speakers, also known as 'branché', this has even permeated into the adult's lexical fields, (a phenomenon similar to what is occurring in Spain). The interpretation of why young speakers need a separate vocabulary is provided by De Pietro and Del Coso-Calame (1983) in that adolescents' use of neologisms is a marker signalling social distance, (cited in Villarroel López 1992: 89-92)³³³.

This view is shared by Lázaro Carreter whose impression, partly at least, is that while "No puede negarse la evidencia de que el habla de los jóvenes /.../ contrasta con la de los mayores", (Lázaro Carreter 1981). Other groups of young Spanish speakers present very standard features in their speech which contrasts with the most wide current tendency by young people to use less prestigious forms of Spanish, (see Chapters 4 and 10 for a detailed discussion on this subject).

Studies on older speakers are less profuse. Labov (1979) proclaims the age of 23 to be a milestone in linguistic adaptability. As he claims,

"After the age of about 23 /.../ the ability to control the production of sociolinguistic variables is restricted to some reduction in frequency in formal contexts (including situations where persons from different classes or from outside the local groups are present) if the variables are stigmatised, and some increase in frequency if they are prestigious."

(Labov 1979:303)

³³²Based on Helfrich, op. cit., p. 90-1.

³³³Further evidence with respect to the use of vocabulary by young Spanish speakers is analyzed by García Hoz (1977). For further sociolinguistic research into the language of young speakers see García Alcañiz and Yela (1980) and Richardson, et al (1987). References cited in Villarroel López (1992).

Blake and Mouton (1961) suggest that older people tend to conform less to interviewer's opinions than younger speakers. It seems that they take the listener less into account and they are less likely to adjust their speech to the interlocutor's speech style which may count as a valid explanation for results found in my experimental study of two exploratory interviewees. Labov (1979) offers the following explanation for the above³³⁴,

"old men often show a narrow range in that their motivation for style shifting disappears along with their concern for power relationships."
(Labov 1979:19)

Also, verbal production is affected not only by the age of the speaker but by the age of interlocutor or listener in some cases. The best known example is 'baby-talk', which is the language adults use when talking to young children³³⁵. The particularities of baby-talk may include changes in semantic, phonetics, morphology, syntactic and paralinguistic features in the adult's speech.

Although examples of baby-talk have been found in a large number of cultures there is no agreement as to the universality of its specific forms. However, it has been observed that high pitch, reduplication, diminutive pet forms and the replacements of personal pronouns by names (see Ruke-Dravina, 1976) seem to exist universally. Some of these changes, such as a higher pitch in the adult's voice may be signalling affection by making the adult's voice more similar to that of the child, Helfrich (1979:94)³³⁶. This 'vocal empathy' has also been observed by Crystal (1975) who found that infants adjust their pitch according to their parents.

Summing up the reviewed evidence, it is apparent that older speakers seem to be more loyal to the traditional linguistic behaviour. Younger speakers seem to be more prone to accept new uses which very often have strong associations with the vernacular.

Linguistic environment or context

The general term 'linguistic environment' which plays an essential role in determining language variability, refers to the context, situation, interlocutors and

³³⁴Cited in Helfrich (1979:92).

³³⁵For further reading on the effect of the listener's age on the language of a child, see James (1980) and for a study of age as a socio-phonetic variable see Lázaro Carreter (1981(b)).

³³⁶Some have argued that adults change to higher pitches in order to emulate the mother's voice.

their listeners' expectations which cause our language to become substantially modified³³⁷, even beyond recognition. An English school child may ask a friend 'Wassa time, then?', but when asking the same question to his teacher could ask 'Excuse me sir, may I have the correct time please?', (Giles 1980). Likewise, Littlewood (1981) presents data which shows how one speaker can express the same meaning in a variety of ways depending on the social situation³³⁸.

The terms 'linguistic context' or 'environment' are sometimes used to refer to the specific linguistic environment or context in which a variable or variant occurs. Laver and Trudgill (1979:21) exemplified this phenomenon by pointing out that postvocalic /r/ in the speech forms where it constitutes a linguistic variable is more likely after some vowels than after others. In the English spoken in Reading, /r/ is more likely to be pronounced in 'bird', or 'fur' than in 'beer' or 'far'.

Socio-economic status

I shall review in this section the ample area of factors involved in determining the socio-economic status of speakers, such as occupation, education, social aspirations, and social awareness from the perspective of sociolinguistic research.

The insertion of individuals into one particular social class has presented numerous difficulties for sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists and linguists alike. Widespread disagreement exists among those involved in this task with respect to what elements should be taken into account when determining social classes.

Different methods are being used but occupation seems to be chosen by a large number of researchers as the main source of information, as it is relatively easily obtainable. As Macaulay (1977:57) declares "occupation is generally regarded as the best single indicator of social class".

And when informants are too young to be expected to have a job, then their parents' or often their fathers' professions are substituted for their own. Millá Lozano (1992) considers three different factors in determining the social status of a school goer. First the profession of the student's father, second the level of education of both

³³⁷For further readings on this subject, see James (1980) and Giles (1980), Labov (1966), Giles (1973), Bates (1976).

³³⁸Other studies on the relevance of this factor in language choice is explored by Grobssmith (1979) among Lakota Indians who use five styles and three types of non-standard English and Kalivoda (1978) in Spanish. For further references see Milroy (1984).

parents and third the type of school the child attends (public, private or 'ikastola' (monolingual Basque school))³³⁹.

It is perceived by some, that asking an informant about his/her occupation is not potentially as embarrassing or awkward a question as asking them about their income or social class.

Within occupation the most frequent distinction made is between non-manual professions and manual ones, which is the most used social class differentiation in modern industrial societies, (Macaulay 1977:57).

Labov includes occupation, education and income into one single variable or category which he labels "socio-economic status". Some Spanish sociolinguists underestimate the sociolinguistic weight of occupation and consider it as simple 'complementario', (Martínez Martín (1983: 41), cited in González Ferrero (1991)). This clearly should not be so, as occupation has produced a multitude of different language varieties, known as 'argots'.

In some societies social class is probably one of the most linguistically influential element in speech³⁴⁰. Carroll (1961) made the following claim in 1961:

"Since family patterns of behavior vary to a considerable extent with socio-economic status /.../ language development is faster in the upper socio-economic levels."
(Carroll 1961:340)

In Britain social class has been traditionally more decisive than education. According to Bernstein (1971),

"The class structure influences work and educational roles and brings families into a special relationship with each other and deeply penetrates the structure of life experiences within the family. The class system has deeply marked the distribution of knowledge within society."
(Bernstein 1971:229)

A dramatic departure from Bernstein's assertion has taken place and education has become for many societies in which social class was once the most linguistically

³³⁹Although no explanation is provided as to what evidence has led the investigator to assume this and in which social category the 'ikastola' should be placed. Following the analysis of the results of this study the conclusion was made that children whose fathers are professionals present a higher morpho-syntactic complexity in Spanish than those children whose parents are manual workers.

³⁴⁰Although evidence provided by Etxebarria Aróstegui (1985:282-3) presents evidence which suggests that the socio-economic status of the speaker does not provide different results.

influential factor, more relevant than social status. In Chapter 4 and later on in this chapter I review some evidence from North-America and Spain. In these two countries, education has largely replaced *privilege* as the most linguistically influential variable, although social status remains a forcible factor.

If group membership and network loyalty are the main topic of discussion relating to the working class, hypercorrection by the lower-middle class is a well studied phenomenon dealt with by Labov (1971(a), 1979) and Owen and Baker (1984) in the United States³⁴¹. Labov (1966) also found evidence to suggest that there is a general tendency for people to aspire to the speech characteristics of the social group immediately above them.

Sociolinguistic research is very ample in this regard. Lindzey, et al (1978) point out that infants from upper and middle classes start speaking earlier than working class children. And children from middle class backgrounds showed a greater emphasis on lexical differentiation and scored higher in the usage of nouns and adjectives than working-class children. This was interpreted as a measure of linguistic flexibility. (Brandis and Henderson (1972)³⁴².

The literature review reveals that different classes place a different emphasis on various functions of language. Bernstein and Henderson's (1972) study of language in terms of inter-person relationships and the acquisition of basic skills among 100 mothers who lived in a middle class area and 192 mothers who live in a working class area revealed that middle class mothers place a much greater emphasis on the use of language in the personal area (for example at expressing feelings and how to solve problems), whereas the working class mothers place a greater emphasis on the use of language in the transmission of basic skills (for example, in teaching their children how to put on their coats and do different tasks for themselves)³⁴³.

Some languages are more capable of transmitting cues as to the social standing of the speaker than others. For example, in Javanese, speakers can indicate the social status between the speaker and the listener through the number of words and through some affixes which the speakers can add to words. Other languages, such as Spanish,

³⁴¹On the linguistic insecurity of the low middle classes see Fasold (1990:93)

³⁴²See Chapter 4 for further discussion on social class and language. Also, see Irvine (1978) on some data on African languages and the speech of middle-class men and refer to Ducan (1991) for some findings on he differences in speech according to social classes in Mexico.

³⁴³For further reading in language characteristics variable according to the social status of the speaker see Pride (1971), Blount and Sanches (1977), Bradis and Henderson (1972), Giddens (1987), Parkin (1987), Wright (1987) and Fasold and Shuy (1975).

have been long reputed to be 'unable' to convey the social class status of the speaker, although this is refuted (see Chapters 4, 9 and 10 for a full discussion).

Thus, there is no great difficulty in finding an array of sociolinguistic research projects in Spain in which the notion of social structure is absent or is methodologically faulty. Some Spanish sociolinguists, clearly having benefited from studying sociolinguistic research work carried out worldwide, do appear to have taken into consideration in their research the complexity of socio-economic elements.

To dispel the notion that the socio-economic variable is not a valid factor in speech variability in Spanish I shall refer to Villarroel López (1992). Although little information is provided on the methodological procedures adopted in order to differentiate the socio-economic status of the informants (education, parents' professions and place of residence are all mentioned in Villarroel López 1992:115), he finds this variable to be decisive in interpreting his results. He finds that informants from upper and middle strata have a higher written competence, richer vocabulary, more complex structures and use more adverbs than speakers from lower strata.

With regard to social aspirations, we saw in Chapter 4 that as the speaker's socio-economic position changes his/her linguistic behaviour may also change. This 'malleability' of language proves a very good indicator of social change best illustrated with the case of the 'horteras', cited in Chapter 4. The 'horteras', were members of the Spanish lower classes who adopted the language of the upper classes in Spain and this is not an isolated occurrence. This phenomenon is normally due not only to speakers' social aspiration but also to socio-economic pressures taking place to conform to the standard pronunciation or standard language. Likewise, as Roberts (1981) explains, empathy with other classes (of higher or lower status than oneself) might be the decisive factor,

"If you admire the language of other speech communities more than you do your own, the reasonable hypothesis is that you are dissatisfied with the community itself. It is not precisely the other speech that attracts you but the people who use the speech."

(Roberts 1981:471)

According to Douglas-Cowie (1978) the strength of the social ambition of a speaker can lead to differential behaviour with respect to production and speech variation. This notion proved pertinent to the results of my interviews.

On social awareness in sociolinguistic terms López Morales (1978)³⁴⁴ presents a study carried out in San Juan, in Puerto Rico in which speakers from different socio-economic groups rate the speech of members of several social classes. It was found that upper-class speakers (university lecturers, psychologists were included in this category) are more capable of distinguishing between sociolects than the lower class (painters, cleaners were selected to represent this group).

Again the methodological procedures employed by Hispanist sociolinguists are not without fault. López Morales (1978) fails to use the 'speech-guise' technique for this, nor does he appear to have selected the ideal representative members of the upper class.

Attitudes

Lambert, et al (1960:44-51) investigated the significance spoken language has for listeners by studying the evaluational reactions to spoken French and English. These reactions are analogous with those reactions prompted by the interaction with those individuals.

The results of this project, carried out in Montreal in the French-English community, unexpectedly showed that English speaking interviewees were more favourably inclined towards members of their own linguistic group and French speaking informants also evaluated English speaking guises more favourably³⁴⁵. In the light of these findings, French speaking informants associated powerful socio-economic positions in the Montreal community with English speakers. Also, these findings can be interpreted as meaning that French perceive English speakers as having more positive personality traits.

Ultimately, the data was interpreted as,

"The general trend of correlations indicates that certain measures of attitude, particularly attitudes toward one's own group, are associated with the favorableness of evaluation reactions to the spoken language"
(Lambert, et al 1960:49)

³⁴⁴Cited in López Morales (1989:207-8).

³⁴⁵For similar research projects on attitudes towards English and Welsh, see Johnson and Giles (1982). For a study of judgements to disadvantaged speech in New York see Edwards (1979). For a study of language attitudes towards English and Spanish by Chicanos, see Romero (1988). For a wider comparative study of Hispanic communities in New York city focusing on their attitudinal behaviour, see García (1988).

I shall end this review by introducing the notion that attitudes towards language are often considered the reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups, (Fasold 1984:148). For example, speakers of the higher-status variety might find the speech of a lower-status speaker unintelligible, although the lower-status speaker might be perfectly capable of understanding the higher-status speech³⁴⁶.

Education

Sociolinguistics and education have entered into a methodological and intellectual dialogue which has changed the views of language and theories of how language is partly determined by education and the formal learning processes.

Education is clearly one of the most intrinsically important factors in a person's language development and it determines to a large extent the speech variety of that person. We know that many students who enter Trinity College, Dublin, Cambridge University and Oxford University will finish their degrees with a specific accent, that is Received Pronunciation or R. P, (see Chapter 4 for a full discussion on the links between education and language). It has been pointed out that even certain universities may develop a specific variety of standard English, such as "Trinity English" believed to be spoken mainly by college lecturers and some part of the student body, (Dr. Francis Nolan, pers. comm.).

From the point of view of the findings in a lexical study of the choice between Spanish and Basque terms by speakers with different education levels in Bilbao by Etxebarria Aróstegui (1985) it was found that there is substantial difference. She concludes that the higher the education of the speaker is the less inclined (s)he will be to use Basque terms. Furthermore, university graduates/university students use more non-standard terms than speakers with primary and secondary education and in fact it is the group composed of university graduates/university students who nevertheless borrow more terms from other foreign languages. These findings will be extremely useful when I analyze further evidence in Chapters 9 and 10.

School³⁴⁷ and university years generally prove determining factors in the makeup of any individual's language. Children arrive in school with a linguistic system which may or may not be the one used and encouraged in the classroom. The

³⁴⁶For further reading in how attitudes towards social status and ethnic configuration can affect linguistic and attitudinal behaviours, see García (1988), Fasold (1984:148-9) and Wolf (1964:440-9).

³⁴⁷Also, the type of school (be it a private school, public or a bilingual school) may be a determining factor in a student's variety, see Millá Lozano (1992).

teacher's expectations can also reinforce a negative or positive value towards the child's language variety. It is probably here when the notion of 'correctness' becomes of highlighted importance for the child if (s)he does not speak the favoured speech variety and (s)he is likely to receive negative feedback on the inacceptability of his/her speech.

On many occasions children are exposed to two very different speech varieties, the non-standard at home and the standard in school. Labov (1970) studied precisely this linguistic pressure and he revealed that those black working-class children who were separated from their peers were precisely the ones who did best at school and the ones who accommodated to the linguistic norms of the school. In the light of Labov's study it seems that in order to do well, black working class children feel the need to distance themselves from their peers, background and from their vernacular speech³⁴⁸.

This same phenomenon was explained by Edwards (1984) in relation to second language acquisition but whose reasoning can be also applied here to the acquisition of another speech variety. Eastman (1984) states,

"as one acquires a second language and begins to use it one acquires the ethnic identity that goes with the language"
(Eastman 1984:256)

Lack of education and the speaker's linguistic environment, on the other hand, can be also decisive determining factors in a person's language variety³⁴⁹. Some linguists have elaborated what is known as the 'deficit theory' which claims that *language failure*, product of educational failure and 'verbal deprivation', are usually associated with the speech variety of the urban lower working class. According to this, this dialect or speech variety is simply defective³⁵⁰.

However, we should not view the speech of any working class group as defective and some linguists propose instead the 'stereotype hypothesis' or the 'difference theory' which resolves itself into a question of prejudice³⁵¹. If a school child's language

³⁴⁸See Roberts (1981) and Bernstein (1986) for further reading into the correlation between education/occupation and social status.

³⁴⁹On the importance of an alternative pattern of interaction in the classrooms to promote a better learning and language development, see Edwards (1982). On the literacy element in language performance, see Akinnaso (1981) and for a detailed discussion of the interplay of language and education see Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz (1990) and Edwards and Giles (1984).

³⁵⁰Based on Halliday (1978:23-33). For further discussion on the deficit theory see Thomson (1977).

³⁵¹For further reading into language and how certain forms of language can routinely repress, dominate and disempower language users see Corson (1991).

variety carries a social stigma, the child is, effectively, condemned to language failure.

Furthermore, there is also the view that a child or an adult from 'education deprived environments' is potentially capable of speaking a more prestigious variety of English, but chooses not to do so as,

"A common speech form transmits much more than words; it transmits a hidden baggage of shared assumptions, a collective consciousness that constitutes the social bond"
(Halliday 1978:26)

Labov (1969) rejects the deficit theory, (discussed in Thomson (1977)), sharing Halliday's (1978) opinion and focuses on the positive aspects:

"Negro children in the urban ghettos receive a great deal of verbal stimulation, hear more well-formed sentences than middle-class children, and participate fully in a highly verbal culture; they have the same basic vocabulary, possess the same capacity for conceptual learning, and use the same logic as anyone else who learns to speak and understand English"
(Labov 1969:1)

The notion of 'verbal deprivation' and the theory of 'cultural deficit' is for Labov (1969:179) "a modern mythology of educational psychology". Equally, Lambelin and Brossard (1980) found that children's language usage shows qualitative differences determined by the situation rather than their socio-cultural background³⁵².

The link between the education of the speaker and his/her social status within society is another topic of sociolinguistic investigation³⁵³ which shall not be developed any further in this chapter. Let us simply conclude by citing Edwards and Giles (1984) who remark that,

"of all the areas to which sociolinguistics study is relevant, education is clearly one of the most intrinsically important. As an institution of the middle class, school is one of the obvious places in which to investigate language and class contact."

(Edwards and Giles 1984:19-20)

³⁵²For further information see Hymes (1964) and Fishman (1972(b),(c), (d)).

³⁵³For a full discussion on the links between social class and education see Macaulay (1977). On the influence of education on speech see Bernstein (1986).

Sociolinguistically speaking, education has attracted a great deal of attention and I believe with the social levelling process it entails will form the basis for many future sociolinguistic investigations.

Gender

Although in Chapter 5 I reviewed the development of men's and women's attitudes towards language and linguistic differences between both sexes, here I shall briefly examine sociolinguistic research which has taken the sex or gender of the speaker as a variable, particularly in recent years. Another aim of this section is to examine some of the most representative studies in this area.

The sociolinguistic evidence points to the fact that the sex or more correctly the gender of the speaker is a major factor in some sociolinguistic variations³⁵⁴. The one major finding is that women in general show a tendency to produce more standard pronunciation and grammatical forms than men. And it is particularly pronunciation that separates men and women rather than grammar or syntax³⁵⁵.

Bernstein and Henderson (1972(a)) found for example that, relative to working class mothers or to working class men or even middle class men, middle class mothers place much more emphasis on the use of language³⁵⁶. Fischer (1964) found that '-ing' (as gerund ending) is regarded as symbolizing female speakers and '-in' as symbolizing males and he argues that the choice between the '-ing' and the '-in' variants appears to be related to sex³⁵⁷, as well as social class, personality and mood of the informants.

It has been repeatedly remarked that women normally speak a more prestigious linguistic variety than their male counterparts. Macaulay (1977) found clear evidence of this and according to his Glasgow studies on pronunciation, women even belonging to the same social class as their husbands tend to speak using a more standard variety³⁵⁸. Even in bilingual environments, women are more likely to use

³⁵⁴There is also ample evidence which suggest no differences between men's and women's speech, see Martínez Martín (1983), Etxebarria Aróstegui (1985:257-263) and Borrego Nieto (1981:255-9).

³⁵⁵The same findings with respect to women in a sociolinguistic project carried out in Panamá are presented by Weinberg (1974) and Cedergen and Sankoff (1974). In Spain the most representative work is by Holmquist (1985, 1987). Further evidence is presented by Dale (1980), Miller (1979), García Iloz (1977) and Villarreal López (1992).

³⁵⁶In Chapter 5 I deal specifically with the issue of gender and language at length. Also, Batstone and Tuomi (1981) deal with the language attitudes towards female voices.

³⁵⁷For further reading on this topic, see Williams (1983) and Chapter 5.

³⁵⁸For sociolinguistic studies on differences in grammatical forms see Bodice (1975), in vocabulary choice and speech style see Head (1977) and Key (1975).

the socially favoured language more often than the less favourable. For example, Solé (1978) studied bilingual Mexican-American college women and reported these women use English more often than bilingual men do. It is argued that they probably perceive more rewards for assimilating to the dominant culture, English-American. When speaking in English, Hartford (1976) reports that Mexican-American women use more standard pronunciations and grammatical forms than men.

Some important findings made in Spain suggest that this is by no means universal. Given the socio-economic and cultural circumstances of contemporary Spain, women may use non-standard varieties in order to convey their determination and changing role within society. More evidence in this respect will be presented in the following chapters.

These have been a small representative sample of a much larger sociolinguistic corpus which study gender and language. I have viewed this variable as part of my sociolinguistic research and results will be provided in subsequent chapters.

Geographical origin

We are all aware to what extent place of birth, where we have been brought up and where we have received most of our education may place an enormous weight in determining our particular language and how we perceive the language of others³⁵⁹. Thus, I have included this variable in my own research project.

Tabouret-Keller and Luckel (1981) explored this determinant in relation to the city-rural area distinction with respect to the use of French and Alsatian in Alsace and in Chapter 3, I highlighted the different perceptions, attitudes and speech Spanish people have in accordance to the place of birth or where they have spent most of their adult life. Chapters 9 and 10 explore this issue further.

Urban nuclei

The complexity of an urban society³⁶⁰, exemplified in the sample of speakers selected from the Escuela Diplomática in Madrid, has very seldom been underestimated in terms of sociolinguistic research. Cities bring together people of a multitude of socio-

³⁵⁹See Cook and Gurr (1981) on the geographical factor as a determinant in linguistic behaviour.

³⁶⁰See Rotaetxe Amusategi (1988), Litxebarría Aróstegui (1985), Milroy (1989), McDavid (1971) and Dittmar and Schlobinski (1988) on this topic.

cultural, economic and linguistic backgrounds, most of whom reciprocally establish communicative contact on a daily basis.

Taking into account the variability and lack of a clear homogeneity within an urban society is a arduous task and when linguists select certain groups and refuse others they are open to criticism and the accusation of 'discrimination' or 'unrepresentative sampling'. In Labov's (1966) study of New Yorkers' speech, Chinese and Chicano speakers were rejected as part of the corpus of speakers. He thus left himself open to severe criticism as to the reason and logic of his selective criteria.

It is only too obvious that certain methodological criteria which are based on the reality, on the complexity and on the heterogeneous conglomeration of urban societies should be taken fully into account by sociolinguists.

I have reviewed the extensive literature on sociolinguistic studies of urban speech communities as diverse as those of New York, Bilbao or Madrid. There are fewer examples of research into rural and semi-rural communities, although the work of Holmquist (1985), Martínez Martín (1983), Labov (1979) and González Zamora (1991) should be highlighted.

The fundamental purpose of this chapter was to clarify the value of non-standard varieties, why they persist, why speakers wish to retain them, what group solidarity entails and its value in terms of its weight in the identification of a group were also explored. Also, the variables used in my investigation were reviewed and their relevance illustrated with a wide range of sociolinguistic research.

The work I have reviewed³⁶¹ in sections 6.3 and 6.4 suggests that language does much more than merely reflect people's speech position within society, it may also reflect many other circumstances in the communicative context and about the identity of the speaker and the listener. In the next chapter I shall first give a few examples of the methodological procedures employed by sociolinguists in their investigations of the above variability, then describe my own procedures.

³⁶¹Some sociolinguistic studies have introduced the topic of race as a factor in speech and attitude differences. Johnson and Buttney studied the hypothesis that 'sounding black' predisposes white listeners to respond more negatively than 'sounding white', regardless of the content. Other research projects with race as one of its underlying determinant in language interaction, perception and performance are McDowell (1982), Labov (1969 and 1972), Guilmet (1981), Brennan and Brennan (1981), Lein and Brenneis (1978), Johnson and Buttney (1982), Smitherman (1984) and Anderson (1983).

CHAPTER 7 Hypotheses

The initial hypotheses formulated in the first stages of my research were drawn up having carried out my own independent observations of natural speech in the space of several years. The review of existing literature posed on occasions contrasting positions to mine and are presented below as points of reference. The questions listed below constituted the starting point of this research and are placed alongside the hypothesis in order to understand how the hypotheses were derived from these initial questions.

The quest to find the answers to my seven questions, and the attempt to verify my hypotheses ultimately became a two-fold function of this research project, exposing in this process gaps in the literature, deep socio-cultural changes in the past few decades and unbridgeable differences between contemporary standard Spanish and traditional accounts.

Question 1: Are geographical variants present in the speech of the upper-class/aristocrats and educated members of Spanish society?

Traditional expectation³⁶² 1: According to the literature available, there should not be present.

Initial hypothesis 1: The speech of most educated/upper class speakers of Spanish is characterized by the presence of some regional phonetic features.

Although, in theory, there should be no disregard for Spanish spoken with whatever regional accent the speaker might have, I initially expected most educated speakers to avoid certain regional features perceived by themselves or by others to be 'non-prestigious' and to still retain others which are largely perceived as posing no social stigma.

Question 2: Who speaks the standard form of Spanish nowadays?

Traditional expectation 2: According to traditional opinions Spanish newsreaders, politicians, the clergy, lecturers and teachers among others should generally produce educated/standard Spanish.

Initial hypothesis 2: Traditional standard Spanish is largely employed by the aristocracy, the upper-class and educated speakers of Spanish.

³⁶²For further information on this topic, see Navarro Tomás (1985), Lorenzo (1980), Lapesa (1991) and Alarcos Llorach (1986).

Question 3: Does standard Spanish correlate with educated Spanish, prestigious Spanish and upper-class Spanish?

Traditional expectation 3: Yes, it should. All the above three terms should coincide in the variety of the Spanish they designate.

Initial hypothesis 3: Standard Spanish generally correlates with prestigious Spanish and educated Spanish.

Question 4: What are the phonetic characteristics of standard Spanish nowadays?

Traditional expectation 4: According to the evidence, they should not be substantially different to what Navarro Tomás (1985) stipulates in his manual of correct pronunciation of Spanish.

Initial hypothesis 4: Contemporary standard Spanish has accepted some non-standard phonetic features but its departure from what has been traditionally regarded as phonetically acceptable as standard is restricted when standard Spanish is elicited in formal environments by overtly educated/upper class speakers of Spanish.

Although certain speakers of Spanish are employing some non-standard phonetic features in public appearances, it was my initial view that those non-standard features would be few and almost absent when the environment is highly formal and not public; that is, when educated speakers of Spanish are not addressing the general public and therefore they would not intentionally or unintentionally wish to linguistically empathize with the general public they are addressing³⁶³.

My initial hypothesis in this area was that the great majority of educated speakers or members of the upper classes would use the phonetic features traditionally regarded as standard, such as the pronunciation of /d/ as [d] in final position, the full phonetic realization of consonant clusters, no vowel assimilations, the use of the past participle particle/ending '-ado' for formal situations (instead of the verb ending reduction '-ao') and the full pronunciation of certain combinations of v+c+v.

Question 5: Is there any socio-phonetic evidence to point to the fact that educated women speak differently from educated men?

Traditional expectation 5: Given the evidence studied and discussed in previous sections of this dissertation, the expectation likely to be drawn is that women

³⁶³Subject extensively discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

normally speak differently from men, normally a more conservative/prestigious variety of Spanish.

Initial hypothesis 5: Educated Spanish women normally produce a more standardized variety of Spanish than their male counterparts. This is particularly so, when female speakers are from the upper/upper-middle class strata or when their education is considered as privileged.

Question 6: Are young educated/upper-class speakers of Spanish more frequent users of non-standard phonetic features than older educated/upper-class speakers of Spanish?

Traditional expectation 6: The expectation would be that their language contains a larger amount of non-standard features.

Hypothesis 6: Young speakers of Spanish present in their speech more non-standard phonetic features than older speakers due to the fact that their speech has followed the general linguistic trend in Spain to sound more 'down-to-earth' and the general trend to regard language rules with greater 'permissibility'.

Question 7: Is Spanish pronunciation capable of conveying socio-economic and cultural differences?

Traditional expectation 7: The traditional view in the literature generally grants Spanish a different status to that of other languages such as English or Japanese. Spanish is largely perceived to convey socio-cultural differences through vocabulary.

Initial hypothesis 7: Contemporary Spanish is capable of conveying the socio-economic and cultural background of a speaker through pronunciation.

Initially, all these questions were put to Spanish linguists (Camilo José Cela and Rafael Lapesa) and to the Spanish sociologist, Amando de Miguel. Simultaneously, I devised and carried out my own experiment. The undeniable value of including different methodological procedures in one single investigation and the care in the preliminaries to a formal interview became of paramount importance in order to produce reliable data. These and a more detailed description of my methodological criteria will be the subject of Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 8 Methodological criteria

8.1 Methodological procedures in sociolinguistics

We can safely say that there are as many methods to collect data as there are linguistic phenomena. Possibly the best known and most influential sociolinguist in the past and present has been William Labov. Although some reservations and criticisms have been directed at some of Labov's procedures and methods³⁶⁴, their extensive use have been proof of his valuable work. The Labovian methodology has found adepts everywhere and his methods seem to be able to fascinate successive generations of researchers in sociolinguistics. Therefore, no sociolinguistics project and certainly, no socio-phonetic research could be complete without some reference to his work.

Labov (1979:180-1) highlighted the importance -as far as the study of spoken language is concerned- of good *recordings* in order to obtain good and reliable data which represents a good sample of natural speech. In order to do so, five methodological 'axioms' should be present at all times.

Style shifting: Some speakers show more than just one speech style and so, they may change their speech style when their social context or topic changes. *Attention :* speech styles can be ranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech, (Labov 1979:180-1), and hence some speakers exert different degrees of attention or self-monitoring of their own speech. *The vernacular:* not all styles are of equal interest to sociolinguists. The vernacular is the speech style in which minimum attention is paid to the self-monitoring of one's own speech. And as Labov (1979:181) points out, "Observation of the vernacular gives us the most systematic data". *Formality:* in any given interview, no matter how informal or well structured it may be, we should assume that there is some degree of formality which prevents the informant from showing a more casual speech, another style which (s)he is not using during the recording. And finally, *Good data:* according to Labov (1979:181) individual and tape-recorded interviews provide the most valuable data.

The shortcomings presented by recordings, also known as the 'Observer's paradox' (that is, the aim of the linguist is to study how people speak when they are not

³⁶⁴See Williams (1983), Marcellesi and Gardin (1979:185-6) and Hudson (1981:179).

observed, but one cannot obtain the appropriate data except through systematic observation) could be solved through supplementing the formal interview with other data or change the structure of the interview in some way. The failure to do so would present data which only reflects the most formal end of the speech spectrum. I shall have more to say about interviews as a method to collect linguistic data later in this chapter relating it to my own research work; here I simply want to consider some of the notions generally presented as a way to diminish the negative constraints of the interview in order to collect natural language.

One way of doing so, which Labov (1979:182) suggests, is by recording during intervals when the informant assumes (s)he is not being interviewed. He likewise suggests we should involve the subject of our research in some questions and topics which,

"recreate strong emotions felt in the past, or involve him in other contexts. One of the most successful /.../ is the 'danger of death'"

(Labov 1979:182)

Although I partly agree with the above, many flaws in his methodology to gain access to natural or the vernacular speech are found and discussed later in this chapter.

The avoidance of any interference by the observer is at the core of all sociolinguistic research methodology in order to achieve natural data. For this Labov (1966) presented another pioneering device. In his study of young peer group members in Harlem a number of methodological procedures were taken. The field worker lived in the area, the staff carrying out the study maintained daily contact with the speakers, some recordings were made while the group was engaged in spontaneous interaction. Elicitation procedures in this research were obviously painstakingly planned.

Rapid and anonymous interviews are also suggested. Devices which he employed in his survey of the New York City Community, in which Labov (1966) carried out anonymous interviews with employees of three large stores. Some question as to where some item was displayed provoked the same answer ('fourth floor') which produced the desired phonetic realization (post-vocalic /r/) by different speakers. Subjects did not know at any time the recording was taking place.

Unsystematic observations have also been suggested by Labov (1979:183) and Gumperz (1979), in which the researcher observes the speech of large numbers of people in public places such as trains, buses or ticket queues.

Another device which has proved successful is the use of unstructured recordings of television and radio programs of different types as well as speeches by certain speakers. Perhaps the most well known of this has been Labov (1989). In this study Labov studied the speech, particularly the pronunciation of post-vocalic /r/ in final position as in 'your', of the former President of the United States Jimmy Carter. Labov (1989) found that Carter pronounced all /r/ in final position at the beginning of his public speeches when his concentration was higher, but as he goes on he drops them as his concentration waives, only to pronounce them again at the end of his public speech.

Within the framework of an interview (admittedly more likely to elicit the formal end of the speaker's stylistic range) it is possible to evoke a wide selection of styles by asking the interviewee to read well written texts which focus on vernacular or adolescent themes³⁶⁵. Thus, the following five stylistic levels of speech can be elicited: casual speech, careful speech, reading, word lists and minimal pairs, (Labov 1979:184).

Reading from questionnaires is not the only method to carry out research. Perception tests, in which speakers are asked to listen and differentiate between certain variables are also employed by sociolinguists³⁶⁶.

A number of other tests have been developed in order to study social and linguistic attitudes. *Self-evaluation tests* are employed for this purpose. Gardner and Lambert (1972) employ this method to study students' motivations in learning a second language³⁶⁷ and how this motivation affects their varying degree of success in language learning. Self-evaluating tests are not just written. They can also include recorded data, which interviewees are asked to listen to and then evaluate after listening.

Informants' self assessment and introspection can shed many unexpected and fruitful results and it has come to be an essential part in interview-based

³⁶⁵ How these methodological devices are put into practice in my research work whenever possible and whenever they are applicable is discussed in Chapter 9.

³⁶⁶ See Labov (1979:184-5).

³⁶⁷ For further reading on the topic of sociolinguistics and second language acquisition see Regan (1990).

sociolinguistic investigations³⁶⁸, because as it has been pointed out no one is in a better position to comment on language behaviour than the individual himself/herself. Holmquist (1985) is only too aware of the value of introspection. In his research work, he highlights the valuable 'insight', as he labels it (or introspection) provided by his interviewees. At some point one speaker provides the interviewer with the reason the researcher had been long seeking in order to justify the changing style of speech in the town of Ucieda (Cantabria, Spain).

"Te advierto que muchas costumbres de hablar se han perdido, porque la gente de hoy, pues, sale a trabajar afuera y oyes otra forma de hablar"
(Holmquist 1985:26)

As we shall see in Chapter 9, although introspection may be undeniably valuable, there could also be large discrepancies between how the speaker judges his/her speech behaviour to be and how in fact his/her actual behaviour may be, and so we need some comparative data to establish the full value of this approach.

Many different methodological procedures can also take place in one investigation complementing each other, although the general starting point to most sociolinguistic investigation projects start with some initial inkling and observation by the investigator.

An illustration of the value of such combination is the investigation of 'ay' and 'aw' among the native-speakers of Martha's Vineyard and the newcomers which was the subject of Labov's (1978) study. For this study, firstly, in order to select an easily accessible variable, Labov (1978) conducted studies of undirected natural conversations, charted from unstructured contexts and brief interviews. Secondly, structural methods were conducted. Exploratory interviews were carried out as a preliminary device for the structured interviews. For this, in order to study the frequency and distribution of 'ay' and 'aw', these variables were included in examples in casual speech, emotionally coloured speech, careful speech and reading style.

In addition to the formal interviews, Labov (1978) carried out observations in casual situations (such as in bar, restaurants, stores) in order to supplement the tape-recorded interviews. sixty-nine speakers were selected and these recordings were studied and analyzed in acoustic spectrograms.

³⁶⁸See Saville-Troike (1982:118-34) and Fasold (1990:47-8) for a review of the value of introspection.

The results are largely related to the social and economic influx of outsiders who are buying a large proportion of the island. As Labov (1978) elaborates on the results of his data,

"This gradual transition to dependence on, and outright ownership by summer people has produced reactions varying from a fiercely defensive contempt for outsiders to enthusiastic plans for furthering the tourist economy. A study of the data shows that high centralization of (ay) and (aw) is closely correlated with expressions of strong resistance to the incursions of the summer people."

(Labov 1978:28)

From this emerges that centralization could not be fully understood without the social dimension of what is occurring in the island of Martha's Vineyard. When speakers centralize 'ay' and 'aw' they are probably unconsciously signalling that they are native to the island. The younger generations in the late seventies were marking this phonetic realization³⁶⁹ more strongly than older inhabitants.

The number of subjects sociolinguists deal with varies enormously from study to study. Some feel that the study of one speaker singly (case study) can draw sufficiently significant conclusions. Others embark in an elaborate study of the speech of one small community of a few dozens (such as the one in Cantabria, Holmquist, 1986) while others choose a larger speech community, such as a large sample of speakers from New York, (Labov 1966).

In the study by Fischer (1964) twenty-four respondents were selected. The findings from this investigation are believed to shed some conclusive results as well as explanations as to speech variation. These children from a New England village were selected to study the occurrence of '-in' and '-ing'. It was revealed that all the children studied used both forms to some extent, thus pointing at a case of free-variation. Interviews, tests (making up a story departing from short sentences given by the investigator), formal questionnaires (for older children) and informal interviews were used. The choice of the '-ing' and the '-in' variants appear to be related to sex, class, personality (aggressive/cooperative), mood (tense/relaxed) of the speaker, formality of the conversation and the specific verb spoken. This very complex set of results required a wide range of techniques to collect data from just twenty-four informants.

³⁶⁹For further information on limitations, further details on the data studied and results, see Labov (1978).

The formality of interviews is a factor which Giles (1973) emphasizes as pressurizing the respondent towards a certain speech style. Giles (1973) elucidates,

"the more formal a social or verbal setting there existed for the speaker, the greater the pressure for him to adopt the prestige form"
(Giles 1973:88)

Among the many sociolinguistic elicitation techniques we have reviewed, the recording of naturalistic speech in unobserved settings and the combination of the latter with random sampling were considered to be good experimental designs. Likewise, the use of well structured interviews and questionnaires is seen as a crucial procedure.

Many other sociolinguists share the claim that every stratum of society is involved with shifts in pronunciation which depend on the contextual situation. The language variety of the interviewer might also have a direct influence on the interviewees' speech style.

It is not only context which influences a speaker's accent or pronunciation mobility, but also people involved. That is, a discussion with a third person in an interview setting might have some important bearing on the results of such interview.

After exploring the value of a combination of methods, the following procedures were established: observations of natural speech, recording of newsreaders, review of existing bibliography, exploratory interviews and interviews with informants from Escuela Diplomática of Madrid. Within the interview framework, a number of subsections were carefully devised, such as questions on the identification of the informant, whose full value will be later discussed: reading sections; and finally introspection. In some cases, natural speech among informants and between the informant being interviewed and the interviewer were spontaneously produced. Those have also been included in my investigation.

The socio-phonetic structure of a language³⁷⁰ is certainly a very complex body of variables. Some linguistic features, also known as sociolinguistic variables, and -in the case of the phonetic realizations- phonetic variables (on occasions they are known as phonetic markers) may present a regular distribution over certain socio-economic group/s or may depend on the age group, sex, religion, political beliefs or

³⁷⁰See Chomsky and Halle (1968) for further information on the phonetic structure of the English language; Navarro Tomás (1985), Lapesa (1991) and Alonso (1967) on the Spanish phonetic system.

geographical origin of the speaker. To study this distribution and the factors involved in this distribution is the aim of a large number of sociolinguistic research projects among which I include my own.

8.2 Initial methodological approach

In the following sections, I shall present my own sociolinguistic study of contemporary educated standard Spanish. Since Navarro Tomás (1985, first published in 1926), there has been no thorough review of the phonetic features which characterize educated Spanish. The research I shall present in Chapters 9 and 10 is intended to fill a fraction of that gap and present some indications as to the evolution which the Spanish language has undergone in the last few decades and the present situation of the educated variety.

By implication, the study of the supposed incapacity of the Spanish language to convey social-class differences and/or the level of education speakers transmit through their speech was also the object of my analysis.

The degree of what Camilo José Cela has called '*lenguaje populizado*' is a remarkable phenomenon continuously occurring in the Spanish language and which has found a place in this study. The '*populización*' of the Spanish language consists of the presence of certain phonetic features, until recently confined to the speech of the lower classes, taking a prominent place in the speech of educated speakers. Therefore, the phonetic features which characterize standard Spanish and the changes it has undergone in the last decades and particularly in the last few years shall be discussed in the following two chapters.

Much of what will be discussed later refers to the suitability of research methods to the particular sociolinguistic investigation carried out. The variables, concepts and field methodology involved in my investigation will be discussed at some length, after which the suitability of employing those in my research is believed to be appropriate and legitimate.

8.2.1 Preliminary considerations

The methodology employed in carrying out studies on the phonetic features of standard Spanish at present was a complex consideration from the start. Not only was

this a relatively novel endeavour in Spain but also methodologies based on the main bulk of sociolinguistic work carried out in the English speaking world could not be applied in a sociophonetic study in Spain due to the phonetic particularities of the Spanish language.

It has been noted (Tezanos 1981:105) that there is ample evidence to prove that there are many contrasting features, for example, between the working classes of Britain and America and the French and Italian. Among other differences it would be almost unthinkable for an English aristocrat or monarch to speak using strong regional traits or some features more typical of the lower classes, yet the phenomena do occur in Spain (see Chapter 4).

Very few sociolinguists would consider exhaustively studying the speech of a social group in an English speaking country without reference to the realization of some minimal pairs. In Spanish there is no methodological reason why this should be so. The Spanish language does not comply with the phonological patterns typical of the English language. However some sociolinguists in Spain are conducting research in this mode.

As we have seen, factors such as the education of the speaker have a particular prominence in identifying the social group a speaker belongs to. "In Spain education is by far the most important single objective indicator of socio-economic class", (Williams 1983:178) and adds -making reference to De Miguel (1977:341)- that in 1970, 90% of all university students in the Old Castile region came from the middle or upper classes, thus giving an idea of the close connection between education and socio-economic class. Today the close connection between education and social-class is somehow less conspicuous. However, education is still very much perceived as a decisive factor in gaining a better socio-economic standing.

For reasons of socio-economic perspective and for reasons of comparison, there was a compelling need for me to reach some conclusions on the characteristics and divisions of Spanish social strata. Therefore, an important part in this present research was to analyze the factors or characteristics which might be used to determine a speaker's membership of a particular class.

Several sections in Chapter 4 were dedicated to the analysis of social-class evolution in Spain and the characteristics of the class structure at present. A review of bibliography and several conversations with the Spanish sociologist Amando de Miguel were considered essential in order to correctly identify and classify the

respondents of my research into social classes. People's own opinions on their class membership or relying upon the speaker's profession to draw overall conclusions on their social class are, in my view, overwhelmingly insufficient, particularly given the present situation of Spanish society.

I am aware of various projects in Barcelona for which only one element, such as the profession of the respondent, is taken into account to establish the interviewee's social status³⁷¹. Social-class divisions in Spain are particularly complex not just because it is normally so in whatever speech community we take, but especially as Spanish society has undergone dramatic changes in the last two decades. In no previous time have so many political, social and economic changes taken place in such a short period of time and have affected Spanish society so profoundly.

In Spain at the moment, a number of sociolinguistic projects are being carried out in which the social class element is not even being considered, such as the 1992 study of the speech of Málaga by the Universidad de Málaga.

Also, too much attention is being paid to the models used by Labov and other sociolinguists with very little regard for the specificity of Spanish society today and for the special circumstances and characteristics of the Spanish language. We only need to look at studies carried out on perceptions, self-identification and class-membership among Spanish people to realize the situation here has little in common with English-speaking countries³⁷².

A reciprocal relationship must exist between the development of sociolinguistics, phonetics and sociology which has largely failed to materialize in Spain to date. Equally, experiments performed on speakers must be conducted with a solid base which can only be found in learning, adapting and creating new approaches and methods to be used in fieldwork and to set the foundations of sociolinguistic research work.

A number of Spanish linguists failed to take this initial inquisitive attitude and so fall into treating these, the preliminaries, with less importance than they deserve, sometimes simply copying the methods and devices employed in other languages. Thus, the results and the entire empirical experiment are compromised.

³⁷¹See, for example, Turell (1992).

³⁷²See also Chapter 4.

8.2.2 Methodological approach and its objectives. The value of the interview

Much time and effort was put into establishing the right approach in order to produce reliable data. Labov's (1979) teachings had not been overlooked,

"The elementary steps of locating and contacting informants, and getting them to talk freely in a recorded interview, are formidable problems for students. It is an error for anyone to pass over these questions"
(Labov 1979:180)

It seems, following Labov's methodology, that it is virtually impossible within the limits of an interview to elicit *natural speech* and particularly, to study those variables occurring in casual speech, emotionally coloured speech, careful speech and reading style. On the other hand, we need interviews as they provide us with the necessary high quality recordings and systematic data. However, clearly they paradoxically restrain the wide-ranging speech we want to study.

However, the interview is the best tool we have available and despite its shortcomings³⁷³, it appears to produce some valuable results. As Churchill (1978) remarks,

"If interviewing has such a high risk level, then why not dispense with it altogether? Part of the answer is /.../ that we have no choice."
(Churchill 1978:11)

Labov (1979:181-3) was aware of the constraints that the interview poses in collecting a complete range of speech styles. He proposes different ways of supplementing the formal interview with other data and/or by changing the structure of the interview. However, these devices present some shortcomings if one is to use them for certain groups of informants as I shall explain next.

One of the proposed ways suggested by Labov (1979) is to divert attention of the informant from the speech by inserting various intervals or breaks during which the subject will assume the recording is not taking place. Another way is by involving the informant in an emotionally charged topic (such as danger of death,

³⁷³For a exhaustive study of the flaws and benefits of interviews, see Churchill (1978). Also consult Bolinger (1957) as he reviews some of its inadequacies.

questioning the speaker '*have you ever been in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed?*') which supposedly will make the subject of the interview become less unaware of the interview situation and therefore, a shift of style away from careful speech will be achieved. Likewise, unstructured and candid observation should take place to complement the data from recordings.

As we shall see in the following sections, I was aware of the importance of breaking the constraints of a formal interview in order to collect as wide a range as possible of speech styles. In particular, for the recordings of the interviews with the informants from the Escuela Diplomática of Madrid I employed a number of strategies which presumably would counteract the stilted or contrived effects of the interview.

Firstly, at the beginning of each interview I reassured each informant of total confidentiality and anonymity of their replies, individually interviewing each respondent but at the end of the interview involving the next interviewee (or even a third one) in the conversation if that was possible.

Secondly, assuming a '*foreign-role*'; that is, conveying the students my lack of knowledge of the present linguistic and social situation of Madrid and generally of Spain.

This was particularly useful for Section 3 of my interview (introversion) as it produced a more relaxed flow of the conversation, more eagerness to answer my questions, lengthier replies and gave each informant the impression that their replies constituted almost '*expertise responses*' and that their opinions were held in high esteem. This was mainly achieved by my effort to convey the underlying sentiment that *they knew more I did on the subject*. This was done to avoid what Labov (1979) identifies as the *observer's paradox*; that is,

"the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematically observation."
(Labov 1979:181)

One further consideration as to the possible influence of the interviewer was taken. In Chapter 6 the discussion on the possible influence of the interviewer's presence, age, speech form used was presented at some length³⁷⁴. My age and speech were

³⁷⁴Siegman (1977) presented evidence which suggests that an interviewer who has a higher status than the interviewee's, he/she is likely to shift his/her speech towards the interviewer's speech style. Similar views are also expressed by Pasold (1990:88), Rintell (1981:11) and Labov (1973:88).

very much that of the group of informants'. I used standard Spanish (which some label '*un español madrileño*') which I used at all times.

It is my strong belief that each particular group of informants requires a particular set of methodological considerations which make the employment of some of Labov's above approaches to prevent the constraints of the interview thoroughly impractical.

It was crucial for me to establish an element of trust between the informants and the interviewer. I began to do so by carefully explaining to the director of the Escuela Diplomática the purpose of the interviews, the aims of the recordings and any potential use of them.

From the professional and ethical point of view, I could not violate this trust by pretending I was not recording at certain points during the interview. I could not try to record the vernacular hoping to emerge "in intervals and breaks which are so defined that the subject unconsciously assumes that he is not at that moment being interviewed" (Labov 1979:182) , as it would constitute a failure to carry out the interview in the terms which had been sanctioned by the director of the Escuela Diplomática.

Similarly, I could not claim to be studying another topic to distract the interviewees' attention from the real aim of my research, the mechanism to counterbalance the possible negative results from the informants' knowledge of the real topic of study was to talk about it in vague and abstract terms, speak of the emphasis my research had on the geographical aspects of Spanish, use technical terms, and include in the questionnaire a large number of words or phrases which had no real purpose in the study but to detract the real aim of the research.

Neither could the topic of 'danger of death' being brought up to elicit emotionally coloured speech, the *vernacular*, as it would have made the informants feel uncomfortable with the question itself. Likewise, I have doubts as to the efficiency of eliciting a more vernacular style in these interviews by simply introducing this topic or other emotional topic. I cannot reconcile the fact that a topic, however emotionally coloured it might be, could have produced a considerable shift in the informant's speech style given the set of circumstances and context of the interviews.

In addition, what might be a more frequent experience in one particular culture might not be so in another. For instance, apart from health problems (whose recollection might not generally produce highly emotionally coloured speech) neither myself nor close members of my family (Irish and Spanish) have ever experienced the 'danger of being killed', (Labov 1978:182).

Despite all the devices put into practice geared to counteract the shortcomings of the interview (see above), I hesitate in proclaiming this procedure to be totally successful in consistently producing examples of the *vernacular*, although I regard the results of my interviews to have yielded what I label formal and semi-formal styles. As Labov (1979) himself cautiously explains,

"In the main body of an interview, where information is requested and supplied, we would not expect to find the vernacular used. No matter how casual or friendly the speaker appears to us"

(Labov 1979:181)

In addition, the interviewer, user of standard Spanish, is likely to influence interviewees to produce a high degree of formality/standardization in their speech as is highlighted by Giles (1973):

"a speaker in the presence of a high status interlocutor (defined in terms of social and accent prestige) standardizes both his pronunciation patterns and his lexicogrammatical usage"

(Giles 1973:101)

I also conferred great value to the results from recordings of newsreaders in 1991, 1992 and 1995 even though those unstructured recordings may present only one speech style (i.e. formal).

From my point of view, if non-standard variants occur in the formal speech styles (reading style) in educated speakers, it is in itself significant enough to draw important conclusions on the present situation of standard Spanish.

It has been said that perhaps the most essential factor in recording and interpreting data is to a certain extent the investigator's knowledge of the cultural behaviour guiding the group of informants subject of his/her study. In the light of this view I shall provide at different points my own opinions based on observation on many phenomena presented which need some clarification.

8.2.3 Educated speakers

In section 8.1 and 8.2, we have reviewed the importance of choosing the right methodological approach and adapting it to one's particular set of variables and social group. Another essential aspect which needed much attention was choosing that group of speakers who would consistently reflect in their speech the features of standard Spanish. This proved somehow more difficult than expected as we can see later in this chapter.

Newsreaders from Madrid have been traditionally considered educated speakers or standard users of Spanish. Many linguists (Lázaro Carreter, Rafael Lapesa) and sociologists (Amando de Miguel) consider this particular group as representative of consistent users of standard Spanish. Later, for the exploratory interviews two members of the educated upper-class were chosen, the Spanish Ambassador to Dublin and the daughter of the Marquis of Berriz. For the main bulk of my research, the students of the Escuela Diplomática of Madrid were studied.

A lot of thought was given to finding the right sample of speakers. As González Ferrero (1991:82) citing Cortés Rodríguez (1982:103) declares, a representative sample of sociolinguistic stratification should be "una exacta reproducción en pequeño universo", which does not necessarily mean that there should be a very large number of informants but that the informants selected should be truly representative of the community the investigator wishes to study. Labov (1971(b)) reaffirms such a view by stating that,

"Extremely regular arrays of stylistic and social stratification emerge even when our individual cells contain as few as five speakers and we have no more than five or ten instances of the given variable for each speaker."

(Labov 1971(b):166)

There are indeed very few groups which are mainly and uniformly formed by educated speakers of Spanish; one of those few natural clusters are the diplomatic body and aristocratic circles. Both these groups are mainly formed by upper-middle and upper-class educated speakers of standard or prestigious Spanish³⁷⁵ with few

³⁷⁵The analysis of data from other informants who were also interviewed has been postponed for a later research project. The data of two senior staff members at the Escuela Diplomática who were also interviewed are not included here as no female staff member in the School was available to be interviewed. Also readings by Camilo José Cela, Rafael Lapesa and Antonio Quilis were not taken into consideration for the same reason and will be the subject of independent analysis at a later date.

exceptions and for this reason they were selected to represent the main bulk of my work³⁷⁶.

8.2.4 Profile of the Escuela Diplomática and its students

"La formación de los diplomáticos de España, el fomento de los estudios internacionales, el perfeccionamiento de los funcionarios dedicados a la acción y el cultivo de las disciplinas referentes a las relaciones entre los Estados; he ahí el conjunto de las tareas a las que la Escuela Diplomática se dedica y los objetivos que se proponen."

(*Memoria 1991:7*)

The above are the principal objectives of this school. Founded in 1942, it has produced since then staff members for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Spanish Embassies abroad among other duties.

In 1992, of the fifty-five students³⁷⁷ in the School, only seven were of Spanish nationality. To enter the one-year Academic course, among other requirements, participants must already be university graduates and have to pass an entry examination, at the end of which, they will have to pass further examinations. The variety of subjects which are covered during the year comprise Foreign Service Abroad, the Diplomatic Function, the Consular Function, Spanish Foreign Politics, Spanish Commercial Politics and Economy, Spanish Political Institutions, Spain and other European Communities, International Relations, Contemporary International Relations, Society and Culture, Foreign Languages (English and French, plus an additional foreign language) and Conferences and Seminars. Once they complete this one-year course, they sit a further examination or 'oposiciones' in order to be appointed to some position in the Foreign Office.

To my knowledge, there has not been any publication on the socio-economic background of the students of the Madrid diplomatic school. However it is generally regarded as attracting the élite. The participants generally belong to the upper classes (this being formed by the upper-middle class and the upper class)³⁷⁸.

³⁷⁶Therefore, I consider them a natural cluster which implies a concept of linguistic community as a group of speakers who share a set of variables and norms as to their appropriate use.

³⁷⁷Even though 'participantes' is the preferred term by the institution to refer to the students, for the purpose of this dissertation I shall use the term 'students'.

³⁷⁸The same perception seems to apply in France. Information provided by Dr. Margaret Gibbon (pers. comm.).

Therefore, this perceived natural cluster of members of the upper classes as well as the required educational background of the school's participants was unequivocally the ideal place to carry out my research.

8.2.5 Study of existing bibliography, gaps arising

The existing bibliography on spoken Spanish is, as we have seen in the previous chapters, at best not very extensive. On educated Spanish, the Spanish spoken by the upper-classes or by the aristocracy, to my knowledge there is no contemporary exhaustive study published.

Looking into research published in the past, there are a number of works, some of which I have reviewed in previous chapters, of which I highlighted Navarro Tomás (1985) in Chapter 3. However, this work reviews standard Spanish as it stood in the early part of this century.

Thus, a number of questions arose as to the phonetic characteristics of *contemporary* standard Spanish. The Real Academia Española provides the backdrop for the official position of the Spanish language and therefore, their views were pursued.

Navarro Tomás (1985) provided me with the most thorough study of Spanish variables present in the pronunciation of standard Spanish. And even though this manual was first published in the first half of this century, it still represents the essential reading and course book in Spanish language degrees in many universities in Spain at present.

From the theoretical point of view, the great majority of opinions by Navarro Tomás (1985), as to whether a variable realization is to be considered standard or non-standard (for example, the pronunciation of [ado] and [ao]) are still considered applicable to contemporary Spanish. However, during my review of Navarro Tomás (1985) a number of questions arose as a consequence of the observations I carried out on the speech of newsreaders, politicians, the royal family, bishops, and other traditionally regarded educated speakers of Spanish.

There seemed to have arisen a substantial number of contradictions between what Navarro Tomás (1985) described as standard and non-standard and what I was noticing in contemporary speech. We should bear in mind that 'standard Spanish' is still represented by the Spanish prescribed by the R.A.E. and by linguists such as

Navarro Tomás. Also, the general perception among speakers of Spanish is that certain forms, although spoken by the élite, would still be considered non-standard as they have not been officially accepted by linguists and the R.A.E. A full discussion of these issues will be presented in Chapters 9 and 10.

8.3 Recording of newsreaders on television

8.3.1 Methodology

In the initial stage of my research, I set out to record the evening news being read in the state-run television channel RTV1. RTV1 and RTV2 were until very recently the only two channels available on Spanish television.

Ideally, it would have been helpful to make some independent comparison between contemporary Spanish employed in newscasts and the same variety from earlier news programs in order to identify existing differences and changes to standard Spanish. Since no past recorded television newscasts became available to me (despite several requests to RTVE), I had to rely heavily on secondary accounts on how standard Spanish language was spoken in the past, bearing in mind the limitations that secondary accounts present. For references to earlier pronunciation standards the work of Navarro Tomás (1985³⁷⁹) was largely depended upon, particularly as it gives exhaustive accounts of standard Spanish language as it was spoken in the early part of this century. Also, accounts given by Rafael Lapesa (1963, Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview 1992), Alonso (1967), Lázaro Carreter (1981), Alarcos Llorach (1964) Camilo José Cela (Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview 1992) were considered in order to supplement the information required.

The evening news or 'Telediario' is massively watched and is regarded by many as the BBC news of Spain. The newsreaders have become public figures, sometimes featuring in magazines such as *Hola*, *Semana* and similar publications. However, their star status has not reached the levels found on some news channels in America, such as the newsreaders in CBS.

³⁷⁹According to its publishers (C.S.I.C.), *Manual de pronunciación española* has not been updated or revised since what is considered its first publication in 1926. The changes implemented in its 24th edition in 1990 were only changes regarding its format.

The main bulk of research in this initial phase consisted of unstructured recordings of seven different newsreaders, three men and four women. There were two groups of recordings one from October 1991 until June 1992 with a total of five and a half hours of news, and the second from May to June 1995 with six hours of recording. A total of twenty-three news bulletins which amount to eleven and half hours of recordings.

The purpose of leaving a gap was twofold. Firstly, it was necessary to record as many newsreaders as possible and since new people are assigned to read the news at intervals of one or two years, it was indispensable that we should wait for a change in newsreaders. Secondly, a gap of two years might in theory produce other potential variables and changes to my data.

Ten news bulletins were recorded from October 1991 to January 1992 before devising the exploratory interviews to be used with the Spanish Ambassador to Dublin and the daughter of the Marquis of Berriz in January 1992, and before the interviews in the Escuela Diplomática of Madrid. Subsequently, the remaining news broadcasts were recorded in May and June 1992.

Since June 1992, the news is still normally read by one of the female presenters from 1991 (Newsreader-Female 2) and by one new male newsreader, Ramón Pellicer (referred to as Newsreader-Male 3) whose speech is also standard Spanish, (see Table 8.1).

However, at present the format for news bulletins is much less rigid, as it is now a regular occurrence for just one presenter (male or female) to read the news. At present and already in 1992 the news is generally read by two presenters, one male and one female, always in the same combination: Newsreader-Female 2 and Newsreader-Male 3, and Newsreader-Male 2 and Newsreader-Female 3, and at the weekends, generally Newsreader-Female 4 and Newsreader-Male 1.

In 1991 the news was normally read by one single newsreader. When I first recorded *Telediario*, it was presented by one male newsreader (Josep María Balcells, whom I shall refer to hereafter as Newsreader-Male 1) and occasionally, by two alternating female newsreaders (Rosa María Mateo, referred from now on as Newsreader-Female 1 and Elena Sánchez, referred to as Newsreader-Female 2). The news was normally read by one single newsreader. Later, in June 1992, the format of this programme changed. One of these changes consisted in that in 1992 one male (Matías Prats,

referred as Newsreader-Male 2) and one female presenter (Ana Blanco, hereafter referred to as Newsreader-Female 3) started sharing the task of reading the news.

From May-June 1995 Newsreader-Male 2 and Newsreader Female 3, Newsreader-Male 3 and Newsreader-Female 2 and Newsreader-Male 1 and Newsreader-Female 3 had already formed three regular sets of newscasters.

Table 8.1: Distribution of newsreaders in 1991, 1992 and 1995 based on my data.

Newsreaders 1991

Newsreader-Male 1	Newsreader-Female 1 Newsreader-Female 2 Newsreader-Female 3
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Newsreaders 1992

Newsreader-Male 1 Newsreader-Male 2	Newsreader-Female 1 Newsreader-Female 3
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Newsreader 1995

Newsreader-Male 1 Newsreader-Male 2 Newsreader-Male 3	Newsreader-Female 2 Newsreader-Female 3 Newsreader-Female 4
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The seven presenters appear consistently to sound like users of standard Spanish, although there are some remarkable differences among them. The seven work and live in Madrid and even though we know very little about their background the totality represent, in my view and in the view of native speakers of Spanish queried, the contemporary standard form of Spanish or what is generally perceived as the speech of Madrid. The recordings were initially intended to identify tentatively a number of phonological variables and their variants.

The value of these recordings is highlighted by Labov (1979) in the following way,

"It is also possible to obtain some systematic data from radio and television broadcasts, although here the selection and the stylistic constraints are usually very strong /.../ Conversation programs and speeches at public events can give us a good cross-section of a population, but here the style is even more formal than that we would obtain in a face-to-face interview."

(Labov 1979:183)

8.3.2 Socio-phonetic variables

The task of phonetically mapping speakers' sociolinguistic markers is indeed a complicated one. Each speaker produces language with multiple linguistic phenomena consciously or unconsciously. As Nolan (1983) remarks,

"The percentage of phonetic features which are subject to manipulation by the speaker as sociolinguistic markers, and subject to variation according to his interpretation of the context, is hard to estimate; however it is clear from the work published over the last 15 years in sociolinguistics that such markers are far from being isolated phenomena - at least in urban communities."

(Nolan 1983:67)

The sources of differences between speakers are multiple, but the concern of this section is with the phonetic realizations and the choice of phonetic variants. Having listened to three different newsreaders, a number of variables/variants³⁸⁰ were identified as potentially capable of sociolinguistically marking the speech of Spanish speakers. My observations on the acceptability of certain pronunciations, that is the realization of certain variables and their inclusion in standard or non-standard Spanish, are based on the existing published bibliography, mainly based on the work by Navarro Tomás (1985).

However, the use of some non-standard forms is so widespread that a more up-to-date official view on the inclusion of certain pronunciations in standard Spanish was crucially required at this point in my research. The views of the Real Academia Española were pursued and will be presented in Chapter 9.

Below I shall present the phonetic variables which can potentially mark the speech in Spanish from a socio-economic and cultural perspective. For this, the review of

³⁸⁰For the purpose of this research clear and sporadic mispronunciations of words are not taken into account such as [ayalantamos] instead of 'adelantamos'.

recordings of newsreading was invaluable. All the variables and examples I submit below reflect in its entirety the speech of newsreaders³⁸¹. However, newsreaders do not use all the deviations from the norm which I present in the following classification. The former; that is, the variables present in the speech of newsreaders, will be analysed in Chapter 9 at length.

Variable 1: The realization of /d/ in final position as fricative, as in 'Madrid' or 'Comunidad'. In the past, failure to pronounce this consonant in final position has been identified as an un-educated phonetic trait. The pronunciation of this phoneme as [θ] is considered non-standard even though it is widespread.

Variable 2: The pronunciation of consonant clusters, as in 'impacto' or 'diagnóstico'. Standard Spanish requires the pronunciation of both consonants. The following consonant clusters arose as potentially able to mark somebody's speech from the sociolinguistic perspective; that is, as educated or un-educated³⁸²,

Variable 2.1: [kt] as in 'impacto' or 'espectativa' should be realized fully in standard Spanish³⁸³.

Variable 2.2: [b̪s] as in 'no obstante'.

Variable 2.3: [dm] as in 'administía'.

Variable 2.4: [ns] as in 'instalado', 'transformaciones'.

Variable 2.5: [pt] as in 'acepta', 'imperceptible'.

Variable 2.6: [pθ] as in 'egipcia'.

Variable 2.7: [kt] as in 'estricta', 'dictadura'.

Variable 2.8: [kn] as in 'técnica'.

Variable 2.9: [ðv] as in 'advertido'.

Variable 2.10: [rs] as in 'perspectivas'.

Variable 2.11: [ks]/[gs] represented orthographically by 'x', as in 'extiores', 'exceso'.

Variable 3: Certain *corruptions* of diphthongs. The mispronunciations of the diphthong 'eu', as in 'europea', would constitute a non-standard realization.

³⁸¹This list is, by no means, a complete list of all the phonetic variables capable of potentially marking a speaker as educated or belonging to a particular socio-economic stratum. This list is a reflection of what I was able to perceive in 1991.

³⁸²Note that the list I provide should not be taken as an exhaustive inventory as it is uniquely based on the observations and analysis of the data provided by the recordings described in this section.

³⁸³This same observation will apply to the remaining consonant clusters.

Variable 4: The following were the problematic areas³⁸⁴ of vowel assimilation that might be encountered in standard Spanish:

Variable 4.1: 'ea' may be reduced to [a] as in 'de acuerdo' and 'que ha'.

Variable 4.2: 'ee' could be reduced to [e] in non-standard Spanish as in for example 'de esta'.

Variable 5: The omission of the intervocalic 'r' in the example 'para terminar' plus vowel assimilation can result in this being realized as [pa] which is a non-standard realization.

Variable 6: The use of '-ao' instead of the standard form '-ado', as in 'he estado' is also non-standard.

Table 8.2: Phonetic variables and variants potentially capable of marking the speech of standard and non-standard users of Spanish, (where * mean a non-standard variant).

Variables/phonetic Markers	Variants	Examples
(1) /d/ final position	[d] [ø] ^{385*} [θ]*	Madrid

³⁸⁴I list in this section some other vowel combinations recorded. Even though they were not all generally assimilated by newsreaders they might on occasions constitute possible vowels assimilations for standard speakers of Spanish.

³⁸⁵One possible outcome is no phonetic production, indicated throughout by the linguistic symbol for zero [ø].

(2) Consonant clusters	(2.1) [kt] [t]* (2.2) [bs] [s]* (2.3) [dm] [m]* (2.4) [ns] [s] * (2.5) [pt] [t]* (2.6) [pθ] [θ]* (2.7) [kt] [t]* (2.8) [kn] [n]* (2.9) [dv] [v]* (2.10) [rs] [s]* (2.11) [ks]/[gs] [s]*	impacto obstante admistía instalado acepta egipcia estricta técnica advertido perspectivas exceso
(3) Vowel groups	(3.1) [eu] [eo]* [ou]* [o]* (3.2) [ea] [a]* (3.3) [ee] [e]*	europea de acuerdo he estado
(4) 'r' in intervocalic position	[ara] [aa]* [a]*	para
(5) Ending '-ado'	[ado] [ao]*	estudiado

8.4 Exploratory interviews

8.4.1 Informants

8.4.1.1 Preliminaries to interviews. Initial approach

The preliminaries are normally treated with less attention than deserved and very little information (sometimes merely a few lines and sometimes no information at all) is provided in most sociolinguistic studies about the investigator's first approach with the informants; what they knew about him/her; the conversation prior to the recording; the details of that essential pre-recording of the interview period. I consider them extremely important and therefore much attention was paid to them.

Labov clearly does not underestimate the power and effect of this pre-interview steps. As he highlights,

"'What do you say to people?' This is not a trivial question. The elementary steps of locating and contacting informants, and getting them to talk freely in a recorded interview, are formidable problems for students. It is an error for anyone to pass over these questions"
(Labov 1979:180)

Other educated/upper class speakers of Spanish were also approached to test my methodology but even though there was an initial interest in taking part, once the sections of the interview were discussed in general terms they withdrew their participation.

About two weeks before the definitive survey began, I performed a small pilot study involving two informants, one male and one female (His Excellency the Spanish Ambassador to Ireland, Don Fermín Zelada (hereafter referred as Exploratory Interview-Male (E.I. Male), and the daughter of the Marquis of Berriz, Doña Ysabel Caro y Aznar, (referred to hereafter as Exploratory Interview-Female, E.I. Female). They were both selected as they clearly represent educated speakers of Spanish³⁸⁶. This was done in order to test the interview guidelines, the questionnaire and to ensure the right choice of phonetic variables and variants.

³⁸⁶Doña Ysabel de Caro y Aznar, in the view of her close friend Professor Carmen García of the Universidad de Alcalá, Madrid, represented the epitome of 'toda una gran señora' and Prof. García was kind enough to make the necessary introductions so that I could interview her.

A series of introductions, telephone calls and letters were necessary as preliminaries. When establishing contact with the daughter of the Marquis of Berliz, a mutual friend established the first contact with her in order to find out about her willingness to participate in this interview. Once this was established, I wrote to her to inform her about the purpose of the interview, the length and what the interview would consist of.

It has been advised for interviewers not to convey to the interviewees the objective of the interviews as knowing what one is intending to study might pre-condition their replies or elicit different answers from the informants and it is advisable to give a different purpose to the interview to avoid the interviewee's modification of his/her speech, (see Labov 1979).

In my case, even though I would have wished to benefit from this total lack of awareness from the informants, this could not be done bearing in mind the identity of the informants and the request by them to be informed *precisely* of the purpose of the interview and all the elements of the same.

Even so, I attempted to give away as little as possible and as to the final aim of the interview I was as vague as I could possibly be. They were told in writing that I was studying the Spanish language at present for my doctorate, the influences of regional accents in the Spanish spoken by educated people and that the questions would be about how they pronounced certain words. I also told them briefly about my profession and the importance of my study in my job. Also, they were told that I would be asking them some brief questions about their background.

For my second and subsequent contacts (in order to pinpoint an exact date and time for the interview), I personally telephoned both of them. I felt that speaking to them personally (to the Ambassador's secretary in his case) would take some degree of the awkwardness out of the interview, thus hoping to create a more positive setting in which the interview could take place.

Over the telephone, I was asked once more about the purpose of the interview, for which I used very similar answers as in my letter. I reassured them that their answers would solely be used for my research and that I needed to record the interview as I would not be able to remember all their answers but that the interview could be stopped at whatever point they felt appropriate.

With the daughter of the Marquis of Berriz, our first telephone conversation was very relaxed. We had a mutual friend, she already knew something about me and we conversed about what part of the Basque Country we had both lived.

My attempts to try to put them at ease and my insistence on the nature of the interview and the restricted use of such recording were well founded by the reluctance by one them to answer all my questions while the tape recorder was on.

8.4.1.2 Exploratory informants' background

The daughter of the Marquis of Berriz lives in Madrid even though she originally comes from the Basque Country. She was sent to a private school in Madrid at an early age and she has stayed on living in Madrid with the exception of a short period of time during which she lived in the Basque Country with some of her close relatives.

She lives on her own in an apartment in a fashionable address in Madrid. Her apartment bears all the signs of a noble inhabitant: Prince Felipe's signed photograph, portraits of her ancestors, antique furniture, valuable decorative objects.

She has never held a job outside the home and now in her early fifties has taken on occasional social and charity work. With the exception of summers spent in Paris and in Mallorca, she has never lived outside the Basque Country or Madrid. She meets her friends (most of whom live in Madrid) regularly and family members, mainly her brothers, some of whom move in Royal circles.

The Spanish Ambassador to Ireland was born in Galicia but, like the female respondent was sent to Madrid to study from an early age. He spent his school years mainly in Madrid, but being in the diplomatic corps has spent time in different countries (including the Far East).

His father was a lawyer working in a senior position in a bank in Galicia. He returns to this region during his summer vacations even though he visits Madrid regularly. In his early fifties, he lives with his wife in the Ambassador's official residence in Dublin.

For the exploratory interviews, I purposely sought informants originally from different Autonomous Communities. I began with the notion that, contrary to what

occurs in English, in Spain two educated speakers each from a certain Autonomous Community might speak Spanish with some degree of their regional accent. This reputedly, according to today's views³⁸⁷, does not affect their categorization as educated or standard speakers of Spanish.

8.4.2 Guidelines and questionnaire for interviews

The exploratory interviews were intended mainly to test the questionnaire and procedures of the interview.

Much attention was paid to selecting the most suitable tape-recorder in order to achieve high quality recordings. Different test trials were carried out with several tape-recorders including two dictaphones. The distance of the speaker, background noise, the proportions of the room in which the recording took place and the size of the recording device were all factors taken into account. Although larger devices rendered slightly better sound they were also more intrusive. Smaller devices (dictaphones), which would have been less intrusive, picked a lot of background noise with the speaker's voice becoming almost inaudible at the slight background sound interference, therefore, a medium size tape-recorder was finally selected: a Sony CFD V30.

When trying to select the most relevant and useful variables for this study I drew on a list of variables which had been reported in the past by Navarro Tomás (1985) and which I had noted studying recordings of the speech of seven newscasters. From the variables and phonetic markers listed in Table 8.2, I selected phonetic items which would be frequent and easy to elicit in relatively brief interviews. The following phonetic realizations were the variables selected: /d/ in final position; different examples of vowel groups; realizations of consonant clusters; /m/ in final position, and the realization of '-ado'/'-ao'.

The interviews were to take place in Spanish so I devised the interview solely in Spanish and Spanish was also the language employed throughout all my interviews. The interview was to last approximately twenty minutes.

The decision was taken prior to the interviews that 'usted' would be used as the address pronoun with the two exploratory interviewees, although subsequently after

³⁸⁷For more information in this regard, see nationalistic feelings and political change in Chapter 3.

the invitation by female exploratory interviewee to use 'tu', the 'tu'³⁸⁸ form was finally decided upon.

There are two important and very ample areas which might prevent an informant from consistently producing an overall informal speech style in an interview such as mine, whatever the topic of conversation might be. These two areas are the personal and the situational.

As to the personal constraints, the interviewer might meet the interviewee for the first time just prior to the interview takes place, the interviewee might feel obliged to undertake such an interview (due to the fact that a friend has asked him/her to take part or the rejection to participating in the interview could be interpreted as unwillingness to cooperate in a project a person in their position should). Also, (s)he might still retain doubts in his/her mind about the future use of some of his/her possible compromising answers, (s)he might juggle with the idea that perhaps (s)he should answer the questions in the direction (s)he is expected and not in the way (s)he would if (s)he could be entirely sincere or candid.

The situational constraints might also prove decisive and in many instances could be another factor in the failure to elicit an informal style in the informant. For example, the informant might be pressed for time, (s)he is likely to feel uncomfortable in a new experience, feel intimidated by the tape recorder, the environment, the new person asking him/her questions or even the questions themselves might pose certain difficulty.

Under one or various of the circumstances described above, the topic of conversation, whatever it might be, could make very little difference in eliciting an informal speech style. So I can only claim that in the interview setting I present has yielded the formal and the semi-formal styles. While the perspective I adopt above does not imply any adverse criticism to all traditional interviews, I can reliably claim that those two styles were successfully evoked and thus studied.

I established three parts to the interview: the first part of the interview, labelled 'Identificación' consisted of questions about the informant's background. It was to be an informal conversation about the informant's background and the questions served to bring a certain degree of informality to the situation. This section was written in the actual script for the informant to see it. I aimed for the interviewee to

³⁸⁸Furthermore, De Miguel (1991:99) highlights that tu "facilita mucho las relaciones sociales".

be aware at all times of what the contents of the interview were as I did not wish the interviewee to feel too intimidated by the uncertainty of what was going to be next.

The data produced through this section, I felt, was essential in establishing the main relevant sources of the speakers particular speech characteristics and possible influences in his/her speech.

The written script of the interview was intended to be given to all the informants, but this section was not shown to the exploratory male interviewee as we established an informal conversation on my arrival to the Spanish Embassy and many of the points contained in this first part were already covered when the proper recording took place. I felt it was unnecessary at that point to go over the first section. My questionnaire and tape recorder were at a considerable distance from where we were speaking and therefore, it was not possible for me to start with the procedures I had envisaged without interrupting the flow of the conversation. However, I ensured for subsequent interviews that my first point was the recording of the interview and presenting the interviewee with a copy of the questionnaire.

The first interview was devised to be used with the Spanish Ambassador. Section 1, which consisted of questions to identify the interviewee's background, contained twelve questions, some of which were specifically formulated for him.

The following is Section 1 as it was devised for the Exploratory-Interview-Male:

1. Nombre:
2. Edad:
3. ¿Dónde nació?
4. ¿Dónde se educó?
5. ¿Dónde pasó sus primeros 20 años?
6. ¿Qué estudios hizo?
7. ¿En qué países extranjeros ha vivido? Duración de dichas estancias.
8. ¿Ha pertenecido siempre al Cuerpo Diplomático?
9. ¿Cuál es la profesión de sus padres?
10. Me podía describir su grupo de amigos. Por ejemplo, sus mejores 3 amigos.
11. ¿Qué idiomas habla? ¿Con qué frecuencia?
12. Preguntar sobre su esposa e hijos. ¿De dónde es su esposa?
13. ¿Con quién pasa la mayor parte del días? Preguntar de dónde es esa persona o personas y lo que hacen.

A small number of changes to this list of questions were made before Exploratory Interview Female took place, (see Appendix A). Questions 2, 4, 6, 8, 11 and 12 were eliminated as they were not necessary or as they were intended to be part of other questions already included, some questions were rephrased (question 9) and some questions added (questions 4 and 8 in the list below).

Therefore, the final written format for Section 1 Identificación, employed for Exploratory Interview Female was as follows:

1. ¿Dónde nació?
2. ¿Dónde pasó sus primeros 20 años?
3. ¿En qué países extranjeros ha vivido?
4. ¿En qué zonas de España ha vivido?
5. ¿Qué idiomas habla?
6. La profesión de sus padres
7. ¿Dónde pasa la mayoría de su tiempo?
8. ¿A qué dedica los ratos de ocio, deportes, aficiones?
9. ¿Cuáles son sus actividades diarias?
10. ¿Con quién pasa la mayor parte de su tiempo (al día)?
11. Su familia

From the above questions, number 6 was not asked to the Exploratory Interview Female as I knew that her parents, the Marquis and Marquess of Berriz, were landowners.

However, I asked E.I. Male other questions which at the time of the interview were relevant and some of which I incorporated in the final draft of my questionnaire. The following questions were also asked '¿Dónde se educó?', '¿Qué estudios hizo?', '¿Cuánto tiempo ha pasado en los países extranjeros donde ha vivido?', '¿Ha pertenecido siempre al Cuerpo Diplomático?' and '¿Con qué frecuencia habla los idiomas extranjeros que conoce?'

The second section was labelled. 'Lectura de una lista de palabras, frases y texto' (see Appendix A for the complete questionnaire script). This second section consisted of three subsections which were labelled '*Lista de palabras*' (formed by one or two word units), '*Lista de frases*' (formed by utterances of connected speech), which were the more formal sections of the questionnaire and '*Texto*' which each informant was invited to read. The list of words and phrases included the following:

heroico
bata
juventud
tomar
actor
mandar
un huevo
una zanahoria
cápsula
yo
pata
matad
país
acto humano
baúl
libertad
referéndum
encantado
todo
texto
Madrid
pesetas
ha estudiado
llave
étnico
dato
casa
gasa
aceite
taxi
firmado
allanamiento
real
formado
un hueso

The following phrases were selected:

Actores y actrices lo celebrarán
Todos fueron escalera arriba
No se si puede escribir
Llegará el referéndum muy pronto
Hay un cuarto oscuro al fondo
Llega a adorarlo
Iba a encenderlo todo
En septiembre iremos todos de vacaciones
La juventud de hoy tiene más libertad que antes
Llegaré a Madrid dentro de unos días

Yo que se lo que. El caso es que ella ha llamado tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo

And finally the text was the following:

El día menos pensado, cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos años había sitio suficiente para todos y ahora esto está atiborrado.

-¿Te acuerdas cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos aquellos regalos?
-Sí.
-¿Qué ha pasado con Antonio?
-¿Qué qué ha pasado? Me ha insultado, yo estaba a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin...
-Pues, pues es que no se, pero el caso es que me cogió un taxi y me marché
-¿No me digas?
-Sí. Y lo que es más, no se como ha estado ... como se ha puesto de enfadado conmigo, porque le dije la verdad, no tenía ningún motivo para portarse así.
-Bueno es que el pobre hombre está estos días preocupado porque no sabe muy bien que hacer con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos los días de un lado para otro. Venga con ella al médico o al hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel.
-No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para ser así, mira es que ha estado muy mal conmigo.

All the words, phrases and text were composed by myself. In the list of words I aimed to study the variables in isolation. I also included some words in which no variable relevant to my study was included but which I used as a disguise to prevent the informant from guessing which sounds I was mostly interested in. Also, other variables which I finally decided not to include in my overall study were incorporated in this section of my questionnaire.

The fundamental aim of this second part was to test their reading style in different types of text. They were asked to first read a list of words, short and long phrases of connected speech and one text which reflects informal Spanish. This text was devised by me in which I included the variables I had chosen to study and was written in conversational style. As time was a key factor, the text was brief and only contained a few examples/one example of each variable.

The topic of this short text is a conversation between two people in which one complains about his/her overcrowded apartment and the other about a third person named Antonio with whom (s)he had a confrontation.

As the text was devised by me, I was able to include many of the variants I wanted to study but not all, as too many repetitions of the same variable might have resulted in the respondent guessing which language features I wanted to study. Additionally, the text was designed to be short (188 words) as I needed to maintain the interest of the respondents and I did not want the interview to be excessively long in the formal content (readings).

It was important to establish from the very beginning an informal/colloquial register in the text, so it might elicit a more relaxed and informal reading of the text by the interviewees. The first character in the dialogue establishes very quickly the

register of the text. '*El día menos pensado, cogemos y nos vamos*' serves as a colloquial starting point which is followed two phrases later by '*... y ahora esto está atiborrado*', a colloquial expression which marks the general stylistic nature of the text.

The dialogue is immediately followed by a second character formulating a question, and after a short answer from the first character, the second person introduces in his/her second question a non-standard written past participle form which is normally confined to spoken colloquial Spanish, '*¿Qué ha pasao con Antonio?*'. This past participle is repeated by the next character, '*¿Que qué ha pasao?*', while also adding, '*Me ha insultao ...*'

Thus, the text has acquired a new level of informality. After these three examples of non-standard participle formation expressed in the written form as they sometimes appear in colloquial spoken Spanish, the rest of past participles, adjectives and nouns, which could take the reduced form of '-ado' ('ha estado', 'enfadado', 'preocupado', 'lado') appear in the text in their standard form.

This was done in order to see if the interviewees were inclined to continue using the non-standard forms. That was more likely (although not expected), in my view, if the speakers were used to employing those non-standard forms of Spanish and therefore, they normally constituted part of their colloquial speech and the text exercised sufficient influence in order for the interviewees to feel drawn to use other non-standard forms of words ending in '-ao'.

After the exploratory interviews took place, I maintained the reading sections as I had first conceived them, but I purposely tried to expand the first (identification) and last section (introspection) more, having realized how fruitful they were.

I also incorporated a few more questions to the introspection part and I set out to introduce questions and certain topics of discussion depending on each respondent's answers and views. Alterations made after the female exploratory interview took place were solely made to my script, as the main bulk of interviews at the Escuela Diplomática took place just a few days after the second exploratory interview, I did not have the technical facilities to do so³⁸⁹ and I felt it was sufficient to insert these in my own script not to make the interviewees' questionnaire appear to be excessively long, (see Appendix A for a review of the final content of the interview

³⁸⁹Due to the same reason several accents on Spanish words could not be automatically inserted, therefore I did so manually to each script although occasionally one or two were missing.

and questionnaire used for informants at the Escuela Diplomática). However, all the questions in my questionnaire which were set out to be asked were covered at some point of the interview by all the respondents from the case study.

The complexity of the realization of '-ado' as '-ao' brought me to devise a number of procedures for its study. First of all, for the reading of words and phrases, I gave a number of examples, which may take the '-ao' form, in adjectives, nouns and verbs, all written in the standard form.

Since the register of the text was markedly and purposely informal, I included various examples of the '-ao' and the '-ado' forms. I did so with the hypothesis that all my respondents would pronounce both the '-ao' and the '-ado' forms, as they would have seen them written and none would probably reject the use of '-ao'. If its use was so widespread by some speakers, then there could be the possibility that some speakers would continue to use the '-ao' form (following the trend I had set out) even though the written form included '-ado'. This device produced very fruitful and gave unexpected results which will be fully discussed in Chapter 9.

This assumed that all my respondents were familiar with '-ao' forms, used them regularly and therefore, would pronounce them without hesitation when directed by the written text. This expectation was to be proven wrong.

Secondly, since the use of '-ao' is widely known and used, I included questions in my third section of the questionnaire (Introspección) to address this phenomenon³⁹⁰. Questions were asked regarding their use of '-ao' and their opinion on the correctness or incorrectness of its use. Other questions concerning the use of '-ao' in the media were also put to the informants who showed a readiness to answer my questions at some length. Some had a good insight into Spanish language, normally those who had studied philology.

The final part of this questionnaire consisted of, what I regard, the most decisive part of my interview, Introspection. In this final part of the interview, participants were asked about their perception of their own language and the language of others. This is a particularly useful section whose value has already been discussed earlier in this chapter. If anthropologists and sociologists trust the respondents on the

³⁹⁰I did not ask similar questions regarding other linguistic features included in the questionnaire and which I wished to study as a non-linguist would not have enough phonetic knowledge to be aware of the variables and variants aimed to be studied in this research.

truthfulness and reliability of their answers, then I would go along this line and ask direct questions, although always bearing in mind its limitations.

The questions put to them in this section were mainly the questions arising. Depending on the answer and the turn of the conversation some informants were also asked other relevant questions. The following are generally the questions formulated to my respondents,

1. ¿Quién cree habla el mejor español en España?
2. ¿Cree que en España hablamos de clases sociales como en Inglaterra o no?
3. ¿Ha visto un cambio en los medios de comunicación en cuanto a cómo hablan español?
4. ¿Usa '-ado' "estao" en vez de "estado" en alguna ocasión?
5. ¿Cuándo ha perdido su acento gallego³⁹¹? ¿Le ha perjudicado o ayudado de alguna manera el perder su acento gallego?
6. ¿A qué cree es debido el hecho de que veamos a más personas decir "encantao", "he estao", por ejemplo, la Sra. Ministra Portavoz? ¿A qué le suena eso? ¿La educación que recibió, o que es de Andalucía?
7. ¿Podría usted saber si una persona procede de una clase social alta o baja solamente por su manera de hablar?
8. ¿Ha notado algún rasgo especial en el habla española de hoy en día en comparación con hace unos años?
9. ¿Cuál es el español que hablan sus hijos?

Question 9 was only asked to the Spanish Ambassador. For the students of the Escuela Diplomática the question '¿Cuál es el español que hablan sus padres?' was chosen instead.

In sum, no substantial changes were made to the written scripts after the interview with the female exploratory interviewee although depending on the respondent, some alterations to the order and wording of the questions were inevitable.

³⁹¹This question, devised primarily for the male exploratory interviewee, was to be adapted to whatever other regional accent the informant might have.

8.4.3 Speech style and phonetic variables object of study

Bearing in mind that I believe that most speakers in an interview context would normally tend to self-monitor their speech towards what the informants consider to be the most linguistically correct or standard (a phenomenon which Labov considers the 'vernacular permutation') I aspired to elicit and record the most *formal spectrum* of the interviewees' speech variety (through mainly the reading sections) and a *semi-formal speech variety* (predominantly through the Instrospection section and to a lesser extent through the Identification section and through the reading of the text). The results from this group will in turn be compared to the results obtained from the exploratory interviews (formal and semi-formal styles) and subsequently with the outcome of the recordings of newsreaders (formal style).

It was decided that only the frequency and realization of a reduced number of the variables and variants discussed in section 8.3.2, Table 8.2; that is, variables that may be decisive in assessing one's speech as educated or non-educated, were intended to be studied for this particular set of informants.

The variables and examples which form the object of this study, (see Table 8.3) were the same as the ones presented to both the exploratory interviewees. However, a number of changes were made in view of the results from the said exploratory interviews. The content and the format of the interview was modified as discussed earlier.

As to the list of words, the following variables and examples were included in the study³⁹²:

Variable 1: /d/ in final position. The following examples were used: '*juventud*', '*matad*', '*libertad*', '*Madrid*' (in the list of words), '*La juventud de hoy tiene más libertad que antes*', '*Llegaré a Madrid dentro de unos días*' (in the list of phrases) and '*porque le dije la verdad*' (in the text).

Variable 2: Consonant clusters, [kt], [ps], [ks], [tn] in 'actor', 'acto humano', '*capsula*', 'texto', 'taxi', '*étnico*' respectively (in the list of words). [kt] and [pt] in

³⁹²Many other variables and variants which I initially considered for study were disregarded in favour of just a few, for reasons of resources, time and due to Rafael Lapesa's observations which pointed at the fact that some phonetic realizations (such as the study of /v/ and /b/ or /l/ and /y/) whatever their realization, they form part of standard Spanish, (pers. comm.). Therefore, I shall only include examples of the phonetic features I explicitly aimed to analyse.

'Actores y actrices lo celebrarán' and 'en septiembre', (in the list of phrases) and [ks]/[gs] in 'taxi', (in the text).

Variable 3: Vowel groups, many vowel groups were inserted although the following were selected for the study of possible occurrences of vowel assimilations. [ee] in 'he estudiado', [au] in 'acto humano' (in the list of words); [ui] in 'muy', [ae] in 'llegará el referéndum', [aaa] in 'llega a adorarlo', [aae] in 'Iba a encenderlo', [eo] in 'La juventud de hoy tiene', [ea] in 'más libertad que antes', [eu] in 'de unos días' (in the list of phrases) and [ea] in 'que ha', 'se ha puesto', 'que hacer', 'ha estado', [ai] in 'ha insultao', [ae] in 'ha estado', [ee] in 'de enfadado', 'que el pobre', [eu] in 'de un lado', [ui] in 'muy bien', 'muy mal conmigo' (in the text).

Variable 4: /m/ in final position, as in 'referéndum'. And in connected speech, 'Llegará el referéndum muy pronto'³⁹³.

Variable 5: '-ado'/'-ao' in final position in adjectives, such as in 'encantado' as well as in verbs, for example in 'formado', 'firmado', 'dado', 'acabado', 'estudiado' (in list of words), 'encantado', 'dado', 'formado', 'firmado', 'estudiado' (in the list of phrases) and 'pasao', 'insultao', 'estado', 'enfadado', 'preocupado', 'lado' (in the text).

Variable 6: Combinations of v+c+v. The combination of certain consonants in intervocalic position may lead to certain non-standard pronunciations when the omission of the consonant and in some cases also the reduction of the consonant group (becoming assimilated or shortened) takes place. For example, the combination 'o+d+o' may be realized as [odo] in standard pronunciation, but as [oo] or [o] in non-standard phonetic realizations. Also 'a+r+a' may be pronounced as [ara] in standard pronunciations, but as [aa] or [a] in non-standard.

³⁹³'Enviaremos nuestros Currículums' was disregarded. While it does represent an example of consonant cluster [ms], 'currículums' is also ungrammatical (it should read 'currícula'). /m/ was included in the parts of the questionnaire most likely to elicit formal speech styles and not in the sections more likely to evoke a semi-formal speech style. As these words are of Latin origin, there are very few in Spanish and none of the reviewed words ending in /m/ were suitable for the text. The data provided in the reading of words and phrases was felt to be sufficient to tentatively find out the primary phonetic realization of this variable in formal speech styles by educated speakers.

Table 8.3: Variables potentially able to mark the speaker as standard/non-standard user of Spanish object of my study.

Variables	Examples	Context
(1) /d/ final position	juventud, matad, libertad, Madrid	List of words
	juventud, Madrid	List of phrases
	verdad	Text
(2) Consonant clusters		
kt ps ks tn	actor, acto cápsula taxi, texto étnico	List of words
kt pt	actores, actrices septiembre	List of phrases
ks	taxi	Text
(3) Vowel groups		
ae ou	ha estudiado acto humano	List of words
aa ae eo ea eu ui ee oo oa aaa aae	escalera arriba, ella ha llegará el referéndum de hoy que antes, llegaré a de unos muy puede escribir, que ella cuarto oscuro oscuro al llega a adorarlo llega a encenderlo	List of phrases
ea	te acuerdas, se ha puesto, que hacer, que ha estado, que ha pasado	Text
ae ee aa oe eu ui ooa eai	ha estado, está estos de enfadado, que es, que el ella al yo estaba, pero el, esto está de un muy médico o al me ha insultado	
(4) m final position	referéndum	List of words
	referéndum	List of phrases
(5) -ado/-ao	encantado, dado, formado, firmado, estudiado	List of words
	llamado	List of phrases

	pasao, insultao, estado, enfadado, preocupado, lado	Text
(6) v+c+v	todo	List of words
	todo, todos	List of phrases
	todos, para	Text

The text was devised to elicit a less formal style in the spectrum. Reading this text produced some anticipated results as well as some very significant unpredictable ones. It was of very informal tone containing many of the phonetic characteristics, listed in section 8.3.2, which could entice some non-standard phonetic features (such as 'Te acuerdas' might elicit [ta], 'Qué ha' producing ' [ka], 'pues' might elicit [pos] .

It also contains a pronunciation feature in the written form which belongs to non-standard Spanish, such as 'insultao', 'pasao' and which presumably would be realized as in the written form. Likewise, I included the standard written equivalent, that is, 'estado', 'enfadado', 'lado' which probably would be also realized as in the written form. Some results disproved this expectation.

Also in the text, /d/ in final position was included in 'verdad' and [ks]/[gs] in 'taxi'.

I chose not to pack this text with the phonetic features I wished to study, in order not to give further clues about the object of my study and also not to produce an excessively long text.

This section has outlined the variables included in the questionnaire and which all interviewees were asked to read. The study of the variables identified proved to be extremely indicative of the current usage of Spanish and most importantly of the current shift towards certain traditionally regarded non-standard phonetic realizations by very educated and prestigious speakers of Spanish. Its full implications will be discussed at length in Chapters 9 and 10.

8.4.4 Administration of Exploratory Interviews

The interview with the Spanish Ambassador, Exploratory Interview male, took place on the 16th of January, 1992 in his office early in the morning. This was to be our

first formal meeting and prior to any recording an informal conversation took place immediately after the introductions.

We then sat down and turned the tape-recorder on while giving him the reassurance that what he answered would be only used for my research and he could interrupt the recording at whatever stage he felt appropriate.

He was then given a copy of the interview (see Appendix A) skipping the first part, as he primarily wanted to see what he was required to read. Therefore, the first section, Identificación, was left for later. Some of the answers to this first section were already provided during the informal conversation we had prior to the recording taking place, during which topics such as our Galician origins and my stay and work in Dublin were discussed.

During the recording of 'Lista de frases', a misspelling was corrected by the Ambassador and on several occasions he pointed out that he did not quite understand the meaning of some phrases, such as 'Yo que se lo que'. He was quite concerned that he had not read certain words properly and repeated them. He paused on a few occasions to laugh about the content of some phrases. He also did so when it came to reading 'pasao' and 'insultao' and he hesitated a bit when the text included 'ha estado' after the previous '-ao' forms.

The last part of the interview was formed by questions from sections titled *Identificación* and *Introspección sobre la lengua*. After reading the passages, I asked him most of the questions from the *Identificación* without following the order I had, as well as other questions that I thought useful given the answers he had provided, such as '*¿Son sus padres de Galicia?*' (after he had talked about his origins) or '*¿Le ha causado alguna dificultad el acento de Galicia (de su padre)?*'. We spoke quite informally so eliciting in his language many of the variables I wanted to study in a more informal style.

The section on his own opinion on linguistic aspects in Spanish was brought up with the question '*¿Cree que el acento de una región dificulta, en cierta medida ...?*'. This question was interrupted by the interviewee's prompt answer and was formulated after speaking about his father's profession and after he had stated that his father had a slight Galician accent.

The most startling results came from the introspection section which lasted longer than expected and gave me the first insight into what conscious and unconscious

speech occurrences are taking place. On only one occasion was the interviewee unwilling to answer a question and it was when I asked him about the frequency in the use of '-ao' by public figures such as the Ministra Portavoz. He refused to comment on this question.

Since the interview with Exploratory Interview-Male was aimed to be as informal as possible, I had made the decision that the questions were not going to be presented in a rigid order, therefore, I asked him questions which were prepared and omitted a few which were not relevant in his particular case, such as '*¿A qué dedica los ratos de ocio, deportes, aficiones?*' or '*¿Cuáles son sus actividades diarias?*'. The particular purpose of these questions was to identify the type of lifestyle of the respondent and draw some conclusions, using other additional information, on the social class the interviewee belonged to. The social membership of this interviewee was clearly established before the interview and was therefore unnecessary to formulate such questions to him.

The second exploratory interview with the daughter of the Marquis of Berriz, Exploratory Interview-Female, took place in Madrid in her house in the afternoon of the 21 January 1992 just a few days before the first case study was going to take place. This short time span between both sets of interviews was due to the fact that I had scheduled these interviews to take place during the same trip to Madrid. Therefore, the interview to use for the Escuela Diplomática was adjusted after the first exploratory interview, some questions were added, some omitted and the section on introspection was to take more relevance during the course of the interview as a result of both exploratory interviews.

The interview with this informant was carried out following more closely the order established in the questionnaire and again I had to delay turning on the tape-recorder as some questions were put to me about myself and my research project.

This speaker carried out the reading sections sometimes stopping to ask me if she had read certain terms, phrases correctly, to which I reassured her. Once again, the lengthier part of the interview was the introspection section. The entire interview lasted a total of approximately 25 minutes.

It was during the end of this interview that two instances of lapses of concentration occurred on my part. Firstly, I made some reference to her extensive use of '-ao', clearly thinking of the assertion made by the male exploratory interviewee, and secondly I reflected on Adolfo Suárez's introduction of the '-ao' in standard Spanish

when in fact his introduction was of the [θ] for /d/ in final position, on which she quickly corrected me.

In this section we have reviewed the procedures, preliminaries and some elements surrounding the administration of the questionnaires/interview. It has been highlighted that after some modifications to the initial questionnaire and guidelines to the interview implemented after the first exploratory interviewee the same written questionnaire was employed for the female exploratory interviewee and for the subsequent interviewees at the Escuela Diplomática, although some alterations were made to my script.

The main conclusion to be drawn is that pilot testing of questionnaires and interview protocols are essential in research of this nature.

8.5 Study at the Escuela Diplomática de Madrid

8.5.1 Cluster of speakers selected

The students of the Escuela Diplomática in Madrid were selected for the main corpus of interviews, as they embody the élite in terms of their education and general background. Initially I had also wanted to include the lecturers and senior staff members of the school but only two male members were available when the interviews took place and I waived against including these in the final study.

One of the entry requirements is that students must have completed a university degree and have a proficient level of two foreign languages (predominantly English and French/German). There are very few places available in this college (in 1990 there were eight places) and therefore the competition to enter is extremely high.

Most students are from Madrid or have been mainly educated in this city. The majority have done their primary university degree in Madrid before entering the Escuela Diplomática.

Madrid, the capital city of Spain, has traditionally been considered the centre of culture in Spain. About 30%- 40% of the Madrid population are immigrants coming from other regions of Spain, and so the Spanish language has a specific term to describe those who are from Madrid city itself 'madrileño castizo'. The population of

Madrid falls into categories or ethnic groups: Andalusians, Galicians, Catalans, and many other miscellaneous groups. From the perspective of age, Madrid attracts a large proportion of young people, more so than Barcelona and other regions and almost half of the population (49.4%) work as professionals in the service sector. (De Miguel, 1994(a):150-1, based on data from 1991)³⁹⁴.

I chose this group³⁹⁵ since they traditionally represent educated Spanish speech. All the students come from wealthy backgrounds with perhaps the exception of one female student. They could be considered as being members of the upper-middle class or the upper-class, although the question of their membership to one particular social class was never put to them in order to avoid uncomfortable questions³⁹⁶.

As we have seen in Chapter 4 and will see in Chapter 9, the subject of social classes was viewed with great uneasiness and so I avoided any direct questions on the matter and instead I asked questions about their background (such as their parents' professions, their hobbies, their lifestyle in general) and questions about their '*social aspirations/ambitions*' subtly addressing such topic in the following question "*¿Es diplomático lo que quieres hacer?*"³⁹⁷. All the above factors were taken into consideration in order to reach conclusions as to their social standing.

In view of De Miguel's (1994) findings, had I included the question of class membership, I now very much feared that this question would have been answered in terms of their membership to the middle classes when in fact none of them (with perhaps one exception) clearly belonged to it.

8.5.2 Administration of interviews at Escuela Diplomática

The interviews with the students of the Escuela Diplomática took place in the morning of the 24th January, 1992. The interviews were in Spanish and took place in the library of the college with one student at the time.

It could be argued that the recordings of students at Escuela Diplomática could have taken place in a more technically orientated environment such as a recording studio,

³⁹⁴For further information on a sociological profile of the Madrid inhabitants see De Miguel (1994(a):128-56).

³⁹⁵My thanks to Dr. Margaret Gibbon for her help in identifying this group of speakers and for her general comments.

³⁹⁶See Chapter 4, section 4.1 on the sensitivity surrounding the notion of social classes in Spain.

³⁹⁷Similarly Labov (1978) names the social aspiration of the speaker as a key element in language variation.

but this would have been contra-productive as the core principle of any socio-linguistic research is to study speech in their most natural environment and a recording studio clearly does not comply with this requisite. Moreover, even though interviews took place in a well-known environment, the anxiety with which students approached their interviews would have rendered the interview totally invalid had the interviews taken place in an unfamiliar environment.

There were seven interviewees in total, four males and three females, all aged between 23 and 27. All students had been informed of my presence in the library and as I found later they were made aware of the importance in taking part in such research as I had travelled from Dublin purposely and I was a lecturer in a university abroad. No such study or similar studies had ever taken place in the school before. This partly explains the students' anxiety (particularly the first two informants) and willingness to participate.

In order to take part in this project they all had to miss one or more lectures and the order of participation was decided by themselves as they all waited outside. Once the order of entry was decided all but two returned to their lecturers until it was time for the following one to participate.

The first two participants were clearly anxious to cooperate and to finish the interview soon, although they quickly realized that the interview did not contain any complex parts in which they would not be able to cooperate. By the time the third interviewee came into the library, he already had some inkling as to the questions he was going to be asked and from this informant onwards they were much more relaxed. The beneficial results of having some information on what were going to be asked was clearly unanticipated and welcomed.

Although later informants knew something about the interview, none were given the script to take with them (as I took it back at the end of the interview) to prevent other informants from knowing the exact content of the interview.

Aware of the formality of our first meeting, all participants were told at the beginning, prior to any recording, that although the interview was going to be recorded they could stop the recording of the interview at any moment they wished. They were told that the future use of the recording was merely for a linguistic study I was carrying out.

This last piece of information I felt was necessary given that both Exploratory Interviewees expressed at some point of their interview their *interest /concern* in knowing exactly the use and purpose of the recording. This -I feel- was the ideal instruction to give informants given the number of questions this topic aroused. Thus, I spent a considerable amount of time explaining and answering questions to the informants of the Escuela Diplomática as I wanted to prevent any misgivings and hesitations about participating in this study. However, like in the case of the two Exploratory Interviewees, I was as vague as possible ("estudiare el vocabulario, la entonación ... un poco todo"), never mentioning the phonetic features I wanted to study to the informants, although I had to do so to the Director of the Escuela Diplomática) and when I felt necessary I used technical expressions which I knew they would not be very familiar with (such as "es un estudio un poco sociológico, psicolingüístico y sociofonético"). I also named other participants in my study who I knew they would be familiar with such as Camilo José Cela and Rafael Lapesa, members of the Real Academia Española, the sociologist Amando de Miguel. Both Camilo José Cela, member of the R.A.E., and Nobel prize winner, and Amando de Miguel are very well known personalities in Spain and familiar faces on television. I felt that if informants knew they were participating, then any misgivings about lending their cooperation would be lessened.

Given how the exploratory interviews had progressed, I considered it necessary to keep the participants in the Escuela Diplomática anonymous. The anonymity was one further measure in preventing any possible reluctance to participate and given the response to this, I felt was a worthwhile measure. Thus, they were also informed that although I would be asking their names, they could volunteer it or not but that the total anonymity of their responses would be guaranteed. Thus, no names are provided and each respondent is given a descriptive and numerical category.

And finally, before the tape recorder was switched on, each participant was informed in advance of the sections the recorded interview would contain and how it would take place. They were also told that it would take approximately ten or fifteen minutes, although I was hoping for the last section, Introspection, to last another five minutes.

After this, the tape recorder was turned on and the order in which I had devised the interview was followed as closely as possible. I avoided consulting the script and reading from it as much as possible, to give the impression of spontaneity.

I feel that because the initial part was so general, relatively lengthy and allowed informants to talk about reassuring topics such as their education and family, this counteracted very effectively any degree of anxiety, (see section 8.4.2 for further considerations).

The rest of the interview went as expected with no technical problems and no requests to stop the interview, although again most of the informants voiced explicit denunciations of their own speech and looked for reassurance at different parts of their reading tasks, particularly when they produced natural communicative failures (such as pauses, hesitations, ums and ahs, corrections, false starts, stuttering and slips of the tongue) particularly when reading some word or when their intonation was perceived to be defective. This pattern of linguistic insecurity was amplified by some saying that they were not great readers or that their intonation was faulty, mainly at the end of the interview.

The introspection section took a more prominent role due to the fruitful results that it had achieved during my exploratory interviews. Not all informants were as sensitive and linguistically and socially aware as I had anticipated from the exploratory interviews. With the informants who had problems answering or whose replies indicated to me that they had not formed opinions on the subject, the introspection section was shorter and more general than others. On the other hand, other informants were capable of giving opinions in great detail and provide a number of examples. To those informants I asked more elaborate questions and the introspection section was therefore lengthier.

In the next chapter I shall analyze in detail the results of the interviews and how these results can be interpreted in the light of social changes in Spain.

8.5.3 Treatment of the recordings

On several occasions after the tape-recorder was switched off, assuming the interview had concluded, several informants initiated an informal conversation with me. Some references to those conversations will be made. It seems that some informants were genuinely interested in the area of study and wished to know more and provide me with further comments and examples which they had just thought of, after the recording was over. Particularly the last ones cooperated beyond any expectations.

The tapes were listened to during several sessions. During each time or session all interviewees were listened to and notes were taken. A complete transcription of the interviews was made (see Appendix B) and phonetic detail was added beside a particular word to indicate how the variables chosen for the research had been realized by each individual.

Although one could argue that interviews do not produce the vernacular, they proved ideal for my purpose. If I can show that even in formal and semi-formal situations 'élite' informants use non-standard forms, then clearly they would do so even more profusively in more casual contexts.

In this chapter the approach I adopted in my sociolinguistic study was outlined and contrasted with other methodological procedures. Issues such as who were my informants, the preliminary work to the interviews, how the interviews took place and how the data was elicited and treated from the perspective of the methodology employed were also covered. In the next two chapters, I shall examine the results of my data in depth.

CHAPTER 9 Data analysis

9.1 Analysis of recordings of newsreaders

The data of recordings of newsreaders was firstly used in order to identify the possible markers of standard and non-standard varieties. Once that was established (see Table 8.3), some phonetic realizations of these variables were identified as potentially capable of distinguishing the speaker as a standard or non-standard user of Spanish and some of these were chosen for my study.

The value of the pronunciation of newsreaders is viewed as evoking the most formal speech style and thus, I analyze their pronunciations as examples of formal reading style.

I examine newsreaders and exploratory informants individually and I shall make references to individual cases (informants from the Escuela Diplomática) in order to deal with cases in detail. Subsequently I review the results in a collective manner. This was done in order not to sacrifice worthwhile detailed and individual results in favour of reaching general conclusions. Likewise, attention was paid to this procedure in order to avoid the faults identified in many of Labov's collective analyses (Williams 1983:171 and González Ferrero 1991).

9.1.1 Male-Newsreader 1 (José María Balcells)

This newsreader is approximately 45-50 years of age. I recorded him reading in total seven news bulletins of half an hour each (October 1991-June 1992), in all of which he is the only newsreader, and two further ones (May-June 1995) sharing the news broadcast with María Escario, F-N 4. He reads a total of nine news programmes.

On variable 1, /d/ in final position, this speaker is a consistent user of the standard variable [d] (examples, 'Sanidad', 'Madrid', 'CESID') in the data recorded in 1991 and 1992. In 1995 Madrid is pronounced with no [d] in final position ([ø]) and later on 'capacidad' and 'Madrid' again are pronounced with a [θ], although 'Madrid' attracts also [d] pronunciation particularly when it is placed within a sentence. Other words such as 'Comunidad Europea', 'salud', 'actualidad', 'falsedad', 'ciudad' attract his most

preferred variant, [d̪]. I have noticed during the study of the recordings that this speaker seems to deviate from the norm particularly at the beginning of his broadcast, and so I find [θ]/[ø] for 'Madrid' and [θ] for 'capacidad' at the beginning of this news broadcast.

Variable 2, consonant clusters, are used with a few reductions. [kt], [d̪m], [pθ] , [pt], [nn], [kθ] in examples such as 'estricta', 'artefacto', 'contactos', 'admistía', 'egipcia', 'aceptar', 'innecesario', 'accedan', dirección' are all fully realized. However, for [ns] he sometimes fails to pronounce the [n], for example, in 'transformaciones', 'instituciones', although he does retain the full realization for this consonant cluster in other examples such as 'instalado', (data from 1991, 1992 and 1995).

The variables [ks]/[gs] cause variations in his pronunciation. Sometimes orthographic 'x' is pronounced as [ks], as in 'próximo', 'extiores', 'expresa', 'máxima', with a great emphasis on the [k], and on fewer occasions he produces this cluster as [s], as in 'expectativa'. With regard to this consonant cluster, a clear case of 'overcorrection' arises when on occasions there should be an /s/ which he instead pronounces as [ks] or [gs], as in 'despedir', 'crisis' and 'suspensión', (data from 1991-1992).

As to variable 3, vowel assimilations, from the data recorded there are some, although not a great deal ('que ha hablado', 'que a lo largo', 'en el aeropuerto', 'esta afirmación' are all fully pronounced). Although [ia] is realized as [əa] in 'negociaciones', [ee] is pronounced as [e] in 'de esta', 'de estos', and [ea] as [a] in 'de acuerdo', 'que anoche', 'se ha hecho'.

It is remarkable that this informant pronounces 'europeo' as [uropéo] and [oəropéo] and 'reunión' following the same vowel assimilation pattern, so that what in fact one hears is [roənjón], a phenomenon already observed by De Miguel (1994(a))³⁹⁸.

The variable /m/ in final position, being a highly infrequent sound in Spanish, was not recorded at any stage by any newsreader. Nor was '-ao'. Therefore, no references will be made to these. However some reference to variable 6 will be made when this is pronounced in one of the non-standard forms.

³⁹⁸De Miguel has already observed this occurrence in the media and notes the widespread use among newsreaders, politicians and other public people. This is a pronunciation which until very recently could only be heard being uttered by un-educated speakers of Spanish.

9.1.2 Male-Newsreader 2 (Matías Prats)

Matías Prats Jr., who is approximately 34-36 years of age, is recorded reading one bulletin with Ana Blanco (F-N 3) in the data recorded from October 1991 to June 1992 and three bulletins from May to June 1995, all shared with the same female newsreader. There are countless indications of this newsreader using certain traditionally non-standard examples of Spanish.

The variable /d/ in final position proved the most interesting of all the variables studied. It becomes on almost all occasions [ø], examples of which are 'agresividad', 'ciudad', 'universidad' 'unidad', 'inseguridad'. There is no variation in the pronunciation of this variant, whether it is in final position of the phrase or otherwise, although in 1992 one single example of [ð] appears during the pronunciation of 'Comunidad' at the beginning of his 4th June 1992 broadcast.

As for consonant clusters, some are fully realized and others are reduced. There seems to be a tendency by this speaker not to realize [b] in the consonant group [bs], as in 'substancia', [bx] as in 'objetivo'; but to fully realize [kt], as in 'secta', 'dictadura', 'actitud', and [gn], as in 'indignación', and [mn] in 'alumnos'. No difference in the data appears to take place from 1991 to 1995.

The variable [ns] presents two contradicting pronunciations by the same speaker. While on one occasion, it is reduced becoming [s], in 'empresa constructora', (and 'inspección') it becomes a few seconds later fully realized in 'la construcción'. Both these examples are present in the middle of a phrase. In this latter example, 'la construcción', it is the second consonant cluster [kθ] which becomes reduced to [θ]. (Data from 1995). There seems to be no rule as to the use of the standard and non-standard forms. Both [kθ] and [θ] appear to be in free distribution.

The orthographic character 'x', realized as [ks]/[gs], offers a good example of this speaker's tendency to use the standard form ([ks]/[gs]) on some occasions and the non-standard ([s]) on others. Given the data recorded, the guiding rule seems to point to a tendency for some specific words to be pronounced in the standard form and others in the non-standard. For example, 'explicaciones', 'explicar', 'próximos', 'excepto', 'examen' consistently appear pronounced as [s], whereas 'aproximar' and 'sexta' are pronounced as [gs].

It is interesting to observe that whereas 'explicaciones' and 'explicar' are read as [s], 'aproximan' is pronounced with [ks] but not so 'próximos' which is read as [gs] just a few minutes later.

As to variable 3, vowel assimilations, I find some characteristic examples, such as 'que impone' which becomes [kin]pone', although he is normally a consistent user of standard vowel groups such as 'de un 15%', 'su último', 'en un', 'se ha'.

9.1.3 Male-Newsreader 3 (Ramón Pellicer)

This newsreader, who is approximately 34-36 years of age, is recorded reading six news bulletins, four on his own and two shared with Elena Sánchez (F-N 2), all in 1995. In total he reads eight news broadcasts.

This newsreader represents in his speech the most standard Spanish of the seven newsreaders. As a result of the analysis of his recording the following speech characteristics were noted.

All /d/ in final position are realized as [d], examples of which are 'Sanidad', 'ciudad', 'Comunidad', 'seguridad', 'CESID', 'Madrid'. The pronunciation of /d/ in final position in 'Madrid' becomes once again an example of different pronunciations by the same speaker, although I could only find exceptional deviations from the norm, when /d/ in final position becomes [θ] in 'seguridad' (only one example found in the data recorded), which is found at the beginning of his broadcast.

As well as this, I could not perceive any consonant clusters in his speech being reduced. They appear to be all fully realized, examples of which are [kt] in 'insatisfactorio', 'pacto', [ks] in 'explicaciones', 'exterior', 'ex-socio', although [gs] is preferred for 'éxito', [ns] in 'constitución', 'constructora', 'instalada', [kθ], [pt] in 'rapto', 'aceptarán', [kt] in 'practicamente', [kθ] in 'accidente', [dm] in 'administración', [fs] in 'absorvido'.

In particular, [ks] and [gs] are, in all the examples recorded, realized as such and never become [s]. In examples, such as 'sexto', 'ex-socio', 'extendió' among many others, all are fully realized.

Neither did I encounter examples of vowel assimilation, although this newsreader is the fastest reader of the seven recorded. There are many examples such as 'la ha

'definido' and 'no ha anunciado', 'se ha', 'que ha durado', 'no ha denunciado', 'a Estados Unidos', 'lo ha definido', 'se ha convertido' which would lend themselves to vowel assimilation, but they remained fully realized.

9.1.4 Female Newsreader 1 (Rosa María Mateo)

All the data from this, the oldest of the female newsreaders, aged approximately 45 to 50, was recorded from three bulletins which she read on her own from October 1991 to June 1992.

The variable /d/ in final position presents two different variants, [ø] as in 'Comunidad Europea' and 'Comunidad Internacional', and [d] (normally in its most reduced form) in 'Madrid', 'creatividad', 'actividad', 'habilidad' and also for 'comunidad', which according to Navarro Tomás should only be used in informal environments.

Consonant clusters do not normally deviate from the norm, [ks] in 'ortodoxo', [kt] in 'sector', 'estructura', 'directo', [kθ] in 'occidentales', [kn] in 'técnica' are all fully realized. She nevertheless presents us with two reductions [gn] becomes [n] in 'diagnóstico' and [ns] becomes [s] in 'instituciones'.

As for vowel assimilations, I could find some evidence particularly in the vowel group [ea] which is reduced to [a] in 'que ha visto' and 'que apruebe'.

9.1.5 Female Newsreader 2 (Elena Sánchez)

Four news bulletins were read by this newsreader; one was read as the sole news presenter (data from 1991 to 1992) and three in 1995, and the remaining two occasions as co-presenter with Ramón Pellicer (M-N 3).

This newsreader, who is between 34-36 years of age, presents many non-standard phonetic realizations, although she is also perceived as a representative speaker of standard Spanish.

The variable /d/ in final position presents two variants: [θ] pronounced in 'Comunidad Internacional' at the beginning of her bulletin on the 5th of June, 1995 and later [d], in reduced form, in 'Madrid', 'tranquilidad'. Although during her

bulletin of the 9th of June, she consistently pronounces this variable as [d], as in 'calidad', 'Madrid'. The variant [d] in its reduced form is her most usual variant.

She presents a large number of reductions in consonant clusters, particularly the reduction of [ks] to [s] in 'éxito', 'ex-potencia', 'extraido', 'auxiliar', 'explique', 'examen' with one exception 'excesiva' which she realizes with the fricative [gs]. The variable [kθ] is reduced to [θ] in 'accidente' although she pronounces [kt] in 'afecta'. There is also a striking shift in the pronunciation of the consonant cluster [pt] which she sometimes replaces by [kt] as in 'excéptico' and 'óptimas' but not so in 'pacto', an example uttered at the end of her news bulletin.

In the 1991-1992 recordings I perceive no examples of vowel assimilations (which could be explained as only one bulletin was read by her in the 1991/2 data), but when it comes to data from 1995 vowel assimilations are produced profusely. 'De esta' becomes [desta], 'de un comboi' becomes [dun], 'de una' becomes [duna] and 'ya está' becomes [jastá], although there are other examples for which she maintains the vowel group such as 'a esta hora', 'ya está'.

9.1.6 Female Newsreader 3 (Ana Blanco)

Four bulletins were read on her own or as co-presenter by this news-broadcaster who is approximately 34-36 years of age. They comprise one news broadcast in the 1991-1992 period, co-presenting with Matías Prats (M-N 2), and three in 1995 also co-presenting with the same male newsreader.

For variable 1, /d/ in final position, this speaker has three variants on the news bulletin of 13th of June, 1995: [d] for 'Ministerio de Sanidad' which appears at the beginning of the news bulletin, presumably when her levels of concentration/attention are higher, [ø] later for 'Madrid' and, almost at the end, [θ] is chosen for 'edad'. This may appear to constitute a characteristic pattern of this particular speaker. Not so. Two days later on the 15th of June 1995, she uses [θ] for the same word 'La huelga de sanidad'. This time this example is read in the first half of her news bulletin and both examples (of the 13th and 15th of June) are placed at the end of a sentence. We could draw from this data that the variants ([d], [θ] and [ø]) of this variable are in free distribution, perhaps they are employed depending on the level of attention/concentration of this newsreader or it could possibly depend on the particular word.

For variable 2, consonant clusters, no reductions are perceived. The following are fully realized according to traditional standard phonetic rules: [kt] in 'conflicto', 'actriz', 'actual', 'actos', [pθ] in 'corrupción', [kθ] in 'infecciones', 'elecciones', [ks] in 'explosión', 'ex-presidente', 'exigencias', [bx] in 'objetivo', [bṣ] in 'subsidiario', 'abstenciones', 'obstaculizar', [mn] in 'indemnización', [ns] in 'instituciones', [pt] in 'septiembre'.

Regarding vowel assimilations, of all the potentially possible examples (such as 'que el sistema', 'se ha desplazado', 'se ha reemplazado', 'que en'), only one is perceived 'que está' reduced to [kestá]. This example was produced almost at the end of the news bulletin of the 21st of June, 1995.

9.1.7 Female Newsreader 4 (María Escario)

There are two recordings of bulletins by this female speaker from 1995, both shared with José María Balcells (M-N 1). This female is also considered to be between 34 and 36 years of age.

As to /d/ in final position three variants can be found: [ø] in 'comunidad' (at the beginning of the news-broadcast, on the 11th of June 1995), [d̪] in 'Madrid', 'Valladolid', 'CESID' (during the middle part of the same broadcast) and as [θ] in 'Atlético de Madrid' (at the end of the news bulletin of the 11th of June 1995) and again 'Madrid' is pronounced with [θ] at the end of the 17th of June news programme. This amounts to quite a peculiar pattern in which nevertheless [d̪] is the most frequent variant. A further variant also appears, [ø], which is pronounced in 'Comunidad'.

As to consonant clusters there are few reductions in the data recorded: [bs] in 'absoluto', 'obstante', [pt] in 'aceptar', [ns] in 'constitucional', 'constituido', [bṣ] in 'obtenido', 'obtiene', [tn] in 'étnica', [kθ] in 'producción', [ks] in 'expertos' are all standard. The 'ct' in orthography is read as [gt] in 'electorales' but as [kt] in 'características', 'actividades', 'victoria', 'efectuado', all constitute standard pronunciations. One exception was perceived: [ns] is pronounced as [s] in 'constituido'.

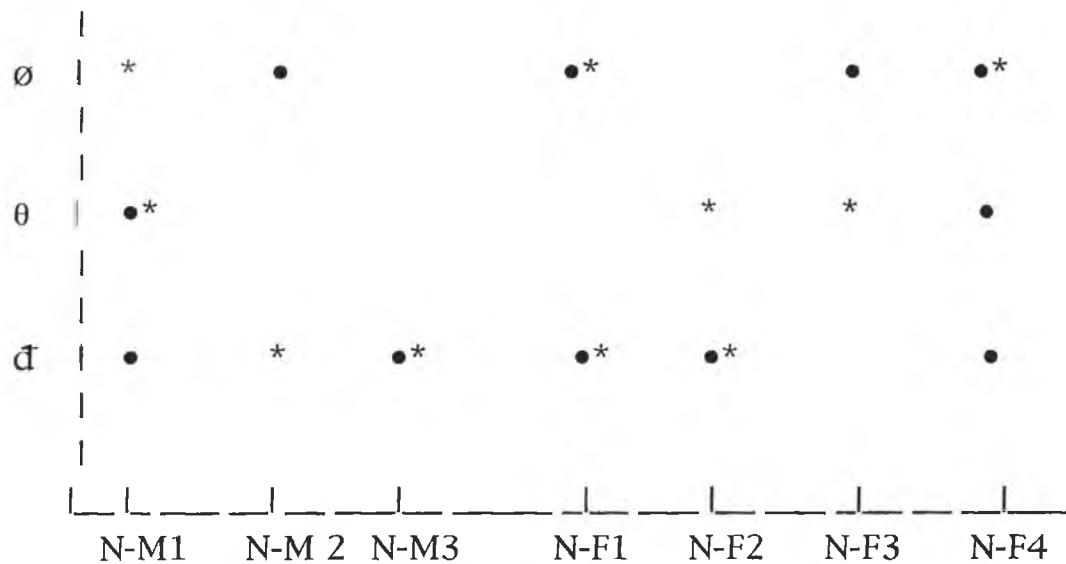
Vowel assimilations are more usual than reductions in consonant clusters: 'a el ayuntamiento' and 'a el gobierno' both become [al], 'de hasta' becomes [dasta], and most peculiarly of all 'en Europa', similar to the realization of Male-I 1, it becomes

[enu]ropa. Nevertheless, there are many examples of full realizations such as 'que ha', 'en una', 'se han obtenido', which often represent very common occurrences of vowel assimilations.

9.1.8 Overall Results

Overall, the seven speakers considered in this section consistently use many of the traditionally regarded standard or educated phonetic features³⁹⁹. However, some important deviations from the norm/standard form of Spanish do occur. Their presence in the speech of these prestigious speakers is of particular significance, bearing in mind that the newsreaders are employing uniquely the most formal of their speech styles.

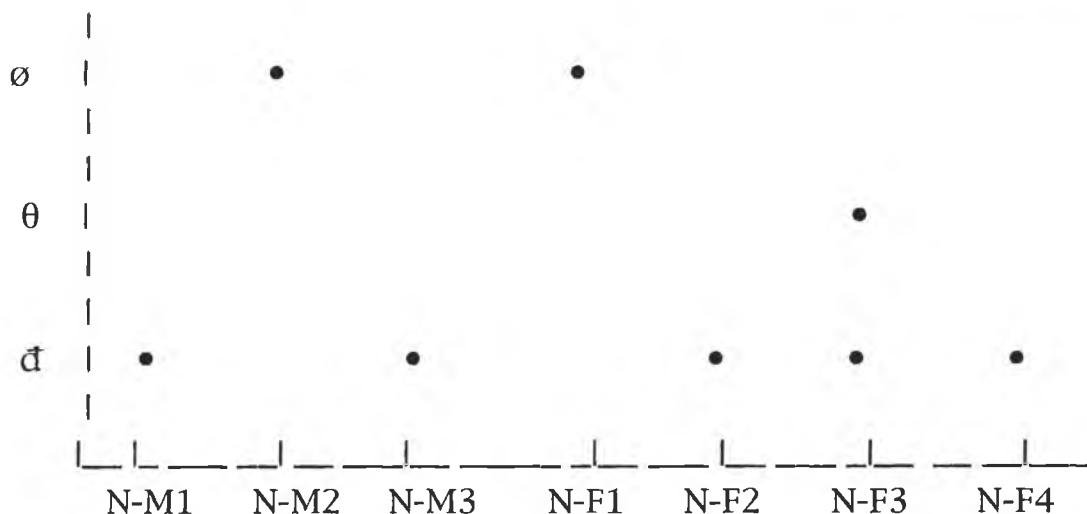
Graph 9.1: Realization of /d/ in final position, examples, 'Madrid' (•) and 'Comunidad' (*).



³⁹⁹See Navarro Tomás (1985) for a complete study of the phonetic features of standard Spanish.

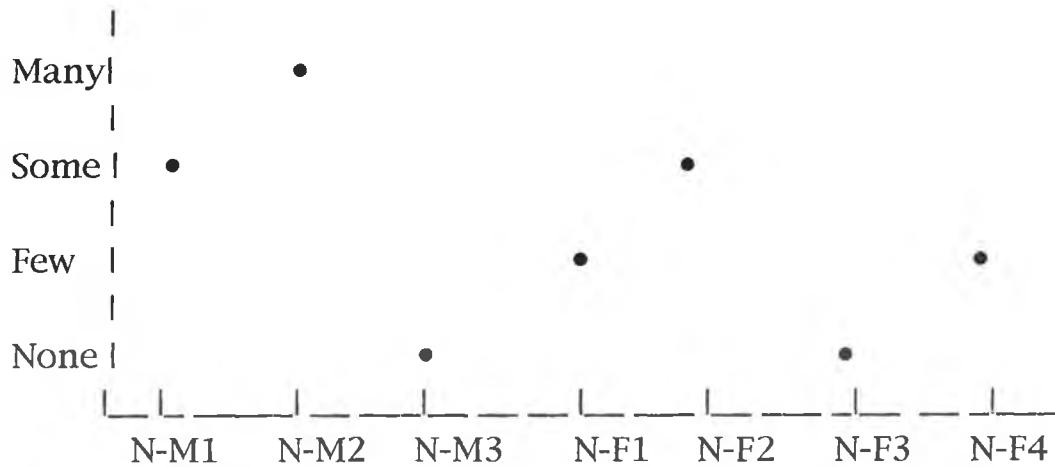
As Graph 9.1 reflects /d/ in final position attracts a considerable variation and departure from the norm. Looking at the evidence, it seems that the informants' variability seems to be related in some cases to the level of attention/concentration as there are some realizations which consistently depend on when (at the beginning or at the end of the news broadcast) the variable is uttered. The enormous variation could also be explained in terms of individual preference (see Graph 9.2), what the speaker is most used to, or the particular word pronounced. 'Madrid' seems to attract a higher level of standard pronunciation than other words as well as attracting a wider range of variants in the same speaker than any other word with /d/ in final position. One speaker is even perceived to use the three variants of /d/ for 'Madrid'.

Graph 9.2: General preference of newsreader for a variant of /d/ in final position.



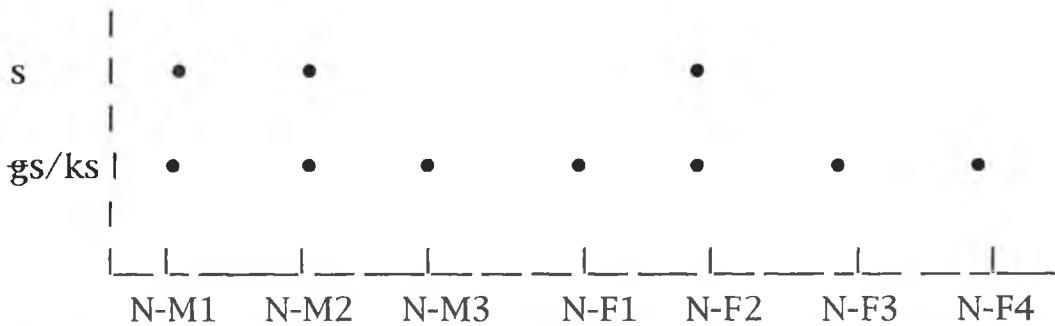
Consonant clusters attract little deviation from the norm in the majority of the newsreaders as we can see in Graph 9.3, although one speaker does so, particularly Male Newsreader 2 and Female Newsreader 2.

Graph 9.3: General frequency/infrequency of consonant reductions in the speech of newsreaders.



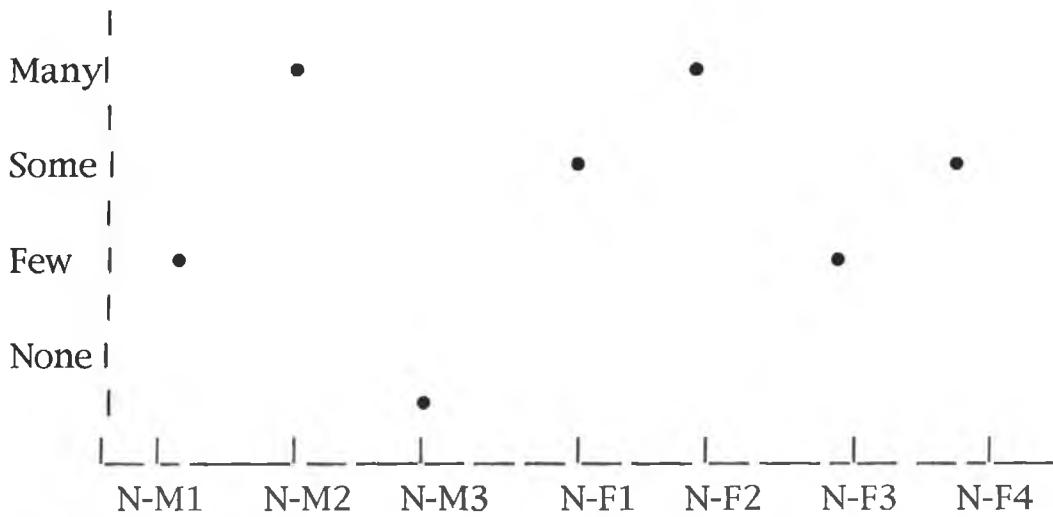
The pronunciation of [ks] or [gs] (standard variants) and [s] (non-standard variant), orthographically represented as 'x', seems to attract two different realizations by three of the newsreaders, as can be seen in Graph 9.4. This is particularly relevant as 'x' pronounced as [s] still seems to retain a lot of linguistic stigma as we shall see in the general conclusions.

Graph 9.4: The realization of 'x' as [gs]/[ks] or as [s] in for example 'exteriores'.



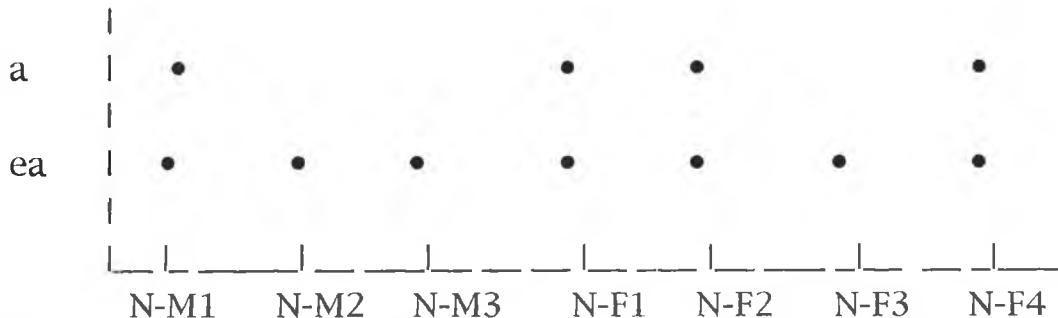
On the topic of vowel groups and vowel assimilations, the results proved highly surprising as a large section of newsreaders present some vowel assimilations generally associated with non-standard speech. As we can see in Graph 9.5, four out the seven newsreaders generally make Some to Many vowel assimilations.

Graph 9.5: General frequency/infrequency of vowel assimilations in the speech of newsreaders.



The same number of speakers, four out of the seven reduce the vowel group [ea] at some point and so the standard form [ea] and the non-standard [a] are present in the same speaker's speech, see Graph 9.6.

Graph 9.6: The realization of [ea] as [ea] or as [a] in 'se ha' by newsreaders.



Despite the fact that the newsreaders' speech is overtly standard, all speakers (with the possible exception of male newsreader 3) produce speech containing a large number of non-standard features. This is of particular relevance since the data provides examples of only the most formal speech style (Reading style).

Newsreader-Male 1 shows examples of some vowel assimilations, such as [ae] becoming [a] in 'de acuerdo'; some very widespread mispronunciation of diphthong [eu] as in 'Comunidad Europea' which is mispronounced as 'oropea', a realization which has been traditionally regarded as un-educated.

The inclusion of some traditionally un-educated phonetic features is still more remarkable in Newsreader-Male 2 who is the only one who does not generally pronounce /d/ in final position in 'Comunidad Europea'. It is noteworthy that this same newsreader starts the broadcast using the fricative [d̪] in final position for 'Comunidad' but as he continues with the news he drops this fricative⁴⁰⁰. Other example of this occurrence by this speaker is that 'seguridad' in which [d̪] is pronounced as [ø] in 'seguridad'. The tendency by some speakers to use the most prestigious pronunciation at the beginning of their speech and then relax it switching to less prestigious realizations is also best illustrated in Labov's (1989) study of the public speeches by the former U.S.A. president Jimmy Carter, (discussed in Chapter 6).

⁴⁰⁰Differences between the beginning and end of speeches and conversations was noted when the data collected at the Escuela Diplomática of Madrid was analysed. Results will be discussed later in this chapter.

Newsreader-Male 2 in one instance⁴⁰¹ uses [paal] instead of 'para el', (in the utterance 'para el Defensor del pueblo') which would be regarded as un-educated and unacceptable in standard Spanish. Generally, there is a large proportion of vowel assimilations in both female and male newsreaders. In particular, the vowel group [ea] being reduced to [a], as in 'se ha' is a remarkable common occurrence in all newsreaders, this together with the consonant cluster [ns], in words such as 'transformaciones', attracts non-standard phonetic realizations by almost the entire group of speakers, which seems to point to the fact that standard Spanish may be undergoing a linguistic development by which certain vowel assimilations and certain consonant reductions have been more widely established than first thought.

There is a surprising absence of any marked regional accent in their speech despite the fact that one of them is from Catalonia and another from the Canary Islands.

One further point discussed previously is that of the influence a interlocutor (be it an interviewer or a conversant alike) might exert on a speaker's speech. From the data collected and comparative analysis of the three sets of newsreaders no connection or evidence of speech convergence were perceived.

9.2 Analysis of interviews with Exploratory Interviewees

9.2.1 Identification

This section, section 1, was devised with the fundamental purposes of corroborating that the interviewees were in fact from the upper-middle socio-economic strata and of obtaining information about their background⁴⁰². In the case of these two informants, this section was of less importance as I had sufficient prior information to the interview which allowed me to conclude that these two speakers were, in fact, of upper socio-economic status.

This section helped me to have an insight into their background, the type of education they had, lifestyle, ambitions, length of time abroad; all important factors to take into consideration when assessing and analysing their speech.

⁴⁰¹Note that for the time scheduled to news recordings I had only the opportunity to record him on one occasion.

⁴⁰²Upper class and upper middle class are perceived as one category which is labelled as 'upper class', the same procedure is taken by De Miguel (1994(a)).

9.2.1.1 Male Exploratory Interviewee (Male E.I.)

This section was covered after the reading of words, phrases and text as this interviewee was initially interested in what reading task was ahead of him and I decided to let the speaker's wishes prevail. Therefore, the questions from section 1 were answered later alongside with the questions on introspection⁴⁰³, although some had already been included in an informal conversation before the proper recording/interview took place.

The topics and questions included in section 1 (Identificación) and section 3 (Introspección) were asked by me even though the informant had a copy of the questions I planned to ask.

The Male E.I. was born in Lisbon, though his parents were from Galicia and he spent most of his life in Madrid. He considers himself in his own words, 'un gallego de Madrid nacido en Lisboa', but he emphasizes that if he had to describe himself in one word he is a 'madrileño'.

In the twenty years he has worked in the Spanish Ministerio de Exteriores (Department of Foreign Affairs), he has spent some years in the Diplomatic body in Gabon, Dublin, Madrid, New York, Rome, returning to Madrid and once again to Dublin. His father was a solicitor working in a senior position in a bank. The Male E.I.'s wife, from Santander but born in Mexico, was also brought up in Madrid. His daily routine is basically working in the Embassy, attending social functions and sometimes staying at home with his wife.

Questions 7, 8 and 9 were not asked as they were somehow covered while responding to some other questions and I did not want to be repetitive. Question 11 and 12 were answered while responding to question 10.

⁴⁰³In order to exemplify the sort of line of questioning and how I managed to ask questions from the Identification and Introspections sections together, the following example is included here: I started with one question from the introspection part, ¿Y usted ha tenido acento gallego alguna vez? (question). No, yo creo que no. No. (answer). ¿Son sus padres de Galicia? (question). Mi padre (answer). ¿Qué profesión tiene su padre si le puedo preguntar? (question). Abogao. (answer) ¿Tiene acento de Galicia su padre? (question). Sí, un poco. (answer) ¿Le ha causado alguna dificultad? ¿Cree usted que el acento de una región dificulta, de alguna manera, las relaciones ... (interruption)(questions). Yo creo que no pero puede que sí, porque hay mucha gente que se rie de los acentos de la gente, si por ejemplo, sobre todo los acentos más marcaos ... (answer).

9.2.1.2 Female Exploratory Interviewee

Following the interview protocol this section was completed at the beginning of my recording. This section was much lengthier than expected (approximately fifteen-twenty minutes) as the informant dealt at length with many of my questions.

She was born in the Basque Country (Las Arenas) and was brought up at home with her four brothers by English and French nannies and later by an 'institutriz'. They had a teacher who taught them at home and she did not go to a formal school until she was fifteen or sixteen. At that age, she was sent to Madrid to a boarding school for a few years.

She has mainly lived in Madrid even though she has spent some periods of time in the Basque Country due to personal reasons. She has also spent some summer and winter breaks in Paris, London, Seville and Mallorca.

She speaks French and English fluently and recalls being told that during the time she and her brothers were sent to France with their English nanny during the Spanish civil war, she forgot all her Spanish.

Her father, the late Marquis of Berriz, an aristocrat, land-owner and business man, lived in Madrid for the latter part of his life and most of her brothers live at present in Madrid or Mallorca. Their move to Madrid was partly motivated by the troubles in the Basque Country as it was felt it was no longer safe to stay in the Basque Country, although she did not wish to discuss the matter any further.

Her daily routine in her house in Madrid is simple: meeting friends and relatives, organizing the house and attending some social and charity functions.

Questions 6, 8 and 10 were not directly asked as they were partly covered while responding to other questions. Question 10 was answered when replying to question 9 and questions 11 and 12 did not apply to her as she did not hold a job which required assistants (it applied to Male Exploratory Interviewee) and she was not married and had no children.

9.2.2 Reading section

As I have described in Chapter 8, this section in the questionnaire involves a reading task. Sections 1 and 3 are formed mainly by open questions⁴⁰⁴.

I shall deal with both speakers simultaneously for the purpose of analyzing their results comparatively. Also, I shall analyze the results of section two in two parts: firstly, reading list of words and phrases and secondly, reading of text, due to the two different purposes they had been devised to address and due to the different results each part produced.

The first part formed by unconnected and connected speech, (words and phrases) was aimed to elicit the most formal style of Spanish while the following one, reading of text, given the nature of the style, language and topic, was aimed to elicit a slightly more informal reading style (which I label 'semi-formal' speech style).

9.2.2.1 Reading list of words and phrases.

There are no significant differing results between the data provided by the reading of words and the reading of phrases as far as the variables of this study are concerned. This applies to both of the exploratory interviewees⁴⁰⁵.

Variable 1: /d/ in final position in the examples, 'juventud', 'matad', 'libertad' and 'Madrid'.

As shown in Tables 9.2 and 9.3, the first and second words in the list seem to attract a more careful pronunciation then there is a shift to a more casual one. It is not unusual for a speaker using a careful style to start his/her speech with what (s)he considers to be the most prestigious variable and later to use a more common and less prestigious variable. (See Labov 1989 for further evidence of this phenomenon).

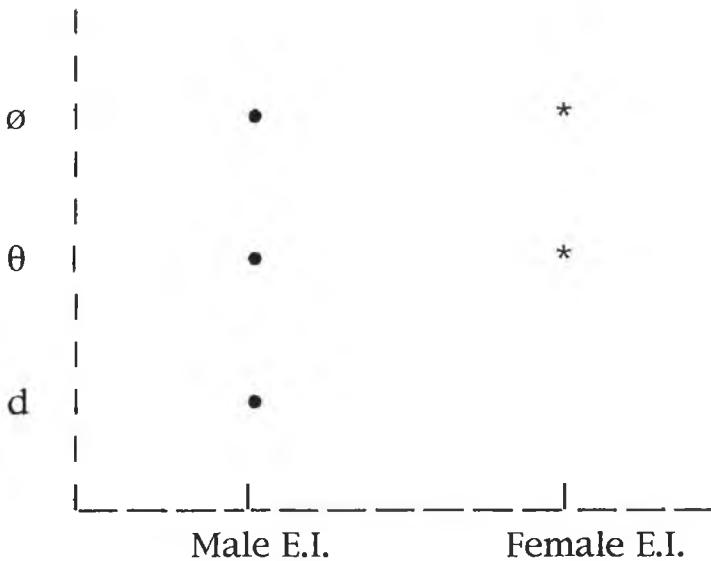
In my study, the Male E.I. realized the first two examples of this variable as interdental voiced fricative [ð], (which is the standard or more prestigious form of pronunciation), the third example as [ø] 'libertad' and throughout the rest as

⁴⁰⁴For a view on the specific components of this section, see Appendix A. All the instructions given before the reading task are discussed in Chapter 8.

⁴⁰⁵I have divided the results from the reading section into two: 9.2.2.1 Reading list of words and phrases and 9.2.2.2 Reading text, as the two present consistently different results.

interdental voiceless fricative [θ], see Graph 9.7. The female respondent begins with the voiceless fricative [θ], goes on to pronounce the second example as [d̪], 'matad', and after the second example she drops /d/ in final position and produces the rest as [ø].

Graph 9.7: Realizations of /d/ in final position in Reading of words and phrases for Male E.I. (•) and for Female E.I. (*).

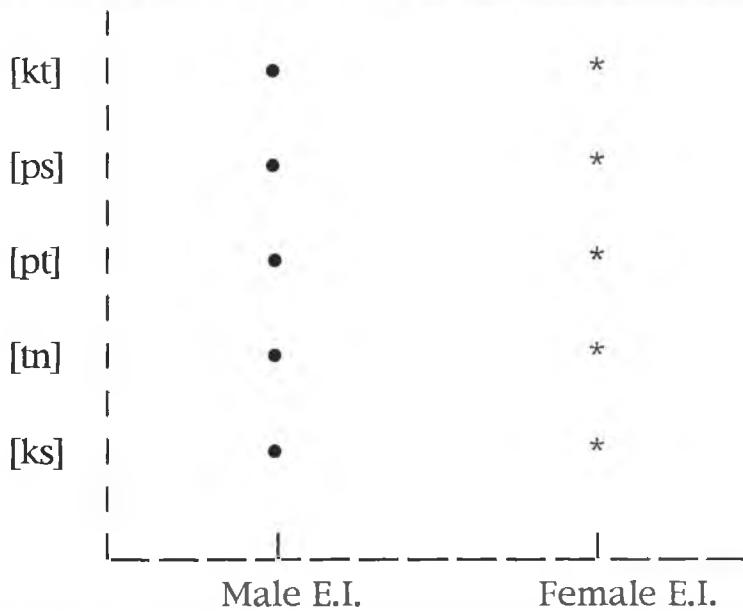


In the case of the Male E.I. he sustains the standard pronunciation of [d] in final position for the first and second words, 'juventud' and 'matad', but after the second he relaxes his pronunciation and realizes the remaining /d/ in final position as [θ], (see Table 9.2). The Female E.I. only realizes the first example, 'juventud', in what she probably perceives as the most careful pronunciation, that is with [θ], the second as [d̪], but after the second example the remaining terms are realized with [ø], (see Table 9.3).

Variable 2: In the case of the pronunciation of consonant clusters, (Graph 9.8), the five variables presented to both respondents were fully realized according to standard Spanish by both exploratory interviewees with the exception of [kt] in 'actor' which is realized by both as [θt], considered non-standard.

- 2.1 [kt]. Examples of which were 'actor', 'acto', 'actores' and 'actrices'.
- 2.2 [ps]. One example of which is found in 'cápsula'.
- 2.3 [pt]. One example of which can be seen in 'septiembre'.
- 2.4 [tn]. In the noun 'étnico'.
- 2.5 [ks]. Example of which was presented in 'texto' and 'táxi'.

Graph 9.8: Realization of consonant clusters in Reading of words and phrases by Male E.I. (•) and Female E.I. (*).



Variable 3: Even though I included various examples which might have produced several instances of vowel assimilation, 'ha estudiado', 'Llegará el ...', 'Llega a adorarlo', 'Iba a encenderlo ...', 'de hoy ...', '... que antes', 'de unos ...', '... que ella ...', 'muy' none occurred during the reading of words and phrases by the Male E.I. However, the female respondent produces some examples. The vowel group [ae] in 'ha estudiado' becomes [a] which was presented to her in the latter part of the reading of words. Also it is reduced in 'llegará el referéndum', and the vowel assimilation [eu] becoming [u] takes place in 'de unos días' in the reading of phrases.

Variable 4: /m/ in final position in the examples 'referéndum' and 'currículum' were realized as /m/ by both respondents in both occurrences. The standard phonetic production was the preferred option.

Variable 5: Again it is the female exploratory informant who deviates from the written/standard form in the example 'ha estudiado' which is pronounced with the '-ao' although the rest of the past participle, nouns and adjectives ending in '-ado' given in the questionnaire, 'encantado', 'ha estudiado', 'dado', 'firmado', 'formado', 'acabado', 'estudiado', 'estado' in the reading of words and phrases are fully realized.

Variable 6: 'Todo', 'todos' and 'para' were fully realized with no omission of consonant and no vowel assimilation.

Table 9.1: Standard (S.) and non-standard (N.S.) forms for the specific phonetic characteristics according to each exploratory informant for Reading of words/phrases.

	/d/ final position	Consonant Cluster		Vowel group	/m/ final position	ending	v+c+v
		kt	ks	ae		-ado	todo para
Male E.I.	N.S.	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
Female E.I.	N.S.	N.S.	S.	N.S.	S.	N.S.	S.

9.2.2.2 Reading of text

Both respondents were asked to read this text immediately after the reading of words and phrases. Nevertheless, both interviewees presented some results which markedly deviated from the previous reading section.

It seems that the nature and language with which the text is expressed generally resulted in a more relaxed speech style by both respondents. The evidence for this is presented in this section.

During the course of the reading, both respondents reflected at some time their preoccupation about not reading the text with the right intonation, as they had been told that intonation was one of the objectives of my study (a disguise precaution) or

perhaps they were seeking reassurance. The female speaker repeated '*¿No me digas?*' several times and asked me if I wanted her to read slowly or fast, adding after a few minutes of reading '*No se como hay que decir*' and the male repeats '*me cogí*' and '*no sabe*' several times. Both were reassured by me that any reading they provided of these phrases was perfectly correct and perfectly acceptable.

The female speaker read the text without any interruptions, except for the one I mention above. However, the male interviewee made several insertions, one to laugh slightly, when the text required him to read '*¿Qué ha pasado?*'. This was possibly due to the fact that the inclusion of the '*-ao*' form is rarely seen in written Spanish, and later slightly hesitated when asked to read '*-ado*', '*ha estado*', for the first time after the '*-ao*' forms in the text, possibly expecting more '*-ao*' forms.

As to variable 1, /d/ in final position, which is illustrated in the text by '*verdad*', the Male E.I. realized it as [ø], in the exactly same way as the female respondent, (see also Tables 9.2 and 9.3).

This indicates that, during the course of the reading of words and phrases, both respondents' speech was more careful, producing [d] and [θ] in the case of the Male E.I. and [θ], [d] and [ø] in the case of the female, but soon revert back to consistently producing their most usual pronunciation, less careful, [θ] in the case of the male and [ø] in the case of the female. However, the male respondent realizes this variable differently when reading the text⁴⁰⁶.

Interestingly, there seem to be three pronunciations of /d/ in final position in the case of the Male E.I. which possibly reflect two levels of formal pronunciation and one for the relative informal pronunciation⁴⁰⁷ which was elicited during the interview. Starting with the most careful style (first two words) the informant produces [d], then in a less careful style he produces [θ] where he concentrates slightly less, and finally [ø] for a semi-casual style which he probably uses in his casual speech.

In Table 9.2 and 9.3 the three levels can be seen, starting on the left with the most formal or careful pronunciation elicited, and ending on the right with the most informal or less careful one.

⁴⁰⁶Note that only one example of this particular variable was inserted in the text.

⁴⁰⁷Note that I do not claim to have elicited the most informal register in any of my informants (vernacular).

Table 9.2: Realization of /d/ in final position by the Male E.I. in his Reading of words, phrases and text.

Context	First two words in list	Subsequent words in list/phrases	Text
Register	Formal <	Formal <	Semi-formal
Variable	ð ø	ø	ø

As the Table 9.3 indicates the Female E.I. does not seem to have three levels of formal-casual pronunciation but two. After only the first two terms in the list of words (pronounced as [θ] and as [ð]) she shifts to what is probably her most usual realization [ø] which is further supported by her use of [ø] in all subsequent examples in Section 3. This realization in Section 3 was established to be the usual occurrence by both speakers.

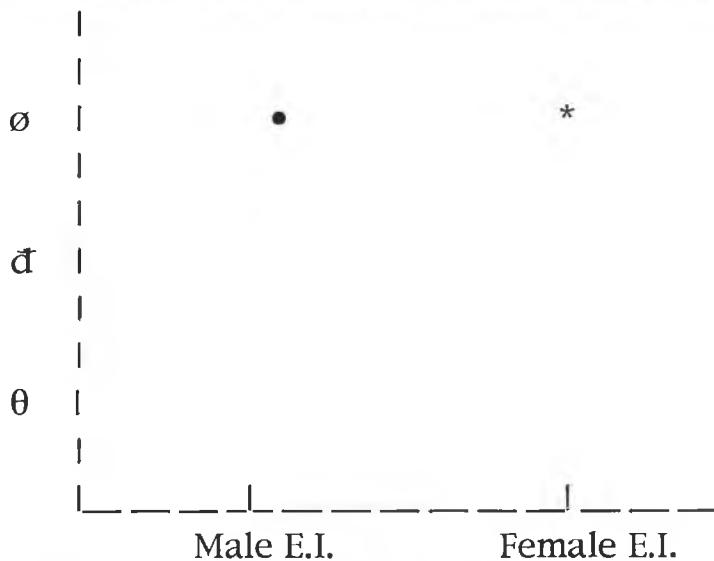
Table 9.3: Realization of /d/ in final position by the Female E.I. in her Reading of words, phrases and text.

Context	First two words in list/words	Subsequent words in list/phrases	Text
Register	Formal <	Formal <	Semi-formal
Variable	θ ð	ø	ø

In Graph 9.9 I present the pronunciation of both exploratory informants as they realize /d/ in final position. They both consistently produce phonetic realizations

which can be interpreted as their most usual realizations; that is, in semi-formal environments.

Graph 9.9: Pronunciation of /d/ in final position, 'verdad', in Reading of text.



Variable 2, the pronunciation of the consonant cluster included in the text, 'taxi', did not produce a deviation from the pronunciations given for the list of words and phrases. Both interviewees read 'taxi' as [taksi], (see Table 9.4).

Variable 3, the study of vowel assimilations again produced different results by both speakers, as can be seen in Table 9.4. None of the examples given to the male speaker resulted in vowel assimilation. However, the female speaker showed several examples of this. 'Te acuerdas', 'como ha estado' 'que el pobre', 'se ha puesto de enfadado' were pronounced as '[ta]cuerdas', 'como h[as]tado', 'qu[e]l pobre' and '[sa] puesto de enfadado'. None of the other examples presented in the text resulted in assimilations by her.

As to the pronunciation of '-ado' and '-ao', variable 5, which are shown in Table 9.4, both speakers read both forms as they appeared written in the text. They did not deviate from the pronunciations illustrated in the text nor did they object to the pronunciation of examples with '-ao', 'ha pasao', 'Me ha insultao'.

It is noteworthy that the male respondent found amusing reading the first verb with the reduction '-ao'. And when it came to reverse back to the standard form, paused for a few seconds floundering before he read it.

Variable 6, of all the examples provided, the /d/ in 'todos' is reduced to almost inaudible levels by the Female E.I. The male informant did not produce any evidence of non-standard pronunciations for this variable.

Table 9.4: Standard (S.) and non-standard (N.S.) forms for the specific phonetic characteristics according to each exploratory informant in Reading of text.

	/d/ in final position	consonant cluster	Vowel group		v+c+v
		ks	ea	-ado	todos
Male E. I.	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
Female E.I.	N.S.	S.	N.S.	S.	N.S.

9.2.3 Introspection

We saw in Chapter 6 the possible dangers of relying uniquely on respondents' opinion. Employing introspection in research has been reviewed in the light of its value and drawbacks. It is in this light that I approached the results from introspection.

This section labelled in the questionnaire as '*Introspección sobre la lengua*' produced exciting as well as some surprising results. In both cases it accounted for half the length of the interview and in view of its productivity the same length of time was allocated for the subsequent interviewees.

9.2.3.1 Introspection of Male Exploratory Interviewee

Even though my intention was to follow the order specified in the questionnaire for both interviews, in the case of the male respondent this section took place along with the identification part of the interview interconnecting both sections at the end of the interview, as explained in the beginning of this chapter.

This part of the interview took place in a very relaxed atmosphere. The male interviewee joked and laughed during the course of our conversation. He answered most questions at considerable length and asked me many questions which showed his genuine interest in what we were discussing and in taking part in this research.

Questions 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 9 were asked, but were all phrased in slightly different ways to avoid having to read the questions and, as I have discussed beforehand, they were not asked in the order shown in the questionnaire (for example, questions 7 and 2 were asked in succession in this order).

Question 6 was not asked directly as this interviewee did not want to be drawn into any personal comments which were related in any way with this Ministro Portavoz and neither were questions 1 and 8, as I felt they were too specialized for this respondent to be able to comment on⁴⁰⁸.

As a result of certain answers, I formulated many other questions which were eagerly answered. Some of these additional questions were an extension to questions already formulated and were asked in order to clarify or specifically point at what information my questions were addressing. Others were asked in order to obtain the respondent's views and opinions on a number of topics which arose during the course of his answers. The full transcript of this conversation can be seen in Appendix B.

On the topic of social classes, I started with question 7 first, '*¿Podría usted saber si una persona procede de una clase social alta o baja solamente por su manera de hablar?*' and then, I continued with question 2, '*¿Cree que en España hablamos de clases sociales como en Inglaterra o no?*'.

⁴⁰⁸It was during the interviews that I took the decision of formulating or not these questions, basing my decision on the specific knowledge the particular respondent in question showed.

His opinion on this matter was quite assertive. The answer to question 7 was 'No', but added that this could be possible to a certain extent. In his opinion this is due to the fact that in Spain we acquire our accents as we receive our education, 'los acentos se cultivan'. And as a direct answer to question 2, he felt that this phenomenon is not comparable to what occurs in England concluding that, 'No utilizamos clase social en España'.

As to question 5, '*¿Cuándo ha perdido su acento gallego? ¿Le ha perjudicado o ayudado de alguna manera el perder su acento gallego?*'. Since this respondent did not present any noticeable traces of Galician interference in his Spanish, instead the following questions were asked in order to deal with this topic:

'*¿Usted ha tenido acento Gallego alguna vez?*'. No (answer). '*¿Son sus padres de Galicia?*'. Mi padre (answer). '*¿Tiene acento de Galicia [su parente]?*'. Un poco (answer). '*¿Le ha causado alguna dificultad? ¿Cree usted que el acento de una región dificulta, de alguna manera, en las relaciones con la gente o en el trabajo?*'. Yo creo que no, pero puede que sí, porque hay mucha gente que se rie de los acentos de la gente, si por ejemplo, sobre todo los acentos más marcaos, el catalán, el gallego, el andaluz (answer).

As to the use of '-ao', referred to in question 4 in Section 3 which is a continuation of question 3, '*¿Usa '-ado', "estao", en vez de "estado" en alguna ocasión?*'⁴⁰⁹, his answer was lengthy and detailed. His answer reflected the thread of thinking as he tried examples of words with '-ado' and '-ao' to see which realization was his usual one.

His answer was unequivocal, 'Yo creo que casi todos lo usamos' (referring to '-ao'), adding that he uses it particularly with his wife. When queried about speaking in public he explains that he tries not to use it, but sometimes he fails to avoid it. And after a brief moment to reflect, he explains his avoidance method, by which he avoids using any words which are formed with '-ado' and which he tends to pronounce with '-ao', and when this fails he admits he probably uses the '-ao' form. Finally, he considered the fact that there are some words he is particularly inclined to use with '-ao' and others which he is not. 'Se ha acordado', he claimed is always used instead of the quite widespread form 'Se ha acordao'.

⁴⁰⁹This question was asked as follows, '*¿Qué piensa del uso del '-ao?'*, and in order to obtain more information on when he uses this non-standard form I also asked, '*¿En qué contextos lo usa?*'.

As to his regard for regional accents in standard/educated Spanish he feels there is a certain negative degree associated with the use of Spanish with some regional accent. As he explained, "Hay mucha gente que se rie de los acentos de los otros. Sí, sobre todo algunos acentos, los más marcaos ¿no?, el catalán, el gallego, el andaluz".

9.2.3.2 Introspection of Female Exploratory Interviewee

The introspection conversation⁴¹⁰ with this female respondent was different in nature from that of the male exploratory interviewee. During the initial part of our meeting, before the questionnaire was presented to her, she asked me what I was studying and to give her an example of what I was studying. In response to her eager queries, I mentioned one phonetic feature I was to study (/d/ in final position) and I explained to her in simple terms that in some *regions* some people pronounced it as [d], some people as [θ]. I chose this phonetic example as I could not pretend I was not going to study this and as it was an easy example to understand for a lay person, although I explained to the informant that the variation may be explained in terms of speaker's region.

She then pointed out that Adolfo Suárez, a politician, had started a trend of pronouncing /d/ in final position as [θ]. This observation exemplifies some very knowledgeable observations, opinions and comments which this informant made. In view of her empirical knowledge of some aspects of the Spanish language I asked other additional questions.

Since we had a mutual friend, the interview took place in an extremely relaxed atmosphere. She provided me with extensive information for sections 1 and 3 and showed a thorough willingness to satisfy all my questions to the best of her possibilities.

During the introspection section, section 3, in order not to read the questions and to prolong the easygoing conversation, I started with the question I thought she would be in the best position to answer, question 4. To my question about her use of '-ao'⁴¹¹ she answered, 'Yo no diría he estado. Tengo unos sobrinos que usan '-ado' y siempre

⁴¹⁰No reference will be made mainly to the later part of my conversation with Ysabel Caro y Aznar which was of a personal nature and which derived from our friendship with a mutual friend. The interview itself, including the introspection section, lasted forty minutes approximately, however the recording lasted approximately one hour and fifteen minutes.

⁴¹¹A lapsus of my concentration made me confuse her observation about the use of [θ] in final position initiated -in her view- by Adolfo Suárez, with '-ao'. The confusion was quickly solved. She quickly reflects on her use of '-ado' and '-ao' and makes some interesting observations on her own use.

me choca mucho'. This is an extraordinary remark if we bear in mind her exquisite education and what the manuals and academics insist on.

I continued with question 3, regarding the changes in the language employed by the media. She had observed the tremendous influence of television upon what people say. She remarked on the influence of the English language with regards to the use of 'obvio', from the English obvious, which was a fashionable and widely used word in the media. Also, terms such as 'régimen hopitalario' were the preferred expressions rather than, 'régimen de hospitales'.

Question 5 was adapted so that it addressed the 'acento vasco'. Since she had some traces of Basque language interference in her Spanish, the question addressed this matter, "¿Y el tener acento del País Vasco te ha causado algún problema?". She responded that her word formation is Basque and that it has caused her no problems, only that her mother, who did not have any traces of Basque in her Spanish, thought it was rather funny that she did and so did her father and the youngest brother in the family, who, in fact, as this respondent observed, was rather extraordinary as he was the one who had spent the least time in the Basque Country and yet was the one with the strongest traces of Basque interference in his Spanish.

9.2.4 Overall results

From the above observations I could briefly conclude that from the point of view of self-rating, neither of the two speakers were overrating their speech in terms of their exclusive use of solely standard Spanish, both admitted to using certain 'traditionally non-standard' features in their speech and some of those are so solidified that the male exploratory interviewee has resorted to an 'avoidance technique' (by which he avoids the past participle, for example 'he estado', and chooses the simple past 'estuve') so that he does not slip into this non-standard form when he is speaking publicly. The female, on the other hand, has no inclination to avoid any '-ao' forms in any formal or casual situations and '-ao' forms are so absorbed and she is so unaware of any stigmatization of its use, that she conveys to me how strange it is for her to hear her nephews use '-ado' forms.

The most remarkable pronunciation features of both exploratory interviewees are doubtless their non-standard features which I had never anticipated would be found in such speakers.

Both speakers present consistent phonetic productions which would indicate that the standard pronunciation of /d/ in final position is not their usual occurrence. There seems to be hardly any variation in the choice of the variants of /d/ by the female informant while the male interviewee presents three different variants (one standard and two non-standard) which are likely to indicate the existence of at least three range of formal-informal speech styles.

Further evidence seems to point at the fact that the female speaker not only does not hesitate in employing the non-standard variety, [ø], for /d/ in final position, but she also uses in her speech a relatively wider range of phonetic productions closer to non-standard variety of Spanish than her male counterpart. She uses some vowel reductions, even in the reading of words which is likely to evoke a more careful or formal speech style.

With respect to the rest of the variables studied, during the reading of words and phrases the female speaker is the one who again deviated from the norm as to the use of '-ado', although only once. Later, during the introspection, the female speaker admits to using the reduced form '-ao'. Not only does she acknowledge extensive use of it but she also admits that those who do not use it cause her a great surprise. The male interviewee argues that although he is a frequent user of the '-ao' form, he nevertheless actively aims to avoid it in his public addresses. In his own words, however "Yo creo que casi todos lo usamos".

The rest of the variables, consonant clusters, /m/ in final position and the combination of vowel plus consonant plus vowel did not produce any departures from the standard form during the reading of words and phrases.

The results from reading the text revealed differences. It is at this point that the male interviewee realizes /d/ in final position as [ø] as does the female interviewee. And it is at this point that the female informant produces five distinguishing vowel assimilations, [ea] becoming [a] in 'te acuerdas' and in 'se ha puesto', [ae] becoming [a] in 'ha estado' and [ee] becoming [e] in 'es que el pobre' and in 'de enfadado'.

The introspection section serves to bring speakers to familiar ground and both speakers spoke of their personal observations on what is occurring with the Spanish language nowadays. The female speaker dealt with more aspects of the Spanish language and she had more observations to provide. This could be partly due to this speaker being constantly immersed in a Spanish speaking environment whereas the male respondent clearly was not. The opinions of both interviewees on language

matters were summarized in the above section owing to the valuable and fresh insight these opinions provided.

Considering the main points discussed the male interviewee feels that accents are acquired through education and to only to a small extent can one know the social class a speaker belongs to through their speech. On the subject of regional accents he feels that their retention in one's speech may cause in some cases a hindrance to the speaker who uses it. The female respondent has not experienced the potentially negative side of retaining a strong regional accent. When I drew attention to her Basque accent she responded that this has caused her no problems, but some people find it 'funny'. There are strong suggestions that this speaker, as well as her younger brother and father, retained a Basque accent as a means to mark and highlight their Basque origin. She has strong and fond feelings for the Basque Country and speaks of it in very nostalgic tones.

Next I shall examine the data collected at the Escuela Diplomática in Madrid. The steps taken in order to identify a largely homogenous group from the socio-economic perspective are also dealt with.

9.3 Analysis of interviews at the Escuela Diplomática (Madrid)

9.3.1 Informants' identity and background

The information presented in this section was drawn from the interviewees' replies to the open questions presented to them in Section 1.

The informants' ages ranged from 24 to 27 and the group comprised four males and three females. Their general interest did not differ a great deal from one to another. They included reading (the most popular hobby), staying at home, walking, going to the cinema, going to the theatre, dancing, going out with friends and some sports.

Their educational background is somewhat similar, see Table 9.5. As discussed in Chapter 8, all students are required to hold a university degree and all seven respondents had one or more university degrees. The degrees they hold vary a great deal, thus reflecting their wide-ranging educational backgrounds. Three have a degree in Politics, one in French Philology, one in Journalism, one in Law and one in History.

Of all the respondents, F-I 3 is the only one who holds two university degrees, one in Politics and another in Sociology. She also studied for one year in Germany carrying out research for her Ph.D. and all the participants have spent a minimum of five years in their respective universities studying for their college degree. M-I 4 had at the time also finished a five-month course in Brussels on European Community Studies.

They all declare to have a good knowledge of two foreign languages (they are tested by the School as an entry requirement) and two have some knowledge of a third foreign language. They took daily language classes in the School and proclaimed they had the opportunity of speaking the foreign languages daily in the class. Most of them had been abroad, having visited the United States, England, Ireland, France and Belgium.

Table 9.5 : Educational background, (total number of informants, 7).

One university degree	7	(1)
Two university degrees	1	(0.14)
Two foreign languages	7	(1)
Other studies	1	(0.14)

Only one of them, F-I 2, has had some experience in the workplace having worked as a journalist for the ABC newspaper, possibly the second most popular newspaper in Spain and which is generally perceived to have some tendency towards the right side of the political spectrum.

The first two questions put to them '*¿Dónde naciste?*' and '*¿Dónde has pasado los primeros 20 años de tu vida?*' were devised to forward the following information. Of the seven informants, five are from Madrid with the remaining two, Female-Informant 3 and Male-Informant 4 from Bilbao and Valladolid respectively, see Table 9.6.

F-I 3 was born in Bilbao and remained there until she finished her secondary studies. Then, she moved to Madrid where she had studied and lived ever since⁴¹². M-I 4 was born in Valladolid (a Northern city not too far from Madrid and which traditionally has embodied the best spoken Spanish in the Peninsula) and attended his third level institution there, then moving to Madrid. At the time of the interview, he had lived in Madrid for just a few months, see Table 9.6.

Table 9.6: Number of informants whose place of birth and place of living has been ..., (total number of informants, 7).

	Born in		Spent last ten years in	
Madrid	3	(0.42)	6	(0.85)
Valladolid	3	(0.42)	1	(0.14)
Bilbao	1	(0.14)	0	

Of all the questions asked, possibly the most important one in corroborating their social membership was, in the case of this group of students, their parents' profession, together with their educational background⁴¹³, lifestyle and social ambitions (explored in Section 3).

All but one participant answered the question about their parents' professions quite clearly. One respondent (F-I 1) did so in a somewhat elusive manner. When asked about her parents' professions first she replied that her father was retired but beforehand he used to work for a company. When she perceived I waited for a longer explanation, she added her mother was a housewife. After the interview was concluded, addressing this matter in the following way I asked, '*¿Te pregunté antes la profesión de tu padre?*'. To which she replied that her father worked in a company before retiring. To my query what type of position he held, I felt certain the respondent was uncomfortable when answering that her father had carried out certain 'team tasks' ('se encargaba de trabajo de equipo'), which could be anything, see Table 9.7.

⁴¹²One must bear in mind that the year in question for the limit of these calculations is 1992. I do not know and this research does not involve itself in the informants' further stay in Madrid.

⁴¹³See Chapter 5 for further analysis on the relationship between social-class and education.

This appeared to me at the time to be a voluntary evasion from giving any specific details on the matter, possibly because the profession of F-I 1's father's was most unlikely to be a senior position or perhaps because she did not want to disclose a very personal piece of information. Whatever the case might have been, for this respondent I noted 'company employee' in the table below and granted this interviewee the lowest socio-economic status within the group. This matter will come to light at a later discussion.

Table 9.7: Parents' professions, (total number of respondents, 7).

	Mother	Father
Company employee	0	1
Bank managing director	0	1
Doctor	1	1
House-wife	5	0
Solicitor	0	1
Engineer	0	1
Civil servant	1	1
Land-owner	0	1

M-I 4's father's occupation, surname, family connections, background and life-style granted M-I 4 the highest socio-economic status of the entire group. The specific speech characteristics of M-I 4 will be discussed later in this chapter in detail.

We should also note that of the seven respondents' mothers, two worked outside the home, one as a doctor and the other as a civil servant.

As I discussed in Chapter 4 different professions hold different socio-economic status in Ireland and Great Britain as opposed to Spain. For instance, a Bank Manager will generally enjoy the life-style and salary of a top paid professional, and the same would normally apply to Civil Servants⁴¹⁴ and to some extent to Company Directors/Managers. Engineers, the profession of one respondent's father, are also university graduates. What in Britain and Ireland is normally referred to as 'engineer' is generally known as 'técnicos' in Spain.

⁴¹⁴Civil Servants in Spain are extremely highly paid and generally hold a university degree, among many other qualifications. They must also pass 'Oposiciones', which are State-organized examinations generally of a extremely complex nature. See Chapter 4 for further discussion.

The above analysis has drawn a clear picture of the respondents' identity and socio-cultural background. As seen in Chapter 8, their university degree, social ambitions, knowledge of two foreign languages, travelling abroad, hobbies, parents' professions are all unequivocal indications of their socio-cultural membership as upper-middle class or upper class⁴¹⁵.

9.3.2 Reading

The steps and instructions given to all seven interviewees preceding the beginning of the interview have been discussed at length in Chapter 8. Due to the differences in the results they shed I shall deal with the reading of the list of words, reading of phrases and the reading of the text independently.

9.3.2.1 Reading list of words

Variable 1: /d/ in final position, in examples: 'juventud', 'matad', 'libertad' and 'Madrid'.

F-I 1 pronounces the first two examples containing /d/ in final position as [d] and continues to pronounce the subsequent examples as [ø]. F-I 3 started pronouncing the first example as [θ], second and third as [d] and finally the fourth example, 'Madrid', again as [θ]. This is a highly unusual pattern.

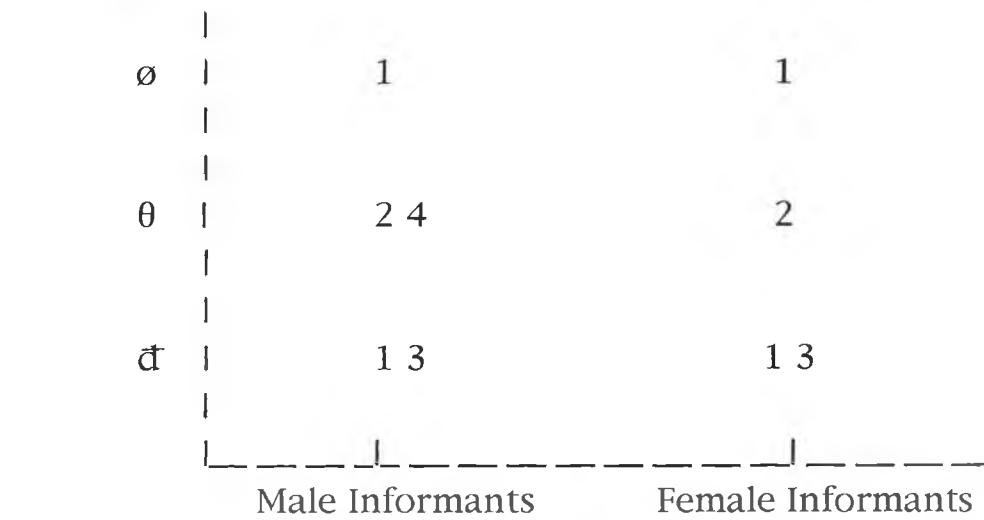
F-I 2 is the only one in the group of females who pronounces consistently and without variation /d/ in final position as [θ] in 100% of the examples pronounced. This tendency towards pronouncing this variable without any change regardless of the initial or final position in the list of the example given is a pattern that three out of the four male respondents followed. The only example in the male group pronouncing this variable differently is provided by M-I 1 and even then, this informant consistently uses [d] in the first three examples and [ø] for the last one, which is 'Madrid'⁴¹⁶. See Table 9.8 and Graph 9.10.

⁴¹⁵I have grouped together upper-middle class and upper-class as sociologically speaking this is the most natural and correct way of analysing social class divisions. See De Miguel (1994(a)) and Chapter 5 of this thesis for further discussion on this matter.

⁴¹⁶We shall see on several occasions that 'Madrid' has elicited from some respondents varying results from their regular pattern.

The one female respondent (F-I 2) who uniformly pronounces this variant as [θ] does so consistently throughout the interview. She is the only one student in this group who has had some working experience as a newspaper journalist and she presents in her speech some singular characteristics with which I shall be dealing at length later in this chapter.

Graph 9.10: Realizations of /d/ in final position in Reading of words for male and female informants at E. D.



As Graph 9.10 and as Table 9.8 show in percentages and points, male informants are overwhelmingly more consistent with their phonetic productions. They pronounce /d/ in final position without hardly any change throughout the list of words whereas female respondents varied their pronunciation according to whether the words to be pronounced are at the beginning or at the end of the list (F-I 1 starts by using [ð] then switching to [ø], and F-I 3 using for the first example [θ], the second as [ð] and the final one again as [θ]). Female informants, do appear to attempt to use what they feel is a more prestigious/standard/formal speech form than they normally would, thus the larger variability of their responses.

These results also seem to clearly point to the fact that the female respondents are less confident and possibly less certain as to how they should or are expected to pronounce this variant. They could also be making more effort (although largely unsuccessful) to conform to the norm.

Table 9.8: Realizations of /d/ in final position in Reading of words by male and female informants at E. D. in percentages.

	F1	F2	F3	M1	M2	M3	M4
ø	50%	-	-	25%	-	-	-
θ	-	100%	50%	-	100%	-	100%
ð	50%	-	50%	75%	-	100%	-

With Variable 2, the pronunciation of consonant clusters, a curious phenomenon occurred in the pronunciation of [kt] in 'acto humano' by M-I 4 . He realized this consonant cluster as [θt], deviating from the norm, and not as [kt] as we would have expected, see Table 9.9.

Likewise, [ks] in 'texto' is pronounced as [s] by F-I 1, the only speaker who deviates from the standard form and who is regarded as having the lowest socio-economic status within the group (upper-middle status).

Regarding the example 'ha estudiado' provided in the Reading of words, which is potentially able to elicit a vowel assimilation, this did not occur.

In the following table (Table 9.9) [ks] and/or [kt] are the examples taken as representative of consonant clusters. If one of these fails to be realized as a standard form then the table indicates 'N.S'. The same will apply to vowel assimilations.

Table 9.9: Standard (S.) and non-standard (N.S.) forms for the specific phonetic characteristics according to each informant for Reading of words.

	/d/ final position	Consonant Cluster		Vowel group	/m/ final position	'-ado'	v+c+v
		kt	ks	ae			todo
F-I 1	N.S.	S.	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
F-I 2	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
F-I 3	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
M-I 1	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
M-I 2	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
M-I 3	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
M-I 4	N.S.	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.

The rest of the variables, /m/ in final position ('referéndum'), '-ado'/'-ao', and 'v+c+v' ('todo') did not deviate from the norm.

9.3.2.2 Reading of phrases

The results from the phonetic production in this section showed vast differences between this section and the former. (There are marked differences between Reading of words and Reading of phrases). Therefore, they were treated and analyzed separately.

Only F-I 2, M-I 2 and M-I 3 showed no change in their phonetic realization of /d/ in final position. The three respondents had realized this phonetic variable as [θ] (F-I 2 and M-I 2) and [ð] (M-I 3) on all occasions (100%, see Table 9.8) during the Reading of words, and continued to do so in the Reading of phrases, (see Table 9.10).

As can be seen in Table 9.12, only two male respondents are now using the same variant as in the Reading of words. Male informants seemed to have relaxed their pronunciation and tended to use the non-standard [ø] for the first time (two out of

four of the respondents did so). M-I 1 dropped the standard form altogether in preference of [θ] for most of the times and [ø] for the final example in the list of phrases. M-I 4 likewise introduced in his speech for the first time the phonetic variant [ø]. Comparing female respondents' realizations in the Reading of words and the Reading of phrases, they are more consistent users of one variant and they now show no new phonetic realizations for /d/. They also seem to have established a pattern in their pronunciation and they are -in the Reading of phrases- using the variant they had finally employed in the list of words. See Table 9.11.

An overall view shows that male informants tend to use a slightly less uniform phonetic production as opposed to the previous section and as opposed to the female respondents as three of them in the Reading of phrases started to show a tendency towards a more consistent use of one single variant.

F-I 1 now used the [ø] on all occasions in the Reading of phrases as opposed to only on 50% of the occasions in Reading of words. F-I 2 continued to use [θ] on all occasions and F-I 3 used [θ] on almost all occasions.

As opposed to Table 9.8, in Table 9.10 and Graph 9.11 we can see that M-I 1 pronounced /d/ in final position as [θ] (in 'juventud' and 'libertad') and as [ø] (for 'Madrid'), a substantial difference compared to when he read the list of words as he realized almost all the examples provided as [d̪]. Another substantial variation is that now he does not use the standard form [d̪] for any of the three examples in the list, which possibly reflects a less formal speech style being used.

Graph 9.11: Realizations of /d/ in final position in Reading of phrases for male and female informants at E. D.

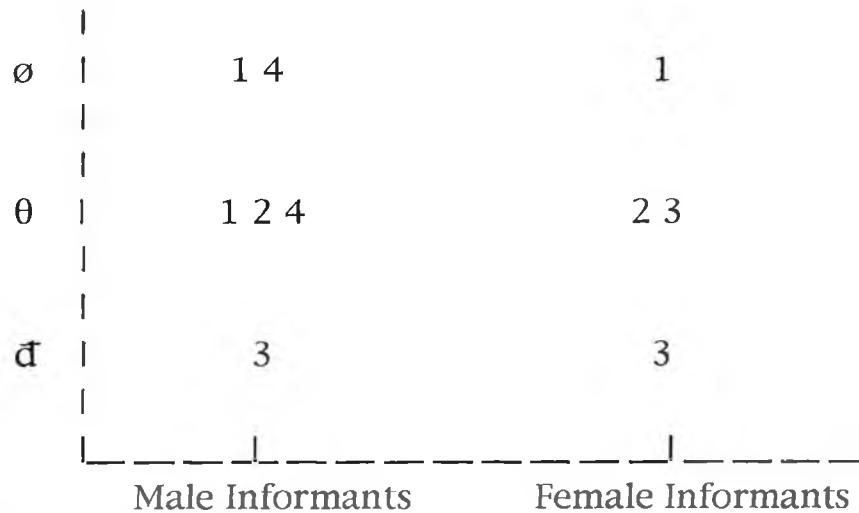


Table 9.10: Realizations of /d/ in final position in Reading of phrases by male and female informants at E. D. in percentages.

	F1	F2	F3	M1	M2	M3	M4
Ø	100%	-	-	33%	-	-	33%
θ	-	100%	67%	67%	100%	-	67%
d̄	-	-	33%	-	-	100%	-

The examples ('Actores y actrices ...', 'En septiembre ...', 'en septiembre iremos') of variable 2 elicited two non-standard pronunciations of [kt] by M-I 4 and by F-I 1. M-I 4 repeated the production of [kt] as [θt] for 'actores'. However, while the female respondent used the same phonetic production for the second example, 'actrices' (realized as [θt]), the male respondent reversed back to the standard form ([kt]), possibly realizing that he was failing to use the standard form. The realization of this consonant cluster by M-I 4 is reflected in Table 9.11 as being non-standard.

The possible phonetic realizations of vowel assimilation, variable 3, in the following examples 'cuarto oscuro', 'Llegará el', 'muy', 'Llega a adorarlo', 'puede escribir', 'Iba a encenderlo', 'de hoy', 'que antes', 'llegaré a', 'de unos', 'caso es', 'que ella' successfully produced a number of vowel assimilations⁴¹⁷. F-I 3 produced four in 'puede escribir', 'que ella', 'de unos' and in 'muy pronto', F-I 2 produces one in 'muy pronto'. M-I 2 produces the same reduction in 'muy pronto' and also in 'de unos' and again 'de unos' becomes assimilated by M-I 4. See Table 9.11.

Overall, as far as vowel assimilations are concerned, on the one hand female informants produce a rather large amount of them (five) particularly F-I 3, whereas male informants only make a few (three), from which amount one is not even fully assimilated (M-I 2 realized [ui] as [uə]).

As in Reading of words, the examples ('referéndum' and 'currículum') provided /m/ in final position (variable 4). These were all realized with [m] with the exception of 'referéndum', which F-I 2 realized as [n] but which is a perfectly standard variant.

The standard participle ending form '-ado', provided in Reading of phrases in the sole example of 'ha llamado', produced two very unexpected realizations. F-I 1⁴¹⁸ used the '-ao' instead of the '-ado' as provided in the written questionnaire, even though she had successfully preserved the standard form in the many examples provided for her in the previous section. F-I 1's production of '-ao' is particularly puzzling as it is produced after she wrongly read it as 'tomado' and when rectifying (presumably with a greater degree of concentration) she read it as 'ha llamao', when I would have expected 'ha llamado'. Also, M-I 1 says 'ha llamao'.

As can be seen in Table 9.11, no deviation from the norm is perceived for 'todo' and 'todos'. Both are fully realized.

⁴¹⁷In the example, 'llega a adorarlo', M-I 4 pronounced 'llegan a adorarlo', therefore this example is not valid in his particular case as the consonant does not allow for the planned vowel assimilation to be produced.

⁴¹⁸I-1 produces 'tomado' as [ado], the |d| is so reduced that the pronunciation is also considered non-standard for this particular example.

Table 9.11: Standard (S.) and non-standard (N.S.) forms for the specific phonetic characteristics according to each informant for the Reading of phrases.

	/d/ in final position	Consonant Cluster kt	Vowel group ui	/m/ in final position	-ado	v+c+v todos
F-I 1	N.S.	N.S.	S.	S.	N.S.	S.
F-I 2	N.S.	S.	N.S.	S.	S.	S.
F-I 3	N.S.	S.	N. S.	S.	S.	S.
M-I 1	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
M-I 2	N.S.	S.	N.S.	S.	S.	S.
M-I 3	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
M-I 4	N.S.	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.

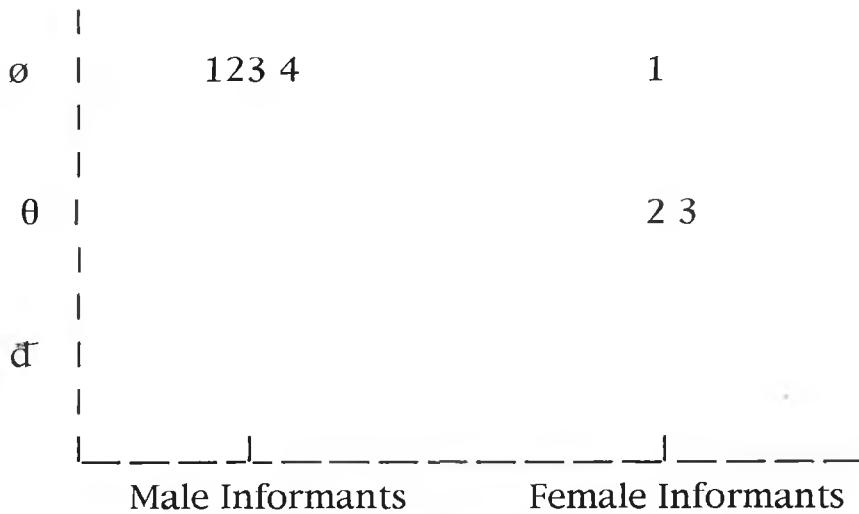
From the above discussion we can safely draw the general conclusion that there is a greater number of non-standard forms in Reading of phrases than in Reading of words by both female and male informants. However, there is an overtly clear tendency for male respondents to retain the standard form more often than female respondents.

9.3.2.3 Reading of text

In this section I shall analyze the data provided by the reading of text, and then I shall compare those results with the results from the previous two reading tasks.

One example ('verdad') was provided with /d/ in final position as explained in Chapter 8. See Table 9.12.

Graph 9.12: Realizations of /d/ in final position in
Reading of text by male and female informants at E. D.



Rebutting my first hypothesis and expectations, *none* of the respondents, male or female, used the standard form for /d/ in final position ([d]) when reading the text provided, (see Graph 9.12). Most of respondents continued to use one of the phonetic realizations they had already employed in Reading of phrases, (not necessarily the one they most commonly employed in the previous two sections). Thus, I can conclude from this that the text in its nature was able to elicit a semi-formal speech style as I had set out.

All three female respondents chose the variant most widely used for the Reading of phrases and the one they had chosen in the last few examples in the Reading of phrases, ([ø] by F-I 1 and [θ] by F-I 2 and 3). As we can see in Table 9.12, M-I 1 resorts to use [ø] which was only used on a small number of occasions during the previous two reading endeavours. The same phenomenon occurs in the speech of M-I 4, while M-I 3 and M-I 2 finally declined the use of the standard form and [θ] respectively (which were consistently used throughout the Reading of words and phrases) and also selected the non-standard form [ø].

The reasons for this are not quite clear and could be interpreted as if their efforts to use what they conceived to be more standard or prestige forms for the first two

reading tasks were dropped for this last reading assignment due to the informal nature of the text and as their concentration seems to have diminished.

We see there is an increasing degree of informality, that is, the increasing use of non-standard phonetic realizations, used as we go from the most formal reading assignment (the reading of list of words) towards the most informal of the reading tasks (reading of the text). In the first reading task we see two females and two males using the standard form quite regularly. In the reading of phrases, only one female (just one example) and one male produced the prestige form but when they reach the most informal of the reading assignments they all chose the two non-standard forms, [ø]/[θ]. These results do not correspond to the views and assumptions I had, to text book prescriptions or to the views of members of the Spanish Royal Academy.

Table 9.12: Phonetic realizations of examples with /d/ in final position by informants at E. D.

	Reading of words			Reading of phrases			Reading of text		
	juventud	matad	libertad	Madrid	juventud	libertad	Madrid	verdad	
F-I 1	ð	ð	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	
F-I 2	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	
F-I 3	θ	ð	ç	θ	ç	θ	θ	θ	
M-I 1	ð	ð	ð	ø	θ	θ	ø	ø	
M-I 2	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	ø	
M-I 3	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ø	
M-I 4	θ	θ	θ	θ	θ	ø	ø	ø	

The consonant cluster provided in the text resulted in no deviations from the norm in the example given, 'taxi'. The pronunciation of this variable as [gs] was the expected result. See Table 9.13.

Vowel assimilations produced some unexpected results. Many vowel groups were read in the standard form, with no reductions although significant deviations from the

norm occurred (particularly of the vowel group [ea]) during the production of the expressions, '*¿Te acuerdas ...?*' and '*Me ha insultao ...*', (see Table 9.13). F-I 1 produced a total of six vowel assimilations during the Reading of text in '*te acuerdas*', '*pero el caso*', '*que es más*', '*que el pobre*', '*muy bien*' and '*muy mal*'. F-I 2 produced just one in '*muy bien*' and F-I 3 produced a total of seven vowel assimilations in '*te acuerdas*', '*me ha insultao*', '*pero el caso*', '*ha estado*', '*se ha puesto*', '*que el pobre*', and '*muy bien*'. M-I 1 produces two in '*que el pobre*' and in '*muy bien*', M-I 2 realizes just two in '*te acuerdas*' and '*pero el*' and finally M-I 3 produces seven in '*te acuerdas*', '*me ha*', '*pero el*', '*se ha puesto*', '*que el*', '*muy bien*' and '*muy mal*'.⁴¹⁹ M-I 4 produced four.

A total of fourteen vowel assimilations were produced by the three female respondents, a larger number if we compare them to the eleven vowel assimilations which the four male informants produced. Even so, from these eleven there is a large proportion of vowel groups which were only partly assimilated (five out of the eleven were not fully assimilated). This sharply contrasts with the female respondents who, in my view, fully assimilate all fourteen groups with the exception of three vowel groups which are only partially assimilated.

The omission of consonants in intervocalic position, (variable 6), such as in '*todos*'⁴²⁰ in '*todos aquellos*', '*para todos*' and '*todos los días*' produced several surprises. Only one male informant, M-I 3, produced a reduction in '*todos los días*' (realized as [d̪] in its reduced form), in contrast with two females, F-I 1 and F-I 3, who pronounced the same example as [todos] ([d̪] is also reduced). All three pronunciations are considered by Navarro Tomás (1985) to be more suitable for informal environments⁴²¹, that is they would be reserved for '*la conversación familiar ordinaria*', Navarro Tomás (1985:99) and are therefore considered non-standard. See Table 9.13.

The past participle ending '-ado' produced highly unexpected and multiform results from both male and female respondents during the Reading of the text as can be seen in Table 9.13.

Most of the interviewees follow the written form, pronouncing '-ado' (seven examples) or '-ao' (three examples) in accordance with what the text required. However, not all participants do so. F-I 2, F-I 3 and M-I 1 read the examples as they are written, F-I 1 read '*atiborrado*' as [aðo] with such a reduced fricative that her

⁴¹⁹With the exception of F-I 2 and M-I 1 the rest of the readers uttered '*¿Te acuerdas*' as '[ta]cuerdas', a significant deviation from the prestigious/standard form. Likewise, M-I 3 and F-I 3 continued to realize the second expression, '*Me ha insultao ...*' as '[man]sultao'.

⁴²⁰'Para' in '*para todos*', '*para otro*' and '*para ser*' did not present any deviations from the norm.

⁴²¹Therefore, N.S. is given to the referred phonetic realizations.

pronunciation can be considered non-standard. On the other hand, M-I 2 and M-I 4 read the first '-ao' that appears in the text as '-ado' (in 'Qué ha pasao') and M-I 4 and M-I 3 read the first verb containing '-ado' as '-ao' (in 'no se como ha estado') even when the text required him to revert back to the standard form 'ado', thus reflecting the strong power of usualness of the reduced form.

F-I 2 ignores the requirement of the written text to read 'pasao' on two occasions and 'insultao' on one, and prefers to use 'pasado' and 'insultado'. It is difficult to explain why she does not read them as required, even though one could assume that she does not feel conformable with such non-standard phonetic realizations.

Table 9.13: Realizations of specific phonetic features in the Reading of text by male and female interviewees at E. D.⁴²²

	/d/ ⁴²³ in final position	Consonant cluster	Vowel group		v+c+v
		ks	ea	-ado	todos
F-I 1	N.S.	S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
F-I 2	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
F-I 3	N.S.	S.	N.S.	S.	N.S.
M-I 1	N.S.	S.	S.	S.	S.
M-I 2	N.S.	S.	N.S.	S.	S.
M-I 3	N.S.	S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
M-I 4	N.S.	S.	N.S.	N.S.	S.

In the past few sections I have presented the analysis of the data recorded of newsreaders, exploratory interviewees and students at the Escuela Diplomática which shows varying degrees of departure from the traditional standard phonetic forms. In the next section I shall present the last and very incisive insight into the respondents' personalities, ambitions, opinions and observations on the Spanish

⁴²²The consonant /m/ in final position is not reflected in the table as no example was provided for its phonetic realization within the text.

⁴²³This variable is represented by the combination 'stop+a+d'.

language, linguistic self-assessment. These refer to students of the Escuela Diplomática.

9.3.3 Introspection

The introspection section left as the final part of the interview revealed many unexpected surprises, such as the general attitude and opinion by this group of speakers to certain phonetic features of contemporary Spanish, topics which were only at this stage discussed. Likewise, the self-rate/self-attribution was made part of this last section by asking interviewees whether they themselves used the reduced form of the past participle ending '-ado'.

Also the fundamental question of whether they would recognize an educated speaker or an upper class speaker solely by the way (s)he spoke was put to them.

During the introspection of F-I 2 it became apparent that the question about what impression they got from listening to somebody with a regional accent might had some particular relevance among this group of speakers.

During the making of the questionnaire and the guidelines for the interview, it soon became apparent that the introspection section was of particular value to me. In this section, I could openly ask participants about their perspective on what is occurring to the Spanish language at present, what their opinion was on their own speech, what circumstances or characteristics had to come into play in order to clearly identify a speaker as educated or from a high social stratum, whether regional accents could be part of standard or prestige Spanish among many other topics which could be brought up by the interviewees themselves.

The introspection section was generally lengthier than any other section in the interview. It lasted approximately five or ten minutes with a maximum length of about 15 minutes in the case of M-I 2 and approximately the same amount of time for M-I 3 as both participants were good observers of the Spanish language and were willing to share their opinions with me. At the opposite end of the scale, M-I 1's introspection lasted only two minutes, as he had conveyed to me at the beginning of the interview the urgency of some unexpected matter he had to deal with, even though he carefully added he was more than happy to take part in the interview.

To my question on whether the informant employed '-ao' for the past participles; for example, 'he estao', 'encantao', all male informants asserted that they *normally* did not; however, it was the opinion of all male participants that they would probably do so when speaking to friends or to their families.

However, some evidence points at the fact that three out of the four male informants were clearly overrating their production of the standard form '-ado'. During the short time employed to answer the initial section (Identification), replying to one of my questions M-I 4 answers, 'he practicao el inglés', even though he also uses the full standard form of the past participle, 'he estado' and 'pasado' in the same section. And during our farewell he said "yo he estao encantado también".

Likewise, during the reading of phrases M-I 1 employed 'ha llamao' instead of 'ha llamado' which was what informants were required to use. Similarly, during the reading of text M-I 3 utters 'ha estao' instead of 'ha estado' which is what the text specifically urged him to read.

Table 9.14 : Replies to my question '¿Utilizas el '-ao' en alguna ocasión? Por ejemplo, 'he estao' o 'encantao', (total number of informants, 7).

	Male		Female	
Yes	0	(0)	3	(0.42)
Not normally	4	(0.57)	0	(0)

All female informants admitted to using the reduced form of the past participle on some occasions, and two expressed it was an error they tried to avoid, 'Me imagino que todos cometemos errores', says F-I 2 adding, ' Yo creo que [-ao' ending] la uso por desidia, o sea, porque sin darte cuenta la usas porque es más fácil.'

Female respondents admit more freely their much more frequent use of '-ao' than male informants. F-I 1 used 'he contao' immediately after stating when and why she tried to avoid '-ao', 'siempre cuando se habla con gente de cierta autoridad, como con profesores, siempre intentas emplear un lenguaje un poco ... por eso que te he contao antes'. This informant also reads, during the Reading of phrases, 'ha llamao' instead of 'ha llamado', as was required.

At the beginning of the interview, to my question '*¿Dónde estudiaste?*', F-I 3 replies that she finished her Sociology degree '*en junio del año pasado*' and as to my question about their parents' professions, she replies that her father is an '*abogado*'.

F-I 2 requires a different analysis. Even though her insight into the present use and pronunciation of the Spanish language is not incisive like other participants', nevertheless she shares the opinion that '*-ao*' is an error "*que todos cometemos*".

She is the only respondent who avoided reading the participle reduced form (as required three times in the text) in favour of the standard form. She reads "*¿Qué ha pasado con Antonio?*", "*¿Que qué ha pasado?*" and "*Me ha insultado*" instead of the reduced forms.

One further point needs to be made about the avoidance of reading '*-ao*'. Due to the close connection in Spanish between the orthographic and the phonetic systems it should be taken into account that -in my view- this female informant who reads '*-ao*' as '*-ado*' was making a highly conscious choice between the standard and non-standard forms. One might have anticipated for the interviewee to follow the expected reading of the term as it was spelled but this was not so. What is striking is that this informant in particular rebels against the written form. She is asked to read a particular form, but chooses an alternative pronunciation which clearly contains the variable she is more inclined to normally use or she wishes to be associated with in this interview, the more traditional, prestigious form.

When the same speaker is asked if somebody's pronunciation would convey to her the education of the speaker, she replied, "*Yo creo que eso ... no estoy segura si es más una cuestión social... No me gustaría ser un poco clasista, pero creo que también se nota un poco*". She is careful to use the word "*clasista*", meaning, a person who is in agreement with social class divisions, for the reasons discussed in Chapter 4. See Table 9.15 for the groups' replies on this matter.

Table 9.15: Replies to my question, '*¿Crees que puedes reconocer si una persona tiene una cultura/clase alta o baja por la forma de hablar?*', (total number of respondents, 6).

Yes	6
No	0

The same question produced an overwhelmingly positive reply. All the respondents⁴²⁴ agreed in stating that they were able to perceive socio-cultural differences through the way people spoke as reflected in Table 9.15. But when asked in exactly what characteristics they could perceive or examples of the same they were less clear. See Table 9.16.

When they mention vocabulary, some mean the usage of certain words. Several examples are given, the use of 'mucho gusto' instead of the more educated 'encantado' can be indicative of a lesser level of education, the use of slang words or 'vocabulario cheli', the use of a much more reduced, impoverished vocabulary, more 'muletillas' and lack of 'fluidez' can also be characteristic of non-educated Spanish.

Table 9.16: Replies to my question, *¿se nota que una persona es educada/procede de una clase social alta por la forma de hablar? ¿en qué se nota?*, (total number of respondents, 6).

Number of informants	
Vocabulary	4
Grammar	1
Pronunciation	2
Intonation	1
Accent	1

Furthermore, the gap between speakers of different classes/education is becoming increasingly wider according to the views of M-I 3 and F-I 1. F-I 1 declares "[the gap between people] está marcada y se está marcando cada vez más" and M-I 3 asserts "ahora se ve más la diferencia".

Overall, male speakers in my sample tend to overrate themselves as standard users of Spanish, whereas female speakers are probably more open or perhaps feel less pressure of whatever nature to overreport or overrate the use of the standard form. Are males under more socio-cultural pressure to appear to conform to the norm? The very small sample prevents us from a definitive answer although there is some evidence which categorically points to the fact that this pressure is very much

⁴²⁴With the exception of M-I 1 whose introspection section was reduced due to the reasons specified earlier.

present among informants at the Escuela Diplomática. This will be further discussed in Chapter 10.

All the informants (seven) openly expressed their desire, effort or endeavour not to use the reduced form of the past participle ('-ao'), even though on occasions some of them admit to using it. Three (two male respondents and one female) proclaim it to be an error they try to avoid and one female respondent indicated that it is a reflection of impoverished language. These opinions were shared by the two members of the Real Academia Española interviewed, (see Chapter 2).

The topic of the inclusion of regional accents as part of an educated variety of Spanish took a more prominent position in my research after Female-Interviewee 2 was queried. During the Identification questions in the early part of the interview of F-I 2, I came to feel that the regional accent of her father could be an important issue despite the fact that I had thought there would be a general acceptance of those varieties of Spanish which included a regional accent, and that these would be considered standard.

Contrarily to what I expected, some informants to whom I put this matter responded in a negative manner. To my question about the Salamanca accent of F-I 2's father ('Y, ¿tu padre retiene algún acento de Salamanca o no?'), she replies, 'Tiene un poco de tonillo, sí canta un poco', although she added that "quizá por cuestiones afectivas, me gusta". Perceiving this somehow critical comment I pursued this matter further rather than wait till the end, till the introspection section and I asked, 'Y, ¿qué te parece el hecho de que haya acentos de otras regiones, por ejemplo en el telediario, eso te gusta o te causa irritación, o no?' To which she replied, 'La verdad es que en eso ... no, me gusta oír el castellano /.../ me resulta más agradable [Spanish without a regional accent] que oír a una señora que ... de Mallorca vamos'. A very unexpected reply.

Therefore, she prefers to hear a Castilian Spanish generally, probably considering standard Spanish solely being formed by this variety of Spanish. The rest of the respondents unanimously accept a newsreader or interviewer on television with a regional accent. This is likely to mean that they envisaged standard Spanish nowadays as more broad in its circumscription and including a wider range of regional varieties. This can be seen in Table 9.17.

The latter opinion by the majority is what I perceive as occurring in today's society. If Spanish is spoken correctly, that is, with the perceived important features to be

labelled standard or prestigious, then the speaker, regardless of his/her regional accent will be accepted as a speaker of standard Spanish.

Table 9.17: Attitude towards regional accents in Spanish, i.e. in the news, (total number of participants, 5).

Preference for no retention of regional features in Standard Castilian Spanish	1 (F-I2)
No dislike/Acceptance	4 (other female/male informants)

Some informants provide examples of why some speakers in the past have felt a need to rid their Spanish of any regional accent. Male-Informant 3 explains that when his father moved to Madrid he lost his Andalusian accent completely because as he recalls "creo que debió de sufrir algún tipo de rechazo, algún tipo de burla por su acento y entonces, se debió proponer perderlo". The reason also lies in that "no tiene mucho apego [to Andalusia]", (M-I 3. See Appendix B).

This, in my view, has enormous consequences for what is to constitute standard Spanish and it is an important departure from traditional views still embraced by the currently used manuals and general bibliography and by the 'académicos'.

M-I 3 offered the most incisive and profound linguistic views of the whole group. Being a philologist, he had been observing the Spanish language and his opinions coincide with many of those of sociologist Amando de Miguel and of other linguists.

Two of the four male respondents⁴²⁵, M-I 2 (a History graduate) and M-I 3 (a French Philology graduate) also perceived the opposite happening. They do not object to people who naturally speak with a regional accent but find it unacceptable when speakers artificially adopt a regional accent in their speech because 'se quiere hacer más simpático al entrevistado o al público al que se dirige', (M-I 3's views).

⁴²⁵The two who showed a much greater insight into Spanish as it is spoken nowadays, and whose interviews were considerably lengthier than the rest.

The change leading to the higher regard with which Spanish people have come to view regional accents is a general perception voiced by M-I 3. He feels that beforehand, for example, the Andalusian accent was not very highly regarded. However, nowadays with the change of government (referring to the former socialist government) and a more prominent role of its leaders, Andalusian accent has been 'revalorizado', because as he explained, 'muchos de los líderes del partido socialista y tal son andaluces y entonces ya no choca tanto.'

For M-I 2 a regional accent does not convey anything else than simply the region a person comes from, nothing else because, as he explained, 'de repente se dan cuenta de que son andaluces y les gusta remarcarlo, o que son catalanes."

The opinion that the gap between speakers of different classes/levels of education is becoming wider is voiced by F-I 1 and M-I 3. This difference -according to F-I 1- is becoming more evident. M-I 3 considers that "ahora se ve más la diferencia" but that among young speakers (in their late teens) there is however a uniformity in the way they speak, regardless of their socio-economic and cultural background. He notes that "se podía comprobar esa pobreza de léxico, de construcciones, no saber construir frases"⁴²⁶.

M-I 2 also reflects that there is a certain uniformity in the way all classes speak, they use more colloquialisms, there is poorer vocabulary. As he explains "Hay una uniformidad ahora mismo entre ... las clases más educadas, porque el lenguaje coloquial está ganando muchos planos. Se está llegando a una lengua más uniforme"⁴²⁷.

Both these informants consider that the younger generations have a much more limited range of vocabulary, an opinion also voiced by Rafael Lapesa and by Amando de Miguel (Lapesa/De Miguel, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992).

9.3.4 Overall Results

Although it appears that male informants are more standard users of /d/ in final position in the first two reading assignments, when it comes to finally reading the

⁴²⁶For further evidence see Chapter 4.

⁴²⁷He explained, 'por ejemplo, en televisión entre gente que se supone ha tenido una buena educación se utilizan muchos términos que a veces dices, bueno cómo puede estar diciendo alguien esto aquí, con esta gente. Ya no me refiero a palabrotas, o a expresiones mal sonantes ¿no?, sino a términos de la calle que mucha gente, que mis padres no entenderían.'

text both female and male become equal users of non-standard variants. Given the results from the three reading tasks female speakers seem to prefer [θ] and [ø] and males tend to use [d] and [ø].

Males (exploratory interviewee and students at E. D.) appear to be able to maintain the standard pronunciation longer. This could be seen by analyzing the results from two points of view. Firstly, by concentrating on what variable (the standard variant) they use and secondly by looking at how long they maintain the standard variant. The three female informants are already using non-standard pronunciations of /d/ in final position by the second example of the Reading of phrases, and they already present slightly higher occurrences of vowel reductions than their male counterparts at this point.

Half of the male informants, on the other hand, reach the reading of phrases still using the standard form [d]⁴²⁸ and fewer examples of vowel assimilations are also produced by male readers. When it comes to the reading of text again female speakers present a larger occurrence of vowel assimilations.

The fact that female speakers (both the exploratory and students at E. D.) (1) are likely to admit to using non-standard features such as '-ao', (2) are less likely to overrate themselves as standard speakers of Spanish, and (3) consistently produce less variability in the different reading styles (less variability in the choice of variant of /d/ in final position), (4) more consistency as users of vowel assimilations throughout the reading tasks may indicate that their language is subject to less external influence to conform to the norm, that they are possibly linguistically more confident and/or may be less conscious of the social meaning language has in conveying socio-economic status and social power. This will be the subject of discussion in Chapter 10. Note that this finding contrasts sharply with evidence from British English (Trudgill 1972), evidence which is discussed in Chapter 6.

This overrating phenomena is in itself noteworthy when we analyze the present situation of the Spanish language among the participants of my field work. By asking informants to rate themselves as users of a non-standard variant ('-ao') what I may have been doing was transforming a phenomenon which was formerly an unconscious speech behavioural pattern to a suddenly level of explicit awareness. As Nichols (1984) reflects,

⁴²⁸Although the other half had already shifted towards the non-standard form [θ], with only two examples of [ø].

"Language is one of the primary vehicles through which our relative social status is shown, often in ways that remain below the conscious level of the participants in the speech act"

(Nichols 1984:23)

It is also plausible to conclude that not only are speakers generally following a speech pattern by which '-ao' replaces '-ado' endings, but it is also possible that certain terms ending in '-ado' are more likely to have '-ao' endings even though the speaker may not be a consistent user of the '-ado' form. This was also noticed by Fischer (1964) as to the use of '-ing' and '-in'. He reported that,

"A linguist may ask whether there is any association between the suffix variants and specific verbs. The corpus is not large enough to establish stable frequency indexes for the suffixes of individual words, but there is certainly a trend for markedly "formal" verbs to have the -ing suffix"

(Fischer 1964:485)

Reviewing the Spanish evidence, what this means is that general Spanish linguistic developments and patterns towards non-standard pronunciations may be determined by the linguistic pressure of other users and the general pronunciations of certain words which makes certain non-standard pronunciations be almost the only option presented to speakers. Thus, many speakers, particularly the male exploratory interviewee, M-I 4 and M-I 2, when queried about when they use '-ado' and '-ao' start pronouncing a word in the standard and non-standard form and conclude they would not use the standard form for certain words ('he estado' is mentioned) -in Fischer's words 'informal words'- whereas for other words -'formal words'- the standard form is the most usual one ('encantado' is mentioned).

9.4 Conclusions from the perspective of the phonetic realization of variables

In this chapter I have presented in detail results from the data collected through the recordings of newsreaders and interviews of exploratory interviewees and informants at the Escuela Diplomática in Madrid. From the analysis of this data two different phenomena were dealt with: firstly, the adoption of certain traits (traditionally non-educated phonetic realizations) into standard Spanish in a much larger scale than expected and secondly, the avoidance of others, by which their language clearly sounds educated and refined.

I have also posed a few arguments and evidence which by implication addressed the questions and expectations dealt with in Chapter 8, such as the 'acceptability' of regional accents in educated/standard Spanish. The extent to which variables are present in the speech of the speakers and to what extent in Spanish are these capable of conveying socio-economic and cultural differences through pronunciation were two broad areas also studied in this research. The lack of consciousness towards social class differences and cues in language which transmit these differences was also investigated.

The fundamental purpose of this project was also to clarify the value of non-standard varieties and explore why they appear, persist and are retained. A subsidiary theme was also what group solidarity entails and its value in terms of its weight in the identification of a group.

Despite the fact that the speech of all the informants analyzed is overtly standard, there is a considerable departure from what is traditionally considered standard Spanish by all the speakers analyzed. This departure from the *old standard* or inclusion of traditionally un-educated phonetic features in their speech is more remarkable if we bear in mind the formality of the context in which the data was produced. And although the data provided by the two sets of speakers (newsreaders on the one hand and exploratory interviewees and informants at E. D. on the other) was produced under different conditions, their speech undoubtedly represents the formal speech style of educated speakers of Spanish.

This departure is in itself a novelty in view of what the literature, university lecturers and members of the R.A.E. still consider to represent standard or educated Spanish. And even though the number of informants cannot be considered to be 'statistically' representative of 40 million speakers of Spanish in the Peninsula, the sixteen speakers⁴²⁹ analyzed can certainly produce some very sound indication of what is occurring among some educated speakers of Spanish and how their Spanish is being spoken at present. Also, we should consider both sets of data bearing in mind the variability factor which such different sets of speakers embody.

The significance of my results becomes more relevant when we note the extensive departure from traditional/prestigious/standard/educated Spanish by these speakers even in formal contexts. From this, one can reasonably assume quite reliably that the

⁴²⁹This number is well above the number that is regarded as sufficiently representative in sociolinguistic work.

occurrence of these (and other) non-standard pronunciations is likely to be even more extensive and frequent in less formal environments.

Newsreaders provide the first unexpected results which clearly point at the fact that a revision is needed in our notions of what represents contemporary standard Spanish. These speakers, together with my exploratory interviewees and the informants from the E. D. provided me with a considerable range of examples from the spectrum of educated speakers of Spanish. The consistent use of certain non-standard phonetic realizations by the speakers studied suggests that these phonetic features are not simply confined to this group.

From the onset of this research project, some changes in what is regarded as educated Spanish or '*español culto*' had been observed although the extent was to be a source of continuous revelations. And although members of the Real Academia Española, interviewed in 1992, admitted to me that certain changes in the pronunciation of Spanish have been and are taking place, the extent to which these changes have reached the educated classes would certainly lack credibility if research did not prove it with some empirical evidence.

Both Rafael Lapesa and Camilo José Cela conveyed quite emphatically their belief that educated Spanish has indeed become more flexible and has accepted many phonetic features in the past relegated to non-standard Spanish, such as '*yeismo*', which is now accepted as standard. And even though they are often dismayed and reject other phonetic realizations as standard when queried about their extent (some of which were studied here), their interest in the findings of my research and their own doubts and questions as to how standard Spanish is spoken nowadays brings me to believe that educated Spanish has changed beyond recognition.

As the final part of this section I wish to reflect on the variables chosen for my field work. Obviously the percentage of phonetic features which are subject to the speaker's manipulation as sociolinguistic markers, and subject to a certain variation according to his/her interpretation of the context, is hard to estimate in any language. Of all the possible sociolinguistic markers I chose just a few in number but ones which represent the variables capable of marking a speaker as user of standard and non-standard Spanish, at least from the traditional perspective.

The socio-phonetic mapping of a speaker's repertoire which I selected was confined to the following phonetic characteristics: the phonetic realizations of /d/ and /m/ in

final position, consonant clusters, vowel groups, omissions of certain consonants in intervocalic position and the pronunciation of the past participle ending '-ado'.

Of all the variables examined in this study, none produced a wider range of variants and departure from the traditional standard norm than the production of /d/ in final position. All sixteen speakers studied used to some extent deviations from the standard variable for /d/ in final position, and only two newscasters showed a preference to using [d̪], the standard form.

The pattern⁴³⁰ explaining the fact that individual speakers seemed to be randomly using [d̪], [θ] and [ø] only became clear when I analyzed my entire corpus of data, although when I interviewed Rafael Lapesa, his views were clear on the matter. For /d/ in final position only [d̪] should be used by educated speakers of Spanish.

With very few exceptions, newscasters, exploratory interviewees and informants from the E. D. used such a range of variants within a short utterance that first it was assumed that this had become a case of *free distribution*. This first impression was disproved when I reached the end of my data analysis.

It became apparent that in the welter of such a wide range of linguistic changes in Spanish, a lot of speakers did actually not know what is considered the traditional standard pronunciation and were using, for example, [θ] at the beginning and sometimes also at end of some phonetic occurrences, when their concentration and attention on their own pronunciation was higher, possibly in the belief that this variant was the standard representation of /d/ in final position. Therefore, the evidence suggests that the choice of a variant largely depends on the degree of formality/informality of the context and the level of concentration of the speaker in question.

Within the limits of my interview, devised to study the most formal speech style by presenting informants with three different reading tasks, a final section was included during which informants were expected to finally produce a more relaxed speech. Different levels of concentration/attention -that is, an attempt to conform with the norm- on the informants' own speech were found. Female informants, on the one hand, produced either one or two variants for /d/ (with the exception of

⁴³⁰The lack of consistency mainly in the choice of several variants of /d/ in final position by mostly male speakers (newscasters, exploratory interviewee and students at the Escuela Diplomática) may be also interpreted as an attempt to conform to what they view as the norm, whereas female speakers seem to be more inclined to use one variant, this -for female speakers- is likely to be [θ].

female exploratory interviewee who produced three) and male informants produced two and quite frequently three different variants.

The production of different variants for /d/ in final position was also found to be determined by the particular word the speaker was using and so, for example, for M-I 3 'David' is always pronounced as [d], the traditionally standard form, whereas other terms within the same context and even the same section of my interview are pronounced with [θ]. The same phenomenon seems to occur for the term 'Madrid' although an interesting pattern arose. The evidence seems to suggest that newsreaders are more inclined to use a standard variant for /d/ in 'Madrid', even when they are using other non-standard variants for other terms with /d/ in final position within surrounding phrases, while none of the exploratory interviewees and informants from the Escuela Diplomática employed the standard form for the same word.

The reason for this is not clear although one could argue that the pressure to use certain pronunciations for certain words apply differently to different speakers. Whereas, for example, some informants at the E. D. may feel that the name of certain colleagues may require a standard pronunciation, for newsreaders this privileged position or prominence may be taken by other terms more relevant to them, such as is 'Madrid'.

And finally, it was also discovered that speakers are generally more inclined to use one single variant and would normally use this for the majority of the occasions given a certain uniformity of the linguistic environment. In addition, some speakers are very consistent users of this one variant (whatever the linguistic environment may be) and would use it on all occasions (F-I 2 and N-I 3 exemplify this last model of speaker).

It is interesting to note that Rafael Lapesa and the female exploratory interviewee reasoned that this departure from the norm has been largely triggered by the speech of the politician Adolfo Suárez, politically active during the democratic transition and who employed [θ] for /d/ in final position. The openness to absorb new linguistic forms of behaviour and the eagerness to adopt new practices during this particular period of time (the transition) is well known and has been extensively studied. See Chapters 3 and 4.

All other variables of my study provided important departures from the traditional standard Spanish, with one exception, /m/ in final position, which is not sensitive to

variations in pronunciation by speakers. This is particularly relevant since my data provides examples of the most formal speech style (reading).

With rare exceptions, all newsreaders, exploratory interviewees and informants from E. D. produced vowel assimilations and reductions of consonant clusters. This is in itself relevant, but the frequency and the extent among these speakers of the use of particularly two vowel assimilations [ea] to [a] (as in 'se ha' and 'me ha') and [ui] to [u] (as in 'muy') lead me to presuppose that these developments are not just a passing fad, which all languages are known to go through, but a more established speech pattern.

The use of '-ao' ending in past participles, nouns and adjectives became another debatable and controversial subject. The official position of the R.A.E. was sought in order to establish what was conceived as educated and what was not, since there was no updated published work dealing with such linguistic matters.

Rafael Lapesa and Camilo José Cela had clear opinions on the correct usage of '-ao/-ado'. The usage of '-ao' (which according to Rafael Lapesa has been employed since the 16th century) and '-ado' should clearly seen employed as follows,

"Mire usted, el '-ado' y el '-ao' varía en la pronunciación de toda persona medianamente culta y desde luego cuando se habla con cierto cuidado en una conferencia, no creo que nadie diría gobernao, no, pero en Andalucía ya es distinto. En Andalucía está mucho más admitida entre las gentes medianamente cultas el '-ao' como una variante generalizada y esto hace que ahora que tenemos tanto andaluces en el gobierno, Felipe González, hable en '-ao' y la ministra portavoz del estado es un desastre la pobre, es de lo más torpón que se puede dar."

(Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992)

And although he admits the use of '-ao' in certain contexts, he does not consider it to be a common occurrence in nouns and adjectives. My data contradicts his assumption overwhelmingly. Camilo José Cela is more categorical on the subject of '-ado' versus '-ao'. In his view '-ao' is inadmissible on any occasion whatever the circumstances may be, (Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992).

This was to prove another clear point of departure between official directives and current usage. Through my research, I explored the extent and acceptability among speakers of their use, departing from my observation that the '-ao' form was extensively used. I feel that '-ao' form is so established in contemporary Spanish

among politicians, bishops, journalists and the Spanish royal family even in public televised speeches⁴³¹, that there are expressions which would sound almost unnatural with the '-ado' ending. 'Que me quiten lo bailao', 'uno al lao del otro', 'bailaor (de flamenco)', 'cantaor (de flamenco) and 'un cortao' are almost inconceivable with '-ado'.

Although none of the newsreaders produced a reduction of '-ado', informants from the E. D. and exploratory interviewees did so to a considerable and unexpected extent. Whereas the two exploratory informants admit to being extensive users of '-ao' even in formal environments, students at the E. D., as a whole, are less inclined to admit its use in such environments, although female respondents, as opposed to male, are more inclined to admitting to using '-ao' in *informal* contexts.

In attempting to arrive at an overall conclusion on this variable we would do well to introduce one further factor, the age factor, that is the differences between the speech of older speakers (exploratory interviewees) and that of younger generations (informants at the E. D.). On the one hand, the male exploratory interviewee (the Spanish Ambassador to Ireland) uses '-ao' extensively for verbs, names and adjectives which may take this form. When asked about his father's profession he replies 'abogao'. He admits using '-ao' in informal situations and particularly with certain verbs, such as 'estar'. In addition, he acknowledged having serious difficulties avoiding '-ao' in public speeches and in formal situations and he consciously avoids the past participle wherever possible. The case of the female exploratory interviewee (the daughter of the Marquis of Berriz) is perhaps even more surprising from the linguistic point of view. She admits to using '-ao' for *all* verbs, nouns and adjectives which may take this suffix and she uses it for informal as well as formal situations. She is clearly unaware of any social stigma attached to this linguistic form and even expresses her surprise at hearing her nephews speak with the '-ado' ending in the past participles.

Informants at the E. D. are less prolific users of '-ao' than the exploratory interviewees, particularly during sections 1 and 3, although their use of '-ao' caused a great surprise to me bearing in mind the formality of the context in which they were speaking. During sections 1 and 3 both sets of speakers produced an unexpected proportion of '-ao' forms.

⁴³¹The king of Spain, Juan Carlos de Borbón y Borbón, is renowned for pronouncing "ciudad [ø]", "Comunidad [ø] Europea", "legitimidad [ø]", "transciende [s]", "hemos estao". (1991).

What was unexpected in analyzing both sets of speakers (exploratory interviewees and informants at the E. D.) was that the evidence from my recordings shows that although informants at the E. D. are less frequent users of '-ao' in sections 1 and 3 of the interview than the exploratory interviewees, at the same time they are more frequent users of '-ao' during the *reading tasks*, section 2, than the exploratory informants. It seems to be a contradiction although it can be explained in terms of this group of speakers' degree of 'linguistic self-control', which means that younger speakers are less successful in the task of 'controlling' their speech than more adult speakers.

The admission by female speakers to using more non-standard forms ('-ao' and their deviations from the norm as far as the choice of variants for /d/ in final position) and the likelihood of them employing more vowel assimilations and reductions in consonant clusters seem to point to the female speakers of my study being more frequent users of non-standard Spanish.

Generally speaking, there is much more variability by students at the E. D. than in the speech of the exploratory informants. We see that the results from Reading words, phrases and text produced a limited number of deviations from the norm in the case of the exploratory interviewees, whereas in the case of the students at the E. D. the differences and their use of a wide range of variants is remarkable. I underestimated the effect that the reading of the text could have on the speakers and through it I was able to yield stimulating results.

It is true to say that "we know very little about the total linguistic repertoires of individuals", Milroy (1980:1), but surely the variability presented above must mean that certain pronunciations are still considered to be more desirable than others.

A further point arising from the analysis of my data was the low degree of *linguistic consciousness* that speakers generally have as to their own language use, which is unthinkable in terms of British English usage. A comparative illustration in English would be if a speaker did not know whether he uses '-ing' or '-in', and most importantly of all, if this English speaker was not aware of the socio-linguistic connotations that either variant carries.

When questioned about their possible use of '-ao' (which is the phonetic trait of all the ones studied more likely to be noticed and comprehended by my interviewees) most of my informants had to reflect for a while before concluding that they were or were not indeed users of this suffix, and if so, when they were more likely to use it.

The case of the former socialist government spokesperson ('Ministra Portavoz del Estado') serves to exemplify the spread of the use of '-ao' among public representatives and the total lack of linguistic awareness as to socio-economic and cultural implications that certain linguistic forms carry in Spanish. During a public speech, this Minister informed the media that "Los diputaos han votao y mañana se sabrá el resultao", (*Cambio 16*, 1990)⁴³². And when asked about her extensive use of '-ao' her reply evidently supports the above point,

"A mi al principio me chocaba mucho que le chocara tanto,
porque todos hablamos así en la vida normal"
(*Cambio 16*⁴³³, 1990)

The above comment requires clarification as it is closely intertwined with the concepts of regional accents within Spanish, their acceptability and change of status at present. As an Andalusian speaker of Spanish, this female minister is simply speaking in a fashion typical of her Autonomous Community. Lorenzo (1980) and Lapesa (Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992) provide a plausible, if partial, explanation for this. Lapesa reasons that some pronunciations in Andalusian Spanish are regarded standard in Andalusia but are not so in other parts of Spain. The extent to which she uses '-ao' and her surprise that others do not so, may be giving strong indications that she lacks the linguistic awareness to judge her own language, however.

To conclude this chapter there is also another element to take into account when looking at the results. That is the *socio-political and cultural continuum* which mediates between the informant's language and its interpretation and meaning within Spanish society which will be the subject of discussion in the concluding chapter.

⁴³²*Cambio 16*, No. 976, 6-8-1990.

⁴³³*Cambio 16*, op. cit.

CHAPTER 10 Conclusions

10.1 General conclusions

"Analizad la lengua de un pueblo y lo conoceréis"

As Pedro Felipe Monlau expressed in 1859, this is what I hope I have contributed, albeit on a small scale, with my research. My work began in the beginning of the nineties with some observations carried out on one visit to Spain and concluded by revealing some unexpected and exciting results, from which I highlight the following as the conclusion to this dissertation:

1. Educated/upper-middle class speakers of Spanish are consistently producing a wide range of traditionally considered un-educated phonetic realizations.

This is widely attributed to the profound socio-economic, political and cultural changes that Spain has undergone in the last few decades. This interpretation brings us to conclude that contemporary Spanish has ultimately changed because speakers of Spanish have felt a desire for change brought about by new liberties, a new political environment, new nationalist fervour, newly found openness and for the desire for a more equal society. This is true in any society but when the contrast between former and present political times is so evident, people strive for change and consequently, they change more rapidly.

Many of my interviewees and discussion in Chapters 4 and 5 referred back to this element: socio-economic, cultural and political change. Some educated speakers wish to be more accessible to the wider spectrum of speakers and so they adopt in their speech many non-standard pronunciations which were until not so long ago restricted to non-prestigious varieties. It has been said that, "Una misma lengua permanece estable en medio de las turbulencias sociales más profundas", (Lázaro Carreter 1981(b):236). This is analogous with what occurred in Spain during Franco's years of dictatorship and socio-political and linguistic oppression. Therefore, by implication, when there are deep social changes then language also changes more rapidly. Spanish society has in the last few decades proven that this may be the case.

More and more educated speakers are using non-standard features in their speech as an indication of the changing socio-political times and as an indication that standard Spanish is profoundly different to what it was a few decades ago. It is essential to grasp the distinction between the interpretation that non-prestige varieties persist because of speakers' loyalty to a certain group and what is occurring in standard Spanish at present, which has wider implications.

And contemporary Spanish has also changed because the media and the speech it reflects are more influential than ever. Already in the eighties this influence was highlighted as follows:

"La influencia de los grupos superestructurales sobre la lengua común sólo puede producirse a través de algo que podemos denominar *agente mediador*, es decir un sistema activo de difusión que opera amplia y directamente sobre la masa hablante, sugiriéndole y hasta imponiéndole nuevos hábitos idiomáticos /.../ En nuestra época, no hay que decirlo, funcionan como agente mediador los potentes medios de difusión."

(Lárazo Carreter 1981:247)

One should not underestimate the influence that the media exercises on a wide range of speakers. It has been noted that the fact, for example, that many people are using '-ao' and [θ] for /d/ in final position in television and the radio has definite effects on the general shift of Spanish and this is helping to "constitucionalizar los acentos, normalizar los acentos", (Antonio López, personal communication).

2. Younger speakers of educated Spanish are more aware of the socio-economic and cultural cues which language can transmit. Younger speakers are more aware of the implications of employing language adequately (according to more traditional standard forms) than older speakers.

Informants from the Escuela Diplomática and particularly male informants appear to feel the pressure to conform to traditional standard Spanish much more than their female counterparts and it is male informants who more frequently *overrated* themselves as users of standard forms of Spanish. As eloquently expressed by Male Informant 3.

"Lo que pasa es que te das cuenta [when he uses non-standard '-ao'], antes *no* /.../ porque a pesar de todo se exige un cierto nivel *¿no?* y evitar esto. Hay que evitar caer en

defectos que son fácilmente corregibles. No tiene ningún sentido simplemente la ley del mínimo esfuerzo."
(M-I 3, Appendix B)

This 'overrating' phenomenon has been explained in terms of social ambition and aspirations rather than as simply being a linguistic misrepresentation, (Nolan 1983:70) and I would add this can be also due to the pressure and the insecurity brought about by the professional stage in which they found themselves at that point in time (they are immersed in a competitive stage to acquire a diplomatic position). Thus, language choice is viewed to have strong implications in social advancement. This would explain why older respondents, with a secured socio-economic status, are more frank about their language usage and are less reluctant to use certain non-standard phonetic features.

3. There are considerable differences between the language educated/upper-middle class older speakers employ and that of educated/upper-middle class younger speakers.

Despite their awareness, background and pressure to conform to standard/prestige forms, informants at the E. D. produce in general a higher rate of non-standard phonetic realizations than the exploratory interviewees. Exploratory interviewees produced no significant departure from the standard forms during the Reading of words and phrases and fewer reductions of consonant clusters, fewer vowel assimilations and fewer reductions of v+c+v throughout.

The issue of why more non-standard realizations are found to be more extensively employed among the younger speakers of my research could possibly be explained in terms of the society they live in today.

Older speakers seem to vary their speech style to a lesser degree, it is less flexible than younger speakers', independently of the environment. This has been supported by the literature published on this topic and which is reviewed in Chapter 6. Labov (1970:19) summarizes this with the following observation: "[old speakers] often show a narrow range in that their motivation for style shifting disappears along with their concern for power relationships".

We should bear in mind that Spain suffers from one of the highest unemployment rates in Europe. Many well qualified graduates find themselves with no suitable position and it is in this uncertain professional stage that these speakers were immersed at the time the interviews took place. Younger speakers are in a process of

career solidification and thus, they may feel the pressure to form a cohesive and prestigious group which will reflect their socio-economic ambitions and thus, they are likely to conform to the most correct and conservative norms, that is '-ado'.

Lázaro Carreter (1981) reflects on this notion as follows,

"un hablante puede abandonar paulatinamente los hábitos lingüísticos de su mocedad, cuando avanza en años, y tal vez se incorpora a otro grupo social o a otro ámbito idiomático."

(Lázaro Carreter 1981:238)

It could also be possible that young people give up language forms as they become adults. That is, they may be users of non-standard forms but are attempting to modify their speech in order to adjust it more to the speech of adults with whom they interact or wish to be associated. In the words of Lázaro Carreter (1981),

"Las restricciones sociales a que se hallan sometidos los grupos juveniles cuando se integran en círculos de adultos, actúan en general de manera victoriosa, aunque no por eso el habla adulta deje de recibir alguna mella."

(Lázaro Carreter 1981:238)

This could explain why, although they are users of more non-standard phonetic realizations -particularly during the reading tasks- than older adults, some voice their desire to rid their speech of non-standard forms. For example, they speak of '-ao' forms as 'errores fácilmente corregibles' and about their attempts not to use them.

It was also surprising to see that when queried about their own use of non-standard forms, specifically '-ao', none admits that this is largely a normal occurrence today as both exploratory interviewees uncompromisingly declared.

It is possible, though, that they may be also affected more directly by 'linguistic roles' in the media⁴³⁴, people with similar status, position of power and same age who speak using certain non-standard phonetic traits. It is likely that their non-standard linguistic behaviour has been influenced by prominent public figures, many of whom have belonged to the socialist government, in power for approximately ten years, largely of Andalusian origin and who speak with strong Andalusian traits in their Spanish.

⁴³⁴The extent to which the media and university students are employing Spanish is subject of some analysis. See Urrutia, Iribar and Arbulu (1992) and Chapter 4.

4. Educated/upper-middle class women (as opposed to their male counterparts) employ a less prestigious variety of Spanish.

Female speakers in general use more features traditionally conceived as non-standard than males, particularly during the word and phrase reading tasks. However, it appears from the analysis of the reading of text and Section 3 (Introspection) that the differences between males and females might be generally narrower although substantial.

Why female speakers seem to have substantially departed from using standard forms⁴³⁵, are more ready to admit to using certain non-standard forms and present less variability in their speech (less effort to conform to the norm), why they do not seem to feel the pressure to conform in the same degree as male informants can be explained in terms of their new role in society, dealt with at length in Chapter 5.

Before discussing the determinants of selection of variants it will be helpful to recapitulate a little of the general background data fully discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. It should be enough to say that certain phonetic features which are more traditionally associated to non-educated speakers have been found sporadically in the speech of educated women. From some tentative research carried out among middle-class women, more likely to have received a university education, women in Valladolid (Williams 1983) and among educated women in Barcelona (Turrell 1992), researchers have concluded that women use less prestigious and less standard forms in their speech in order to convey the changes in women's roles in Spain at present.

The above evidence applied specifically to middle class women. My own research has provided some evidence as to what is the linguistic behaviour of upper-middle class/upper class female speakers of Spanish. For this, the above cited explanation appears to be perfectly and equally applicable. Furthermore, I feel their linguistic behaviour is a way to show assurance and independence, a way of rebelling against the traditional role they used to play and an attempt to establish a gap between themselves and women in previous generations. It is as if women do not wish to prove their status and education through language but through their achievements, through their deeds and work. The emphasis appears to be on the latter. Having entered education and paid employment on a larger scale than ever before⁴³⁶,

⁴³⁵More non-standard phonetic realizations (more frequent usage of non-standard forms for /d/ in final position, more vowel assimilations, more reductions/omissions of consonants) seems to clearly point at the female speakers of my study as more obvious users of non-standard Spanish.

⁴³⁶In Chapter 5, I highlighted the fact that more than 34% of women are in paid employment in contrast with only 15% in 1971.

women's speech seems to be getting closer to the way men have traditionally behaved linguistically. This runs counter to research on British English.

It should be pointed out that although female speakers of Spanish from upper-middle class backgrounds would use in their Spanish some non-prestigious pronunciations, more closely associated with working-class usage, they would nevertheless restrict their use only to those non-prestigious forms that other educated prestigious speakers of Spanish use; phonetic forms which do not carry a certain social stigma and which can be heard in public appearances by the King, politicians, academics, journalists, news-broadcasters.

Another conclusion inferred from viewing the data from the perspective of gender is that the speech of male informants presents a larger variability than that of the females' even in the case of the male and female exploratory informants.

Nevertheless, we can conclude that all my informants appeared to have some degree of *linguistic self-control* which means that interviewees start the interview using what they feel is in their linguistic repertoire the most standard form or the most formal speech style. Female respondents (exploratory informant as well as interviewees at the E. D.) seemed to have exercised a lesser degree of self-control during the reading tasks.

Compared to male readings, female informants tended to produce fewer variants for the variables studied whereas male readers tended to use a wider range of variants and as their reading progressed they showed different degrees of linguistic self-control; that is, the male speakers' concentration and attempts to adhere to standard forms are sustained for longer throughout the three reading tasks than female interviewees'.

The above discussion on linguistic self-assessment (in conclusions 2 and 3) and of variables in my study (Chapter 9) provided me with sufficient evidence to conclude that female respondents are speakers of less prestigious/more frequent users of non-standard variants of Spanish. The picture that emerges, though, is that they may not be feeling the same pressure to conform to traditionally standard Spanish in the same degree that men do, or that they may be experiencing the same pressure but respond differently. This assumption may be viewed as debatable and needs more clarification through research.

It is possible that male speakers are more aware of the socio-economic and cultural significance and implications which certain pronunciations carry in their environment. Male speakers tend to retain phonetic realizations closer to the standard form (fewer '-ao', fewer vowel assimilations, fewer reductions of consonant clusters) which shows that they tend to be more conservative in their speech. They also seem to be more consciously aware of the implications of using non-standard versus standard forms of language by overrating their speech as more standard than it is in reality.

It could also be possible that although female speakers may be equally exposed to this pressure (some even reacting in a more conservative way than males) they are limiting this pressure, are counteracting it and are therefore affected to a lesser degree than male speakers are. One cannot underestimate the group pressure a speaker may be subject to, as Labov (1971(a):101) has repeatedly emphasized.

In sum, the evidence arising from the analysis of the different sections of my interview gives a clear indication that female informants -both exploratory interviewees and informants from the E. D.- as well as female newsreaders produce more non-standard phonetic realizations than male speakers.

5. Regionally 'tinted' Spanish should be also considered as a form of standard Spanish.

My research also examined the perceptions of educated speakers towards regional features in standard Spanish from which we can conclude that there is more acceptability nowadays of regional accents in educated Spanish than in the past. This acceptability has been undoubtedly linked to a strong nationalistic revival in Spain and by the extensive exposure of Andalusian speakers in the media due to the decade of the socialist government⁴³⁷ and to the historical spread of the Andalusian variety. This sentimental attachment or nationalistic fervour has also been coupled with the maintenance of a regional accent in Spanish and the desirability of its retention⁴³⁸.

The majority of my informants accepted regional features in educated Spanish and when queried some find my line of questioning a bit confusing and reply that this is

⁴³⁷The influence of the socialist government in Spanish is exhaustively explored by De Miguel and Gutiérrez (1989).

⁴³⁸Also some evidence points at the fact that when a speaker does not have a strong sentimental attachment to his/her native land (i.e. Andalusia), then (s)he is likely to have fewer or no regional features in Spanish.

'lo normal'. Not so long ago this certainly was not. What is so-called 'normal' today was then viewed very unsympathetically.

6. Educated/upper/upper-middle class Spanish speakers still adhere to certain pronunciations and are therefore identified as prestigious speakers of Spanish.

Although a great number of non-standard realizations were observed in the speech of my corpus of speakers (sixteen in total) their Spanish is clearly and overtly representative of standard Spanish. Their speech contains so many full pronunciations/retention of consonant clusters, vowel groups, v+c+v and all /m/ in final position that most Spanish speakers would be drawn to consider them educated speakers of Spanish.

Lastly, it should be pointed out that although educated speakers are using some non-standard phonetic realizations, they are restricting their use to those which do not carry a heavy social stigma, that is, those which are widely heard in the speech of eminent politicians, television and radio presenters, the aristocracy and other public figures.

7. Some traditionally regarded non-standard phonetic productions have lost much of the social stigma associated with them.

It is appropriate to turn to an examination of the socio-political and linguistic determinants that push towards more relaxed/informal/more non-standard pronunciations when I deal with this point.

During Franco's dictatorship there were much more clearly defined linguistic rules according to the social class of the speaker. Speakers knew to which class they belonged and behaved in terms of their linguistic usage accordingly. As Lázaro Carreter (1981:233) reminds us, "La norma de mi época juvenil reservaba la salutación ¡hola! a los miembros de una misma clase social". Standard Spanish had then a very narrow scope and was solely represented by Castilian Spanish. Today social class divisions have become less well defined and all members of society interchange linguistic behaviours. This has become widely acceptable.

Due to the above, the upper and middle classes find that speaking like 'the ordinary man in the street', in a more relaxed and less formal manner is a desirable feature in one's speech and therefore, the use of certain traditionally non-standard phonetic

realizations has become more accepted and more widely used. Sounding more natural/informal has been considered a phenomenon of particular vitality during the democratic transition and during the last decade, although this is sometimes so artificially acquired that it sounds unnatural. These cases have been precisely labelled as 'retórica de la afectada naturalidad', (De Miguel 1994(b):186).

The historical advance of the Andalusian accent and the prominence of Andalusian speakers in the media (PSOE government in the eighties and nineties) has also been presented as a determinant of changes to standard pronunciation in the last two decades. As Rafael Lapesa highlighted, this advance is unstoppable:

"Hay una tendencia en Madrid bastante frecuente por la influencia del sur de la debilitación o aspiración de la s implosiva, 'cáscara', yo lo noté en Salamanca ya hace años, en algunos casos, y no me extraña por la cercanía de Extremadura. Se está extendiendo desde el sur."
(Lapesa, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview 1992)

More common pronunciations (which do not diminish the speaker's status as a prestige speaker of Spanish) in Andalusia, such as the extensive use of '-ao', the use of [ø] for /d/ in final position, more vowel assimilations and reductions of consonant clusters, and more reductions of consonants in intervocalic position, have been largely adopted by educated speakers from other regions. As two shocked informants (M-I 2 and M-I 3) explained to me nowadays people like to artificially emphasize regional phonetic traits to become more accepted.

From the above we can draw the conclusion that many non-standard phonetic features have lost the stigma associated with them in the past and are now widely used by educated speakers of Spanish without detriment to their status within society, although many still remain stigmatized.

If, as it has been said, linguistic changes find acceptability in a standard language when admitted in the written form (Haugen 1979(b):105), then the fact that we find "Mientras haya humo, juventú y mansaniya", (*Cambio 16*, 1990)⁴³⁹ and headings such as "Informal pero 'arreglao'" in prestigious newspapers such as *El País* (*El Semanal* of *El País* 1996)⁴⁴⁰, may mean that this acceptance is well on its way.

⁴³⁹ *Cambio 16*, April, 1995.

⁴⁴⁰ *El Semanal* of *El País*, 10-3-1996.

8. Despite an approximation by educated speakers of Spanish towards non-educated speech forms, the linguistic gap between educated and non-educated in some groups seems to be widening.

Traditionally in Spanish there has been a large degree of 'permeability' between the speech of speakers from different social levels of society. Nevertheless, today the linguistic gap between working class, less-educated female/male speakers and middle/upper class, educated speakers of Spanish seems to be widening particularly among younger speakers. This was noted by two informants from the E. D. (M-I 3 and F-I 1) as well as by Camilo José Cela (Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill, 1992) and De Miguel (1992 and 1994(b)).

Based on my own observations and comments made by my informants at the E. D. and by my exploratory interviewees it appears to me that the gap is widening bi-polarly. As noted, the educated and upper classes are generously absorbing some non-standard features in their pronunciation, thus departing from the traditional educated speech, although they overwhelmingly retain other marked phonetic productions which clearly convey prestige⁴⁴¹. On the other hand, the working classes or less educated speakers of Spanish, and particularly the young generations, are acquiring new pronunciations which are widening this gap. Camilo José Cela summarizes in his observation the points discussed above,

"Hay jóvenes que no tienen un léxico rico, no pronuncian bien, no articulan bien y luego hay otro grupo de jóvenes que están creando un espacio grandísimo con otros grupos de jóvenes, que pronuncian perfectamente bien que conservan el '-ado', que conservan el 'para'".
(Cela, Alvarez-O'Neill Interview, 1992)

9. Spanish is a language capable of conveying differences in terms of the socio-economic and cultural background of the speaker.

As it has been pointed out in this research, the transparency of a speaker's socio-economic and cultural background in contemporary Spanish is believed by all my respondents and by the two members of the Real Academia Española to be a fact, although this perception contradicts some traditional views on the Spanish language. As one informant from the Escuela Diplomática states, "No quiero sonar *clásica* pero algunas veces se puede notar a que clase pertenece esa persona". (Female Informant 2, Appendix B).

⁴⁴¹Also, English borrowings are employed as a means to emphasize socio-cultural status.

It was with this in mind that I set out to research in this area. Many of the variables discussed in this study finally validated this notion and proved that there are sufficient phonetic realizations to draw this conclusion

10.2 Implications of conclusions

10.2.1 Implications regarding standard Spanish

The above section presented some conclusions reached after detailed analysis of my data and how these conclusions may be interpreted in the light of the profound socio-economic, cultural and political changes in Spain in the last few decades.

One of the many unexpected results derived from this research was the presence of any non-standard pronunciations in the speech of my informants in the first place given their socio-economic and cultural status. Given the general academic belief, the extent to which speakers pronounced Spanish with traditionally-regarded non-standard features can at least be considered as a novelty.

Having observed other prestigious/educated speakers of Spanish particularly from 1990 to 1996, I now believe that some phonetic changes are irreversible. No language can be stopped in its natural process towards change. But perhaps it is due to the enormous and rapid change that Spanish has undergone that we see so many inadequacies in the description in manuals and official institutions of what standard Spanish *is* today.

Contemporary Spanish has changed enormously and standard Spanish has been acquiring so many different forms of non-educated speech in the last few decades that it is almost unrecognizable.

Women's speech has also changed profoundly because their newly found role in society today is so different from that of the past. Their education and participation in the workforce have allowed them to struggle, seek and find a new identity and this has been found to be reflected in the language they speak today.

In my view, the changes present in educated/standard Spanish are not simply the reflection of the speech of the groups of educated speakers analyzed in this research.

Rather, they have wider implications for the make-up of contemporary educated Spanish. The wide range of speakers analyzed, the observations of many other educated speakers and the literature explored in Chapter 9 provide evidence to support this perspective; that some traditionally non-standard phonetic features pervade all levels of society and now permeate standard Spanish.

Furthermore, unequivocally non-standard realizations of /d/ in final position, vowel groups (such as [ea] and [ui]), certain consonant reductions, (such as [ns]) and the omission of [d]/[r] in intervocalic position ('v+c+v') by most of my informants and newsreaders in such formal environments might be giving a clear indication that their use is more frequent and more consistent in less formal contexts and they might become a more common occurrence in Spanish in the future, unless linguistic pressure reverses this trend.

These many and varied types of non-standard phonetic productions being used by the majority of the informants lead me once again to question the validity of manuals on standard pronunciation such as Navarro Tomás (1985), Alonso (1967), Lorenzo (1980), Alarcos Llorach (1964) and Lázaro Carreter (1980).

10.2.2 Implications regarding future research

The final conclusion from this research project is that further research on standard/educated Spanish is necessary. And a necessary prerequisite for the development of research in this area, from the standpoint of any discipline, is the provision of an adequate phonetic account of phenomena themselves, larger groups of informants and also more time. Only time will tell whether the phonetic changes discussed here were only the first indications of further changes to come in these areas.

In the mid eighties calls were made by the sociologist De Miguel (1994(b)) for linguists to research into the widening gap between upper and lower classes.

"Los lingüistas tendrán que empezar a registrar la creciente diferencia entre el habla de los ejecutivos y el de los modestos "currantes". Es sólo una pista para futuras averiguaciones."

(De Miguel 1994(b):36)

My dissertation took up this invitation and has provided some insights into what is occurring at present. Further research must be done if one is to have a clearer picture of language development and if one is to understand one's society.

More research work is very much needed given the observations presented at the end of Chapter 3. In the young generations of Spanish speakers, there is a marked linguistic divergence from the speech of older speakers. On the one hand, older Spanish speakers in their forties or fifties who directly suffered the social and linguistic restrictions of Franco's ruling, hold the perception that the way we use language *can* convey socio-political ideologies and they tend -to some extent- to relax their pronunciation, as discussed in previous sections. Some younger generations do not share this historical baggage and some tend to emphasize their privileged upbringing and educated background through language, thus not presenting in their Spanish many phonetic characteristics which determine the speech of other, older speakers and other young groups of Spanish speakers. The reasons why this is so could be the topic of further research.

Today this widening gap particularly between some young educated speakers and some young working-class/less educated speakers of Spanish can also have implications as to how translations can be carried out. Thus, while in the past the translation of non-standard English pronunciations used non-standard lexical items in Spanish, today it should be possible to use a socio-phonetic approach.

The democratic transition and the period of socialist government have brought about profound changes in society as well as in its language. The conservative Partido Popular, whose leader José María Aznar was once a consistent user of, for example, '-ao' (although not other non-standard variables discussed here) has been registered to be a less prolific user of the above phonetic characteristic since his political victory in 1996. This clearly needs some follow up.

Also, some follow up is required to further observe the variables studied in this dissertation and many others, some of which have been also mentioned by Rafael Lapesa. In addition, certain phonetic traits which did not pass unobserved in my analysis, such as the realizations of terms such as 'además' and 'entonces' largely reduced sometimes to unrecognizable levels, were not dealt here although there is sufficient material for future research projects.

Likewise, some evidence was also collected as to the speech of some upper class speakers who do not vocalize many words and phrases fully, so much so that they

sometimes sound more like 'foreigners' speaking Spanish. M-I 4 was a clear example. Direct observations and recordings of the speeches of King Juan Carlos I, Prince Felipe and aristocrats as the Duchess of Alba, the Count of Motrico, together with other prominent public figures who speak with a slight 'tartamudeando' which is described as 'very aristocratic', (De Miguel 1994(a):121), may yield important results to what is a totally unresearched area of the Spanish language.

Equally, the tendency to adopt, sometimes indiscriminately, English loan words could be the subject of future empirical work. This, it has been perceived, is a way for those who have adopted more relaxed forms in Spanish pronunciation to give sophistication and prestige to their Spanish. In other words, they may be using English borrowings to convey their education and culture.

My advice for future research is that it would be unwise to underestimate the importance of carefully choosing a fieldwork method. Also, direct observation of speakers in their natural environment may yield many interesting and surprising results. Furthermore, in the light of my own research, within the limits of an interview, texts which contain informal and non-standard language forms may be more productive than initially estimated. It is also my strongest belief that no interview can be complete without a final section in the interview (introspection) directed to questioning interviewees on their own speech and which no doubt would shed some light on sometimes ambiguous linguistic behaviour.

The study of linguistic change in contemporary Spanish, the socio-economic and cultural foundations and mechanisms for this change, and the study of the groups of speakers felt to be reflecting this shift more directly was the main area of the research presented here. This, though, should be considered a minute part of what is required to present an overall view on contemporary standard Spanish.

10.3 Final remarks

The picture which emerges from this study is that as members of one or various nations and particularly as linguists we desire to know ourselves better, but this attempt becomes a more urgent necessity when a nation and language change rapidly in a very short period of time. It is our duty as speakers, as members of a nation and as linguists to take note of these changes for posterity before they pass unobserved and are catapulted into the past, lost in the natural evolution of any nation and of any language.

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APPENDIX A: Questionnaire

A-1 reflects the questionnaire for the male exploratory interviewee and A-2 the same questionnaire with some alterations which were made after the first exploratory interview took place. This second written questionnaire was also employed for all the informants at the Escuela Diplomática in Madrid.

I shall present here the questionnaires as they were given to the informants of this study, although some examples which were finally not taken into consideration for this dissertation shall not be included.

A-1: Questionnaire used for Male Exploratory Interview

Entrevista con Don Fermín Zelada
Enero 1992
Begoña Alvarez-O'Neill

Duración aproximada: 20 minutos

Líneas a seguir

Sección 1: formada por una conversación informal cubriendo los siguientes puntos.

IDENTIFICACIÓN

1. Nombre:
2. Edad:
3. ¿Dónde nació?
4. ¿Dónde se educó?
5. ¿Dónde pasó sus primeros 20 años?
6. ¿Qué estudios hizo?
7. ¿En qué países extranjeros ha vivido? Duración de dichas estancias.
8. ¿Ha pertenecido siempre al cuerpo diplomático?
9. ¿Cuál es la profesión de sus padres?
10. Me podía describir su grupo de amigos. Por ejemplo, sus mejores 3 amigos.
11. ¿Qué idiomas habla? ¿Con qué frecuencia?
12. Preguntar sobre su esposa e hijos. ¿De dónde es su esposa?
13. ¿Con quién pasa la mayor parte del día? Preguntar de dónde es esa persona o personas y lo que hacen.

Sección 2: lectura de una lista de palabras, frases y textos.

Lista de palabras

heroico
bata
juventud
tomar
actor
mandar
un huevo
una zanahoria
cápsula
yo
pata
matad
país
acto humano
baúl
libertad
referéndum
encantado
todo
texto
Madrid
pesetas
ha estudiado
llave
étnico
dado
casa
gasa
aceite
taxi
firmado
allanamiento
real
formado
un hueso

Lista de frases

Actores y actrices lo celebrarán
Todos fueron escalera arriba
No se si puede escribir
Llegar el referéndum muy pronto
Hay un cuarto oscuro al fondo
Llega a adorarlo
Iba a encenderlo todo
En septiembre iremos todos de vacaciones
La juventud de hoy tiene más libertad que antes
Llegaré a Madrid dentro de unos días
Yo que se lo que. El caso es que ella ha llamado tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo

Texto

El día menos pensado, cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos años había sitio suficiente para todos y ahora esto está atiborrado.

- ¿Te acuerdas cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos aquellos regalos?
- Sí.
- ¿Qué ha pasado con Antonio?
- ¿Qué que ha pasado? Me ha insultao, yo estaba a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin...
- Pues, pues es que no se, pero el caso es que me cogí un taxi y me marché
- ¿No me digas?
- Sí. Y lo que es más, no se como ha estado ... como se ha puesto de enfadado conmigo, porque le dije la verdad, no tenía ningún motivo para portarse así.
- Bueno es que el pobre hombre está estos días preocupado porque nos sabe muy bien que hacer con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos los días de un lado para otro. Venga con ella al médico o al hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel.
- No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para ser así, mira es que ha estado muy mal conmigo.

Sección 3: Introspección sobre la lengua

¿Quién cree habla el mejor español en España?

¿Cree que en España hablamos de clases sociales como en Inglaterra o no?

¿Ha visto un cambio en los medios de comunicación en cuanto a como hablan español? ¿Usa -ado "estao" en vez de "estado" en alguna ocasión?

¿Cuándo ha perdido su acento gallego? ¿Le ha perjudicado o ayudado de alguna manera el perder su acento gallego?

¿A qué cree es debido el hecho de que veamos a más personas decir "encantao", "he estao", por ejemplo, la Sra. Ministra Portavoz? ¿A qué le suena eso? ¿La educación que recibió, o que es de Andalucía?

¿Podría usted saber si una persona procede de una clase social alta o baja solamente por su manera de hablar?

¿Ha notado algún rasgo especial en el habla española de hoy en día en comparación con hace unos años? ¿Cuál es el español que hablan sus hijos?

A-2: Questionnaire used for Female Exploratory Interview and for Interviews at the Escuela Diplomática in Madrid.

Entrevista
Enero 1992
Begoña Alvarez-O'Neill

Duración aproximada: 20 minutos

Líneas a seguir:

Sección 1: Identificación. Formada por una conversación informal cubriendo los siguientes puntos.

1. ¿Dónde nació?
2. ¿Dónde pasó sus primeros 20 años?
3. ¿En qué países extranjeros ha vivido?
4. ¿En qué zonas de España ha vivido?
5. ¿Qué idiomas habla?
6. La profesión de sus padres
7. ¿Dónde pasa la mayoría de su tiempo?
8. ¿A qué dedica los ratos de ocio, deportes, aficiones?
9. ¿Cuáles son sus actividades diarias?
10. ¿Con quién pasa la mayor parte de su tiempo (al día)?
11. Su familia

Sección 2: Lectura de una lista de palabras, frases y texto.

Lista de palabras:

heroico
bata
juventud
tomar
actor
mandar
un huevo
una zanahoria
cápsula
yo
pata
matad
país
acto humano
baúl
libertad
referéndum
encantado
todo
texto
Madrid
pesetas
ha estudiado
llave
étnico
dado
casa
gasa
aceite
taxi
firmado
allanamiento
real
formado
un hueso

Lista de frases

Actores y actrices lo celebrarán
Todos fueron escalera arriba
No se si puede escribir
Llegar el referéndum muy pronto
Hay un cuarto oscuro al fondo
Llega a adorarlo
Iba a encenderlo todo
En septiembre iremos todos de vacaciones
La juventud de hoy tiene más libertad que antes

Llegaré a Madrid dentro de unos días
Yo que se lo que. El caso es que ella ha llamado tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo

Texto

-El día menos pensado, cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos años había sitio suficiente para todos y ahora esto está atiborrado.
-¿Te acuerdas cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos aquellos regalos?
-Sí
-¿Qué ha pasado con Antonio?
-¿Qué que ha pasado? Me ha insultao, yo estaba a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin...
-Pues, pues es que no se, pero el caso es que me cogí un taxi y me marché
-¿No me digas?
-Sí. Y lo que es más, no se como ha estado ... como se ha puesto de enfadado conmigo, porque le dije la verdad, no tenía ningún motivo para portarse así.
-Bueno es que el pobre hombre está estos días preocupado porque nos sabe muy bien que hacer con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos los días de un lado para otro. Venga con ella al médico o al hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel.
-No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para ser así, mira es que ha estado muy mal conmigo.

Sección 3: Introspección sobre la lengua

¿Quién cree habla el mejor español en España?
¿Cree que en España hablamos de clases sociales como en Inglaterra o no?

¿Ha visto un cambio en los medios de comunicación en cuanto a como hablan español?
¿Usa -ado "estao" en vez de "estado" en alguna ocasión?

¿Cuándo ha perdido su acento gallego? ¿Le ha perjudicado o ayudado de alguna manera el perder su acento gallego?

¿A qué cree es debido el hecho de que veamos a más personas decir "encantao", "he estao", por ejemplo, la Sra. Ministra Portavoz? ¿A qué le suena eso? ¿La educación que recibió, o que es de Andalucía?

¿Podría usted saber si una persona procede de una clase social alta o baja solamente por su manera de hablar?

¿Ha notado algún rasgo especial en el habla española de hoy en día en comparación con hace unos años?

¿Cuál es el español que hablan sus hijos?

APPENDIX B: Transcriptions of interviews

Note on transcriptions

In Appendix B the conversations with my interviewees have been transcribed in order to show the exact manner in which informants expressed their opinions and phonetic realizations. I have only included the phonetic transcription of those variables which were the objects of my study in the list of words, phrases and text. Their phonetic transcriptions have been included immediately after their realization. During sections 1 and 3 (Identification and Introspection), only the non-standard realizations were noted. These procedures were adopted in order to be as clear and concise as possible.

The transcription below includes the two exploratory interviews (B-1) and the seven interviews with the students at the Escuela Diplomática (B-2). These transcriptions reflect the content of the interview, even though some minor personal comments and questions of a sensitive nature which are not relevant to this study (such as why it was no longer safe to live in the Basque Country) will not be included.

When names of other people who did not participate in this research are mentioned their initials will be employed. Repetitions, certain unfinished short phrases and slips of the tongue have generally been included so that what remains is the conversations with my respondents in the order they took place.

B-1: Trancscriptions of conversations with Exploratory Interviewees

B-1-1 Exploratory Interview with Fermín Zelada (Male E.I.)

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno. Heroico, bata, juventud [d], tomar, actor [θt], mandar, un huevo, una zanahoria, cápsula [ps], yo, pata, matad [d], país, acto [kt] humano [ou], baúl, libertad [ø], referéndum [m], encantado [ado], todo [odo], texto [ks], Madrid [θ], pesetas, llaves, étnico [tn], dado [ado], casa, gasa, aceite [ei], taxi [ks], firmado [ado],
allanamiento, real, formado [ado], un hueso. /.../¹ Vamos a ver, actores [kt] y actrices [kt] lo celebran, ¡Ah! ¿lo celebrarán es?

INTERVIEWER: No importa, esa última palabra no es demasiado importante.

INTERVIEWEE: Todos [odo] fueron escalera arriba [aa], no se si puede escribirse [ee], llegar el referéndum [m] muy [ui] pronto, hay un cuarto oscuro [oo] al fondo, llega a adorarlo [aaa], iba a encenderlo [aae] todo [odo], en septiembre [pt] iremos todos [odo] de vacaciones, /.../, la juventud [θ] de hoy [eo] tiene más libertad [θ] que antes [ea], llegaré a [ea] Madrid [θ] dentro de unos [eu] días. Ya que se lo que, ¡Ah! no, es yo, yo que se lo que.

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: No sabía lo que quería decir eso. Yo que se lo que.

INTERVIEWER: No tiene mucho sentido ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: Pero me gustaba introducir muchas palabras.

INTERVIEWEE: Ya, una cosa rara, ¿no? El caso es [oe] que ella [ee] ha [aa] llamado [ado] tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo.

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora el texto.

INTERVIEWEE: El texto. El día menos pensado [ado], cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos [eu] años había sitio suficiente para todos [odo] y ahora esto está [oe] atiborrado [ado]. ¿Te acuerdas [ea] cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos [odo] aquellos regalos? Sí. ¿Qué ha [ea] pasao [ao] con Antonio? ¿Que qué ha [ea] pasao [ao]? Me ha insultao [eai] [ao], yo estaba [oe] a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin. Pues, pues es que no se, pero el [oe] caso es [oe] que me cogí, ¿me cogí?, me cogí un taxi [ks] y me marché. ¿No me digas? Sí. Y lo que es [ee] más, no se como ha estado [ae] [ado], como se ha [ea] puesto de enfadado [ee] conmigo, porque le dije la verdad [ø], no tenía ningún motivo para portarse así. Bueno es que el [ee] pobre hombre está estos [ae] días preocupado [ado] porque no sabe, ¡ah! porque ¿no sabe?

INTERVIEWER: Porque no sabe.

INTERVIEWEE: No sabe ¿no? Porque no sabe muy [ui] bien que hacer [ea] con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos [odo] los días de un [eu] lado [ado] para [ara] otro. Venga con ella al [aa] médico o al [ooa] hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel. No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para ser así, mira es que ha [ea] estado [ado] muy [ui] mal conmigo.

INTERVIEWER: Y eso es todo.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Y eso es todo?

INTERVIEWER: Eso es todo. Y ahora ...

¹ /.../ is used to refer to sections of the interview which have been omitted as they include personal, professional and political references which are considered best not to be included in this transcription. Also it may be representing variables which were finally not included. See Chapter 6.

INTERVIEWEE: Y ahora con eso, para mi curiosidad nada más, ¿que hace ahora con eso cuando lo estudia?

INTERVIEWER: Ahora en realidad me marcho a Madrid el martes que viene ... con estos mismos líneas, con estas mismas palabras voy a entrevistar a varias personas en Madrid y ellas van de nuevo a leerlas

INTERVIEWEE: Leerlo ya.

INTERVIEWER: Y luego lo que hago es comparar, por ejemplo, voy a visitar a D. A. y voy a ver si tiene ciertos rasgos andaluces o no, ha perdido absolutamente todo su acento andaluz.

INTERVIEWEE: Ya.

INTERVIEWER: Muy interesante. A mi me parece muy interesante.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, muy interesante. ¿Y eso es objeto de un estudio pero luego será objeto de una publicación? ¿De una tesis, de un libro o algo?

INTERVIEWER: De una tesis, y ya habido interés por una casa editorial en Madrid para publicarlo. O sea, que dentro de un año o año y medio, espero que esto esté todo.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Y usted está en Dublin City University?

INTERVIEWER: Dublin City University. Estoy enseñando español y traducción fundamentalmente.

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, yo he conocido a un, uno muy alto.

INTERVIEWER: B.

INTERVIEWEE: Lo conocí me parece, me parece que nada más llegar yo aquí.

INTERVIEWER: Me parece que dió una recepción.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, y luego fui a ver al President.

INTERVIEWER: Le llamamos presidente porque nosotros en España lo llamamos decano.

INTERVIEWEE: O rector, decano.

INTERVIEWER: No se, quizá ¿Cómo se llamaba? ¿Era alto y delgado?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, alto y delgado, no tan alto como el otro.

INTERVIEWER: Entonces era el presidente. Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Le fui a ver y me invitó muy amable a comer allí en, donde supongo donde vive él.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Un edificio antiguo?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Un edificio precioso, es el único antiguo que tenemos.

INTERVIEWEE: Los otros son todos modernos sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y usted es de Galicia?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno en realidad yo soy de. Mi familia, la parte de mi padre es gallega, mi padre es gallego, algunos hermanos míos lo son, yo paso, he pasado siempre mis vacaciones de verano en Galicia, pero he vivido toda mi vida en Madrid [ø], excepto [s] ahora que vivo en todas las partes del mundo desde que tengo esta carrera. Pero he hecho todos mis estudios de, de todo tipo en Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: En Madrid.

INTERVIEWEE: Incluso la universidad [ø] y todo en Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y en qué países del extranjero? ... Esto forma parte de mi estudio un poco.

INTERVIEWEE: Ya, ya he visto...

INTERVIEWER: ¿Ha estado viviendo?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo te cuento toda mi vida.

INTERVIEWER: Si puedes

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno yo, ¿se oye?

INTERVIEWER: Sí se oye de maravilla, aunque hable desde la otra esquina.

INTERVIEWEE: Muy bien, un aparato indiscreto.

INTERVIEWER: Un aparato indiscreto, tenía uno mucho más pequeño, pero ...

INTERVIEWEE: El tamaño es muy indiscreto.

INTERVIEWER: Es muy indiscreto. Tenía que ser una cosa más pequeña pero.

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno es igual. Bueno yo llevo, unos veinticinco años en esta profesión. Empezando en Gabón, donde estuve dos años, fue mi primer puesto en el extranjero. Después de Gabón vine aquí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿A Irlanda?

INTERVIEWEE: Estuve en esta misma embajada, entonces la oficina la teníamos en ese edificio de ahí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿El pequeño ese?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, sí, en el que ahora está viviendo alguno de los funcionarios. Esto no existía. Aquí había un jardín más o menos que estaba inculto y entonces, había una disputa con el propietario de ahí, para ver si este jardín era nuestro o era de ellos dos. Después de arreglar esa disputa y de pagar una pequeña cantidad [ø], nos quedamos con ese trocito de terreno y construimos esta cancillería donde estamos ahora. Entonces [oes], estamos mucho mejor, porque antes estábamos bastante mal instalaos [ao]. El edificio es más o menos el mismo tamaño que este, pero por dentro estaba mal y era una cosa muy antigua. Era las antiguas caballerizas de la casa esta.

INTERVIEWER: Quizás habitaciones muy pequeñas.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. No tenía mucha luz, cosa que hace falta aquí, porque aquí sin luz estamos perdidos, porque hay poca naturalmente.

INTERVIEWER: Sí, es terrible.

INTERVIEWEE: Siempre se está con luz artificial.

INTERVIEWER: Fluorescente.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, entonces [oes] para no enrollarlo demasiado [ao].

INTERVIEWER: De Irlanda se marchó a ...

INTERVIEWEE: De Irlanda me marché al Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. Estuve allí unos tres años y medio. De Madrid [ø] del Ministerio me fui a ... Nueva York.

INTERVIEWER: ¿De embajador también?

INTERVIEWEE: No, no, no. De embajador este es mi primer puesto de embajador aquí. Estuve de consejero, o sea. En esta carrera mía se va subiendo, tiene sus cosas, entonces [oes], se empieza de tercer secretario, segundo secretario, primer secretario, consejero, ministro de tercera, ministro de segunda, ministro de primera, embajador.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah!

INTERVIEWEE: Entonces [oes], yo todavía estoy en la ...

INTERVIEWER: De la escalera.

INTERVIEWEE: Además eso es independiente de los puestos que uno ocupa. Esto es digamos la categoría administrativa, estas cosas, pero el puesto de embajador es normalmente un nombramiento político, aunque sean normalmente funcionarios de la carrera diplomática los que ...

INTERVIEWER: ¿Usted hizo su carrera en el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, en la Escuela Diplomática?

INTERVIEWEE: Exacto.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah! Pues voy a visitar también al señor R. A.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿R. A.? Le conozco mucho. Acaba de volver. Es el nuevo director de la Escuela Diplomática. Estaba hasta ahora de embajador en Jordania, y le conozco mucho.

INTERVIEWER: Pues esperemos que el martes que viene, estoy esperando su fax hoy mismo.

INTERVIEWEE: Es un hombre divertido y muy culto, o sea que le será muy interesante para estas cosas. Entonces, para terminar mi historia, después de Nueva York.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Volvió aquí?

INTERVIEWEE: No estuve en Roma, después de Roma, si no no cumplí con veinticinco años.

INTERVIEWER: No, me imagino que ha hecho algo en mientras tanto.

INTERVIEWEE: Después de Roma volví a Madrid [ø], donde he estao [ao] casi cinco años y desde Madrid he venido aquí donde he llegao [ao] a mediado de septiembre.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y ha elegido usted este destino?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, porque a mi me gusta mucho Irlanda. Estuve aquí antes. Estuve aquí cinco años antes. Cinco años es el máximo.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah sí! Pues el anterior embajador me parece que estuvo solamente tres años.

INTERVIEWEE: No, estuvo cuatro.

INTERVIEWER: Cuatro.

INTERVIEWEE: Es que en lo de embajador no hay plazos ni límites ... Normalmente son entre tres y cuatro años.

INTERVIEWER: Y me podía decir un poco, ¿con cuáles, qué tipo de personas se mueve diariamente, con quién habla más?

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Aquí?

INTERVIEWER: A lo largo del día ¿con quién pasa más tiempo, quizás?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues a parte de mi mujer, que es con la que vivo ¡eh!

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y de dónde es su mujer?

INTERVIEWEE: Hay maridos y mujeres que no se hablan ¡eh! pero en nuestro caso si nos hablamos. Ella es también ...

INTERVIEWER: De todas partes.

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno de todas partes no. Igual que yo soy un gallego de Madrid, para entendernos, nacido en Lisboa para mayor complicación.

INTERVIEWER: Yo también nací en Galicia y me crié en Bilbao.

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah sí! Eso le pasa a muchos. Ella lo mismo, ella es de familia de Santander, su padre de Santander y su madre de Bilbao, nacida en México y educada en Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: Sí, muy internacional.

INTERVIEWEE: Pero, no al final, los dos somos más madrileños que otra cosa, yo creo, y sobre todo la época de formación; es decir, de colegio, de universidad, y todo eso es Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: Sí, es la época más decisiva.

INTERVIEWEE: Y yo creo que en ese sentido yo me parece que soy, si se quiere afectivamente gallego. Si me considero de algún sitio, me considero de Galicia porque además [amas] porque paso todos los veranos y tienen mis padres una casa allí y yo me acabo de comprar otra.

INTERVIEWER: Como nosotros.

INTERVIEWEE: Una pequeñita hace un año.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y en qué parte de Galicia?

INTERVIEWEE: En Coruña.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah no! Nosotros en Lugo. Mi familia es un poco de Lugo.

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! de Lugo. Tampoco estamos tan lejos.

INTERVIEWER: No, un par de horas nada más.

INTERVIEWEE: Pues entonces, con quién hablo más. Con mi mujer, con el personal aquí y con mi secretaria.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y es de Canarias?

INTERVIEWEE: No, mire, mi secretaria es de Málaga.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah! pensaba que era de Canarias.

INTERVIEWEE: Es de Málaga, lleva mucho tiempo, lleva mucho más tiempo que usted [ø] aquí, es, está casada con un irlandés y está establecida aquí su vida y es quizá con la persona que hablo más a diario, con ella porque es mi secretaria, pero vamos con todos aquí, con los demás funcionarios de aquí. Consejeros, delegados ...

INTERVIEWER: Le conozco, cuando damos algún premio de español a colegios hay un sacerdote de Cork, ahora no me acuerdo como se llama, ¿padre? y damos unos premios y el año pasado, hace dos años entregué yo los premios, un premio de español a colegios que hacen redacciones en español y

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Y estaba él?

INTERVIEWER: Sí me parece que estaba él.

INTERVIEWEE: Es muy posible que estubiera en representación de la embajada. Esas son las personas con las que yo hablo más.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y usted ha tenido acento gallego alguna vez ?

INTERVIEWEE: No, yo creo que no.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y sus padres? ¿Son de Galicia los dos?

INTERVIEWEE: Mi padre, mi madre no, pero mi padre es de Galicia y yo creo que mi padre ha tenido pero poco, un poco de acento sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y eso le causa alguna sorpresa, alguna dificultad? ¿Qué profesión ha tenido su padre, si le puedo preguntar?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, sí. Mi padre es de profesión abogao [ao], pero lo que ha sido fundamentalmente es banquero.

INTERVIEWER: Como muchas otras personas que se pasan a la banca.

INTERVIEWEE: Era presidente de un banco y ahora está jubilao [ao], no trabaja ya.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y usted cree que el acento de una región no dificulta de ninguna manera pues, las relaciones?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que no, pero puede que sí porque hay mucha gente que se ríe de los acentos de los otros. Sí, sobre todo algunos acentos, los más marcaos [ao] ¿no?, el catalán, el gallego, el andaluz. En general esos son los ...

INTERVIEWER: He oído hace poco que la Ministra Portavoz del Estado, me parece que es andaluza.

INTERVIEWEE: Rosa Conde.

INTERVIEWER: Exactamente, Rosa Conde. Estaba leyendo un artículo que dice que la estaban iro..., bueno, había mucha ironía sobre su forma de hablar porque tenía un acento muy marcado andaluz y se comía muchas d en ao, termina todos sus verbos en ao, he estao, hemos estao.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Y hay como una especie de gran queja, de ironía.

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno aunque esto sea para trabajo y no publicación, no voy a hacer ningún comentario sobre la Ministra Portavoz.

INTERVIEWER: No, no, solamente quería preguntarle sobre el ao, ¿qué le parece a usted el uso de ao?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Bueno, yo creo que todos, yo creo que casi todos lo usamos, yo estoy seguro, yo no sé si lo uso, yo creo que sí, dónde has estao, yo no digo dónde has estado.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y en qué contextos lo usa?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo le pregunto a mi mujer, por ejemplo, dónde has estao, no digo dónde has estado.

INTERVIEWER: Pero en los discursos, por eso le estaba introduciendo el tema de María Conde.

INTERVIEWEE: No, en público se procura no usarlo, lo que pasa es que no se si se consigue, a veces uno no se da cuenta. Hablando en público algunas veces tiene uno tal costumbre que ... ao ao, pero yo creo que se procura un poco. Yo creo que lo que se hace, por lo menos, no es decir ado, sino evitar la palabra.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah! Eso no lo había notado nunca yo.

INTERVIEWEE: A veces, yo creo que se procura evitar la palabra, lo que pasa es que no siempre se consigue, cuando no se consigue probablemente se dice ao, ¿no? Si no hay otra palabra que decir que esa, pues hay que decirla y si es muy deprisa hablando, se dice ao, yo creo vamos. Yo ...

INTERVIEWER: ¿Sí?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo hay palabras como, por ejemplo, yo no diría se ha acordao, yo diría se ha acordado.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Hay ciertos verbos que usted utiliza ado y otros ao?

INTERVIEWEE: Exacto, pero estoy encantado de verte, sí.

INTERVIEWER: Hay otros políticos que en España dicen estoy encantao.
INTERVIEWEE: Sí, sí.
INTERVIEWER: Yo he visto en televisión.
INTERVIEWEE: Sí, sí, yo sí vamos.
INTERVIEWER: ¿Y hace unos años usted se acuerda si se utilizaba tanto el ao?
INTERVIEWEE: Sí.
INTERVIEWER: ¡Igual?
INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que sí.
INTERVIEWER; ¡No ha cambiado mucho en los últimos años?
INTERVIEWEE: Que yo, yo no soy consciente, no me da la impresión de que haya cambiado. /.../
INTERVIEWER: ¿Y las generaciones jóvenes que viven por aquí? ¿no hay personal muy joven?
INTERVIEWEE: No aquí no hay personal muy joven. No.
INTERVIEWER: Me imagino que cuando vaya a Madrid, pararé a alguien por la calle y le preguntaré.
INTERVIEWEE: O aquí, aquí no faltan niños de esos.
INTERVIEWER: ¡Hay por esta época muchos? ¡Sí?
INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Grafton Street un sábado y ... se oye más español que otra cosa.
INTERVIEWER: Hay otra cosa que le quiero preguntar para terminar esta pequeña entrevista, le quería preguntar, no se si usted nota, lo habrá notado muchas veces que en el inglés a través del acento podemos decir de que cultura venimos, de que clase social quizás venimos, y me da la sensación.
INTERVIEWEE: Eso no se da el caso en España.
INTERVIEWER: ¡Verdad!
INTERVIEWEE: Muy limitada. No tiene nada que ver con el inglés. En el inglés hay una división totalmente compartimentada por los acentos. Es que los acentos además se cultivan, no son necesariamente nativos. Es decir, el señor que va a educarse a un colegio o un public school o un sitio tal.
INTERVIEWER: A eso me refería.
INTERVIEWEE: Adquiere un cierto acento. Eso en España no.
INTERVIEWER: No pasa.
INTERVIEWEE: No, ... da igual que vayas a un colegio particular o a un colegio público que el acento es... Hay, evidentemente, en España como en todos sitios un ... pero no es en absoluto comparable al inglés. Pues sí hay unas cosas de una región, de clase social, de formas de vida, tal, que naturalmente influye ... hay gente que habla de otras cosas y de otra manera.
INTERVIEWER: Por ejemplo, cuando estamos viendo un programa de televisión no oímos como en Inglaterra, y esta película es sobre mujeres de clase media intentando aprender a bailar, no decimos, no utilizamos ...
INTERVIEWEE: No, no.
INTERVIEWER: No utilizamos clase social constantemente para definir a una persona o grupo.
INTERVIEWEE: No, no, no. Aquí eso es una cosa que está totalmente, como se diría ¿estratificado o estratificao?
INTERVIEWER: Estratificación, me parece que se dice.
INTERVIEWEE: Estratificado o estratificao, ¿cómo se dice?
INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah! Lo ha dicho por el ao claro.
INTERVIEWEE: Claro.
INTERVIEWER: Lo había perdido. Eso cuando vuelva a escuchar la entrevista lo notaré. Muy bien, pues me parece que eso es todo.
INTERVIEWEE: ¡Eso es todo?
INTERVIEWER: Eso es todo.
INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! Pues no, no hay sido nada traumático.

B-1-2 Exploratory Interview with Ysabel Caro y Aznar (Female E.I.)

INTERVIEWEE: ¿A dónde has ido? ¿A Deusto?

INTERVIEWER: A Deusto.

INTERVIEWEE: A Deusto ¡Ah!

INTERVIEWER: ¿Conoces a alguien que haya ido allí?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, vamos a todos, vamos que hayan estudiado [ao] allí, me parece que han sido dos sobrinos, en Deusto.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y qué han hecho?

INTERVIEWEE: Uno ha hecho la Comercial, el mayor de mis sobrinos, y el segundo hizo abogado [ao].

INTERVIEWER: Yo estuve haciendo Filología Inglesa de cinco años larguísimos y después me marché a Irlanda a hacer un curso Master y después cuando todavía no lo había terminado me ofrecieron un trabajo en la Universidad y claro...

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Y qué tipo de trabajo es?

INTERVIEWER: Profesora, estoy enseñando español, lingüística, traducción, terminología.

INTERVIEWEE: Un bonito trabajo ¿no?

INTERVIEWER: Sí. /.../ Bueno pero estamos hablando de mí y en realidad tenemos que hablar de ti. Luego te cuento más cosas.

INTERVIEWEE: De acuerdo.

INTERVIEWER: Vamos a ver, para quitarnos estas cosas de delante y si quieras te cuento más cosas.

INTERVIEWEE: Muy bien.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Dónde naciste?, por ejemplo.

INTERVIEWEE: Nací en Las Arenas, en Vizcaya vamos.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Dónde fuiste al colegio?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues mira estudié en casa, porque como soy, vamos tengo cuatro chicos y yo, yo siempre he tenido, tuve un nanny inglesa y después una ... institutriz inglesa. Siempre teníamos inglesas o francesas. Y entonces [oes] daba clases en casa, tenía una profesora particular...

INTERVIEWER: Espera que no se si está grabando, como no veo mover la aguja, espera que voy a mirar. Ya ... eso es. Siempre se ríen de mí los alumnos, de que siempre ...

INTERVIEWEE: De estos aparatos horrorosos.

INTERVIEWER: Perdona, me estabas contando de que ...

INTERVIEWEE: De que estudiaba en casa y luego fui dos años al colegio pero ya muy mayor, vamos cuando casi ya tenía como dieciséis años. Me vine aquí a Madrid [ø], estuve dos años interna en Madrid [ø], porque se puso malo un hermano mío y entonces [oes] a mi madre le dió mucho agobio que, tuvo después del verano una pequeña hemotisis y le dió tanto susto que nos separó a todos los hermanos, y me metió interna aquí en Madrid [ø], mi abuela vivía además aquí en Madrid [ø] y ...

INTERVIEWER: Era lo más conveniente, los más perfecto ...

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, me mandaron interna ¡eh!

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y no te gustó? Yo también estuve interna un año.

INTERVIEWEE: Pues mira, como vi a mi madre que estaba tan agobiada con mi hermano y todo eso, pues pensé que me lo tenía que aguantar y ... bien.

INTERVIEWER: ¿No te importó? ¿Y te gustó la experiencia en el colegio o no te gusto? ¿Aprendiste mucho?

INTERVIEWEE: Tengo muy buenos recuerdos. Tanto como aprender, no se si aprendí tanto pero, pero sí muy bien.

INTERVIEWER: Y después de los dieciséis años? ¿Dónde pasabas tu el tiempo?

INTERVIEWEE: Lo pasaba en Las Arenas, luego íbamos a ver, a pasar tiempo con mi abuela en el campo y luego también Madrid [ø], porque mi padre me parece que ya

empezó a trabajar en Madrid [ø] y entonces pasé unos años en Madrid [ø]. No creas que me acuerdo muy bien ¡eh!

INTERVIEWER: ¿No te acuerdas? ¿No?

INTERVIEWEE: De los veinte primeros años de mi vida.

INTERVIEWER: De los veinte o de los treinta, simplemente es para saber porque se dice en la teoría lingüística que los veinte primeros años son los que marcan más el acento de una persona.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, pues bueno, yo creo que entre Madrid [ø] y El País Vasco. Sí. Pues vamos viajaba y me iba a la Feria de Sevilla, un año, otros años iba un verano a Mallorca también, que también tenemos familia en Mallorca y en fin.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y has viajado algo al extranjero?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí siempre he ido a Francia y a Inglaterra, normalmente esos son. Hubo una temporada que iba en octubre un mes a París todos los años, durante no se cuantos años, sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y hablas algún idioma?

INTERVIEWEE: Hablo francés e inglés nada más.

INTERVIEWER: Me gustaría a mi decir que hablo francés. No he estudiado nunca francés.

INTERVIEWEE: Nunca ¡no! Lo que pasa que ahora no tengo demasiadas oportunidades de hablar. Antes inglés sí, porque de pequeños en la guerra éramos pequeños y nos llevaron a Francia, nos sacaron de Bilbao y estuvimos los cinco hermanos en Biarritz, de pequeños y como teníamos una inglesa, no hablábamos más que francés, se nos olvidó el español, de pequeñitos, yo no me acuerdo casi.

INTERVIEWER: Que interesante. Eso te lo cuentan ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: Eso me lo cuentan y que como tampoco estaban mis padres con nosotros, pues porque mi padre fue a la guerra y todas esas cosas.

INTERVIEWER: Pero, tu no te acuerdas de la guerra ¡no?

INTERVIEWEE: No, no me acuerdo de nada. Tengo una leve idea de la playa de Biarritz, pero no se si también porque me lo han contao [ao], ¿sabes?, porque tampoco estoy yo segura porque tenía yo como cinco años ...

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora normalmente ¿dónde pasas la mayoría del tiempo? ¿en Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, bueno vine, me trasladé el año pasado [ao], el año pasado [ao] me trasladé aquí, sí, de todas maneras sigo yendo a Bilbao porque tengo muchos contactos y muchísimos amigos allí, de toda la vida. Mi padre era de Madrid [ø] y entonces también tengo dos hermanos que viven aquí.

INTERVIEWER: y ¿cuál es la conexión con el País Vasco? ¿tu madre?

INTERVIEWEE: Es mi madre, pero en realidad [ø] apellidos vascos no tenemos casi ninguno. Aznar es aragonés, pero los Aznares se instalaron en Bilbao hace mucho tiempo, mi bisabuelo fue el que hizo las cosas de las navieras e hizo todo eso. Pero hace mucho tiempo. /.../

INTERVIEWER: Y ¿me puedes decir con quien te relacionas? ¿de dónde son esas personas?

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Aquí ahora?

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Pues, esta señora de Bilbao, acaba de llegar y me llama porque se ha muerto su hermano hace poco y los conocía bastante, y además pusimos una tiendecita en Bilbao y ellas era socias de esa tienda. Yo nunca me ...

INTERVIEWER: ¿Tu tenías una tienda en Bilbao?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno tenía una parte de esa tienda, pero justamente ahora la van a quitar. Vamos, tenía una parte de esa tienda porque me pidieron a ver si podía poner yo una parte, porque no le venía bien y entonces me metí en esa tienda treinta y tantos años.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y la van a quitar ahora?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, la va a comprar una de las socias, porque este año no tiene ganas de trabajar, porque no se podía ocupar de mucho. Yo me he ocupao [ao] mucho de mi madre, porque mi madre era ciega además.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Sí? ¿de siempre era ciega?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues siempre ha tenido una cosa en los ojos, pero claro en los últimos años estaba muy ciega.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y era muy mayor?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, noventa y tantos años. Estaba muy acogida con mi madre, entonces, no hacia otra cosa. /.../ Mi madre era un encanto.

INTERVIEWER: Y tus hermanos, ¿todavía tienes relación con ellos?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: No, uno vive en Mallorca, otro se mueve mucho, Bilbao, Madrid [ø] y otro vive aquí siempre, vamos y otro se murió antes de mi madre, tuvo un cáncer y vivió cinco años muy mal y eso a mi madre le hundió ¿sabes? a los noventa años, noventa y uno que tenía.

INTERVIEWER: Sí, que su hijo se muera.

INTERVIEWEE: Pues fue muy.

INTERVIEWER: Así que en un par de años varias tragedias. No me extraña que te hayas querido marchar, cambiar de aires.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, y luego me cuesta mucho olvidar un poco por la casa de campo, que era como la casa de familia /.../.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Me ha dicho Carmen que tu madre era Marquesa de Berriz?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Y eso, ¿crees que hoy en día está causando algún problema?

INTERVIEWEE: No. Nunca nos ha causado ningún problema, a nosotros nada, porque nosotros tampoco éramos empresarios y con la gente de ahí siempre ha habido una relación muy buena y nunca hemos tenido problemas.

INTERVIEWER: Sí, pero fíjate yo sí que lo estoy notando, por ejemplo Ortuella veo que está empeorando de aspecto, creo yo, y de ambiente. De por ejemplo que antes era más tranquilo y ahora ves una gente con un aspecto en plan agresivo.

INTERVIEWEE: Y te pasa en Berriz, porque en Berriz ha estao [ao] mucha gente además, no se como decirte, de toda clase y la gente antes de campo, en todo el mundo, la gente de campo es buenísima. /.../ Estoy hablando demasiado.

INTERVIEWER: Que va por Dios, cuanto más hables mejor. ¿Sabes lo que voy a hacer con tu voz? Lo mismo que voy a hacer con la del Embajador de España, voy a coger palabras y miro a cada uno de vosotros, por ejemplo, como pronuncias actor y voy a poner vuestras voces en un aparatos que se llama espectograma, que sale todas las pequeñas variaciones y para eso quiero que leas ahora estas palabras.

INTERVIEWEE: Muy bien, ¿despacio o deprisa?

INTERVIEWER: Como quieras.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Cómo quiera?

INTERVIEWER: Como las lees normalmente.

INTERVIEWEE: Bien. Heroico, bata, juventud [θ], tomar, actor [θt], mandar, un huevo, una zanahoria, cápsula [ps], yo, pata, matad [d], país, acto [kt] humano [ou], baúl, libertad [ø], referéndum [m], encantado [adø], todo [odo], texto [ks], Madrid [ø], pesetas, ha estudiado [ae] [ao], llave, étnico [tn], dado [adø], casa, gasa, aceite [ei], taxi [ks], firmado [adø], allanamiento, real, formado [adø], un hueso [uue]. /.../ Actores [kt] y actrices [kt] lo celebrarán, todos [odo] fueron escalera arriba [aa], no se si puede escribirse [ee], llegará el [a] referéndum [m] muy [ui] pronto, hay un cuarto oscuro [oo] al fondo, llega a adorarlo [aaa], iba a encenderlo [aae] todo [odo], en septiembre [pt] iremos todos [odo] de vacaciones, /.../, la juventud [ø] de hoy [eo] tiene más libertad [ø] que antes [ea], llegaré a [ea] Madrid [ø] dentro de unos [u] días. Yo que se lo que, el caso es [oe] que ella [ee] ha [aa] llamado [adø] tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Sigo?

INTERVIEWER: Sí, solamente eso más. Creo que es este texto.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Esto?

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: El día menos pensado [ado], cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos [eu] años había sitio suficiente para todos [odo] y ahora esto está [oe] atiborrado [ado]. ¿Te acuerdas [a] cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos [odo] aquellos regalos? Sí. ¿Qué ha [ea] pasao [ao] con Antonio? ¿Que qué ha [ea] pasao [ao]? Me ha insultao [eai] [ao], yo estaba [oe] a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin. Pues, pues es que no se, pero el [oe] caso es [oe] que me cogí un taxi [ks] y me marché. ¿No me digas? ...

INTERVIEWER: ¿Está eso un poco confuso eso ahí?

INTERVIEWEE: ¿No me di ...? No se, no se como hay que decir.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno como ...

INTERVIEWEE: ¿No me digas? Sí. Y lo que es [ee] más, no se como ha estado [a] [ado], como se ha [a] puesto de enfadado [ado] [e] conmigo, porque le dije la verdad [ø], no tenía ningún motivo para portarse así. Bueno es que el [e] pobre hombre está estos [ae] días preocupado [ado] porque no sabe muy [ui] bien que hacer [ea] con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos [odo] los días de un [eu] lado [ado] para [ara] otro. Venga con ella al [aa] médico o al [ooa] hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel. No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para ser así, mira es que ha [ea] estado [ado] muy [ui] mal conmigo.

INTERVIEWER: Eso es todo lo que había que leer.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, es que has puesto aquí no en vez de nos.

INTERVIEWER: Sí pues eso lo tengo que quitar porque mañana los pobres hombres

...

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Quieres que lo quite? No se si podré...

INTERVIEWER: No se como se me ha pasado a mi. Muy bien. Muchas gracias. Y te he puesto estas cosas, estas palabras así con ao porque te iba a preguntar si utilizas el ao pero ya me has dicho antes que lo utilizabas constantemente en los verbos.

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que sí, sí. Yo no digo he estado. Unos sobrinos que hablan con ado y me choca mucho.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Siempre te choca un poco al oído? ¿no?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y eso fue lo que me empezó me dijiste tu Adolfo Suárez?

INTERVIEWEE: No, bueno empezó un poco lo de Madrid [ø] .

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! es verdad, lo que me decías de Madrid [ø], juventud [ø], ese tipo de cosas, así muy fuerte.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah sí! es verdad. Bueno pues eso lo tengo que analizar luego cuando vea televisión voy a fijarme en estas cosas.

INTERVIEWEE: Es que mucho de lo de televisión se pega y la gente habla mucho como en la televisión, yo encuentro en España.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Sí?

INTERVIEWEE: Y como usan unas palabras que han inventao [ao] ahora nuevas.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Sí? ¿Como por ejemplo?

INTERVIEWEE: No sé, como ...

INTERVIEWER: ¿Inglesas?

INTERVIEWEE: No. No, por ... Bueno ahora todo es obvio... Antes venía en los libros y ahora lo usan muchísimo, obvio. Hay unas cuantas palabras que se ponen de moda, por la televisión también yo creo. Hace un cierto tiempo era eso de incidir y eso que tampoco suena ...

INTERVIEWER: Todo el tiempo.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Sabes? Pues ese tipo de ...

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y has visto un cambio grande en la televisión en la forma que hablan los locutores de televisión? ¿has visto que se cambie a la hora de hablar? ¿que se utilicen ahora unas formas de pronunciar diferentes en televisión?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, sí, según en que épocas van cambiando, dicen muchas cosas que acaban en ario ahora también, que antes no se decía, antes se decía es que no se como que, por que de repente no me acuerdo.

INTERVIEWER: Pero te acuerdas de la idea.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, por ejemplo hospitalario, dicen el régimen hospitalario, pues eso, el régimen de hospitales se decía antes ... Ahora hacen mucho eso, alimentario, en vez de alimenticio.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah! Pues eso es incorrecto, me parece.

INTERVIEWEE: A mi también me lo parece y no se mucho de lengua, pero yo creo que sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Por la influencia del inglés?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo me figuro que sí, que será por la influencia del inglés.

INTERVIEWER: Yo les digo a mis alumnos que el inglés no influye, corrompe.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, pues pueda que sí.

INTERVIEWER: Y está apareciendo por todas partes, ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, ahora lo usan muchísimas palabras escribiendo.

INTERVIEWER: Y ¿estás viendo por ejemplo que los locutores de televisión tienen ahora más acentos de otras regiones, no acentos puros como madrileños o no has notado?

INTERVIEWEE: No. Los vascos sí. Los vascos es un acento muy muy ... vamos, yo creo, yo no creo, vamos, yo más que acento creo que tengo la formación de frases muy vascas, eso me decía mi padre, que como era madrileño me decía que organizaba mal las frases.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Sí? Yo no he notado nada.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, eso me decía, pero por ejemplo mi madre no tenía nada de acento tampoco.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y el tener un acento del País Vasco, o la formación de las frases del País Vasco te ha causado algún problema?

INTERVIEWEE: Ninguno.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Has visto que la gente ha dicho mira?

INTERVIEWEE: No, no, de vez en cuando les hace gracia que diga alguna cosa así. Mi hermano pequeño es que ese, vamos casi es el que ha vivido menos ahí y ese tiene un acento tremendo.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Sí?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Quizás es que le guste mucho ...

INTERVIEWEE: Habla así además muy como los vascos, así cortando, pero ...

INTERVIEWER: Pero tu no.

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que no mucho, pero en fin.

INTERVIEWER: Yo no estoy notando nada, pero claro yo estoy habituada a oir...

INTERVIEWEE: Tampoco te suena a ti muy distinto, raro...

INTERVIEWER: A mi no me suena nada raro.

INTERVIEWEE: Porque tu familia también si han vivido ahí, pues ...

INTERVIEWER: Pues creo que así de la entrevista que te tenía que hacer eso era fundamentalmente todas las cosas que te quería preguntar. Ya está.

INTERVIEWEE: Muy bien.

B-2: Transcriptions of interviews with students at the Escuela Diplomática

B-2-1 Female-Informat 1 (F-I 1)

INTERVIEWER: ¿De dónde eres A.?

INTERVIEWEE: De Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Has nacido en Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, he nacido en Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y dónde te has criado? ¿dónde has ido al colegio?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues, todo mi periodo de escolaridad [ø] lo hice aquí en Madrid [ø], la universidad [ø] también en Madrid [ø], así que todo en Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y qué has hecho en la Universidad?

INTERVIEWEE: He hecho Ciencias Políticas.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Durante cinco años?

INTERVIEWEE: Durante cinco años.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y luego has decidido hacer este curso en la Escuela Diplomática?

INTERVIEWEE: Y luego he decidido hacer este curso en la Escuela.

INTERVIEWER: Ya. Y, ¿me puedes decir qué idiomas hablas?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues, inglés, francés

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Y este año estoy empezando con el alemán.

INTERVIEWER: Alemán.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Y, ¿tienes mucha oportunidad de practicar esos idiomas extranjeros o no? ¿De momento no tienes?

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Te refieres aquí en España?

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Ahora mismo?

INTERVIEWER: Sí, ahora mismo.

INTERVIEWEE: Pues, bueno, por ejemplo con los alumnos de la Escuela pues sí, porque hay gente que proviene de países anglófilos y francófilos, y entonces [oes] de vez en cuando charlamos pero no es mucha la oportunidad [ø] que se tiene realmente de practicar aquí en España.

INTERVIEWER: No.

INTERVIEWEE: Puedes ver películas, leer, pero a nivel de comunicación...

INTERVIEWER: Poco.

INTERVIEWEE: Poca.

INTERVIEWER: Y tus padres ¿cuál es la profesión de tus padres?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues mi padre actualmente está jubilado ya, él trabajaba en una empresa y mi madre no, no trabajaba, vamos.

INTERVIEWER: Era ama de casa.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, era ama de casa.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Tienes más hermanos?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Tengo un hermano y una hermana. Los dos mayores que yo.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y has vivido en un país extranjero durante un periodo de tiempo largo?

INTERVIEWEE: Estuve viviendo en Inglaterra durante cuatro meses, ese es el periodo de tiempo más largo porque luego he estao [ao], estao [ao] cuatro o cinco veces, pero el periodo más largo fueron cuatro.

INTERVIEWER: Cuatro.

INTERVIEWEE: Cuatro, hace dos años.

INTERVIEWER: Hace dos años.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien, pues creo que eso es todo. Ah, una cosa interesante ¿me puedes decir en qué pasas tu tiempo libre? ¿a qué cosas, a qué actividades te dedicas? La verdad.

INTERVIEWEE: La verdad [ø]. Pues me gusta mucho leer y también, una de las cosas que hago bastante a menudo es ir al cine y también a pasear.

INTERVIEWER: Sí. Y, ¿ves la televisión a menudo?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues no la veo mucho, la verdad [ø] porque tengo poco tiempo, entonces [toðes] lo que suelo ver siempre, intento ver son los telediarios y alguna película, alguna que película que sea interesante.

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Y eso, pero normalmente veo muy poca televisión.

INTERVIEWER: Tenéis mucho trabajo en la Escuela, ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno, pues creo que eso va a ser todo, porque creo que todos los datos que necesitaba de ti... Es bastante sencillo porque como has vivido en Madrid durante toda tu vida, pues no tengo muchas más preguntas que hacer.

INTERVIEWEE: Muy bien.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno ahora te voy a pedir que leas esta lista de palabras.

INTERVIEWEE: Heroico, bata, juventud [d], tomar, actor [kt], mandar, un huevo, una zanahoria, cápsula [ps], yo, pata, matad [d], país, acto humano [θt] [ou], baúl, libertad [ø], referéndum [m], encantado [aðo], todo [odo], texto [s], Madrid [ø], pesetas, ha estudiado [ae] [aðo], llave, étnico [dn], dado [aðo], casa, gasa, aceite, taxi [ks], firmado [aðo], allanamiento, real, formado [aðo], un hueso.

INTERVIEWER: Esperas un segundo, porque es que esta máquina recoge absolutamente todo el ruido, y como oigo la máquina de escribir. Muy bien, puedes pasar las hojas por favor.

INTERVIEWEE: /.../ Actores [θt] y actrices [θt] lo celebrarán, todos [odo] fueron escalera arriba, no se si puede escribir [ee], llegará el [ae] referéndum [m] muy pronto, hay un cuarto oscuro [o] al fondo, llega a adorarlo [aaa], iba a encenderlo [aae] todo [odo], en septiembre [t] iremos todos de vacaciones, enviaremos nuestro Curriculum [m], la juventud [ø] de hoy [eo] tiene más libertad [ø] que antes [ea], llegare a [ea] Madrid [ø] dentro de unos [u] días, ¡Yo que se lo qué! El caso es [oe] que ella [ee] ha tomado [aðo] tres veces.

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Uy! ¡perdón!, el caso es [oe] que ella [ee] ha llamao [ao] tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien, y por último está este texto cortito.

INTERVIEWEE: El día menos pensado [ado], cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos [eu] años había sitio suficiente para [ara] todos [odo] y ahora esto está [oe] atiborrado [ado]. ¿Te acuerdas [a] cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos [oo] aquellos regalos? Sí. ¿Qué ha [ea], que ha [ea] pasao [ao] con Antonio? ¿qué ha [ea] pasao [ao]? Me ha insultao [eai] [ao], yo estaba a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin... Pues, pues es que no se, pero el [ðe] caso es [oe] que me cogí un taxi [ks] y me marché. ¡No me digas! Sí. Y lo que es [e] más, no se como ha estado [ae] [ado] ... como se ha [ea] puesto de enfadado [aðo] conmigo, porque le dije la verdad [ø], no tenía ningún motivo para [ara] portarse así. Bueno es que el [e] pobre hombre estos días, está estos [ae] días preocupados [ado] porque no sabe muy [uə] bien que hacer [ea] con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos [odo] los días de un [eu] lado [ado] para [ara] otro. Venga con ella al [aa] médico o al [ooa] hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel. No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para [ara] ser así, mira es que ha estado [ea] [ado] muy [u] mal conmigo.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien, eso es todo lo que quería hacer que leas. Sin embargo ...

INTERVIEWEE: Lo he leído fatal.

INTERVIEWER: No, lo has leído muy bien. Me quedan unas cuantas preguntas que hacerte porque todavía tengo ciertas dudas. ¿Me podías decir si utilizas alguna vez

'he estao'? ¿Utilizas tu esa forma, por ejemplo 'encantao', que lo utilizan muchas personas?

INTERVIEWEE: Hombre, yo creo que la uso por desidia, o sea, porque sin darte cuenta las usas porque es más fácil, yo considero que sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿La utilizan la mayoría de los jóvenes españoles, tu crees?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo pienso que sí, yo pienso que el [e] lenguaje se está empobreciendo bastante y la gente cada vez utiliza menos palabras y cosas como el he estao no se que, son cosas que, bueno yo hay veces que las digo y cuando las he dicho ...

INTERVIEWER: Te das cuenta.

INTERVIEWEE: Me doy cuenta. No se.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Pero tampoco importa demasiado? ¿no? ¿o sí? ¿Tu crees que da un efecto negativo sobre tu forma de hablar o no?

INTERVIEWEE: Hombre, yo pienso que el lenguaje un poco refleja mucho tu manera de ser y tu manera de ... Entonces [oe], yo creo que mantener un lenguaje más o menos bueno es importante. Tampoco creo que debas de hablar siempre ex-cátedra ¿no?, pero bueno mantener un lenguaje más o menos, entonces [oes] decir cosas como he estao en lugar de he estado, bueno son cosas que poco a poco si las vas haciendo al final ...

INTERVIEWER: Se acaban solidificando.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí y claro se acaba perdiendo ...

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y utilizas en alguna ocasión he estado?

INTERVIEWEE: He estado.

INTERVIEWER: Por ejemplo, ¿cuando hablas con tus profesores crees tu que hablas de forma diferente que cuando hablas con tu familia?

INTERVIEWEE: Hombre, yo pienso que sí, que siempre que hablas con gente de cierta autoridad [ø], como pueden [ee] ser profesores, siempre intentas emplear un lenguaje, por eso que te he contao [ao] antes, que el lenguaje refleja un poco tu propia personalidad [ø], ¿no? Entonces [oe], cuando hablas con amigos pues bueno siempre te relajas un poco más y ...

INTERVIEWER: Sí. Muy bien. En Inglaterra hay una división de clases sociales muy fuerte, ¿tu crees que en España también la hay? ¿Muy fuerte?

INTERVIEWEE: Muy fuerte, muy fuerte, no diría muy fuerte pero sí que diría que está marcada y que se está marcando cada vez más.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Tu crees que se está marcando cada vez más? ¿Por qué lo dices?

INTERVIEWEE: Hombre, no se, yo supongo que un poco, creo por el contexto, por el contexto en que se vive, tanto económico como político, entonces [oes], por ejemplo si oyes hablar a la gente, no se, hay gente que a lo mejor tiene dieciocho años y oyes hablar a gente de esos mismo años de una clase social y esos mismos años de otra clase social te das cuenta de que emplean palabras diferentes, por ejemplo, el argot.

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Aunque, luego las palabras del argot se están introduciendo en el lenguaje normal ¿no?

INTERVIEWER: Pero, ¿en cierta medida?

INTERVIEWEE: En cierta medida, pero de todas maneras pienso que la diferencia está mucho menos marcada que en otros países, como por ejemplo Inglaterra.

INTERVIEWER: Sí, y tu por ejemplo habiéndome escuchado hablar a mi, ¿sabes de que clase social soy o que educación he tenido?, o ya no yo pero, por ejemplo, a otra persona que no has visto antes y la oyes hablar, ¿sabes de qué clase social es? O más que de clase social, puesto que en España no hablamos tanto de clase social sino de educación.

INTERVIEWEE: Hombre, yo pienso que sí se nota.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y en qué se nota?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues en la riqueza del lenguaje fundamentalmente, y por ejemplo, una persona más o menos con un formación digamos x, pues emplea unas palabras que otra no emplea, tiene mucha más facilidad [ø], más fluidez.

INTERVIEWER: Titubea menos.

INTERVIEWEE: Titubea menos, emplea menos muletillas, menos... Entonces [oes], o sea. Yo creo que sí se nota.

INTERVIEWER: Se nota.

INTERVIEWEE: Indudablemente no se puede decir tu te has educado en ...

INTERVIEWER: Como se diría en inglés.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Tu te has educado en Eton, o en ... no, pero yo pienso que se nota.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno, no voy a tomar más de tu tiempo porque solamente tenemos diez minutos más para tu clase. Muy bien, pues muchas gracias. Eso es todo. ¡Ha sido fácil? ¡verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Ves, ya está.

B-2-2 Male-Informant 1 (M-I 1)

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y me puedes decir dónde has nacido? Te voy a tener que hacer una serie de preguntas para saber de dónde viene tu acento, ¿vale?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues he nacido en Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: Y, ¿No has vivido en otra parte?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, sí, la verdad es que he vivido en Andalucía bastantes años.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Cuántos años? ¿Te acuerdas?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues en total unos once años.

INTERVIEWER: Once años. Pues eso es bastante tiempo.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y cuántos años tienes ahora?

INTERVIEWEE: Tengo veinticuatro.

INTERVIEWER: Veinticuatro. Sí bastante tiempo, bastantes años. ¿Tus padres de dónde son?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues mi madre es de Madrid [ø] y mi padre también.

INTERVIEWER: Y ¿han vivido siempre aquí también?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, no, hemos vivido este periodo hemos estado toda la familia fuera, sí.

INTERVIEWER: Sí. Y, ¿me puedes decir qué profesión tienen tus padres?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues, mi padre es directivo de un banco y mi madre trabaja en casa, vamos es ama de casa.

INTERVIEWER: Sí. Y, ¿tienes muchos hermanos?

INTERVIEWEE: Uno.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Un hermano nada más?

INTERVIEWEE: Un hermano sólo.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y me puedes decir qué idiomas extranjeros hablas y con qué frecuencia los hablas?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues se supone que hablo un poco de inglés y un poco de francés.

INTERVIEWER: Y, ¿tienes oportunidad de practicarlos alguna vez?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues, aquí en la Escuela, damos clases.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tienes oportunidad de hacerlo casi siempre? ¿no? ¿casi todos los días? ¿casi todas las semanas?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, más o menos sí.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno, pues creo que eso es casi todo lo que tengo que preguntarte ¿Me puedes decir a qué te dedicas en el tiempo que tienes libre, en tus ratos de ocio?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues normalmente, leer, estar en casa o salir con los amigos.

INTERVIEWER: Te gusta. ¿De dónde son la mayoría de tus amigos? ¿De qué zona de España son?

INTERVIEWEE: De aquí de Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Todos son de Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Eso es todo?

INTERVIEWER: Bueno no todo, casi todo. Te voy a hacer que leas unas serie de palabras y frases.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Empiezo?

INTERVIEWER: Sí, cuando quieras.

INTERVIEWEE: Heroico, bata, juventud [d], tomar, actor [kt], mandar, un huevo, una zanahoria, cápsula [ps], yo, pata, matad [d], país, acto humano [kt] [ou], baúl, libertad [d], referéndum [m], encantado [ado], todo [odo], texto [ks], Madrid [ø], pesetas, ha estudiado [ae] [ado], llave, étnico [tn], dado [ado], casa, gasa, aceite, taxi [ks], firmado [ado], allanamiento, real, formado [ado], un hueso.

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora son una serie de frases también por favor.

INTERVIEWEE: /.../ Actores [kt] y actrices [kt] lo celebrarán, todos [odo] fueron escalera arriba [aa], no se si se puede escribir [ee], llegará el [ae] referéndum [m] muy [ui] pronto, hay un cuarto oscuro [oo] al fondo, llega a adorarlo [aaa], iba a encenderlo [aae] todo [odo], en septiembre [pt] iremos todos [odo] de vacaciones, /.../, la juventud [θ] de hoy [eo] tiene más libertad [θ] que antes [ea], llegaré a [ea] Madrid [ø] dentro de unos [eu] días, yo que se lo qué, el caso es [oe] que ella [ee] ha llamado [ado] tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo.

INTERVIEWER: Vale, por último un texto muy cortito.

INTERVIEWEE: El día menos pensado [ado], cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos [eu] años había sitio suficiente para [ara] todos [odo] y ahora esto está [oe] atiborrado [ado]. ¿Te acuerdas [ea] cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos [odo] aquellos regalos? Sí. ¿Qué ha [ea] pasao [ao] con Antonio? ¿Que qué ha [ea] pasao [ao]? Me ha insultao [eai] [ao], yo estaba [oe] a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin... Pues, pues es que no se, pero el [oe] caso es [oe] que me cogí un taxi [ks] y me marché. ¿No me digas? Sí. Y lo que es [ee] más, no se como ha estado [ado] ... como se ha [ea] puesto de enfadado [ado] conmigo, porque le dije la verdad [ø], no tenía ningún motivo para [ara] portarse así. Bueno es que el [e] pobre hombre está estos [ae] días preocupado [ado] porque no sabe muy [uø] bien que hacer [ea] con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos [odo] los días de un [eu] lado [ado] para [ara] otro. Venga con ella al [aa] médico o al [ooa] hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel. No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para [ara] ser así, mira es que ha [ea] estado [ado] muy [ui] mal conmigo.

INTERVIEWER: Vale, muy bien. ¿Me podías decir si utilizas alguna vez el 'ao', 'he estao', 'he cantao'?

INTERVIEWEE: Normalmente no.

INTERVIEWER: Y, ¿hay alguna ocasión en la que tu crees que lo utilizas?

INTERVIEWEE: Quizás alguna vez se pueda escapar, pero no.

INTERVIEWER: No crees ..

INTERVIEWEE: No creo, no creo.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno, pues creo que eso es todo.

INTERVIEWEE: Vale.

INTERVIEWER: Ves que fácil.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, ojalá siempre fuera así.

B-2-3 Female-Informant 2 (F-I 2)

INTERVIEWER: Es simplemente hacerte leer una serie de palabras que tienen su interés especial, ¿vale? ¿me puedes decir dónde eres?

INTERVIEWEE: Soy aquí de Madrid [θ].

INTERVIEWER: Tu has nacido en Madrid /.../ ¿has vivido toda tu vida en Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, menos un año en Estados Unidos.

INTERVIEWER: Has pasado un año en Estados Unidos ¿Cuántos años tenías?

INTERVIEWEE: Diecisiete.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y estuviste allí estudiando o qué hiciste?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, estuve haciendo allí el último curso de Bachillerato.

INTERVIEWER: Y, ¿qué has estudiado en la Universidad?

INTERVIEWEE: Periodismo.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Durante cinco años?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y luego has decidido hacer este curso aquí?

INTERVIEWEE: He estado trabajando también.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Sí?

INTERVIEWEE: En un periódico, en el periódico ABC y ahora estoy haciendo este curso.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien. Y, ¿me puedes decir, por ejemplo, que idiomas hablas?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, hablo inglés y francés y estoy estudiando alemán.

INTERVIEWER: Y, ¿tienes la oportunidad de practicarlos a menudo?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues, inglés lo leo, en casa, estudio inglés. Francés bueno, doy clases aquí todos los días

INTERVIEWER: ¿Tú das clases o las recibes?

INTERVIEWEE: Las recibo, recibo clases y alemán también recibo clases, todos los días.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien. Y, ¿me puedes decir la profesión de tus padres?

INTERVIEWEE: Son médicos los dos.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Los dos son médicos?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien. Pues espera a ver si se me ha olvidado alguna cosa.

¿Dedicas algún tiempo al día a ver la televisión o no, no pasas demasiado tiempo?

INTERVIEWEE: No, prácticamente no la veo.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Ves algún programa específico?

INTERVIEWEE: No veo nada. El telediario alguna vez.

INTERVIEWER: Sí vale. Y tú, ¿a qué dedicas tu tiempo de ocio por ejemplo?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues me gusta mucho leer, me gusta ir al teatro, bailar.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien, me parece muy bien. Bueno, pues eso es prácticamente todo. ¿Tus padres también son de Madrid, me has dicho?

INTERVIEWEE: No, mi padre es de Salamanca y mi madre es de Madrid [θ].

INTERVIEWER: Y, ¿tu padre retiene algún acento de Salamanca o no?

INTERVIEWEE: Tiene un poco de tonillo, si canta un poco.

INTERVIEWER: Y, ¿eso te parece bien o mal, o qué te parece?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, pues no sé, quizás por cuestiones afectivas, me gusta.

INTERVIEWER: Sí. Y, ¿qué te parece el hecho de que haya acentos de otras regiones, por ejemplo en el telediario, eso te gusta o te causa cierta irritación o no?

INTERVIEWEE: La verdad [θ] es que en eso ...

INTERVIEWER: ¿No tienes una idea formada?

INTERVIEWEE: No, me gusta oír el castellano.

INTERVIEWER: ¿El castellano sin acento?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Te es más fácil para el oído?

INTERVIEWEE: Me resulta más agradable que oír a una señora que ... de Mallorca vamos.

INTERVIEWER: Sí. Muy bien. Vale. ¿Puedes leer esta lista de palabras por favor?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Heroico, bata, juventud [θ], tomar, actor [kt], mandar, un huevo, una zanahoria, cápsula [ps], yo, pata, matad [θ], país, acto humano [kt] [ou], baúl, libertad [θ], referéndum [m], encantado [ado], todo [oðo], texto [ks], Madrid [θ], pesetas, ha estudiado [ae] [ado], llave, étnico [tn], dado [ado], casa, gasa, aceite, taxi [ks], firmado [ado], allanamiento, real, formado [ado], un hueso.

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora, una serie de frases en la siguiente página.

INTERVIEWEE: /.../ Actores [kt] y actrices [kt] lo celebrarán, perdón lo celebraran.
INTERVIEWER: No, lo celebrarán, es mi error.

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! Todos [oðo] fueron escalera arriba [aa], no se si puede escribir [ee], llegará el [ae] referéndum [n] muy [u] pronto, hay un [aiu] cuarto oscuro [oo] al fondo, llega a adorarlo [aaa], iba a encenderlo [aae] todo [oðo], en septiembre [pt] iremos todos [oðo] de vacaciones, /.../, la juventud [θ] de hoy [eo] tiene más libertad [θ] que antes [ea], llegaré a [ea] Madrid [θ] dentro de unos [eu] días, yo que se lo qué. El caso es [oe] que ella [ee] ha llamado [ado] tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo.

INTERVIEWER: Ya está. Y ahora un texto muy corto.

INTERVIEWEE: El día menos pensado [ado], cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos años había sitio suficiente para [ara] todos [odo] y ahora esto está [oe] atiborrado [ado]. ¿Te acuerdas [ea] cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos [odo] aquellos regalos? Sí. ¿Qué ha [ea] pasao [ado] con Antonio? ¿Que qué ha [ea] pasao [ado]? Me ha insultao [eai] [ado], yo estaba a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin... Pues, pues es que no se, pero el caso es [oe] que me cogí un taxi [ks] y me marché. ¿No me digas? Sí. Y lo que es [ee] más, no se como ha estado [ado] ... como se ha [ea] puesto de enfadado [ado] conmigo, porque le dije la verdad [θ], no tenía ningún motivo para [ara] portarse así. Bueno es que el pobre hombre está estos [ae] días preocupado [ado] porque nos sabe muy [u] bien que hacer [ea] con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos [odo] los días de un [eu] lado [ado] para [ara] otro. Venga con ella al médico o al hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel. No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para [ara] ser así, mira es que ha estado [eae] muy [ui] mal conmigo.

INTERVIEWER: Perfecto y además lo has leído de maravilla. ¿Tienes práctica de leerlo?

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: ¿No?

INTERVIEWEE: Que va.

INTERVIEWER: ¿No lees nunca nada de ..., no se la noticias? ¿No?

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: ¿No has hecho nunca ...?

INTERVIEWEE: ¿En voz alta?

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: No, no, no.

INTERVIEWER: Pues lo has hecho de maravilla. ¿Utilizas en alguna ocasión el verbo 'he estao', 'encantao', esa forma? ¿Lo utilizas en alguna ocasión? ¿Tu crees?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que no.

INTERVIEWER: ¿No? No te lo digo porque lo haya notado, sólo es una pregunta que te hago porque no tengo ni idea.

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Con tu familia, tu crees que lo utilizas en alguna ocasión, por ejemplo 'estoy encantado' 'ao', 'he pasao un fin de semana en Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! Quitando la d.

INTERVIEWER: Quitando la d.

INTERVIEWEE: Pues mi imagino que todos cometemos esos errores. Probablemente sí.

INTERVIEWER: Alguna ver, pero no lo haces conscientemente, lo haces quizás inconscientemente ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: No, intento no cometerlo desde luego, pero vamos.

INTERVIEWER: Tú, por ejemplo, si oyes a una persona hablar por primera vez y no tienes ninguna, ningún dato sobre esa persona, ¿me podrías decir tu crees que puedes reconocer que esa persona tiene una cultura alta o baja o ... tiene una educación, no es una persona pues que ...?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y cómo lo harías, como lo reconocerías?

INTERVIEWEE: Hombre, yo creo que ... el vocabulario me parece importante, si tiene riqueza de vocabulario yo creo que eso se nota, no en una conversación normal, pero sí un poco más de aproximación o una conversación más interesante.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y algo en la pronunciación?

INTERVIEWEE: ¿En la pronunciación?

INTERVIEWER: ¿No has notado nunca nada?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que eso, no estoy segura si es más una cuestión ... social... No me gustaría ser un poco clasista, pero creo que también se nota un poco.

INTERVIEWER: No, no. Una de las preguntas que les iba a hacer, bueno que os iba a hacer es en realidad, porque en Inglaterra se habla de clases sociales y yo en España, bueno yo estoy segura que en España también se habla de clases sociales, se quiera o no se quiera.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Que se refleja en la lengua como sucede en todas. Y si que hay quizás una forma diferente de hablar de clases bajas, quizás.

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que ...

INTERVIEWER: Quizás.

INTERVIEWEE: A lo mejor es algo relacionado con la instrucción, el nivel de instrucción también es importante en esto.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Entonces, si se nota algunas veces o no?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que sí. En lo que decías de 'he estao', no se, algunas veces coges un taxi, en ese tipo de situaciones, pues yo creo que sí.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien, pues eso es todo.

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! Pues nada.

B-2-4 Female-Informant 3 (F-I 3)

INTERVIEWER: Pues la conversación va a ser grabada pero si en algún momento quieres que se pare por alguna razón, pues lo dices.

INTERVIEWEE: Vale, no tengo ningún inconveniente.

INTERVIEWER: En primer, si tienes, tienes ahí como ves, ¿cómo se llama? el plan de esta conversación breve. Primero tengo que saber un poco sobre ti, sobre que tipo de informante eres y luego te voy a pedir que leas una serie de frases y palabras /.../

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y eres de Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: No, de Bilbao.

INTERVIEWER: ¿De Bilbao? como yo.

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah sí!

INTERVIEWER: Sí. ¿Y tú que hiciste?

INTERVIEWEE: ¿De estudios?

INTERVIEWER: De estudios.

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno en Bilbao fui al colegio, bueno incluso COU hice allí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y después?

INTERVIEWEE: Despues vine aquí a estudiar en la universidad [θ] la carrera.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Qué carrera?

INTERVIEWEE: Ciencias Políticas.

INTERVIEWER: Durante cinco años, ¿no?

INTERVIEWEE: Cinco años, sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y después has terminado...?

INTERVIEWEE: Despues me fui un año a Alemania, bueno estuve haciendo unos cursos de doctorado y el año pasao [ao] estuve haciendo la carrera de sociología. Aquí tambien.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Otra carrera, de sociología?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, convalidan bastantes asignaturas.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y has terminado eso?

INTERVIEWEE: Y terminé en junio del año pasao [ao] y este año estoy haciendo el curso.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y qué planes tienes para dentro de unos años?

INTERVIEWEE: Me encantaría saberlo, no tengo ni idea.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno por lo menos terminar esto y luego ya verás. O sea que hablas alemán.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y hablas otro idioma más?

INTERVIEWEE: Inglés.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tienes oportunidad de practicarlos a menudo?

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: No tienes.

INTERVIEWEE: No, ninguna.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Me puedes decir un poco la profesión de tus padres?

INTERVIEWEE: Mi padre es abogao [ao] y mi madre ama de casa.

INTERVIEWER: Ama de casa y ¿son de Bilbao tambien?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Y vamos a ver, hay un montón de cosas, no un montón, varias cosas que tengo que preguntarte como por ejemplo, en los últimos años has pasado tiempo fuera de Madrid, en Bilbao, que países o regiones españolas has visitado.

INTERVIEWEE: Pero, ¿qué periodo de tiempo?

INTERVIEWER: Pues largo.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Largo?

INTERVIEWER: De varios meses.

INTERVIEWEE: Varios meses, en Alemania.

INTERVIEWER: ¿En Alemania nada más?

INTERVIEWEE: Nada más.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y no has nunca en ninguna otra zona aparte de Bilbao y de Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: No. Durante periodos largos no.

INTERVIEWER: No. ¿ves a menudo televisión?

INTERVIEWEE: Muy poquito.

INTERVIEWER: Muy poco. ¿Qué programas te gusta ver de televisión?

INTERVIEWEE: Es que prácticamente no veo.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Es que no tienes tiempo?

INTERVIEWEE: No, es que no me gusta mucho tampoco.

INTERVIEWER: No. ¿El telediario sueles ver?

INTERVIEWEE: Eso sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y nada más?

INTERVIEWEE: Nada. Alguna película de vez en cuando. Muy poco.

INTERVIEWER: Vale. ¿Y me puedes decir por ejemplo si, si haces, practicas algún deporte, o tienes alguna afición?

INTERVIEWEE: Me gusta bastante el deporte.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y qué deporte practicas?

INTERVIEWEE: Generalmente el juego a squash y padding y en invierno esquiar.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Te gusta bastante esquiar?

INTERVIEWEE: Me encanta.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Vas con tu familia o vas?

INTERVIEWEE: Antes iba con mi padre, que es muy esquiador, y con mis hermanos, pero ahora bueno, ya mi padre no esquía y vamos con amigos, voy con amigos.

INTERVIEWER: Todavía tienes la afición al esquí. Pues creo que eso es prácticamente toda la primera parte.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Eso es fundamentalmente todo. Ahora te voy a pedir que si puedes leer esas frases, esas palabras.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Heroico, bata, juventud [θ], tomar, actor [kt], mandar, un huevo, una zanahoria, cápsula [ps], yo, pata, matad [d], país, acto humano [kt] [ou], baúl, libertad [d], referéndum [m], encantado [ado], todo [odo], texto [ks], Madrid [θ], pesetas, ha estudiado [ae] [ado], llave, étnico [tn], dado [ado], casa, gasa, aceite, taxi [ks], firmado [ado], allanamiento, real, formado [ado], un hueso.

INTERVIEWER: Vale. Ahora puedes pasar la página por favor y esas son unas frases.

INTERVIEWEE: /.../ Actores [kt] y actrices [kt] lo celebrarán, todos [odo] fueron escaleras arriba, no se si puede escribir [e], llegará el [ae] referéndum [m] muy [u] pronto, hay un [aiu] cuarto oscuro [oo] al fondo, llega a adorarlo [aaa], iba a encenderlo [aae] todo [odo], en septiembre [pt] iremos todos [odo] de vacaciones, /.../, la juventud [d] de hoy [eo] tiene más libertad [θ] que antes [ea], llegare a [ea] Madrid [θ] dentro de unos [u] días, ¡Yo que se lo qué! El caso es [oe] que ella [e] ha llamado [ado] tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo.

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora un pequeño texto que tienes ahí.

INTERVIEWEE: El día menos pensado [ado], cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos [eu] años había sitio suficiente para [ara] todos [odo] y ahora esto está [oe] atiborrado [ado]. ¿Te acuerdas [a] cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos [odo] aquellos regalos? Sí. ¿Qué ha [ea] pasao [ao] con Antonio? ¿Que qué ha [ea] pasao [ao]? Me ha insultao [ai] [ao], yo estaba [oe] a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin... Pues, pues es que no se, pero el [oə] caso es [oe] que me cogí un taxi [ks] y me marché. ¿No me digas? Sí. Y lo que es [ee] más, no se como ha estado [a] [ado], como se ha [a] puesto de enfadado [ado] conmigo, porque le dije la verdad [θ], no tenía ningún motivo para [ara] portarse así. Bueno es que el [e] pobre hombre está estos [ae] días preocupado [ado] porque no sabe muy [uə] bien

que hacer [ea] con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo, no se si podrá aguantarlo todos [oo] los días de un [eu] lado [adol] para [ara] otro. Venga con ella al [aa] médico o al hospital [ooa]. Está con los nervios a flor de piel. No se, no se si pensar en que, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para [ara] ser así, mira es que ha estado [eas] muy [ui] mal conmigo.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien, eso es todo y ahora dos preguntas. ¿Te das cuentas si tu utilizas el ao en he estao o encantao, lo utilizas mucho? ¿Quizás por ser de Bilbao?

INTERVIEWEE: Más que el ao me dicen que utilizo el au.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Au?

INTERVIEWEE: He estau, eso es lo que me dicen.

INTERVIEWER: Sí, eso es muy de Bilbao, ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y no te importa utilizar esas formas? ¿o crees que esas formas perjudican de alguna manera la forma que hablar tu o la percepción que tienen otras personas de ti?

INTERVIEWEE: Es que yo creo, que al llevar tantos años viviendo, haber vivido tantos años en Bilbao al final se te acaba pegando, pero yo incluso antes yo no me daba cuenta de que lo usaba, pero ahora estoy empezando a darme cuenta.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Desde cuándo?

INTERVIEWEE: Desde que vine a Madrid [θ].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y hace mucho tiempo que has venido?

INTERVIEWEE: Llevo siete años y este es el octavo.

INTERVIEWER: Sí y te estás dando cuenta que tienes unos rasgos especiales.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: De Bilbao.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Me puedes decir por ejemplo si tu personalmente ¿no?, no te estoy pidiendo la teoría, sino tu personalmente crees que cuando escuchas a una persona por primera vez tu puedes darte cuenta si esa persona tiene una educación alta o proviene de unas clases sociales altas? ¿te das cuenta?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y cómo te das cuenta? ¿Hay alguna cosa específica que...?

INTERVIEWEE: ¿En el lenguaje? ¿Simplemente en lo que está diciendo?

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Pues en el vocabulario que utiliza, la forma, la gramática de las frases, como utilizan los verbos, el número de palabras que usa porque hay muchas palabras que son repetitivas.

INTERVIEWER: O clichés que utiliza ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, o que utilizan palabras que tienen distinto significado del que le están dando.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y a ti te han dicho por ejemplo, no se si tienes mucho acento de Bilbao, yo no lo he notado, pero te dicen que tienes acento de Bilbao aparte de que te digan ao?

INTERVIEWEE: No, eso no.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Eso no? Sólo dicen esa terminación.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y a ti te importa, por ejemplo, escuchar en la televisión que una persona tenga un acento de alguna región? ¿eso te irrita o simplemente prefieres que no tenga así acento fuerte de ninguna región, los locutores de televisión?

INTERVIEWEE: No, irritarme no me irrita.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Te parece bien?

INTERVIEWEE: Ni bien, ni mal, me parece lo normal.

INTERVIEWER: Vale, bueno, si, pues eso es todo. Me parece que eso es todo, vamos, porque lo has leído claramente y he visto varias cosas que haces en tu pronunciación y están bien. Eso es.

B-2-5 Male-Informant 2 (M-I 2)

INTERVIEWER: Si en algún momento de la grabación quieras parar por alguna razón, ¿vale? me lo dices y paramos y ya está.

INTERVIEWEE: De acuerdo.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Vale? Más cosas. Eso es.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Eso es todo?

INTERVIEWER: /.../ ¿Y de dónde eres D.?

INTERVIEWEE: De Madrid [θ].

INTERVIEWER: Todo el mundo sois de Madrid.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Nunca has vivido en ninguna parte de España?

INTERVIEWEE: En España, de España, no, pero fuera de España sí en Alemania estuve un año.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Un año entero?

INTERVIEWEE: No entero, un año académico, nueve meses.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y hablas alemán?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y qué otros idiomas extranjeros hablas?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno bien, bien ...

INTERVIEWER: Bueno.

INTERVIEWEE: Pero bueno sí me defiendo en inglés y en francés.

INTERVIEWER: Y en alemán.

INTERVIEWEE: Y en alemán, claro. En alemán mejor.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tienes oportunidad de practicar tus idiomas extranjeros o no?

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Aquí en España?

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, voy a clases, tengo clases diarias de estos idiomas, pero posibilidad [θ] de practicar, pues realmente no.

INTERVIEWER: No mucha.

INTERVIEWEE: Tengo algún amigo fuera de España, cuando vienen sí, sí hablamos en otros idiomas, pero.

INTERVIEWER: O sea que sí que a menudo, durante las vacaciones o así sí que tienes oportunidad de hablar.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿En alemán sobre todo?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, bueno también tengo amigos franceses.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien, ¿me puedes decir a qué se dedican tus padres?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno mi padre ha fallecido hace, murió hace seis años va hacer y mi madre es ...

INTERVIEWER: Ama de casa.

INTERVIEWEE: Ama de casa sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tu padre a qué se ha dedicado?

INTERVIEWEE: Mi padre era ingeniero.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y no, trabajaba en su campo? ¿no?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien. ¿Y me puedes decir si hay algún deporte que practicas o no?

INTERVIEWEE: No, bueno sí, la natación pero últimamente nada.

INTERVIEWER: No tenéis tiempo. Eso es lo escucho siempre de los alumnos, no tengo tiempo, no puedo, no se.

INTERVIEWEE: De todas formas no soy muy, no me gustan mucho vamos, no soporto.

INTERVIEWER: Y por interés propio, estáis haciendo este curso, pero ¿has estudiado otra cosa antes?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, yo, mi interés es llegar a ser diplomático algún día, y pienso que este curso me ayuda bastante porque se estudian todas las materias que luego voy a tener que estudiar para la oposición.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Hay oposición después?

INTERVIEWEE: Claro.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y son duras?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Muy duras?

INTERVIEWEE: Bastante duras. Sí, son de las más duras que hay en España vamos, pero.

INTERVIEWER: Y antes de esto ¿qué has hecho? ¿has ido a la universidad?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Bueno, estudié Derecho en la Universidad [θ] Complutense de aquí de Madrid [θ], y luego, bueno estuve, ya te digo, un año en Alemania, bueno nueve meses.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Después de haber terminado tu carrera?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, y luego estuve, el año pasado estuve exclusivamente dedicado a la preparación del examen, y este año estoy en la escuela.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Hay un examen de entrada para este curso? ¿Es ese el examen?

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! No, no. Para la oposición me refería.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Qué oposición es esa?

INTERVIEWEE: Para el Cuerpo Diplomático.

INTERVIEWER: O sea, que tenéis que hacer una oposición primero, luego haces este curso.

INTERVIEWEE: No. El curso no tiene nada que ver con la oposición. O sea, para la oposición simplemente tienes que pasar un examen, un examen que se compone de varias partes y bueno luego tienes que hacer un curso de formación, etc. Y luego aparte está el curso de estudios internacionales en la Escuela Diplomática.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Qué es este?

INTERVIEWEE: Qué es el que estoy haciendo yo, este año. Que, bueno, se estudian casi todo lo que estudias te entra en la oposición, pero no tiene nada que ver, es decir, no, no es requisito para hacer la oposición, son dos cosas independientes.

INTERVIEWER: Sí, sí, sí. Muy bien.

INTERVIEWEE: Entonces el año pasado estuve preparándome para la oposición y este año estoy haciendo este curso.

INTERVIEWER: Que te va a ayudar.

INTERVIEWEE: Que me ayuda por supuesto, claro.

INTERVIEWER: Vale. Espero que estas son todas las preguntas así pre-lectura. Muy bien. ¿Me puedes leer esta lista de palabras?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, sí, claro.

INTERVIEWER: A ver.

INTERVIEWEE: Heroico, bata, juventud [θ], tomar, actor [kt], mandar, un huevo, una zanahoria, cápsula [ps], yo, pata, matad [θ], país, acto humano [kt], baúl, libertad [θ], referéndum [m], encantado [ado], todo [odo], texto [ks], Madrid [θ], pesetas, ha estudiado [ael] [ado], llave, étnico [tn], dado [ado], casa, gasa, aceite, taxi [ks], firmado [ado], allanamiento, real, formado [ado], un hueso.

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora unas frases cortitas. ¿No ha sido difícil verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: No. No te creas que alguna la he dudado. ¿Sigo leyendo?

INTERVIEWER: Sí por favor.

INTERVIEWEE: /.../ actores [kt] y actrices [kt] lo celebraran, lo celebrarán perdón.

INTERVIEWER: No, no, es mi culpa, tenía que haber puesto el acento.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Todos [odo] fueron escalera arriba, no se si puede escribir [ee], llegará el [ae] referéndum [m] muy [uə] pronto, hay un cuarto oscuro [oo] al fondo, llega a adorarlo [aaa], iba a encenderlo [aaa] todo [odo], en septiembre [pt] iremos todos [odo] de vacaciones, /.../, la juventud [θ] de hoy [eo] tiene más libertad [θ] que antes [ea], llegaré a [ea] Madrid [θ] dentro de unos [u] días.

INTERVIEWER: Yo que se lo qué.

INTERVIEWEE: Yo que se lo qué.

INTERVIEWER: Ya lo se que no tiene mucho sentido pero bueno.

INTERVIEWEE: El caso es [oe] que ella [ee] ha llamado [ado] tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo.

INTERVIEWER: Y por último un texto corto. Nada más.

INTERVIEWEE: De acuerdo. El día menos pensado [ado], cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos [eu] años había sitio suficiente para [ara] todos [odo] y ahora esto está [oa] atiborrado [ado]. ¿Te acuerdas [a] cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos [odo] aquellos regalos? Sí. ¿Qué ha [ea] pasao [ado] con Antonio? ¿Que qué ha [ea] pasao [ao]? Me ha insultao [eai] [ao], yo estaba [oe] a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin... Pues, pues es que no se, pero el [o] caso es [oe] que me cogí un taxi [ks] y me marché. ¿No me digas? Sí. Y lo que es [ee] más, no se como ha estado [ae] [ado], como se ha [ea] puesto de enfadado [ado] connigo, porque le dije la verdad [ø], no tenía ningún motivo para [ara] portarse así. Bueno es que el [ee] pobre hombre está estos [ae] días preocupado [ado] porque no sabe muy [ui] bien que hacer [ea] con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos [odo] los días de un [eu] lado [ado] para [ara] otro. Venga con ella al [aa] médico o al [ooa] hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel. No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para [ara] ser así, mira es que ha [ea] estado muy [ui] mal connigo.

INTERVIEWER: Vale. ¿Me puedes decir si te relacionas con personas solamente de Madrid o te relacionas con otras personas de otras partes?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, ahora realmente como en el curso hay personas de todo, de muchos países diferentes, pues la verdad [ø] es que, pero mis amigos, o sea, tengo relación con personas de otras, de otros sitios pero mis amigos de toda la vida son de Madrid [ø], casi todos vamos.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tus padres los dos de Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: Mis padres los dos sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y ves mucha televisión?

INTERVIEWEE: Yo personalmente poco.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Ves, por ejemplo, el telediario por las noches?

INTERVIEWEE: No, suelo ver, el telediario no lo veo porque no me da tiempo, normalmente lo veía al mediodía, pero este año no me da tiempo porque salgo tarde de clases y no, la verdad [ø] es que por las noches si a caso veo alguna película o algún programa así, un documental ... o algo, sobre todo [odo] películas, alguna pero como dos a la semana, como mucho vamos.

INTERVIEWER: Te lo decía porque no se si conoces a don, como se llama, si me acuerdo, ahora se me ha olvidado mi propio, la propia persona que me ha ayudado.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Aquí de la Escuela? ¡A.?

INTERVIEWER: No, no, de la Academia, de la Real Academia Española, don... por favor. Si he hablado con él el miércoles. Me mata si sabe que se me ha olvidado su nombre.

INTERVIEWEE: No se.

INTERVIEWER: Lapesa. No se si lo conoces. Este señor me estaba diciendo que la mayoría de los jóvenes españoles están demasiado influidos por la televisión.

INTERVIEWEE: Es posible, es posible que sí. Lo que pasa es que a [a] mi de por si no me gusta la televisión ¿no?, pero por ejemplo, tengo un hermano que se pasa todo el día viéndola, o sea que.

INTERVIEWER: O sea que sí². Podéis pasar si queréis. Si queréis esperar aquí podéis pasar.

INTERVIEWEE: O sea que en general la gente ve mucha televisión.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tú utilizas mucho el ao?

INTERVIEWEE: ¡El ao?

²At this point in the interview another informant, M-I 3, comes into the room and is asked to join us.

INTERVIEWER: El ao, por ejemplo he estao, encantao.

INTERVIEWEE: No lo se, la verdad es que no lo se. Hombre, hablando con amigos, en plan informal y así, supongo que sí, pero normalmente.

INTERVIEWER: Normalmente ¿cuándo hablas con tus profesores, por ejemplo?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues no. Trato de evitarlo claro.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y por ejemplo, qué te parece el hecho de que, tu no tienes ningún acento de ninguna región pero.

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: Por ejemplo un andaluz que retenga su acento esto ¿qué crees que impresión pueden causar a otras personas que escuchan?

INTERVIEWEE: No, nada. Hoy en día ninguna. La impresión que denota de donde vienes, vamos, más que ... a mi personalmente

no me molesta. Me molesta que se fuerce el acento ¿no? porque ahora parece que hay personas que tratan, que tratan de remarcar más su acento, no se porque ¿no?.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Quieres decir, que enfatizan todavía más que vienen de una zona?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Es decir, hay personas que normalmente no tienen un acento salvo cuando quieren ¿no? ¿es verdad? ¿no?

MALE-INFORMANT 3 (M-I 3): Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí ¿verdad? Y sobre todo en televisión por ejemplo se nota esto, o en la radio o tal. Oyes hablar a la gente y a veces, bueno. Está hablando un entrevistador normalmente ¿no? con acento o sin acento, o acento de Madrid [θ] y bueno, va a entrevistar a un andaluz y cambia su acento y empieza a hablar con acento andaluz.

INTERVIEWER: Eso se llama mimetismo. Hay un estudio hecho en lingüística y eso se llama mimetismo.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, a veces es mimetismo, pero otras veces es porque de repente se dan cuenta de que son andaluces y les gustan remarcarlo, o que son catalanes.

INTERVIEWER: Por empatismo, para solidarizarse de alguna manera, ¿no?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, esa es mi idea vamos.

INTERVIEWER: Sí. ¡Ah! Muy interesante. Y por último, te voy a preguntar la misma pregunta que luego le voy a preguntar a este chico que está aquí. Si veis, oís, más que veis oís a una persona por primera vez, ¿podéis sacar conclusiones del tipo de educación que esa persona ha tenido?

INTERVIEWEE: Claro, sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y cómo lo sabéis?

M-I 3: El léxico.

INTERVIEWER: El léxico.

INTERVIEWEE: El léxico. Si es abundante ¿no?, si es grande ¿no?

INTERVIEWER: Y aparte del léxico ¿hay alguna cosa en la pronunciación?

INTERVIEWEE: También ¿no? en la pronunciación y bueno, en la entonación y en ciertas palabras que utilizan ¿no?

INTERVIEWER: ¿Quizás *slang* o ciertas jergas?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, palabras de jerga, argot.

M-I 3: Argot, sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Sí?

M-I 3: Es que ahora por ejemplo los chicos jóvenes que van al instituto, se está produciendo una reducción de vocabulario.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, un empobrecimiento claro.

INTERVIEWER: Empobrecimiento.

M-I 3: Entonces esto puede ser un poco el nivel cultural.

INTERVIEWER: Sí, Rafael Lapesa, miembro de la Real Academia Española, comentaba el miércoles que hoy en día las personas no pronuncian, los jóvenes no pronuncian.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿No pronuncian?

INTERVIEWER: No pronuncian el español.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Entonces?

INTERVIEWER: No pronuncian, no vocalizan.

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! no vocalizan, sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Eso lo has notado?

INTERVIEWEE: Claro.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y eso lo has notado?

M-I 3: Sí, claro.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tu a qué te refieres por la entonación que decías tú que se conoce a una persona por su entonación?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno la entonación, la forma en que hablan, no se. Más que la entonación ciertas palabras de argot ¿no? que se utilizan, y bueno que sí, que te indican un poco el nivel de formación también de esa persona.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien. Y esto, bueno, es fuera, porque hablando inglés se dice de que clase social eres, en cuanto abres la boca, en cuanto se dice hola, se sabe exactamente de qué clase social eres.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Tu crees que sucede en?

INTERVIEWEE: Quizás no en cuanto abres la boca ¿no?, pero.

M-I 3: En español no.

INTERVIEWER: No.

INTERVIEWEE: Yo creo que se necesita una charla más, un trozo más.

INTERVIEWER: Más larga.

INTERVIEWEE: Depende de la persona también, hay personas que aun sin abrir la boca se ve luego por como van vestidas ¿no?

INTERVIEWER: Como se sientan incluso, ¿no?, como andan.

INTERVIEWEE: Claro, pero.

M-I 3: Los modales simplemente, aunque no diga nada puede saberse.

INTERVIEWEE: Claro.

M-I 3: Por la manera de llegar y sentarse.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, pero pienso que por hablar simplemente no creo no.

M-I 3: Además yo creo que hay una uniformidad [ø] ahora mismo yo creo entre ... las clases más educadas.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Tu crees?

M-I 3: Sí porque el lenguaje coloquial está ganando muchos planos.

INTERVIEWER: Se está introduciendo a las clases altas, por ejemplo.

M-I 3: Se está llegando a una lengua más uniforme, ¿no?

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y eso en que lo notas? Me podrías dar algún ejemplo.

M-I 3: Pues sí, por ejemplo en, bueno a lo mejor no es un buen ejemplo, pero en televisión a veces entre gente que se supone han tenido una buena educación se utilizan muchos términos que a veces dices, bueno cómo puede estar diciendo alguien esto aquí en público con esta gente, ¿no?. Ya no me refiero a palabrotas o expresiones mal sonantes ¿no?, sino a términos de la calle que mucha gente, que mis padres no entenderían, ¿no?

INTERVIEWER: De la jerga. ¿Cómo le llaman a la jerga de Madrid? ¿Chi?

INTERVIEWEE: Cheli.

INTERVIEWER: Sí. A ti no te entretengo que seguramente te querrás ir a comer.

B-2-6 Male-Informant 3 (M-I 3)

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tu eres de Madrid también?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, es más complicado que eso.

INTERVIEWER: Sí, bueno pues me cuentas.

INTERVIEWEE: Nací en Madrid [ø], hasta los ocho años estuve viviendo en Madrid [ø], luego de ocho a doce años estuve viviendo en Gerona y desde los doce años hasta casi ahora en Valladolid [d].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y ahora te has venido a Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: Y ahora llevo otra temporada en Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Cuánto tiempo?

INTERVIEWEE: Ahora seguido llevo dos años, y antes de eso estuve en Francia también año y pico.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Viviendo?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: O sea que has estado por todas partes.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y el hecho de que te hayas movido tanto por España ha sido por la profesión de tus padres?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, claro.

INTERVIEWER: ¿A qué se dedican tus padres?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno son funcionarios.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Del gobierno?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Tu madre también?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿No tenemos a una ama de casa como madre entonces?

INTERVIEWEE: No, no.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Me podrías decir, por ejemplo, si, en primer lugar qué idiomas extranjeros hablas?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues soy filólogo francés y se supone que lo hablo bien.

INTERVIEWER: Estoy segura de que sí.

INTERVIEWEE: El inglés estoy con ello y ya ninguno más.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tienes oportunidad de practicar esos idiomas?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, sí. Aquí sí, todos los días.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y me puedes decir tus amigos, las personas con las que te relacionas más a menudo son españoles? ¿de qué zona? ¿o de qué provincia?

INTERVIEWEE: Ahora mismo, la gente con la que más me relaciono son gente de la Escuela, la mayoría son extranjeros y luego en la residencia donde vivo son españoles de fuera todos, no son nadie de Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Tus padres no viven en Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: No. Tampoco eran de Madrid [ø] porque ya te dije que había nacido Madrid [ø] pero ellos no son de Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿De dónde son?

INTERVIEWEE: Mi padre es andaluz y mi madre de Santander.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tu padre retiene el acento andaluz?

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y por qué?

INTERVIEWEE: Porque cuando a trabajar a Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: Tu eres lingüísticamente más complejo que los demás.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, sí, ya lo sabía, lo había pensado al principio. Cuando vino a trabajar a Madrid [ø] era muy joven y entonces yo creo que debió de sufrir algún tipo de rechazo, algún tipo de burla por su acento y entonces, se debió de proponer

perderlo. Entonces si habla usted o hablas con mi padre y hablas con su hermano ves la diferencia. Él no tiene acento andaluz, a veces se le escapa una palabra no.

INTERVIEWER: Pero no es nada claro.

INTERVIEWEE: No, no, no puedes decir que sea andaluz.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tu padre, cuándo oye hablar a otras personas en andaluz, quizás se lo deberíamos de preguntar a tu padre no, pero a él le encanta su tierra o le parece?

INTERVIEWEE: No tiene mucho apego no.

INTERVIEWER: Quizás es una persona más internacional.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, también ha viajado bastante y no se considera andalucista, ni nada de eso.

INTERVIEWER: Hay muchas veces que nos pasa a todos.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Hay alguna cosa que haces en tu tiempo libre? ¿Algún deporte que practicas?

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: ¿No?

INTERVIEWEE: No tengo tiempo ahora.

INTERVIEWER: Y me podrías decir, te estaba preguntando por tus padres porque normalmente el acento de los padres, la pronunciación de los padres influye mucho a los hijos, pero si no vives con tus padres estás en una edad que, ¿qué edad tienes?

INTERVIEWEE: Veintiséis.

INTERVIEWER: Veintiséis años. Estás en una edad que realmente has, estás solidificando tu acento, lingüísticamente, en teoría eso es lo que está sucediendo. ¿Hay alguna persona que pasas tiempo al día con esa persona? ¿No pasas con esa persona exactamente?

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: No. Varias, de muchos sitios diferentes.

INTERVIEWEE: Con varias de muchos sitios y muy poco tiempo al día.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Trabajas el resto del tiempo?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, estudio, estoy aquí haciendo el curso y preparando la oposición también.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tienes planes, esto es por propio interés, tienes planes de entrar en el cuerpo diplomático?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, por eso estoy preparando la oposición.

INTERVIEWER: Y vas a presentarte a ella.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno.

INTERVIEWEE: No creo que la sacaré pero bueno.

INTERVIEWER: Lo vas a intentar.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Igual vas a caer a Irlanda, dentro de unos años, nunca se sabe.

INTERVIEWEE: Me encantó Irlanda cuando estuve este verano.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Dónde estuviste en Irlanda?

INTERVIEWEE: Estuve, llegué a Limerick, primero, luego subí a Dublín y luego fui a Irlanda del Norte, porque me interesaba el problema político y estuve en Belfast y en Derry.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y te impresionó Belfast?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. La verdad [ə] es que sí.

INTERVIEWER: A mí también me impresionó.

INTERVIEWEE: Estuve allí tres días, estuve un día, era un fin de semana este verano en Derry y era la fiesta de los leales.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah! O sea que llegaste en el momento.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Políticamente más.

INTERVIEWEE: Y el domingo siguiente, o sea, a los días o al día siguiente, no me acuerdo era la fiesta de los católicos, en Belfast y estuve allí metido viéndolo todo, fue muy interesante.

INTERVIEWER: Políticamente por supuesto te tiene que interesar. ¿Tienes planes para volver el año que viene a Irlanda?

INTERVIEWEE: No creo, a lo mejor, voy a Estados Unidos pero, todavía no lo puedo decir.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno pues te dejo mi tarjeta por si alguna vez necesitas algo.

INTERVIEWEE: Muy bien, gracias. Para encontrar alojamiento en el verano fue horrible.

INTERVIEWER: Pues, pues, me.

INTERVIEWEE: Está lleno de turistas. Gracias.

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora te voy a pedir como a todos los demás que leas esas palabras.

INTERVIEWEE: Muy bien.

INTERVIEWER: No son difíciles jeh!

INTERVIEWEE: No, lo que pasa es que cuando yo me he oído la voz en grabaciones nunca me ha gustado el tono que tengo.

INTERVIEWER: Pues si quieres no te lo enseño.

INTERVIEWEE: Siempre me he notado un acento de Madrid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: Yo no te he notado nada de acento.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿No?

INTERVIEWER: No. ¿Y eso te importaría? ¿tener acento?

INTERVIEWEE: No, pero cuando voy a Valladolid [ø] a ver a mis padres y hablo con amigos de allí, a veces se me escapa algún rasgo de Madrid [ø] no, como la s en posición pos-nuclear de sílaba, por ejemplo, mosca o vasco.

INTERVIEWER: O por ejemplo, que es esto.

INTERVIEWEE: Entonces siempre me sacan ese defecto y me dicen 'Mira el madrileño este'.

INTERVIEWER: Y no te gusta

INTERVIEWEE: No soy consciente de ello, no. Ya es la costumbre de hablar aquí, pero cuando me lo sacan a relucir no.

INTERVIEWER: No te hace gracia.

INTERVIEWEE: No me hace demasiada gracia.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno.

INTERVIEWEE: Heroico, bata, juventud [d], tomar, actor [kt], mandar, un huevo, una zanahoria, cápsula [ps], yo, pata, matad [d], país, acto humano [kt] [ou], baúl, libertad [d], referéndum [m], encantado [adō], todo [odo], texto [ks], Madrid [d], pesetas, ha estudiado [ae] [adō], llave, étnico [tn], dado [adō], casa, gasa, aceite, taxi [ks], firmado [adō], allanamiento, real, formado [adō], un hueso. /.../

INTERVIEWER: Muy bien, muchas gracias,

INTERVIEWEE: De nada.

INTERVIEWER: Ahora unas frases.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Todavía no has terminado. Tu te creías que te podías ir a comer pero todavía no.

INTERVIEWEE: No, si no tengo prisa, tengo que quedarme aquí, o sea que no hay problema.

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Actores [kt] y actrices [kt] lo celebrarán, aquí falta un acento.

INTERVIEWER: Sí ya.

INTERVIEWEE: Todos [odo] fueron escaleras arriba, no se si puede escribir [ee], llegará el [ae] referéndum [m] muy [ui] pronto, hay un cuarto oscuro [oo] al fondo, llega a adorarlo [aaa], iba a encenderlo [aae] todo [odō], en septiembre [pt] iremos todos [odo] de vacaciones, /.../, la juventud [d] de hoy [eo] tiene más libertad [d] que antes [ea] , llegaré a [ea] Madrid [d] dentro de unos [u] días, ¡Yo que se lo qué!

INTERVIEWER: Sí suena un poco antinatural, pero es que lo he tenido que poner.

INTERVIEWEE: Vale, vale. El caso es [o] que ella [ee] ha llamado [aðo] tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo.

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora un texto cortito.

INTERVIEWEE: Muy bien.

INTERVIEWER: Vale y eso es todo lo que te voy hacer leer.

INTERVIEWEE: El día menos pensado [aðo], cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos, perdón, hace unos años había sitio suficiente para [ara] todos [oðo] y ahora esto está [oe] atiborrado [aðo]. ¿Te acuerdas [a] cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos [oðo] aquellos regalos? Sí. ¿Qué ha [ea] pasao [ao] con Antonio? ¿Que qué ha [ea] pasao [ao]? Me ha insultao [əai] [ao], yo estaba [oe] a lo mio y de repente no se porque y en fin. Pues, pues es que no se, pero el [oð] caso es [oe] que me cogí un taxi [ks] y me marché. ¿No me digas? Sí. Y lo que es [ee] más, no se como ha estado [ae] [ao], como se ha [ða] puesto de enfadado [aðo] conmigo, porque le dije la verdad [ø], no tenía ningún motivo para [ara] portarse así. Bueno es que el [e] pobre hombre está estos [ae] días preocupado [aðo] porque no sabe muy [u] bien que hacer [ea] con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos [oðo] los días de un [eu] lado [aðo] para [ara] otro. Venga con ella al [aa] médico o al [ooa] hospital. Está con los nervios a flor de piel. No se, no se si pensar en que tiene una razón para [ara] ser así, mira es que ha [ea] estado [aðo] muy [uð] mal conmigo.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Me puedes decir?

INTERVIEWEE: Vale.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Me puedes decir si por ejemplo utilizas el ao? Por ejemplo, he estao.

INTERVIEWEE: No, igual que David [d], cuando estoy hablando así normalmente creo que no lo uso, pero a veces en casa a lo mejor, con mis padres o con amigos sí que lo utilizo.

INTERVIEWER: ¿En ambientes informales?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, pero lo que pasa es que te das cuenta, antes no.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Cuando estás en casa también te das cuenta?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, porque ya te acostumbras a hablar de una manera.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Por qué te estás acostumbrando a hablar de esta manera?

INTERVIEWEE: Porque a pesar de todo se exige un cierto nivel ¿no? y evitar esto. Hay que evitar caer en defectos que son fácilmente corregibles. No tiene ningún sentido simplemente. La ley del mínimo esfuerzo.

INTERVIEWER: Del descuido ¿verdad? Pereza.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, es la comodidad del hablante ¿no?, por eso no tiene otra razón.

INTERVIEWER: Y no se si te he preguntado a ti también el hecho de que si, me has dicho que sí, me parece que a la pregunta de que si notabas a una persona por la forma de pronunciar si era, si había tenido una educación.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, pero no por una palabra sino oyéndole hablar.

INTERVIEWER: Por la jerga ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, y yo creo que ahora se ve más la diferencia.

INTERVIEWER: Eso es muy interesante lo que estás diciendo porque no muchas personas se dan cuenta de eso.

INTERVIEWEE: Pero sí, porque, yo hice el servicio militar hace un par de años, no tiene nada que ver pero.

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: La mayoría de los jóvenes que estaban conmigo eran chavales que tenían dieciocho, diecinueve años. Y yo tenía, la hice con veinticuatro, veinticinco, entonces habían un fondo, había.

INTERVIEWER: Una diferencia.

INTERVIEWEE: A mi me chocaba la limitación que tenían de vocabulario, la limitación de ...

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y no crees que tiene que ver un factor educacional, de que quizás esas personas no habían tenido formación?

INTERVIEWEE: No, porque había de todo, también había, bueno a esas edades, hombre a esas edades todavía no has ido a la universidad, pero has hecho toda la enseñanza secundaria y gente que ha estado en el instituto tenía, no tanto como otros que se habían puesto a trabajar desde pequeños, pero también se podía comprobar esa pobreza de léxico, de construcciones, no saber construir frases, no. Eso me chocaba.

INTERVIEWER: Eso es muy interesante lo que estás diciendo porque lo han notado muchos sociólogos españoles.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí porque además yo soy filólogo y he estudiado la lengua y aunque fuera la lengua francesa pero.

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Me chocó mucho porque yo cuando estuve trabajando en Francia yo daba clases de español y en los alumnos franceses ocurría lo mismo. Había una limitación de vocabulario increíble.

INTERVIEWER: Quizás sea una cuestión generacional, de generaciones que vienen detrás.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, porque estuve allí y dije menos mal que en España no pasa esto aún y acto seguido hice empecé en el ejército

INTERVIEWER: Y te diste cuenta.

INTERVIEWEE: Y vi que era exactamente igual y eso dije bueno entonces no es un caso aislado.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y el hecho de, por ejemplo, yo no se si te lo he preguntado a ti o no, el hecho de que tengamos a personas en la televisión con acentos regionales, eso te molesta o no te molesta?

INTERVIEWEE: No, pero es como lo que dijo David [d] antes. Hay gente que no tiene acento y en una situación determinada.

INTERVIEWER: Se lo pone.

INTERVIEWEE: Provoca un acento artificial, que a lo mejor se quiere hacer más simpático al entrevistado o al público al que se dirige.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Popularizar quizás?

INTERVIEWEE: Puede ser, sí. En algunos casos es claramente buscando ese fin. Sí. Antes, por ejemplo, el acento andaluz no estaba muy bien considerado, siempre indicaba a gente de origen pobre, con el cambio de gobierno y el ascenso de los líderes se ha revalorizado

INTERVIEWER: Sí, porque muchos de ellos son andaluces.

INTERVIEWEE: Y ya no choca tanto, porque muchos de los líderes del partido socialista y tal son andaluces y entonces ya no choca tanto.

INTERVIEWER: Se oye más a menudo.

INTERVIEWEE: Claro.

INTERVIEWER: Y, bueno, creo que eso es todo lo que te tengo que preguntar.

INTERVIEWEE: Muy bien.

B-2-7 Male-Informant 4 (M-I 4)

INTERVIEWER: ¿Eres de Madrid también?

INTERVIEWEE: No, de Valladolid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Tus padres son de Valladolid?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, los dos.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y qué profesiones tienen tus padres?

INTERVIEWEE: Pues mi madre se ocupa de sus labores y mi padre trabaja en una finca familiar.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tienes muchos hermanos?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí, somos cinco.

INTERVIEWER: Sois cinco. ¿Sois todos?

INTERVIEWEE: Cuatro hermanos y una chica.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y han estudiado todos? ¿Están en Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, los pequeños estudian en el colegio y luego, la hermana mayor estudia derecho en Valladolid [θ] y el otro que es un año menor que yo también.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Estudia en Valladolid?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tu qué idiomas hablas?

INTERVIEWEE: Aparte del español, el inglés y el francés.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y tienes mucha oportunidad para practicarlos?

INTERVIEWEE: En España pocas, pero.

INTERVIEWER: Viajas.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí aprovecho los veranos para salir.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y dónde has estado estos veranos que estás hablando? ¿dónde has estado? ¿en qué países del extranjero?

INTERVIEWEE: He estado en Estados Unidos, allí es donde he practico el inglés, porque a Gran Bretaña no he ido y he estado bastantes veces en Francia y el año pasado, bueno, tuve la oportunidad de estar cinco meses en Bruselas, en la Comunidad [θ] Europea y practiqué el francés.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y qué cursos has hecho? ¿has ido a la universidad? Porque me parece todos los que estáis aquí primero habéis ido a la universidad y luego llegáis a hacer este curso.

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, todos porque es condición sí para entrar.

INTERVIEWER: ¡Ah! ¿Y qué hiciste?

INTERVIEWEE: Estudié Historia.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y la hiciste en la Complutense?

INTERVIEWEE: No, en Valladolid [ø].

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y luego has venido aquí?

INTERVIEWEE: No, luego fui a Bruselas a hacer ESTAS, la Comisión de las Comunidades Europeas, y ahora estoy aquí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y hace mucho que vives en Madrid?

INTERVIEWEE: No, hace dos o tres meses.

INTERVIEWER: Unos meses. Te lo estoy preguntando porque tengo que.

INTERVIEWEE: El acento.

INTERVIEWER: El acento. Tengo que identificar ese acento.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Me dices con qué personas te relacionas normalmente?

INTERVIEWEE: Si te digo con mis amigos no te va a servir ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWER: Pues no, no me sirve de nada. Por ejemplo, ¿vives con tus padres?

INTERVIEWER: Ah no, ahora vivo en el Colegio Mayor.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y qué tipo, de dónde proceden esas personas?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, la mayoría son personas, o todos, son chicos de otras ciudades, muchos de ellos vienen de pueblos.

INTERVIEWER: ¿De todas las partes de España, no hay

INTERVIEWEE: De todas partes.

INTERVIEWER: ¿No hay ningún amigo que estéis todo el día juntos?

INTERVIEWEE: No, no. En absoluto. No.

INTERVIEWER: Hay una variedad.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno, creo que eso es todo lo fundamental ¿Tus padres me has dicho que son de Valladolid los dos?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿No hay ninguna mezcla lingüística por ahí?

INTERVIEWEE: No, pero mi abuela es francesa y tiene un acento francés. Habla español con mucho acento francés y en su casa también se habla mucho francés y entonces [oes], yo he pasado mucho tiempo con ella, y yo no sé si no se me ha pegado un poco el acento, el alargar el final.

INTERVIEWER: Las vocales.

INTERVIEWEE: Como los franceses.

INTERVIEWER: No lo sé. ¿Y me puedes decir por ejemplo si tus padres retienen un acento de Valladolid? ¿Tu tienes acento de Valladolid verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: Si te soy sincero yo no sé exactamente cual es el acento de Valladolid [θ], no.

INTERVIEWER: No tienen un acento marcado de ninguna zona.

INTERVIEWEE: No. Es decir, yo percibo diferencias entre el andaluz y el castellano de Valladolid [θ], pero por ejemplo entre el acento de Valladolid [θ] y el de Burgos, pues, ninguna.

INTERVIEWER: Yo tampoco. Mi oído no está, como se dice en español trained.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí entrenado.

INTERVIEWER: Entrenado para percibir esas diferencias. No tengo ni idea. Pero bueno. Te voy a pedir que leas esta serie de palabras.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Cuando quieras.

INTERVIEWEE: Heroico, bata, juventud [θ], tomar, actor [kt], mandar, un huevo, una zanahoria, cápsula [ps], yo, pata, matad [θ], país, acto humano [θt], baúl, libertad [θ], referéndum [m], encantado [adō], todo [odō], texto [ks], Madrid [θ], pesetas, ha estudiado [ae] [adō], llave, étnico [tn], dado [adō], casa, gasa, aceite, taxi [ks], firmado [adō], allanamiento, real, formado [adō], un hueso.

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora pasas la página, por favor.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Sólo unas frases.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Leo todo?

INTERVIEWER: Lo lees todo si no te importa.

INTERVIEWEE: Actores [kt] y actrices [kt] lo celebrarán, todos [odō] fueron escalera arriba [aa], no sé si se puede escribir [ee], llegan el referéndum [m] muy [ui] pronto, perdón llegará el referéndum [m] muy [ui] pronto, hay un cuarto oscuro [oo] al fondo.

INTERVIEWER: Hay ciertos errores.

INTERVIEWEE: De acuerdo. Llegan a adorarlo [aaa], iba a encenderlo [aae] todo [odō], en septiembre [pt] iremos todos [odō] de vacaciones, /.../, la juventud [θ] de hoy [eoí] tiene más libertad [ø] que antes [ea], llegaré a [ea] Madrid [ø] dentro de unos [u] días, ¡Yo que se lo qué! El caso es [oe] que ella [ee] ha llamado [ado] tres veces y lleva tres días intentándolo.

INTERVIEWER: Y ahora por último un texto breve.

INTERVIEWEE: El día menos pensado [ado], cogemos y nos vamos. Este piso es terrible. Hace unos [eu] años había sitio suficiente para [ara] todos [odo] y ahora

esto está [oe] atiborrado [ado]. ¿Te acuerdas [a] cuando tu madre vino con Antonio y nos trajo todos [oðo] aquellos regalos? Sí. ¿Qué ha [ea] pasao [aðo] con Antonio? ¿Que qué ha [ea] pasao [ao]? Me ha insultao [ðai] [ao], yo estaba [oe] a lo mío y de repente no se porque y en fin. Pues, pues es que no se, pero el [oe] caso es [oe] que me cogí un taxi [ks] y me marché. ¿No me digas? Sí. Y lo que es [ee] más, no se como ha estado [ae] [ao], como se ha [ea] puesto de enfadado [ee] [aðo] conmigo, porque le dije la verdad [ø], no tenía ningún motivo para [ara] portarse así. Bueno es que el [e] pobre hombre está estos [ae] días preocupado [ado] porque no sabe muy [ui] bien que hacer [ea] con su madre. No se si podrá aguantarlo todos [oðo] los días de un [eu] lado [aðo] para [ara] otro. Venga con ella al [aa] médico o al hospital [oa]. Está con los nervios a flor de piel. No se, no se si pensar en que tiene, en que tiene una razón para [ara] ser así, mira es que ha [ea] estado [aðo] muy [ui] mal conmigo.

INTERVIEWER: Vale. ¿Has visto que he puesto ahí varios aos, encantao?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Utilizas tu esa forma de terminar el verbo?

INTERVIEWEE: No, por lo general no.

INTERVIEWER: No. ¿Quizás en casa?

INTERVIEWEE: No, tampoco. Bueno a no ser cosas muy, muy específicas. Por ejemplo, nunca digo un cortado, si voy a un bar digo un cortao.

INTERVIEWER: Porque son frases como hechas.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Pero con los verbos sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Normalmente mantienes el ado al final?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Podrías decirme por ejemplo si escuchas a una persona hablar durante cinco, dos minutos podrías saber si esa persona tiene un acento, perdón, es que no hay una palabra exacta para *background*.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Una educación alta, una buena educación o no.

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Te refieres a qué clase social pertenece?

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿En qué se nota?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno en ciertas.

INTERVIEWER: ¿O es una impresión general la que tienes?

INTERVIEWEE: No. Lo notaría en el acento un poco, lo que pasa que el acento creo que en España no es muy expresivo para esto, pero sí en las expresiones. Por ejemplo, en lugar de decir, cuarto de baño dijera dijera baño.

INTERVIEWER: O sea por la elección del vocabulario.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Si en lugar de decir encantado, dijera mucho gusto.

INTERVIEWER: Sí. Por elecciones léxicas. ¿El ao, por ejemplo, eso refleja el nivel social de una persona? Crees tu, no te estoy pidiendo la teoría solamente tu opinión propia como hablante del español. No demasiado.

INTERVIEWEE: No si ... si no va acompañado de un acento fuerte, no. O sea, no repararía porque una persona no pronunciara el 'ado', si lo hace con un acento normal, que fuera de social medio u otro.

INTERVIEWER: Vale. El acento regional de una región te causa, por ejemplo el acento andaluz en televisión o locutores de televisión con un cierto acento, ¿eso te causa extrañeza o no te causa ninguna extrañeza?

INTERVIEWEE: No, extrañeza no porque estoy acostumbrado, pero si percibo que son muy diferentes. Por ejemplo el andaluz clarísimo o el gallego, el catalán, pues son acentos distintos. Y pues también a los vascos hablando castellano, también.

INTERVIEWER: Me parece que hay una chica vasca por aquí ¿verdad?

INTERVIEWEE: ¿Vasca?

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! Creo que S. ¿Una de las que ha pasado por aquí?

INTERVIEWER: Sí.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí. Creo que es S.

INTERVIEWER: Que tiene un acento un poco, con ciertas, ciertas caracteres de. Pues estoy mirando esta lista porque como he entrevistado, tu eres el último.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Ya se me ha olvidado si te lo he preguntado o no te he preguntado ciertas cosas que te quería preguntar. ¿Tu también te vas a presentar a las oposiciones has dicho?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y piensas ser diplomático?

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y te gustaría elegir algún país específico o no?

INTERVIEWEE: ¡Ah! Claro que sí.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Y qué país te gustaría ir?

INTERVIEWEE: Bueno, me encantaría ir al Tercer Mundo y me gustaría, en general todos por supuesto, pero me encantaría ir a La India no, o.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Has estado alguna vez?

INTERVIEWEE: No. O a La África negra, África negra bien negra, es decir, pues del centro de África y.

INTERVIEWER: Y esos son los países. ¿No te gustaría quedarte en Europa no?

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: No. Bueno pues te voy a dar mi tarjeta, para que sepas quien soy porque he llegado aquí con un fantasma.

INTERVIEWEE: En absoluto.

INTERVIEWER: Y os he arrebatado de vuestras clases y no sabéis prácticamente nada de mí. Soy profesora de lingüística en Dublin City University. ¿No has estado nunca en Irlanda no?

INTERVIEWEE: No.

INTERVIEWER: Bueno pues si alguna vez vienes, pues me puedes llamar.

INTERVIEWEE: Estoy seguro que es un país bien bonito.

INTERVIEWER: Muy bonito.

INTERVIEWEE: Sí.

INTERVIEWER: Encantada y muchas gracias por vuestra ayuda.

INTERVIEWEE: Nada, yo he estao [ao] encantado también.

INTERVIEWER: Muchas gracias por todo vuestro tiempo, que os he sacado de vuestras clases y os he trastornado el día.

INTERVIEWEE: Ahora teníamos que estar todos.

INTERVIEWER: ¿En una clase no?

INTERVIEWEE: No, intentando entretenerte el tiempo porque tenemos una hora libre antes del francés.

INTERVIEWER: ¿Ya te va dar tiempo a comer?

INTERVIEWEE: No, no puedo comer porque tengo una clase.