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A Study of Language Attitudes Concerning the De-Affication of /tʃ/, the
Pronunciation of the /tr/ Consonant Cluster, and the Use of the
Definite Article with Proper Names in
Santiago, Chile

Ian James Dixon

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis analyzes the linguistic attitudes of natives from Santiago, Chile regarding three linguistic phenomena present in Chilean Spanish of Santiago: the fricative realization of the Spanish /tʃ/, the assibilated realization of /tr/ and the use of the definite article before the first names of people. The social factors of age, sex and socioeconomic status are acknowledged as possible factors contributing to the linguistic attitudes of the 64 participants interviewed.

Keywords: definite article, /tʃ/, /tr/, Santiago, Chile

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Chapter 1

Introduction

To concur with many schools of linguistics, it is inappropriate to study language in general or for that matter any linguistic phenomenon without including the speakers of the language itself in the analysis. The world-renowned sociolinguist, William Labov, stated that he resisted the term *sociolinguistics* for many years, since it implied that there could be a successful linguistic study, which was not social (Labov 1984). Social variables do influence the speech patterns of social groups. Labov states that there is a growing realization that the basis of understanding the particular opinion of the individual in linguistics is found in speech—the language as it is used in everyday life by members of the social order, the way they argue with their wives, joke with their friends, and deceive their enemies (Labov 1984). Labov (1984) describes two methods of the study linguistic phenomena in social context. The first method entails analyzing the objective differentiation of the linguistic performance of the individual, which includes real analysis of actual linguistic variables. The linguistic variables are categorized by the social factors that separate their usage and their stratification is presented. The second method involves an analysis of the subjective information provided by the speaker regarding a particular linguistic variable in question. This method explains the social evaluation of the linguistic variable assigning prestige or stigma to it, which corresponds to different social groups (e.g. according to age, gender, socioeconomic status, etc.) To efficiently analyze the opinion of the participant regarding the variable it is important to focus on the linguistic attitudes of the participants themselves.

Linguistic Attitudes

The attitude of an individual is defined by Sarnoff (1960) as the disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a series of objects. Appel and Muysken (1987) and Malaver (2002) add that linguistic attitudes include critical and valorative stances that speakers have regarding

specific phenomena pertaining to language and its varieties. According to Fasold (1984), attitudes can be based on actual realizations but in reality, the beliefs of the individual regarding the variable provoke the attitudes. He then presents three important principles pertinent to the study of linguistic attitudes: 1) the speaker's opinion about certain languages and the varieties of those languages, 2) the speaker's opinion of the speakers of those languages and their varieties and 3) the speaker's beliefs regarding the future of the language.

According to Blas Arroyo (2005) the origins of linguistic attitudes are not found in the linguistic or esthetic differences of the variables themselves, but in the stereotypes and prejudices related to the speakers of the language or variety. Carmen Silva-Corvalán states "...the fact that a linguistic form is evaluated as correct or incorrect is due to the subjective interpretation: the fact that it is correct or not is social, not linguistic" (Silva-Corvalán, 1989). According to the majority of investigations conducted regarding linguistic attitudes, regional accents and varieties characterized by ethnic or minority groups (e.g. lower class) generally evoke unfavorable reactions regarding prestige and acceptability of the linguistic variable in question (Blas Arroyo, 2005). There are specific social factors that influence linguistic variation and play a role in determining the prestige or stigma assigned to a linguistic variable. Those factors include but are not limited to: gender, age and socioeconomic class.

Social Factors

Gender/Sex

The biological differences between men and women entail inherent differences in social character and behavior. According to Lopez Morales (2004), the linguistic differences among men and women arise because of differences in behavioral norms associated with each sex. Men and women are socially different; their roles in society allow them to associate themselves as a

group and interact accordingly. Lopez Morales (2004) says that not only is the speech of women different from that of men, it is considered better from a social standpoint. To support this, López Morales (2004) later elaborates some general linguistic differences between both sexes. Women tend to be more sensitive to a linguistic standard, whereas men tend to use substandard, stigmatized variables. This particular point will be supported by the results of the current study. López Morales (2004) further elaborates on the differences between the speech patterns of men and women in two different types of communities. In a community where the social roles of men and women are fixed, the linguistic patterns of the two sexes will differ drastically. In a society where the roles of both sexes are more flexible, their linguistic patterns will show more similarities.

O'Grady (2005) states that there are linguistic differences in discourse due to gender. Whereas women will use linguistic variables and language to form and maintain relationships, men use language to state factual information. O'Grady later states that during a conversation, women try to maintain the structure of the conversation with turn taking, and asking questions to engage all of those involved in the conversation. Men, on the other hand will interrupt, obtain information through questions and avoid sharing problems and experiences with others.

Age

Age also influences the linguistic variation of a speech community similar to the factor of gender. Younger generations tend to find new forms of self-expression as a result of a desire to stand out and distinguish themselves from others. Thus their speech patterns act as a way to do so. López Morales (2004) affirms that people of younger ages tend to be more innovative with their speech patterns. They are accepting of pronunciations that may depart from the linguistic norm.

On the other hand, older individuals tend to be more conservative in their speech patterns. Like women they more often utilize standard variants.

Socioeconomic status

In nearly all societies there exists a hierarchy that distinguishes and categorizes individuals according to rank. The ranking system normally separates individuals into a class associated with salary, level of education and occupation; however, in some societies other factors may play a role in the categorization. Linguistic variation is influenced by the socioeconomic status of the individual in that different social experiences particular to each social class are manifest by the speech of each individual. “A finding across the speech communities has been that certain linguistic variants are more closely associated with the upper classes, and that these variants carry the most prestige” (O’Grady, 2005). For example, someone belonging to a greater socioeconomic class, because of the ample availability of resources, will have access to a diverse number of opportunities different than those belonging to the middle or lower classes. They will have access to better education, and will be more likely to maintain relationships with those who set the linguistic standards of the speech community. On the other hand, because of a lack of resources, those individuals belonging to the lower classes will have less opportunity to receive the best possible education. This is due to the fact that a lack of (fiscal) resources usually impedes those of lower socioeconomic classes from receiving the greatest levels of education. Because of the importance of the monetary resources for survival, those lower-class individuals who would otherwise educate themselves are forced to work to make ends meet. However, it is important to note that individuals who may be categorized as lower class citizens have broadening experiences that are not present in other social classes that are relevant to their success in life. Ultimately, in modern societies, it is obvious that high levels of education correlate to specific occupations that

provide a comfortable level of compensation. The factors that distinguish individuals of a society frequently overlap, creating complex social networks.

Social Networks

An individual's social network is characterized by the diverse social relationships they maintain with other people in different social contexts. Further, in these different social contexts, people who spend time together frequently share the same speech patterns. Where men and women fulfill their different social roles, they will follow different speech patterns in different societal situations. Men who tend to go to work will speak with their colleagues about specific topics, and women in turn, will share similar speech patterns with those whom they associate with on a daily basis. Accordingly, people of the same age group tend to spend more time together throughout the day. One perfect example is the public school system. Students are grouped together according to their age and acquire knowledge about similar principles. These individuals will develop similar speech patterns in reaction to their surroundings and daily experiences.

Lastly, those individuals who pertain to similar social classes tend to spend more time together and share similar experiences. It is important to recognize that even though the factors mentioned above function as barriers to separate and distinguish the linguistic patterns among those associated with them, the social network theory supports the idea that these factors will overlap. The factors of gender, age and socioeconomic status proved to be relevant when analyzing data regarding the linguistic attitudes of natives of Santiago, Chile. In this study, data about three specific linguistic variables (two phonetic and one syntactic) present in the speech of individuals living in Santiago was gathered and analyzed by way of a subjective questionnaire.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to identify the linguistic attitudes regarding three linguistic variables. Two of the variables were phonetic: the assibilated realization of /tr/ denoted by the allophone [t̺] and the fricative realization of /tʃ/ denoted by the allophone [ʃ]. The standard pronunciation of the /tr/ consonant cluster is described by Penny (2000) as a dental plosive plus an alveolar flap [t̺]. Regarding the assibilated variant, Penny states that "...the flap in the group /tr/...is devoiced and frequently fricativized (acquiring a sibilant character) while the /t/ is retracted to [an] alveolo-palatal position, so that the group has an acoustic quality not unlike that of English" (Penny, 2000). The /tʃ/ consonant, usually described as an affricate, is characterized by an occlusive and a fricative segment denoted [tʃ]. The particular variant in question, pertinent to this study is an allophone of the standard described as losing of the occlusive characteristic, and retaining the fricative, denoted by the allophone [ʃ]. The last variable studied was the use of the Spanish singular definite article (e.g.: el, la) before proper names of individuals in a third person setting (e.g.: "Ayer la Josefa dijo..."). The reason why two phonetic variables and one syntactic variable were chosen for the study lies in the fact that the study of linguistics incorporates two different sub-fields: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, etc. To provide a more diverse study, different variables from two separate subfields were selected.

Hypothesis

The general hypothesis regarding the variables was as follows.

1. The fricative realization of /tʃ/ is stigmatized in the speech community of Santiago; however, there are degrees of acceptability regarding its usage.
 - a. The fricative pronunciation is more accepted among the lower classes
 - b. The fricative pronunciation is more accepted among the younger generation.

- c. The fricative pronunciation is more accepted among men than women.
2. The assibilated realization of /tʃ/ is stigmatized in the speech community of Santiago; however, there are degrees of acceptability regarding its usage.
 - a. The assibilated pronunciation is more accepted among the lower classes
 - b. The assibilated pronunciation is more accepted among the younger age generation.
 - c. The assibilated pronunciation is more accepted among men than women.
3. The use of the definite article before proper names of people is not stigmatized among individuals of Santiago. It is widely accepted among all social groups, genders and age groups.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

The purpose of the following review is to cite and explain relevant works that are pertinent to the three linguistic variables in this study. The two phonetic allophones of /tr/ and /tʃ/, and the syntactic variable (the use of the definite article) are present in different regional varieties of Spanish in both Latin America and Spain. Because of the wide range of subdisciplines in the linguistic field, it was important to delimit this review to the sociolinguistic field, further defined as those works pertaining to the linguistic attitudes regarding the social acceptability of the three linguistic variables present in Chilean Spanish. Nevertheless, there is an abundance of literature that explains the phonetics of the /tr/ and the /tʃ/ consonant groups. The majority of the literature cited in this review focus on the phonetic characteristics of the variables, and a few briefly describe the geographical distribution of them. A number of studies were found that detail the use of specific instruments and informants to study the social acceptability and the extra-linguistic factors that are associated with the usage of the two phonetic variants studied for this project. Unfortunately, not one sociolinguistic study was found regarding the social acceptability of the usage of the definite article with proper names in Chilean Spanish.

Descriptive Literature Citing the Existence of the /tr/, /tʃ/ and the use of the Definite Article in Chilean Spanish

Amado Alonso was one of the first to discuss the origins of the variants of the /tr/ consonant cluster in Chile. In “El grupo tr en España y América”, Alonso (1925) declares that the origins of the assibilated /tr/ come from the speech of the Spanish colonizers who first arrived in the area. In agreement with Alonso (1925), other authors, such as Henríquez Ureña (1921) and Oroz (1966), state that the origins of the affricate and assibilated /tr/ have their origins in Andalusia and the Basque-Castilian dialect. Also, there have been a number of works written

regarding the /tr/ consonant cluster and its variants in Chilean Spanish. Rodolfo Lenz describes the existence of an assibilated variant of the /tr/ consonant cluster in his *Chilenische Studien*. Lipski (2007), Silva-Corvalán (1987 and 1989), Zamora and Guitart (1982), and Penny (2000) describe the phonetic characteristics of the standard /tr/ pronunciation consisting of an occlusive segment and an alveolar flap, later describing the assibilate counterpart. Oroz (1966) joins these authors in stating that the assibilated pronunciation is stigmatized. He then describes the assibilated pronunciation as a marker for educated versus uneducated speech. We further learn from Penny (2000), and Silva-Corvalán (1987 and 1989) that even though the stigmatized pronunciation is unacceptable in some social groups, it is present in the speech of all social classes.

Similarly to the previous variable, many of the authors mentioned discuss the variants of the /tʃ/ consonant and their usages in Chile. Zamora and Guitart (1982) and Lipski (2007) explain the phonetic characteristics of the standard affricate /tʃ/ and its fricative counterpart. Both variants are present in the speech of Chileans, yet the fricative articulation is usually associated with the speech of individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds particularly the less educated. Lenz (1892) and Oroz (1966) describe an alveolar articulation of the /tʃ/ as being present in Santiago. This pronunciation is characterized by two phonetic segments: an occlusive segment similar to the /t/ and a fricative segment similar to the /s/. Both authors describe the dental articulation denoted by the following: [ts]. Oroz (1966) explains as well that both the fricative pronunciation, denoted [ʃ] and the standard affricate pronunciation denoted [tʃ] are present in the speech of all social classes though the extent is not specified.

Unlike the literature found regarding the /tr/ and the /tʃ/, less literature was found regarding the use of the definite article with proper names in a third person singular setting. Oroz

(1966) and the RAE (1973) explain that the use of the definite article with proper names is present, even though the usage is not general. Oroz further affirms that the definite article usage is more frequent with the proper names of females rather than males. Leborans and José (1999) state that the use of the definite article before a person's name is usually used in colloquial speech and in more relaxed less-formal situations. They explain another situation in which the definite article is used when some complement follows the proper name of the person (e.g.: *no es el Miguel que conozco*). According to Leborans and José (1999), the presence of the complement allows the proper name to be associated with a number of different interpretations: a denominative (e.g.: *el Pablo que nos atendió*), and identificative interpretation (e.g.: *el Pablito de mi juventud*), or a predicative (metaphoric) interpretation (e.g.: *El Marco Polo de nuestros días*). It is important to note that even though these examples represent valid contextual usages of the definite article with proper names, they do not represent the same contextual usage of the definite article represented in this study.

Sociolinguistic studies regarding the /tr/ and /tʃ/ in Chilean Spanish

Aside from the literature mentioned above, there were five actual sociolinguistic studies found that detailed the use of specific instruments and a number of participants to explain the social acceptability of the two phonetic variables.

The first study I will refer to is Bernales (1978). In his article entitled "*Sobre la palatal africada en el español de la ciudad de Valdivia*", Mario Bernales describes a project in which the different variants of the /tʃ/ were studied in their social contexts in the city of Valdivia. Bernales used a questionnaire with different examples of the /tʃ/ found in word initial and word internal positions. Twenty natives of the city of Valdivia were interviewed. While the participants read specific texts, their speech was recorded and later the characteristics of the different variants of

the /tʃ/ were measured using a sonogram. Bernales (1978) found that men pronounced the /tʃ/ in a fricative manner more frequently than women, and the individuals of the upper classes tended to articulate the /tʃ/ with the standard affricate form. Aside from discovering that sex was a valid factor, he found that the fricative realization of /tʃ/ was articulated more frequently in relaxed, informal speech.

Gilda Tassara Chávez (1992) conducted a study of the usages of the /tʃ/ of natives from Valdivia similar to that of Bernales (1978). The purpose of her study was to associate the different articulations of the variable with different socioeconomic classes. In her study, Chávez (1992) recorded three individuals reading different texts. The first individual was a occupational, highly educated person who read each text pronouncing the standard affricate /tʃ/ 100% of the time. The second individual was educated but alternated between the affricate pronunciation and the fricative pronunciation 50% of the time. The last individual was uneducated who pronounced the /tʃ/ in a fricative manner 100% of the time, but also showed other characteristics of lower class speech in the recording. After recording the three individuals, the informants from Valdivia listened to the recordings and rated the speaker according to his or her socioeconomic class. The results of the study indicated that the fricative articulation was associated with lower class individuals. The informants were able to pick out the lower class speaker because of the pronunciation of the /tʃ/ but also because of other characteristics that were present in the recording such as the rhythm, fluidity and pronunciation of other consonants (the assibilated /tr/ was included among the consonants).

Valdivieso (1988) has also made important contributions to the study of the /tʃ/ and /tr/ in Chile. He states his hypothesis regarding linguistic norms: “La normatividad lingüística se descubre en la valoración que la comunidad hace de los usos que pueden alternar en situaciones

de comunicación similares” (Valdivieso, 1988). The linguistic norm is directly related to the social value of linguistic variables present in the speech of the individuals of a community.

Valdivieso (1988) measured the social acceptability of the variants of /tr/ and /tʃ/. According to the study, the assibilated /tr/ and the fricative realization of /tʃ/ were present in educated speech. The study itself involved 550 inhabitants (natives, and long-time residents of the city of Concepción. In order to acquire a diverse representation of the city, he selected individuals of both sexes, different age groups, and those pertaining to different social classes (specifically measured by the level of education of the participants).

Valdivieso (1988) incorporated three different tests to measure the social acceptability of each variable. First, a text was produced where each variant of the studied variables were present. Later it was recorded twice by highly trained speakers who presented the standard and non-standard variants of the /tr/ and /tʃ/ in their particular contexts. The participants of the study listened to the recorded speech and rated each speaker on a scale from one to five, one being associated with the stigmatized pronunciation and five with the standard pronunciation. The results of the study showed that the informants tolerated (felt it was more acceptable) the assibilation of the /tr/ over the fricative /tʃ/. In fact, 70% of the participants preferred the standard affricate pronunciation of the /tʃ/ to its fricative counterpart. The sex of the individual speakers also influenced the participants regarding the social acceptability of the variables. The women rejected the assibilated /tr/ more frequently than the men. On the other hand, the younger individuals were more accepting of the stigmatized pronunciations than the older individuals. Lastly, it appeared as though social class played a role as well: While the lower class was more accepting of the stigmatized pronunciations of the variables, the upper class participants were less accepting of them.

Valdivieso (1993) conducted a follow-up study where the procedures were similar to Valdivieso (1988). In this case, 80 students from both sexes were picked to participate. Forty of the students attended a private school (the upper class participants), and the other half of the students attended a public school (associated with the lower class). The two variables that were studied were the /tʃ/ and the /tr/; different allophones of the variables were studied as well. Among all of the students, the assibilated realization of /tr/ was one of the most frequently pronounced variants of the two variables in question. According to the results of this study, Valdivieso found that the upper class students pronounced the standard affricate /tʃ/ variant more frequently than the stigmatized fricative variant, prevalent in the speech of the lower class students. The results showed that the female students used more standard variants than the male students, a similar result to previous studies. The assibilated realization of /tr/ and the fricative realization of /tʃ/ were associated with the speech of lower class individuals. The sex of the participants again played a role in determining the social acceptability of the particular usages of each variant. The females were more susceptible to correct speech patterns than men.

Lastly, it is important to analyze Valdivieso's work in which he describes the preliminary procedures of a study to identify characteristics of the linguistic norm among individuals living in Concepción, Chile. Valdivieso (1978) outlines the different stages of the project. Valdivieso, and his research staff intended to conduct different studies including the sub-disciplines of phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax and present their results to the Chilean Society of Linguistics. Results regarding the different variants of the /tr/ and the /tʃ/ were presented among the other phonetic variables studied. The researchers found that there were degrees of rejection regarding stigmatized variants of the two phonetic variables, leading them to believe that there were contexts where the usage of each variant of the /tr/ and the /tʃ/ were acceptable.

It is obvious that ample literature exists regarding the variants of /tr/ and /tʃ/. The majority of the literature presents a phonetic description of the variables and their variants. Further, we understand from the literature that the variants are associated with extra-linguistic factors. And we learn that the variants are prevalent in Chile but do extend to other regions of the Spanish speaking world. Nevertheless, there do exist pertinent sociolinguistic studies that help define these extra-linguistic variables that play a role when associating them with different degrees of social acceptability. Bernales (1978), Tassara (1993), and Valdivieso (1978, 1988, and 1993) present ample proof that the different variants of the social acceptability of the two linguistic variables are directly affected by three major extra-linguistic factors: gender, age and socioeconomic status (in which the level of education is a sub-factor). The results in all of the socioeconomic studies generally agree with the following results of this study. Unfortunately, despite the few studies mentioned that describe the usage of the definite article with proper names in a third person singular context, not one socioeconomic study was found where the syntactic variable was analyzed according to its social acceptability. The following chapter presents the methodology and procedures carried out for this particular study in order to measure the social acceptability of the assibilated articulation of /tr/, the fricative articulation of /tʃ/ and the use of the definite article with proper names.

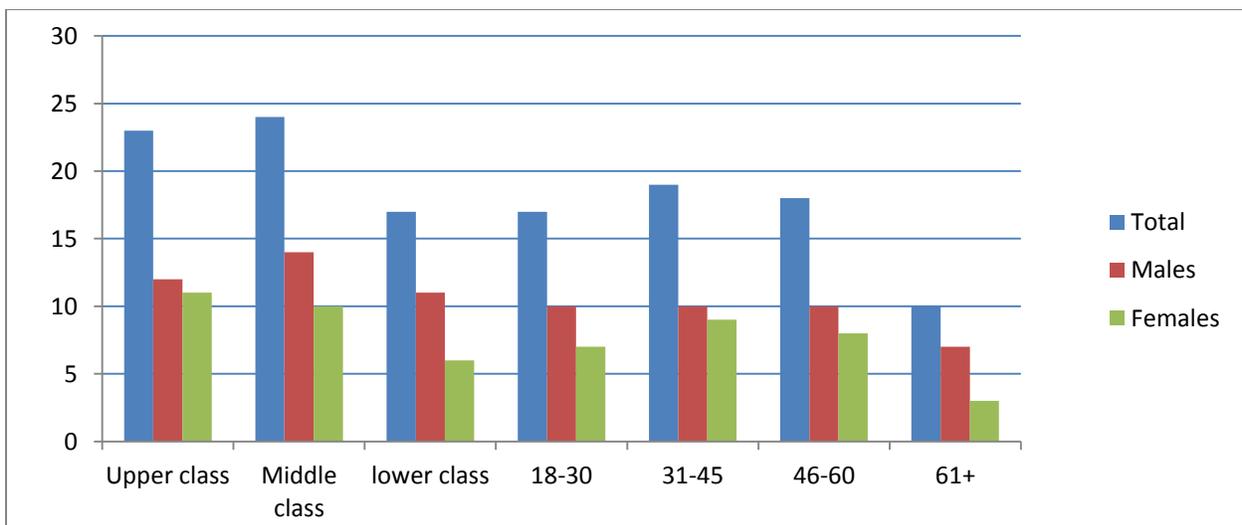
Chapter 3

Methodology

The participants used in the study were all either natives of the city of Santiago or those who had lived in the city for at least the last ten years. The participants included both sexes, male and female, and ranged from ages 18 to 61+ years old. All of the participants were involved in different occupations, had different levels of education and received different monthly salaries; they belonged to different socioeconomic levels. All of these factors were important when categorizing the participants according to socioeconomic status, age and sex. The following table and chart show the distribution of the participants according to the social categories associated with them.

Table 1

| | Upper class | Middle class | lower class | 18-30 | 31-45 | 46-60 | 61+ |
|---------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| Total | 23 | 24 | 17 | 17 | 19 | 18 | 10 |
| Males | 12 | 14 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 7 |
| Females | 11 | 10 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 3 |



I picked my participants by traveling around the city and introducing myself to random people on the street. I picked my participants based on a table (presented in Table 2) representing the social factors of social class, age and sex. I intended to gather participants from the upper,

Table 2

| CLASE ALTA | | | | | | | | CLASE MEDIA | | | | | | | | CLASE BAJA | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|-------|---|-------|---|-----|---|-------------|---|-------|---|-------|---|-----|---|------------|---|-------|---|-------|---|-----|---|
| 18–30 | | 31–45 | | 46-60 | | 61+ | | 18–30 | | 31–45 | | 46-60 | | 61+ | | 18–30 | | 31–45 | | 46-60 | | 61+ | |
| H | M | H | M | H | M | H | M | H | M | H | M | H | M | H | M | H | M | H | M | H | M | H | M |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

middle, and lower class. In each social class, I looked for informants from ages 18–61+ years of age. In each age group it was my goal to find at least two males and females from the upper and middle classes. I intended to interview three males and females of each age group belonging to the lower class thinking it would be easier to find individuals belonging of that socioeconomic status. This method of participant selection is standard protocol when attempting to gather different individuals associated with different social categories. The participants were later categorized according to the personal information section they filled out on the front of the questionnaire. Since I wanted an array of participants who could be categorized according to the three social classes, I interviewed anyone who would listen to me and who qualified. I traveled to different parts of the city (affluent and impoverished) and administered the questionnaire to willing participants.

I also incorporated a “snowball” method to find adequate participants. After interviewing certain participants, I asked them about any friends or colleagues they might have had who would be willing to take a few minutes and fill out the questionnaire. This method was

particularly helpful with the upper class citizens such as doctors and lawyers. Generally, the upper class participants were harder to interview because the upper classes tended to be less willing to participate. For example, it was only through specific connections, was I able to interview certain people of upper class occupations. Later, once I had interviewed one medical doctor, he called his colleagues and helped me set up appointments to interview them as well.

When deciding on a specific selection method I took into consideration different variables. First, it was crucial to my study to speak with people face-to-face. Since the questionnaire included tasks such as listening to recorded speech (discussed later), and involved more than one instrument, it wouldn't have been efficient to send the questionnaires by mail or to use an over-phone-method. Second, it was important that my participants encompass as much of the socioeconomic spectrum of the city as possible. The study followed a semi-random selection method in that I didn't know the participants beforehand. Even though I hadn't picked them blindly, I did have a template to follow to ensure that the criteria were met. My method of selection also provided for a very diverse group of participants. In order to categorize people according to different socioeconomic levels, I had to research the salaries of numerous occupations present in the city.

The Instrument

I used a questionnaire consisting of two sections to conduct the interviews. The first section involved questions regarding the sex, age, place of birth, level of education and the monthly salary of the participant. The personal information section was used to categorize the participants according to the social factors of age, sex and socioeconomic status. The second section consisted of a series of statements, which pertained to the fricative realization of /tʃ/, the assibilated realization of /tr/ or the use of the definite article before the first names of people in a

specific social context. A digital voice recorder played the stigmatized pronunciation of the two phonological phenomena and the use of the definite article in their appropriate contexts. As the participants listened to the linguistic variables, they responded to corresponding statements in the questionnaire. When I arrived in Chile, I had to find someone who was capable of reproducing the fricative realization of /tʃ/ and the assibilated realization of /tr/. It was important to have a native Spanish speaker from the same Chilean region pronounce the words accurately so the participants felt comfortable with the accent and so they wouldn't be thrown off by any irregularities in the speech of the person who recorded them. Each word pronounced on the recorder dealt with statements in the questionnaire itself in the order they appeared. Each informant would read each statement pertaining to a specific word, then listen to the recorded word, and then express their opinion, taking into consideration the pronunciation of the word and the social context (formal or informal) in which the word was pronounced. Figure 1 shows the personal information section the participants completed.

Figure 1

Cuestionario

Cuestionario No. _____

Fecha _____

1. Sexo: M _____ F _____

2. ¿Cuántos años tiene?

18-30 _____ 31-45 _____ 46-60 _____ 61+ _____

3. ¿Ha vivido toda su vida en Santiago? Sí _____ no _____

Si no, indique cuántos años lleva aquí en Santiago _____

4. ¿Dónde nació su padre? _____

5. ¿Dónde nació su madre? _____

6. ¿Qué nivel de escolaridad ha cumplido?

| | |
|---------------|-------|
| Primaria | _____ |
| Secundaria | _____ |
| Universitaria | _____ |
| Doctorado | _____ |
| Ninguno | _____ |

7. Indique el nivel de escolaridad de su padre _____

8. Indique el nivel de escolaridad de su madre _____

9. ¿Cuál es su profesión? _____

10. Indique el ingreso familiar mensual

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Menos de 159,000 pesos | _____ |
| 159,000-450,000 pesos | _____ |
| 450,000-750,000 pesos | _____ |
| 750,000-1,050,000 pesos | _____ |
| 1,050,000-1,350,000 pesos | _____ |
| 1,350,000+ pesos | _____ |

The purpose of the personal information section of the questionnaire was to be able to categorize each participant who took the survey according to the three variables I was studying: socioeconomic status, age, and gender. The age and gender questions were very straight forward, but categorizing someone into a particular socioeconomic class was more complicated. Since the concepts of occupation and educational experience were taken into consideration, questions 6 and 10 played the largest role in assigning a socioeconomic status. Each individual was given a certain score according to the corresponding educational level. ‘*Primaria*’ was worth 1 point, ‘*secundaria*’, 2 points, ‘*universitaria*’, 3 points, ‘*doctorado*’, 4 points and ‘*ninguno*’ zero. In question 10 each rung which indicated a certain monthly salary grouping was also worth a number value ranging from 0-5 points. Each informant could receive a score between 0 and 9 points. Someone who scored between 0 and 3 was placed in the lower class, between 4 and in the middle class, and someone who scored between 7 and 9 was placed in the upper class. Therefore, both the monthly salary earned and the level of education of each individual played role when categorizing someone according to their socioeconomic status.

The second section of the questionnaire consisted of 22 different statements. Figure 2 is an example of the statements used:

Figure 2

Me parece bien que un huaso pronuncie la palabra “muchacho” así “...” mientras trabaja con sus colegas en la granja.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|

Each statement involved an upper class, middle class or lower class citizen, identified by their occupation, speaking in a particular situation. Each situation portrayed either an informal (e.g.: a doctor speaking to his wife at home), or a formal situation (e.g.: a housewife confessing

something to her ecclesiastical leader). The statements themselves were accompanied by a modified Likert-scale model. The Likert-scale chart consisted of 4 categories “muy de acuerdo”, “de acuerdo”, “en desacuerdo” and “muy en desacuerdo” respectively. It is important to note that it is common for many Likert-scale charts to include a neutral category that someone could choose if they neither agreed nor disagreed with what was being presented. In my case, I chose to leave out the neutral category facilitating a positive or negative response to each situation. It is possible that some of the informants may not have had an opinion regarding the social acceptability of each variable. In that case, it is beneficial to include the neutral category among the choices. I did not intend force an opinion of the participants by omitting the neutral response category, yet due to a lack of time and a limited number of participants, a neutral category would not have aided in sufficient data to accurately analyze the social acceptability of the fricative realization of /tʃ/, the assibilated realization of /tr/ and the use of the definite article before the first name of people.

The statement in Figure 2 describes a peasant speaking with friends while working out on the farm. The word in question is “muchacho”, which contains the fricative realization of /tʃ/. As the participants read through each statement, they would read the sentence, listen to the pronunciation of the word used in the described situation, in this case the word “muchacho” pronounced [muʃáʃo], and then mark one of the available boxes: “*Muy de acuerdo*” (strongly agree), “*de acuerdo*” (agree), “*en desacuerdo*” (disagree), or “*muy en desacuerdo*” (strongly disagree). They completed this task for all 22 statements.

Every statement was structurally identical. First a positive or negative opinion was expressed, “me suena bien que...”, “me parece bien que...”, “es normal que...”, “no me suena normal que...” etc. Second, they involved a speaker identified only by his or her occupation: a

dentist, a doctor, a housemaid, a farmer, a taxi driver, etc. Finally, the studied phenomena, and contextual information suggesting an informal or a formal situation followed. As the reader arrived at the word in question, I would play the recorded word using the digital recorder. Once they heard the pronunciation, and had taken into consideration all of the information in each statement, they gave their opinion by checking the appropriate category in the Likert-scale chart below each statement.

Each statement involved contextual material indicating a formal or an informal situation. The purpose for including both kinds of situations in the questionnaire follows the belief that a speaker will change their speech “style” or “register” depending on the type of situation in which they find themselves. O’Grady (2005) defines both terms and separates them as two different concepts. A speech style deals with degrees of formality and informality and the register correlates with the specific speech situation itself. This is relevant to the study because each statement expressed a formal or informal situation, and in many cases different degrees of both were present. Besides, a register deals particularly with the type of situation in which a speaker may find himself. A speaker is more apt to lower his or her register when speaking in the home with a family member, and raise the speaking register when speaking in the work place with a co-worker or boss. Whereas Figure 2 presents an informal situation, Figure 3 demonstrates a formal situation.

Figure 3

| | | | |
|--|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Me parece bien que un abogado dice la palabra ‘ministro’ así “...” delante del jurado durante un juicio. | | | |
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |

Figure 3 describes a lawyer (someone of upper class status) speaking before a judge in a courtroom. The word in question is “ministro” which entails the assibilated realization of /tr/.

Register is a sub-concept of linguistic variation. Hualde (2001) states, "...cuando hablamos de contextos informales y formales hay variación y tenemos que reconocer que estamos ante un continuo de contextos que va del extremo más informal al más formal" (Hualde 2001). Even though each statement presented different types of situations, there were varying degrees of formality and informality among the statements in the questionnaire. Figure 4 shows two different statements present in the questionnaire. Each statement was classified as a formal situation yet the degree of formality differed between the two.

Figure 4

Me suena bien si un político, mientras da un discurso sobre el estado del país por la tele, dice la palabra "Chile" así "...".

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|

Me suena aceptable que un estudiante de la Universidad de Santiago dice "cuatro" así "...", hablando con su profesor de matemáticas en una reunión privada.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|

Even though the statements in Figure 4 are regarded as two different types of formal situations, it is true that the situations follow degrees of formality along a continuum. The farther away two specific types of situations are located on the continuum, the more different they will seem. The two situations in Figure 4 represent formal situations, but it is obvious that each situation presents a different context. The characteristics of the situation itself help to describe that context and degree of formality of the situation.

In a situation such as is presented in the first statement of Figure 4, a politician is presenting pertinent information about his native country to a public audience. Why would this situation seem more formal than the second statement in Figure 4: a student speaking with his math professor in the professor's office? To understand the different degrees of formality of a situation one must look at all the characteristics that make up that situation.

Who attends a formal speech of a political leader? Most likely other political leaders would be in attendance. The manner of dress is important. An acceptable wardrobe would be that of a suit and tie for men, or a dress, skirt or pant suit for women. In a meeting between a student and teacher, the student may be dressed in jeans and a t-shirt. More importantly, the manner of speech associated with the situation stands as a relevant characteristic to describe the formality of the situation. In an official speech, the politician would use normative (prescriptive) grammar. Slang terms and jargon would not be acceptable. The politician's pronunciation should articulate slowly, clearly and in a concise manner. In a setting where a student and the professor are speaking to each other, the speech patterns would differ from those of the first situation mentioned. Depending on the relationship between the student and the teacher, some jargon or slang may be acceptable, and when speaking in a less formal setting, the pronunciation of each person would be more relaxed. Ultimately, we see that even though there is a difference between a formal and an informal situation, there are varying degrees within each of the two. It is difficult to draw a fine line between them because there are multiple characteristics that make up any one social situation.

Interpreting the questionnaires

After interviewing all of participants, the questionnaires were reviewed and the data was gathered. I began by grouping the questionnaires by the different variables associated with the participants: age, sex, and social class. Since each individual was associated with more than one social variable, each questionnaire was reviewed more than once. I hand tallied each response in each questionnaire and obtained percentages regarding the linguistic attitudes of the participants for each of the three phenomena presented in the statements of the questionnaire. The results are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

Results

The following results regarding the three linguistic variables studied originate from the data gathered from each individual questionnaire. The results are presented in a series of tables for the purpose of clarity and ease of representation and follow the same general pattern. Each table includes formal or informal statements from the questionnaire. Beneath each statement, the two response possibilities are listed, '*de acuerdo*' and '*desacuerdo*'. The prevailing percentages of each group for each statement are presented under each of the two possible categories. Those percentages indicate the attitudes of acceptability or unacceptability for each group of individuals. It is important to mention that each statement of the questionnaire included four possible response categories: '*muy de acuerdo*', '*de acuerdo*', '*en desacuerdo*', and '*muy en desacuerdo*'. Two of the response categories were associated with a positive attitude towards the relevant linguistic phenomenon, and two of the categories were associated with negative attitude. The results for both positive and negative categories were joined together for the purpose of simplification, and clearly show the prevailing opinion of each participant group.

It is true that the three variables reviewed in the results are stigmatized in Chilean speech both in formal and informal situations; however all are acceptable in some contexts. The analyses attempt to understand which factors played a more important role when determining the attitudes of the participants who responded to each statement.

There were many factors that influenced the attitudes of the participants, such as: the occupation of the speaker in question, the referent (wife, daughter, secretary, patient, etc.) involved in each statement, and the formality or informality of the situation as a whole. Even the degree of formality or informality was a factor when determining the attitudes of the individual participants.

Evaluation of the fricative realization of /tʃ/

Formal situations.

The fricative realization of /tʃ/ was presented in three formal situations of the questionnaire. Situation 2 described a politician speaking via the television to a public audience about the affairs of their native country. Situation 21 involved a student speaking to a politician in a private interview, and situation 12 described a farmer confessing sins to a priest.

Total participants.

Table 3

Results of CH Statements for Formal Situations regarding Total Participants

| CH STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #2 | | Formal Situation # 21 | | Formal Situation #12 | |
|---|---------------------|------------|---|------------|--|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Me suena bien si un político, mientras da un discurso sobre el estado del país por la tele, diga la palabra "Chile" así... [ʃile] | | | Me parece bien que un estudiante diga "Chile" así... [ʃile] mientras habla con un político en una entrevista. | | Me parece bien que un agricultor diga la palabra "choca" así... [ʃóka] al confesarse con un sacerdote. | |
| Total Participants (64) | 19% | 81% | 9% | 91% | 53% | 47% |

Situations 2 and 21. Of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 81% rejected the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the case of the politician. Not only does the statement present a formal situation, the speaker in question belonged to the upper class. Similarly, 91% of all of the participants felt it was unacceptable to pronounce the /tʃ/ in a fricative manner in the speech of the student. It is possible that in this instance, the level of familiarity between the student and the professor influenced the opinion of the participants, more importantly on the part of the student. On the other hand, when individuals speak to another person with whom they do not have a personal relationship, they will demonstrate a greater degree of formality in their articulation. It is interesting to note that when comparing the percentages of

situations 2 and 21, the participants were less tolerant of the variant in the speech of the student than in the speech of the politician.

Situation 12. Of the total participants who responded to the statement in situation 12, 53% rejected the fricative pronunciation of /tʃ/. First, it is important to note that the term ‘agricultor’ may convey different meanings to different people. It is possible that the term itself refers to the owner of the farm, or an actual farm hand. Both possibilities represent individuals who may belong to different socioeconomic classes, which may account for the lesser degree of the prevailing opinion when compared to situations 2 and 21. Nonetheless, it is possible that the occupation of the speaker in question (associated with a lower socioeconomic status) influenced the opinion of the participants who responded to the survey.

General opinion. In situations 2 and 21 presented in Table 3, it appears that the fricative realization of /tʃ/ was unacceptable regardless of the degree of formality of the situation. It seems as though both a politician and a student are expected to maintain an appropriate level of education in their speech according to the contexts of statements 2 and 21. On the other hand, it appears that the social class (associated with occupation) of the speaker may have influenced the participants’ opinion in the speech of the farmer.

Social Class.

Table 4

Results of CH Statements for Formal Situations regarding Social Class

| CH STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #2 | | Formal Situation # 21 | | Formal Situation #12 | |
|---|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Me suena bien si un político, mientras da un discurso sobre el estado del país por la tele, diga la palabra "Chile" así... [ʃíle] | | | | | | |
| Me parece bien que un estudiante diga "Chile" así... [ʃíle] mientras habla con un político en una entrevista. | | | | | | |
| Me parece bien que un agricultor diga la palabra "choca" así... [ʃóka] al confesarse con un sacerdote. | | | | | | |
| Upper Class (23) | 9% | 91% | 4% | 96% | 57% | 43% |
| Middle Class (24) | 30.50% | 69.50% | 12% | 88% | 54% | 46% |
| Lower Class (17) | 18% | 82% | 12% | 88% | 47% | 53% |

Situations 2 and 21. The majority of the participants from each social class rejected the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in both situations 2 and 21. These findings were similar to the general opinion of all of the participants shown in Table 3. It is apparent that the social class of the participants did not influence their opinion. The percentages for situation 21 in Table 4 show that the participants in each social class felt that the fricative realization of /tʃ/ was less acceptable for the student. Further the upper class participants (UC) demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability regarding the fricative variant in the speech of the student compared to the middle class (MC) and the lower class (LC) participants.

Situation 12. Unlike situations 2 and 21 not all social classes demonstrated the same opinion concerning the social acceptability of the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the farmer. The UC and MC participants both accepted the fricative realization of /tʃ/. Like the results shown in Table 3 regarding the same situation, the degree of the prevailing percentages did not equate to that of the two situations regarding the politician and the student. The LC participants were the only group to depart from the general opinion of the UC and MC

participants, and for that matter, the general opinion of the ‘total participant’ category (Table 3) as well.

It is possible that the reason why the LC participants rejected the fricative (sub-standard) pronunciation of /tʃ/ is due to a feeling of linguistic insecurity. Considering a speech community as a whole, it is common to associate sub-standard linguistic variants with negative linguistic attitudes. When speakers in the community recognize the inferiority of the sub-standard variant present in their speech patterns (in this case the fricative realization of /tʃ/) it is not uncommon to feel a sense of linguistic insecurity.

General opinion. It is apparent that the fricative realization of /tʃ/ is both stigmatized in formal situations, yet at the same time, the results do present some degree of acceptability regarding the fricative variant. It does not seem as though the socioeconomic status of the participants themselves consistently influenced their opinion regarding situations 2 and 21. On the other hand, in situation 12, it seems as though not only did the socioeconomic status of speaker in question influence the participants, but it is quite possible that a feeling of linguistic insecurity present in the minds of the LC participants swayed their opinion. Nonetheless, in all cases, except for the opinion of the LC participants regarding situation 12 the results present in Table 4 corresponded to the general opinion of all of the participants regarding all three situations.

Age.

Table 5

Results of CH Statements for Formal Situations regarding Age

| CH STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #2 | | Formal Situation # 21 | | Formal Situation #12 | |
|---------------|---|------------|---|-------------|--|------------|
| | Me suena bien si un político, mientras da un discurso sobre el estado del país por la tele, diga la palabra "Chile" así... [ʃile] | | Me parece bien que un estudiante diga "Chile" así... [ʃile] mientras habla con un político en una entrevista. | | Me parece bien que un agricultor diga la palabra "choca" así... [ʃóka] al confesarse con un sacerdote. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| 18-30 (17) | 18% | 82% | 12% | 88% | 82.50% | 17.50% |
| 31-45 (19) | 21% | 79% | 5% | 95% | 42% | 58% |
| 46-60 (18) | 17% | 83% | 0% | 100% | 39% | 61% |
| 61+ (10) | 10% | 90% | 30% | 70% | 50% | 50% |

Situations 2 and 21. In situations 2 and 21 all of the age groups rejected the pronunciation of the fricative realization of /tʃ/. It is apparent that the fricative variant is stigmatized among all of the age groups. Further, it does not look like the age of the participants influenced their opinion when responding to both situations since the general opinion of all of the age groups was the same. Finally, the degree of unacceptability regarding situation 21 was greater in the case of the student, supported by the percentages for the 18–30 , 31–45 and 46–60 year-old participant groups. The 61+ year-old participants demonstrated an opposite opinion, in which the degree of unacceptability regarding the fricative realization of /tʃ/ for the politician was greater.

Situation 12. Of the 18–30 year-old participants, approximately 83% of them accepted the fricative realization of /tʃ/, which corresponded to the general opinion of all of the participants (Table 3) who completed the questionnaire. On the other hand, the 31–45 year-old and the 46–60 year-old participants departed from the general opinion, rejecting the fricative variant. Lastly, half 61+ year-old participant group rejected fricative realization of /tʃ/ and the other half accepted it; therefore, there was no prevailing opinion shown regarding the 61+ year-olds.

It is interesting that the 18–30 year-old participants were the only group to accept the fricative realization of /tʃ/. Their response correlates with what many authors say about age and speech patterns. López Morales (2004) and José Ignacio Hualde (2001) discuss this issue when they talk about the importance of age in different sociolects of a speech community. Hualde (2001) declares that “...cualquier característica social que pueda separar a un grupo de otro puede contribuir a la diferenciación lingüística entre los hablantes de una lengua” (Hualde 2001). López Morales (2004) affirms that people of younger ages tend to be more liberal with their speech patterns. They tend to accept pronunciations that may depart from the linguistic norms. Younger generations tend to find new forms of self-expression by standing out and distinguishing themselves from others. Thus their speech patterns act as a way to do so. The results regarding situation 12 for the 18–30 year-olds, along with the research of the authors, support the hypothesis. Even though the fricative realization of /tʃ/ was not consistently accepted among the younger generation for all of the formal situations, it was supported in situation 12.

Sex.

Table 6

Results of CH Statements for Formal Situations Regarding Sex

| CH STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #2 | | Formal Situation # 21 | | Formal Situation #12 | |
|--------------------|---|------------|---|-------------|--|------------|
| | Me suena bien si un político, mientras da un discurso sobre el estado del país por la tele, diga la palabra "Chile" así... [ʃíle] | | Me parece bien que un estudiante diga "Chile" así... [ʃíle] mientras habla con un político en una entrevista. | | Me parece bien que un agricultor diga la palabra "choca" así... [ʃóka] al confesarse con un sacerdote. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Total Males (37) | 21% | 79% | 16% | 84% | 57% | 43% |
| Total Females (27) | 14% | 86% | 0% | 100% | 48% | 52% |

Situations 2 and 21. The majority of both males and females rejected the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in agreement with the general opinion of all of the participants who were

administered the questionnaire (Table 3). It is important to note that in both instances, the degree of unacceptability was greater in the case of the females than that of the male participants. However, it does not seem as though the sex of the participants influenced their opinion. Once again, the general opinion of both the male and female participants felt as though the fricative realization of /tʃ/ was less acceptable in the speech of the student. In fact, the percentage for the women shows a unanimous consensus regarding the unacceptability of the fricative variant in the student's speech. Unlike the results for situations 2 and 21, the results for situation 12 present different findings.

Situation 12. It is apparent that from the results regarding situation 12 in Table 4, the gender of the participants influenced their opinion. Of the male participants 57% accepted the fricative realization of /tʃ/; results which correspond to the general opinion of all of the participants who completed the survey. The female participants rejected the fricative realization of the variant. These results are very important because they illustrate valuable information about the concept of sex and its relationship to language use.

López Morales (2004) investigates the differences between males and females and explains how their roles in society help dictate their speech patterns. He states, “En el fondo, las diferencias lingüísticas entre hombres y mujeres surgen de un conjunto definido de actitudes: son diferentes socialmente porque, aunque estemos lejos...de movernos dentro de límites fijos e inflexibles, son distintos los patrones educativos y distintos los papeles asignados a ambos sexos” (López Morales, 2004, p. 128). López Morales states very clearly that the social roles of men and women are very different in society. The linguistic differences present in the speech of men and women arise because of a defined collection of social attitudes associated with them. Men and women have different education patterns; therefore, because of the differences mentioned above,

their roles in society differ. Morales states that, not only is the speech of women different from that of men, it is “better” socially speaking. He states, “Así como se espera que la conducta social de las mujeres sea más correcta, también su habla debe serlo” (López Morales, 2004).

López Morales (2004) refers to Chambers and Trudgill (1980) to explain some linguistic tendencies among females in a speech community. According to them the tendency for females to follow correct speech is due to four reasons. First, women feel the necessity to mark their social status through their language. Second, women tend to perceive that many social situations are more formal than they really are because of a general lack of integration in many societal situations. Third, their educational experiences teach them that they should follow more formal codes of conduct. Lastly women lift their self-esteem by maintaining formal speech patterns.

When discussing the linguistic tendencies of men, López Morales (2004) expresses, “Los hombres... además de ser sensibles al prestigio de la variedad estándar, se ven presionados... por la solidaridad grupal y la identidad personal... ambas presiones conllevan el manejo de formas lingüísticas apartadas de la norma” (López Morales, 2004, p. 130). The author mentions that men are sensitive to the linguistic norms of the speech community, yet feel pressure to belong to certain social groups and adhere to a sense of personal identity. These pressures drive men to use certain linguistic norms that depart from the linguistic norm, and in some cases these linguistic forms enjoy covert prestige within the group that implements them in their speech.

General opinion. It appears as though the fricative realization of /tʃ/ is stigmatized among both men and women. In situations 2 and 21, the results showed that the fricative variant was stigmatized which corresponded to the general opinion of all of the participants. In both cases, the degree of unacceptability was lower, supported by the lower percentages of the men in both situations 2 and 21, compared to the percentages of the women. On the other hand, it is likely

that the sex of the individuals swayed their opinion when responding to situation 12. The majority of men and women demonstrated differing opinions regarding the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the farmer. Finally, the prevailing opinions of both the male and female participants showed a lesser degree of acceptability or unacceptability when compared to the percentages in situations 2 and 21 regarding the same participant groups.

All in all, it is apparent that the fricative realization of /tʃ/ is stigmatized in formal situations, yet is acceptable in some instances in the spoken Spanish of natives from Santiago. When analyzed according to age, socioeconomic status and sex, all of the participant groups rejected the pronunciation of the fricative variant regarding the speech of the politician and the student. On the other hand, the ‘total participant’, UC, MC, 18–30 year-old, and ‘total males’ participant groups accepted the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the case of the speech of the farmer. It is possible that the occupation (associated with socioeconomic status) of the speakers in situations 2 and 21 influenced the participants’ opinions. Further, for situation 12, it is possible that a feeling of linguistic insecurity regarding the sub-standard fricative realization of /tʃ/ influenced the LC participants. Next, it was apparent that the only age group to accept the fricative variant in the speech of the farmer was the 18–30 year-olds. Lastly, it is apparent that the sex of the participants influenced their opinion (supported by the results in Table 6) regarding the fricative variant in situation 12. Ultimately, the fricative realization of /tʃ/ was more acceptable among the lower classes; however, the fricative variant did not seem to be consistently more acceptable among the youngest generation.

Informal Situations.

Three informal situations involved the fricative realization of /tʃ/. Situation 8 described a doctor speaking to his daughter in their home. Situation 17 involved a businessman speaking

with his girlfriend in a restaurant and situation 4 described a ‘*huaso*’ or peasant, speaking with his co-workers while working out on a farm.

Total participants.

Table 7

The Results of CH Statements for Informal Situations regarding the Total Participants

| CH STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #8 | | Informal Situation #17 | | Informal Situation #4 | |
|--|-----------------------|------------|---|------------|---|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Es normal que un doctor diga la palabra "chiquilla" así [ʃikijja] hablando con su niña en la casa. | | | No es aceptable que un empresario diga la palabra "chica" así [ʃika] mientras habla con su novia en un restaurante. | | Me parece bien que un huaso pronuncie la palabra "muchacho" así [muʃáʃo] mientras trabaja con sus colegas en la granja. | |
| Total Participants (64) | 26% | 74% | 39% | 61% | 65.50% | 34.50% |

Situation 8. Of all of the participants who completed the questionnaire, 74% rejected the fricative realization of /tʃ/. In the case of the doctor, it is quite possible that the occupation of the speaker in question influenced the opinion of the individuals (a doctor usually coincides with high socioeconomic status).

Situation 17. Of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 61% felt it was acceptable for the fricative realization of /tʃ/ to be present in the speech of the businessman. It is important to note that even though the prevailing opinion of the participants indicates the ‘*desacuerdo*’ option, the statement is worded in way that suggests negativity. When the participants responded ‘*desacuerdo*’ to situation 17, they indicated that it was acceptable for the businessman to pronounce the /tʃ/ in a fricative manner.

Situation 4. Situations 8 and 17 portrayed a doctor and a businessman; two individuals who usually belong to high social classes. Unlike the speakers in situations 8 and 17, the speaker in situation 4 normally belongs to a low socioeconomic class. Of all of the participants who

responded to the statement regarding the peasant, 65.5% accepted the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in his speech. It is likely that the occupation of the speaker in question influenced the opinion of the participants rather than the informality of the situation itself.

General opinion. Like the results presented for the formal situations regarding the fricative realization of /tʃ/, the variant seems to be stigmatized in informal situations as well. On the other hand, the fricative variant is acceptable in the case of the speech of the peasant.

Social class.

Table 8

The Results of CH Statements for Informal Situations regarding Social Class

| CH STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #8 | | Informal Situation #17 | | Informal Situation #4 | |
|-------------------|---|---------------|---|------------|---|------------|
| | Es normal que un doctor diga la palabra "chiquilla" así [ʃikíja] hablando con su niña en la casa. | | No es aceptable que un empresario diga la palabra "chica" así [ʃika] mientras habla con su novia en un restaurante. | | Me parece bien que un huaso pronuncie la palabra "muchacho" así [muʃáʝo] mientras trabaja con sus colegas en la granja. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Upper Class (23) | 17% | 83% | 34% | 66% | 52% | 48% |
| Middle Class (24) | 34% | 66% | 42% | 58% | 67% | 33% |
| Lower Class (17) | 29.50% | 70.50% | 30% | 70% | 82% | 18% |

Situation 8. It does not appear as though the social class of the participants influenced their opinion regarding the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the doctor. The majority of the participants in each social class rejected the pronunciation of the fricative variant in this case. Nonetheless, it is probable that the occupation of speaker in question influenced the opinion of participants. The UC participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability regarding the fricative variant in the speech of the doctor.

Situations 17 and 4. It is apparent that the majority of the participants from each social class accepted the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the businessman in agreement with

the general opinion of all of the participants who completed the questionnaire. It appears as though the social class of the participants did not sway their opinion. On the other hand, the results presented in Table 8 regarding situation 4 present different findings. The general opinion among all of the social classes accepted the presence of the fricative variant in the speech of the peasant. Once again, it is likely that the occupation of the speaker in question influenced the opinion of the participants regarding situation 4. Finally, even though each social class demonstrated the same opinion, it seems as though the social class of the participant did influence their opinion regarding the sub-standard fricative variant in the speech of the peasant. Of the UC participants, 52% accepted the pronunciation, 67% of the MC participants accepted it, and 82% of the LC participants felt it was acceptable for the peasant to pronounce the /tʃ/ in a fricative manner. The degree of acceptability increased according to the level of socioeconomic status of the participants.

General opinion. It appears as though the social class of the participants did not sway their opinion, except in situation 4 regarding the speech of the peasant. It appears as though in situations 8 and 4 the occupation of the speaker in question influenced the participants when responding to each statement. Finally, according to the consistent increase in the degree of acceptability of the participant groups, it appears as though the social class of the participants may have influenced their opinion regarding the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the peasant in situation 4.

Age.

Table 9

The Results of CH Statements for Informal Situations regarding Age

| CH STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #8 | | Informal Situation #17 | | Informal Situation #4 | |
|---------------|---|---------------|---|------------|---|------------|
| | Es normal que un doctor diga la palabra "chiquilla" así [ʃikíja] hablando con su niña en la casa. | | No es aceptable que un empresario diga la palabra "chica" así [ʃíka] mientras habla con su novia en un restaurante. | | Me parece bien que un huaso pronuncie la palabra "muchacho" así [muʃáʝo] mientras trabaja con sus colegas en la granja. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| 18-30 (17) | 41% | 59% | 47% | 53% | 82% | 18% |
| 31-45 (19) | 10.50% | 89.50% | 47% | 53% | 63% | 37% |
| 46-60 (18) | 28% | 72% | 33% | 67% | 45% | 55% |
| 61+ (10) | 20% | 80% | 10% | 90% | 80% | 20% |

Situation 8. According to all of the age groups, the fricative realization of /tʃ/ is unacceptable in the speech of the doctor. The results in Table 9 regarding situation 8 correspond to the general opinion of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire. According to the results for situation 8 in Table 9, the degree of unacceptability was lower regarding the 18–30 year-old participants. It is apparent that a greater majority of that generation of participants accepted the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the doctor. Nonetheless, despite the slight decrease in the degree of unacceptability of situation 8 regarding the 18–30 year-old participants, it does not appear as though the age of the participants influenced their when they responded to the statement.

Situations 17 and 4. All of the age groups felt it was acceptable for the businessman to pronounce the fricative [ʃ] allophone in his speech. Similar to the results presented for situation 8 in Table 9, the 18–30 and 31–45 year-old participants showed a lesser degree of unacceptability than the 46–60 and 61+ year-old participants; however, since the general opinion of all of the age groups was one of unacceptability, it does not appear that the age of the participants influenced

them. The 18–30 , 31–45 and 61+ year-old participants accepted the fricative [ʃ] allophone in situation 4. The only group to depart from that opinion was the 46–60 year-old participant group. Nonetheless, the degree of unacceptability (55%) proved to be less than the degree of acceptability of the regarding the other three participant age groups who accepted the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the peasant.

General opinion. The age of the participants did not seem to influence their opinion regarding the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the doctor, the businessman or the peasant. In situations 8 and 17, even though the fricative realization was unacceptable regarding the speech of the doctor and acceptable regarding the speech of the businessman, the results show that each age group had the same opinion concerning the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in each situation.

Sex.

Table 10

The Results of CH Statements for Informal Situations regarding Sex

| CH STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #8 | | Informal Situation #17 | | Informal Situation #4 | |
|--------------------|---|------------|---|------------|---|------------|
| | Es normal que un doctor diga la palabra "chiquilla" así [ʃikíʃa] hablando con su niña en la casa. | | No es aceptable que un empresario diga la palabra "chica" así [ʃíka] mientras habla con su novia en un restaurante. | | Me parece bien que un huaso pronuncie la palabra "muchacho" así [muʃáʃo] mientras trabaja con sus colegas en la granja. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Total Males (37) | 27% | 73% | 43% | 57% | 65% | 35% |
| Total Females (27) | 26% | 74% | 34% | 66% | 66% | 34% |

Situation 8. The majority of both the male and female participants rejected the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the doctor. It does not appear as though the sex of the participants influenced their opinion when responding to the statement. It is important to note that the female participants were less accepting of the fricative variant than the male participants.

Situations 17 and 4. The results for situation 17 and 4 in Table 10 show that the majority of both the male and female participants accepted the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the businessman and the peasant. Since both sexes demonstrated the same opinion regarding both statements, it is unlikely that the sex of the participants influenced their opinion regarding the use of the fricative [ʃ] allophone in the speech of both speakers. On the other hand, similar to the results in situation 8, the females consistently showed a greater degree of acceptability over the male participants.

General opinion. It is not likely that the sex of the participants swayed their opinion when responding to the informal situations regarding the fricative realization of /tʃ/. The results for each situation show that, regardless of the prevailing linguistic attitude, both males and females demonstrated the same opinion.

Evaluation of the assibilated realization of /tr/

Formal situations.

The assibilated realization of /tr/ was portrayed in six statements regarding formal situations in the questionnaire; however the presentation of the analysis lists three of the situations and the analysis of the results concerning the factors of social class, age and sex of the participants, then lists the final three situations. Situation 3 involved a lawyer speaking before a judge in a courtroom. Situation 10 described a student from the University of Chile speaking with his math professor in a private meeting and situation 5 involved a housewife confessing her sins to a priest.

Total participants.

Table 11

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Formal Situations regarding Total Participants

| TR STATEMENTS | Formal Situation # 3 | | Formal Situation #10 | | Formal Situation #5 | |
|-------------------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---------------------|------------|
| | Me parece bien que un abogado diga la palabra "ministro" así [minístɾo] delante del jurado durante un juicio. | me suena aceptable que un estudiante de la Universidad de Santiago diga "cuatro" así [kwátɾo] hablando con su profesor de matemáticas en una reunion privada. | | Me parece bien que un ama de casa al confesarse con el sacerdote diga la palabra "trabajo" así [tɾabáβo]. | | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Total Participants (64) | 7% | 93% | 13% | 87% | 39% | 61% |

Situation 3. Of all the participants who completed the questionnaire, 93% rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the lawyer. It is possible that both the formality of the situation and the occupation of the speaker in question influenced the opinion of the participants.

Situation 10. Of all of the participants, 87% of them rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the student. It is likely that the social expectation for the student to maintain a certain degree of formality in his register when speaking to a professor influenced the opinion of the participants. Further, the degree of unacceptability was notably less between the situations involving the lawyer in the courtroom and the student speaking with his professor. It is possible that the variation in the degree of unacceptability is due to the variation in the degree of formality between situations 3 and 10.

Situation 5. Of all of the participants who responded to the statement regarding the housewife, 61% rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ her speech. It is important to note that

when compared to the results in Table 11, the degree of unacceptability was even more notably less than the results for the statements regarding the speech of the lawyer and student.

General opinion. The pronunciation of the assimilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the lawyer, the student and the housewife was unacceptable. It is possible that occupation of the lawyer and the formality of that situation influenced the opinion of the participants. Further, it is possible that the social expectation of the student to maintain a certain level of formality in his speech when speaking to a professor was also a factor. I argue that that the degree of formality of each situation influenced the opinion of the participants. This is supported by the fact that each situation in Table 11 presented a different degree of formality. The situation involving the lawyer speaking in a courtroom showed the greatest degree of formality over situations 10 and 5. The situation involving the housewife confessing her sins to a priest represented the situation with the least degree of formality of each situation. Finally, the percentages for each of the three situations in Table 11 corresponded, descending gradually in correlation with the degree formality of situations 3, 10, and 5.

Social class.

Table 12

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Formal Situations regarding Social Class

| TR STATEMENTS | Formal Situation # 3 | | Formal Situation #10 | | Formal Situation #5 | |
|---|----------------------|-------------|---|------------|---|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Me parece bien que un abogado diga la palabra "ministro" así [minístɾo] delante del jurado durante un juicio. | | | Me suena aceptable que un estudiante de la Universidad de Santiago diga "cuatro" así [kwátɾo] hablando con su profesor de matemáticas en una reunion privada. | | Me parece bien que un ama de casa al confesarse con el sacerdote diga la palabra "trabajo" así [tɾabajáβo]. | |
| Upper Class (23) | 0% | 100% | 13% | 87% | 48% | 52% |
| Middle Class (24) | 8% | 92% | 17% | 83% | 33% | 67% |
| Lower Class (17) | 18% | 82% | 6% | 94% | 35% | 65% |

Situation 3. Regardless of the social class of the participants, the assibilated realization of /tr/ was unacceptable in the speech of the lawyer. Even though it is not likely that the social class of the participants influenced their opinion, it is evident from results for situation 3 in Table 12 that the degree of unacceptability generally decreased as the social class of the participant decreased as well. The greatest degree of unacceptability was shown in UC participants (a unanimous opinion), and the LC participants demonstrated the lowest degree of unacceptability. Nevertheless, the majority of the participants from each social class rejected the use of the assibilated allophone in the speech of the lawyer.

Situation 10. The majority of the participants in each social class rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the student. Since each social class demonstrated a negative opinion toward the assibilated allophone in the student's speech, it is not likely that the social class of the participants influenced them when responding to the statement. Again, it is possible

that the social expectation of the student to maintain an appropriate level of formality in his speech when communicating with a professor influenced the participants.

Situation 5. Each social class rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the housewife. It is important to note that when comparing the results of situations 3 and 10 with situation 5, the degree of unacceptability gradually decreased in correlation with the variation of the degree of formality of each of the three situations. The only participant group to depart from this general trend was the LC participants for situation 10. In that case, the LC participants presented a greater degree of unacceptability in their response to the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the university student than in the speech of the lawyer. According to the general trend, it is likely that the degree of formality of the situations influenced the opinions of each social class.

General opinion. All in all, it does not appear that the social class of the participants themselves swayed their opinion since in all three situations, each social class rejected the pronunciation of the assibilated /tr/ in the speech of the lawyer, student and the housewife. The results in Table 10 support the fact that the assibilated allophone was stigmatized among all of the social classes. The degree of formality seemed to be a significant factor.

Age.

Table 13

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Formal Situations regarding Age

| TR STATEMENTS | Formal Situation # 3 | | Formal Situation #10 | | Formal Situation #5 | |
|---------------|---|-------------|---|---------------|---|---------------|
| | Me parece bien que un abogado diga la palabra "ministro" así [minístɾo] delante del jurado durante un juicio. | | me suena aceptable que un estudiante de la Universidad de Santiago diga "cuatro" así [kwátɾo] hablando con su profesor de matemáticas en una reunion privada. | | Me parece bien que un ama de casa al confesarse con el sacerdote diga la palabra "trabajo" así [tɾabáβo]. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| 18-30 (17) | 0% | 100% | 24% | 76% | 59% | 41% |
| 31-45 (19) | 11% | 89% | 10.50% | 89.50% | 31.50% | 68.50% |
| 46-60 (18) | 6% | 94% | 0% | 100% | 34% | 66% |
| 61+ (10) | 20% | 80% | 20% | 80% | 30% | 70% |

Situations 3 and 10. The pronunciation of the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the lawyer and the university student was rejected among each age group. The 18–30 year-old participants demonstrated a unanimous opinion regarding the assibilated allophone regarding the speech of the lawyer and the 46–60 year-old participants demonstrated a unanimous opinion regarding the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the university student. It does not appear that the social class of the participants influenced their opinion.

Situation 5. The 31–45, 46–60 and the 61+ year-old participant groups rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the housewife. On the other hand, of the 18–30 year-old participants, 59% felt it was acceptable for the housewife to pronounce the assibilated realization of /tr/ when confessing her sins to a priest. The results of the 18–30 year-olds support the fact that younger generations are more accepting of sub-standard linguistic variants. Similarly, the 61+ year-old participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability in their opinion compared to the three younger generations.

General opinion. It does not appear that the age of the participant consistently influenced their opinion when responding to the statements regarding the lawyer, the university student and the housewife regarding the assibilated realization of /tr/. In the speech of the lawyer and the university student, every age group rejected the assibilated varian. In fact, the 18–30 and 46–60 year-old participants both demonstrated a unanimous opinion, rejecting the assibilated allophone in the speech of either the lawyer or the student.

Sex.

Table 14

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Formal Situations regarding Sex

| TR STATEMENTS | Formal Situation # 3 | | Formal Situation #10 | | Formal Situation #5 | |
|---|----------------------|------------|---|------------|---|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Me parece bien que un abogado diga la palabra "ministro" así [minístɾo] delante del jurado durante un juicio. | | | me suena aceptable que un estudiante de la Universidad de Santiago diga "cuatro" así [kwátɾo] hablando con su profesor de matemáticas en una reunion privada. | | Me parece bien que un ama de casa al confesarse con el sacerdote diga la palabra "trabajo" así [tɾabajáβo]. | |
| Total Males (37) | 10% | 90% | 16% | 84% | 43% | 57% |
| Total Females (27) | 3% | 97% | 7% | 93% | 33% | 67% |

Situation 3, 10 and 5. The majority of both the male and female participants rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the lawyer, the university student and the housewife. Of the female participants, 97% rejected the allophone in the speech of the lawyer, a result which demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability over the male participants. Similarly, the results for situations 10 and 5 demonstrate a greater degree of unacceptability regarding the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the student and housewife. It appears as though the females were more sensitive to the substandard assibilated allophone, demonstrating a greater degree of unacceptability over the male participants.

General opinion. The assibilated realization of /tr/ is generally unacceptable in certain formal situations in the speech of native from Santiago. It did not appear as though the social class, age or sex of the participants influenced their opinion when responding to the statements regarding the assibilated allophone in the speech of the lawyer, the university student or the housewife. On the other hand, it appeared as though the degree of formality of each situation may have influenced the opinion of the participants. This fact is supported by the results of Tables 11, 12 and 14, which demonstrate the general decrease in the degree of unacceptability of the assibilated realization of /tr/ in correlation with the decrease in the degree of formality of each situation.

Formal Situations.

Situation 6 described a peasant speaking with a foreign North American religious missionary. Situation 11 involved a farmer speaking with a doctor in a clinic and situation 22 involved a fruit vendor confessing his sins to a priest.

Total participants.

Table 15

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Formal Situations regarding Total Participants

| TR STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #6 | | Formal Situation #11 | | Formal Situation #22 | |
|-------------------------|---|---|----------------------|--|----------------------|------------|
| | Es aceptable que un huaso diga "otro" así [ó̥t̥o] hablando con un misionero norteamericano. | Es normal oír a un agricultor decir "trabajo" así [t̥abḁ́bo] , hablando con el médico la clínica. | | Es normal que alguien que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra "mientras" así [mjént̥as] confesándose con un sacerdote. | | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Total Participants (64) | 67% | 33% | 59% | 41% | 69% | 31% |

Situation 6. Of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 67% felt it was acceptable for the peasant to pronounce the assibilated realization of /tr/ in his speech. It does not appear as though the formality of the situation itself influenced the participants, rather it is possible that the occupation of the speaker in question swayed their opinion when responding to the statement regarding the peasant.

Situation 11. Of all of the participants, 59% accepted the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the farmer. Once again it is possible that the occupation of the speaker in question influenced the opinion of the participants. It is important to note the possibility of ambiguity in the meaning of the term ‘agricultor’. It is possible that that ambiguity contributed to the variation in the degree of acceptability presented in the results for this situation in Table 15. It is doubtful that the formality of the situation influenced the participants.

Situation 22. According to the majority of the total participants, the assibilated realization of /tr/ was acceptable in speech of the fruit vendor. Once again, it is likely that the occupation of the speaker in question influenced the opinion of the participants.

General opinion. It is apparent that the assibilated realization of /tr/ was acceptable in the speech of the peasant, the farmer, and the fruit vendor. Each speaker in question is usually associated with a low social class; therefore, the occupation of the speakers may have strongly influenced the participants, given each speaker was described in a formal situation.

Social class.

Table 16

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Formal Situations regarding Social Class

| TR STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #6 | | Formal Situation #11 | | Formal Situation #22 | |
|--|---------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Es aceptable que un huaso diga "otro" así [ọ́ṭo] hablando con un misionero norteamericano. | | | | | | |
| Es normal oír a un agricultor decir "trabajo" así [ṭjabạ́βo] , hablando con el médico la clínica. | | | | | | |
| Es normal que alguien que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra "mientras" así [mjénṭas] confesándose con un sacerdote. | | | | | | |
| Upper Class (23) | 70% | 30% | 65.50% | 34.50% | 78% | 22% |
| Middle Class (24) | 70% | 30% | 62% | 38% | 58% | 42% |
| Lower Class (17) | 64.50% | 36.50% | 47% | 53% | 70% | 30% |

Situation 6 and 22. The majority of the participants from each social class felt that the assibilated realization of /tr/ was acceptable in the speech the peasant. It does not appear that the social class of the participants influenced their opinion, but rather the occupation of the speaker in the statement. Similar to the statement regarding the peasant, the results in Table 16 regarding situation 22 show that each social class felt it was acceptable for a fruit vendor to produce the assibilated realization of /tr/ in his speech. It does not appear as though the social class of the participants influenced their opinion, but rather the occupation of the speaker.

Situation 11. The majority of the UC and MC participants rejected assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the farmer. On the other hand, the LC participants were the only group to reject the pronunciation of the assibilated allophone. In the case of the fruit vendor, the UC participants demonstrated the greatest degree of acceptability regarding the assibilated realization of /tr/.

General opinion. Regardless of the formality of situations 6, 22 and 11 presented in Table 16, each social class felt it was acceptable for the peasant, the farmer and the fruit vendor to

pronounce the /tr/ in an assibilated manner. The only group to depart from this general opinion was the LC participants regarding the speech of the farmer. Of each social class, the LC participants rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ while the UC and MC participants felt it was acceptable. It is possible that a feeling of linguistic insecurity regarding the substandard assibilated variant swayed the opinion of the LC participants when responding to situation 11.

Age.

Table 17

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Formal Situations regarding Age

| TR STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #6 | | Formal Situation #11 | | Formal Situation #22 | |
|---|---------------------|------------|--|------------|---|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Es aceptable que un huaso diga "otro" así [ọ́ṭo] hablando con un misionero norteamericano. | | | Es normal oír a un agricultor decir "trabajo" así [ṭjabạ́βo] , hablando con el médico la clínica. | | Es normal que alguien que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra "mientras" así [mjénṭjas] confesándose con un sacerdote. | |
| 18-30 (17) | 70.50% | 29.50% | 70.50% | 29.50% | 76.50% | 23.50% |
| 31-45 (19) | 63% | 37% | 68.50% | 31.50% | 42% | 58% |
| 46-60 (18) | 67% | 34% | 39% | 61% | 78% | 22% |
| 61+ (10) | 70% | 30% | 60% | 40% | 90% | 10% |

Situation 6. All of the age groups accepted the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the peasant. The 18–30 year-old participants demonstrated the greatest degree of acceptability over the 31–45, 46–60 and the 61+ year-old participants.

Situation 11. The only group to reject the assibilated realization of /tr/ was the 46–60 year-old participant group. All of the other age groups accepted the assibilated allophone. Similar to the results regarding the assibilated variant in the speech of the peasant, of the three age groups who accepted the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the farmer, the 18–30 year-old participants demonstrated the greatest degree of acceptability.

Situation 22. The only age group to reject the assibilated realization of /tr/ was the 31–45 year-old participants. All of the other age groups accepted the assibilated variant. Unlike the results regarding situation 11, of the three age groups (18–30 , 46–60 and 61+) who accepted the assibilated realization of /tr/, the 61+ year-old participants demonstrated the greatest degree of acceptability in their opinion.

General opinion. It does not appear that the age of the participants influenced their opinion regarding the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the peasant. In situations 11 and 22, one age group consistently departed from the general opinion that the assibilated realization of /tr/ was acceptable in the speech of the speaker in question. In situation 22 the degree of the prevailing opinion varied regarding the 31–45 year-old participants who rejected the assibilated variant compared to the results of the 18–30 , 46–60 and the 61+ year-old participants who accepted the assibilated realization of /tr/.

Sex.

Table 18

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Formal Situations regarding Sex

| TR STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #6 | | Formal Situation #11 | | Formal Situation #22 | |
|--------------------|---|------------|---|------------|--|------------|
| | Es aceptable que un huaso diga "otro" así [ọ́ṭo] hablando con un misionero norteamericano. | | Es normal oír a un agricultor decir "trabajo" así [ṭabạ́bo] , hablando con el médico la clínica. | | Es normal que alguien que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra "mientras" así [mjénṭas] confesándose con un sacerdote. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Total Males (37) | 73% | 27% | 62% | 38% | 76% | 24% |
| Total Females (27) | 59% | 41% | 56% | 44% | 60% | 40% |

Situations 6, 11 and 22. The majority of all of the male and female participants accepted the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the peasant, the farmer and the fruit vendor. It is

possible that the participants were influenced by the occupation of the speaker in question when responding to the three statements. Further, given the uniformity of the results, it does not appear that the formality of the situation influenced the participants. In each case, the male participants demonstrated the greatest degree of acceptability over the female participants.

General opinion. According to the male and female participants, the assibilated realization of /tr/ was acceptable in the speech of the peasant, the farmer and the fruit vendor. It is important to note that the results in situations 6, 11, and 22 show that the male participants were consistently more accepting of the assibilated variant in the speech of the three speakers in question. This fact supports the idea mentioned by López Morales (2004) and Hualde (2001) that males tend to accept substandard linguistic variants while females tend to be more sensitive to the stigmatized variants, demonstrating greater degrees of unacceptability regarding standardized speech patterns.

Informal situations.

The assibilated realization of /tr/ was portrayed in four informal situations throughout the questionnaire. Situation 15 described a politician speaking with his wife in their home. Situation 13 involved a fruit vendor speaking with someone on the street. Situations 20 and 7 both involved a taxi driver; however each situation described the taxi driver in a different social situation. Situation 20 involved the taxi driver speaking with his co-workers in a bar and situation 7 described him driving the cab through the city.

Total participants.

Table 19

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Informal Situations regarding Total Participants

| TR STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #15 | | Informal Situation #13 | | Informal Situation #20 | | Informal Situation #7 | | |
|-------------------------|---|------------|------------------------|--|------------------------|------------|---|------------|--|
| | Me parece aceptable que un político diga la palabra "ministro" así [minist̥o] mientras habla con su esposa en casa. | | | No es aceptable que un hombre que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra "traer" así [t̥aér] al hablar con una persona en la calle. | | | No me suena aceptable que un taxista diga "transito" así [t̥ánsito] mientras habla con sus colegas en el bar. | | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | |
| Total Participants (64) | 21% | 79% | 39% | 61% | 37% | 63% | 50% | 50% | |

Situation 15. Of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 79% felt it was unacceptable for the assimilated realization of /tr/ to be present in the politician's speech in while speaking with his wife. It appears as though the occupation of the speaker in the statement influenced the opinion of the participants.

Situations 13 and 20. Of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 61% felt it was acceptable for the fruit vendor to pronounce the assimilated realization of /tr/ in his speech. Similarly, 63% of all of the participants who responded to the statement regarding situation 20 felt the presence of the assimilated realization of /tr/ was acceptable in the speech of the taxi driver. It does not appear that the informality of both situations presented in the statements influenced the opinion of the participants, but rather it is likely that the occupation of the speakers in each statement swayed the participants' opinion.

Situation 7. Of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 50% accepted the assimilated realization of /tr/ in the taxi driver's speech and 50% rejected it. It is possible more than one social factor influenced the opinions of the participants. First, it is possible that the occupation of the speaker in the statement influenced the participants' opinion.

Second, it is possible that the social expectation for a person to maintain a greater degree of register in their speech with someone whom they do not have a personal relationship may have influenced the participants' opinion as well.

General opinion. The assimilated realization of /tr/ is both acceptable and unacceptable in a variety of informal situations. It appears as though the occupation of the speaker in question influenced the opinion of the participants. It does not seem like the informality of the situation itself was an influential factor. Finally, it is possible that the occupation of the speaker and specific social expectations regarding register in conversations between individuals who do not know each other may have been influential factors in the case of situation 7.

Social class.

Table 20

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Informal Situations regarding Social Class

| TR STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #15 | | Informal Situation #13 | | Informal Situation #20 | | Informal Situation #7 | | |
|--|------------------------|------------|---|---------------|------------------------|--|-----------------------|------------|--|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | |
| Me parece aceptable que un político diga la palabra "ministro" así [miníst _ɾ o] mientras habla con su esposa en casa. | | | No es aceptable que un hombre que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra "traer" así [t _ɾ aér] al hablar con una persona en la calle. | | | No me suena aceptable que un taxista diga "transito" así [t _ɾ ánsito] mientras habla con sus colegas en el bar. | | | Me suena natural oír a un taxista decir la palabra "trafico" así [t _ɾ áfiko] mientras maneja el auto por la ciudad. |
| Upper Class (23) | 22% | 78% | 43.50% | 56.50% | 35% | 65% | 53% | 47% | |
| Middle Class (24) | 24% | 76% | 29% | 71% | 42% | 58% | 46% | 54% | |
| Lower Class (17) | 18% | 82% | 47% | 53% | 35% | 65% | 53% | 47% | |

Situation 15. According to the majority of the participants from each social class, the assimilated realization of /tr/ was unacceptable in the speech of the politician. The LC participants demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability over the UC and MC participants. It does not appear as though the social class of the participants influenced their opinion.

Situations 13 and 20. The pronunciation of the assibilated realization of /tr/ was acceptable in the speech of the fruit vendor and the taxi driver according to the UC, MC and LC participants. It does not appear as though the social class of the participants was an influential social factor when they responded to both statements. It is likely that the occupation of the speaker in each statement influenced the opinion of the participants. Finally, the informality of each situation did not seem to be an influential factor.

Situation 7. The UC and LC participants rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the taxi driver and the MC participants rejected the presence of the assibilated variant. Since the results in Table 20 differed for situation 7 regarding the social class participant groups, it is possible that the social class of the participants did influence their opinion. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the degree of acceptability or unacceptability was consistently less regarding situation 7 compared to the results for situations 15, 13 and 20 in Table 20.

Age.

Table 21

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Informal Situations regarding Age

| TR STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #15 | | Informal Situation #13 | | Informal Situation #20 | | Informal Situation #7 | |
|---|------------------------|------------|--|---------------|---|---------------|---|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Me parece aceptable que un político diga la palabra "ministro" así [miníst̺o] mientras habla con su esposa en casa. | | | No es aceptable que un hombre que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra "traer" así [t̺aér] al hablar con una persona en la calle. | | No me suena aceptable que un taxista diga "transito" así [t̺ánsito] mientras habla con sus colegas en el bar. | | Me suena natural oír a un taxista decir la palabra "trafico" así [t̺áfiko] mientras maneja el auto por la ciudad. | |
| 18-30 (17) | 53% | 47% | 29.50% | 70.50% | 29.50% | 70.50% | 53% | 47% |
| 31-45 (19) | 11% | 89% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 42% | 58% | 52% | 48% |
| 46-60 (18) | 11% | 89% | 50% | 50% | 39% | 61% | 39% | 61% |
| 61+ (10) | 10% | 90% | 30% | 70% | 40% | 60% | 60% | 40% |

Situation 15. The 31–45, 46–60 and the 61+ year-old participants rejected the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the politician. The only age group to accept the assibilated variant in that case was the 18–30 year-old participant group. It is possible that the informality of the situation influenced the opinion of the 18–30 year-olds. It seems as though the results for situation 15 in Table 21 support the fact that younger generations are more accepting of sub-standard linguistic variants. Further, the degree of unacceptability increased as the age of the participants increased as well. It seems as though the age of the participants was an influential factor when the participants responded to the statement.

Situations 13 and 20. The assibilated realization of /tr/ was consistently accepted among each age group regarding the fruit vendor and the taxi driver speaking with his co-workers. The only group to depart from the general opinion was the 46–60 year-old participant group regarding the statement involving the fruit vendor. In that case, 50% of the 46–60 year-old participants accepted the assibilated variant and 50% rejected it. Nevertheless, it does not appear that the age of the participants was an influential factor when they responded to the statements regarding the two situations. It is important to note; however, in both cases the results for the 18–30 year-olds regarding situations 13 and 20 presented the greatest degrees of acceptability when compared to the results of the other age groups.

Situation 7. The 18–30 , 31–45 and 61+ year-old participants accepted the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the statement regarding the taxi driver. The only age group to rejected the assibilated variant was the 46–60 year-old group. In that case, it is possible that the factor that influenced the 46–60 year-old participants was the social expectation to maintain a certain level of formality in the register of people who do not know each other. Because of the lack of consistency in the opinion of each age groups, it does not appear that the age of the participants

was an influential factor. It is important to note that when compared to situations 15, 13 and 20, the results for situation 7 in Table 21 presented different findings concerning the degree of acceptability or unacceptability regarding the 18–30 year-old participants. While the younger generation consistently demonstrated a greater degree of acceptability compared to the older generations, it was the older generation in situation 7 who demonstrated the greatest degree of acceptability regarding the assimilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the speaker.

General opinion. According to the participants belonging to different age groups, the assimilated realization of /tr/ was both accepted and rejected in various informal situations. It is unlikely that the age of the participants influenced their responses to the statements in Table 21. On the other hand, it does appear that other social factors did influence the participants. First it seems as though the occupation of the speaker in question may have been an influential factor. Second, it is possible that the informality of the situation influenced the participants when they responded to the statements as well.

Sex.

Table 22

The Results of /tr/ Statements for Informal Situations regarding Sex

| TR STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #15 | | Informal Situation #13 | | Informal Situation #20 | | Informal Situation #7 | |
|--|------------------------|------------|--|------------|---|------------|---|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Me parece aceptable que un político diga la palabra "ministro" así [minístɔ] mientras habla con su esposa en casa. | | | No es aceptable que un hombre que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra "traer" así [tɾaér] al hablar con una persona en la calle. | | No me suena aceptable que un taxista diga "transito" así [tɾánsito] mientras habla con sus colegas en el bar. | | Me suena natural oír a un taxista decir la palabra "trafico" así [tɾáfiko] mientras maneja el auto por la ciudad. | |
| Total Males (37) | 24% | 76% | 35% | 65% | 45% | 55% | 47% | 53% |
| Total Females (27) | 19% | 81% | 45% | 55% | 41% | 59% | 51% | 49% |

Situation 15. The presence of the assibilated realization of /tr/ was rejected among the male and female participants in the speech of the politician. It is important to recognize that the females demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability in their opinion compared to the male participants. Nevertheless, it does not seem like the sex of the participants influenced their opinion when they responded to the statement in situation 15. Also, it is unlikely that the informality of the situation itself was an influential factor since the each statement involving a politician in either a formal or an informal situation has brought about an opinion of rejection regarding the two phonetic variables present in his speech patterns. On the other hand, it is apparent that the occupation of the speaker in situation 15 weighed heavier on the minds of the participants when they responded to the statement.

Situation 13 and 20. The majority of both the male and female participants accepted the realization of the assibilated /tr/ in the speech of the fruit vendor speaking with someone on the street and the taxi driver speaking with his co-workers in the bar. Given that information, it does not appear that the sex of the participants influenced their opinion when responding to both statements. It is important to note that in the case of the fruit vendor, the male participants demonstrated a greater degree of acceptability towards the presence of the assibilated realization of /tr/, and in the case of the taxi driver speaking with his co-workers in a bar, the same participants demonstrated a lower degree of acceptability regarding the assibilated variant when compared to the female participants. Nevertheless, despite the varying degree of acceptability concerning statements 13 and 20, both sexes demonstrated the same opinion, which makes it apparent that the sex of the participants was not an influential factor when they responded to each statement.

Situation 7. Of all of the males who were administered the questionnaire, 53% rejected the assimilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the taxi driver driving a the cab in the city. It is important to remember that this statement infers that the taxi driver was carrying passengers with whom he did not have a personal relationship. On the other hand, 51% of all of the females who responded to this statement accepted the assimilated variant in the speech of the taxi driver. Since the majorities of the male and female participants demonstrated differing opinions concerning this situation, it is likely that the sex of the participants did influence their opinion.

General opinion. The questionnaire contained 6 statements in which certain individuals were presented in a formal situation. Situations 3, 10 and 5 portrayed a lawyer, a student, and a housewife. The participants consistently felt that the assimilated realization of /tr/ was unacceptable in their speech. On the other hand, a peasant, a farmer and a fruit vendor were portrayed in situations 6, 11, and 22. The participants who were administered the questionnaire consistently felt that it was acceptable for those individuals to pronounce the assimilated realization of /tr/ in their speech. These findings indicate that it is very likely that it was not the formality of the situation but the occupation of each speaker that was the more influential factor that swayed the opinion of the participants when they responded to the statements regarding the assimilated realization of /tr/ in the formal situations.

Evaluation of the use of the definite article before proper names

Formal situations.

The use of the definite article was presented in three formal situations of the questionnaire. Situation 1 involved a doctor referring to a patient as “la Juana” in a clinic. Situation 18 involved a lawyer referring to his wife as “la Bárbara” in a hospital while speaking with a doctor, and situation 16 involved maid referring to the woman of the house as “la Marisa” while speaking with the man of the house.

Total participants.

Table 23

Results of the Use of the Definite Article for Formal Situations regarding Total Participants

| ARTICLE STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #1 | | Formal Situation #18 | | Formal Situation #16 | |
|-------------------------|--|--|----------------------|---|----------------------|------------|
| | Es normal que un doctor, al referirse a una paciente en el hospital, diga "la Juana" en vez de "Juana. | Me parece bien que el abogado al hablar con el doctor en el hospital en cuanto a su esposa diga "la Bárbara" en lugar de decir "Bárbara" | | Es aceptable que una empleada de casa, mientras habla con el dueño de la casa, se refiera a la dueña como "la Marisa" en vez de "Marisa". | | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Total Participants (64) | 29% | 71% | 28% | 72% | 24% | 76% |

Situation 1. Of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 71% rejected the use of the definite article in the speech of the doctor. It is likely that the formality of the situation and the occupation of the speaker in the statement influenced the opinion of the participants.

Situation 18. Of the total number of participants who responded to situation 18, 72% felt it was unacceptable for the lawyer to refer to his wife as “la Bárbara” when speaking with a doctor. It is possible that the formality of the situation as well as the occupation of the speaker influenced the opinion of the participants.

Situation 16. Of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 76% felt that the use of the definite article in the speech of the maid was unacceptable. Different from situations 1 and 18, situation 16 entailed a maid speaking to her employer about his wife. The social class of this speaker is not comparative to that of a doctor or a lawyer, but the attitudes of the participants correlate with the first two statements in the table. The occupational role of the housemaid in relation to her employer requires a certain degree of respect manifested in her articulation.

General opinion. According to the majority of the participants who completed the questionnaire, the use of the definite article in formal situations is unacceptable. It is possible that in situations 1 and 18, the occupation of the speaker in each statement as well as the formality of the situation itself influenced the participants' opinion. On the other hand, the social expectation for a maid to maintain a certain level of formality in her speech when addressing her employer may have been an influential factor when the participants responded to the statement concerning situation 16.

Social class.

Table 24

Results of the Use of the Definite Article for Formal Situations regarding Social Class

| ARTICLE STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #1 | | Formal Situation #18 | | Formal Situation #16 | |
|---|---------------------|------------|--|---------------|---|---------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Es normal que un doctor, al referirse a una paciente en el hospital, diga "la Juana" en vez de "Juana." | | | Me parece bien que el abogado al hablar con el doctor en el hospital en cuanto a su esposa diga "la Bárbara" en lugar de decir "Bárbara" | | Es aceptable que una empleada de casa, mientras habla con el dueño de la casa, se refiera a la dueña como "la Marisa" en vez de "Marisa". | |
| Upper Class (23) | 26% | 74% | 17% | 83% | 22% | 78% |
| Middle Class (24) | 30% | 70% | 25% | 75% | 24.50% | 75.50% |
| Lower Class (17) | 30% | 70% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 23.50% | 76.50% |

Situation 1. The majority of the participants from each social class rejected the use of the definite article in the speech of the doctor when he referred to his patient as “la Juana”. It is important to recognize that of all of the social classes, the UC participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability towards the syntactic variable over the MC and LC participants.

Situation 18. Each social class rejected the use of the definite article in the speech of the lawyer who referred to his wife as “la Bárbara” while speaking with a doctor. It is important to note that similar to the results regarding the speech of the doctor in situation 1, the UC

participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability towards the syntactic variable over the MC and LC participants in the speech of the lawyer. Further the results for situation 18 in Table 24 show that the level of unacceptability decreased as the social class of the participant decreased. If the level of unacceptability is an indicator of the frequency of use with which the variable is present in the speech of the participants from each social class, then one can posit that the use of the definite article in this case is stigmatized in the speech of the speakers in Santiago.

Situation 16. The majority of the UC, MC and LC participants felt it was unacceptable for the maid to refer to the woman of the house as “la Marisa” when speaking to the man of the house. Once again, similar to the results for situations 1 and 18 in Table 24, the UC participants demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability in their opinion than that of the MC and LC participants. Unlike situations speakers in the statements of situations 1 and 18, the speaker in situation 16 does not usually belong to the same social class.

General opinion. The majority of the participants from each social class consistently rejected the use of the definite article in certain formal situations. Since each social group demonstrated the same opinion, it is not likely that the social class of the participants influenced their opinion when they responded to situations 1, 18 and 16. In each situation presented in Table 24, the UC participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability over the MC and LC participants. Whereas it was likely that the occupation of the speakers in situations 1 and 18 influenced the opinion of the participants, the same may not be true for the maid in situation 16. In that case it is very likely that the social expectation for the speaker to maintain a certain level of formality in her speech when speaking with her employer influenced their opinion.

Age.

Table 25

Results of the Use of the Definite Article for Formal Situations regarding Age

| ARTICLE STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #1 | | Formal Situation #18 | | Formal Situation #16 | |
|--------------------|--|---------------|--|------------|---|---------------|
| | Es normal que un doctor, al referirse a una paciente en el hospital, diga "la Juana" en vez de "Juana. | | Me parece bien que el abogado al hablar con el doctor en el hospital en cuanto a su esposa diga "la Bárbara" en lugar de decir "Bárbara" | | Es aceptable que una empleada de casa, mientras habla con el dueño de la casa, se refiera a la dueña como "la Marisa" en vez de "Marisa". | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| 18-30 (17) | 29.50% | 70.50% | 35% | 65% | 29.50% | 70.50% |
| 31-45 (19) | 37% | 63% | 31% | 69% | 26.50% | 73.50% |
| 46-60 (18) | 28% | 72% | 23% | 77% | 28% | 72% |
| 61+ (10) | 10% | 90% | 20% | 80% | 20% | 80% |

Situation 1. The majority of the participants from each age group felt it was unacceptable for the doctor to refer to his patient as “la Juana” in the hospital. Of each age group, the 61+ year-old participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability compared to the younger generations.

Situation 18. The general opinion of each age group was that the use of the definite article in the speech of the lawyer when referring to his wife as “la Bárbara” in the hospital was unacceptable. Once again, the 61+ year-old participants demonstrated the strongest degree of unacceptability regarding the syntactic variant compared to the 18–30 , 31–45 and the 46–60 age groups.

Situation 16. The use of the definite article in the speech of the maid was unacceptable among each age group. Similar to the results regarding situations 1 and 18 in Table 25, the 61+ year-old participants demonstrated the greatest degree of rejection compared the three younger generations.

General opinion. The use of the definite article in the three formal situations in the questionnaire was unacceptable according to the majority of the participants in each age group. In all three cases, the 18–30 , 31–45 and 61+ age groups demonstrated the same feeling of rejection towards the syntactic variable. From those results in Table 25, it is unlikely that the age of the participants influenced their opinion when responding to the statements concerning situations 1, 18, and 16. Finally, it is important to recognize that the 61+ year-old participants consistently demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability regarding the use of the definite article in the speech of the doctor, the lawyer, and the maid compared to the three younger generations.

Sex.

Table 26

Results of the Use of the Definite Article for Formal Situations regarding Sex

| ARTICLE STATEMENTS | Formal Situation #1 | | Formal Situation #18 | | Formal Situation #16 | |
|--|---------------------|------------|--|------------|---|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Es normal que un doctor, al referirse a una paciente en el hospital, diga "la Juana" en vez de "Juana. | | | Me parece bien que el abogado al hablar con el doctor en el hospital en cuanto a su esposa diga "la Bárbara" en lugar de decir "Bárbara" | | Es aceptable que una empleada de casa, mientras habla con el dueño de la casa, se refiera a la dueña como "la Marisa" en vez de "Marisa". | |
| Total Males (37) | 30% | 70% | 27% | 73% | 25% | 75% |
| Total Females (27) | 26% | 74% | 29% | 71% | 22% | 78% |

Situation 1. According to the majority of both the male and female participants, the use of the definite article in the speech of the doctor was unacceptable. The female participants demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability over the male participants. Nonetheless, it does not appear that the sex of the participants influenced their opinion.

Situation 18. The use of the definite article in the speech of the lawyer when referring to his wife was unacceptable according to the majority of both the male and female participants. In

that case, the male participants demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability over the female participants.

Situation 16. The majority of the male and female participants rejected the use of the definite article in the speech of the maid when referring to the woman of the house while speaking with the man of the house. Similar to situation 1, the female participants demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability towards the use of the syntactic variable over the male participants.

General opinion. According to the majority of the male and female participants, the use of the definite article before a person's first name was unacceptable in each of the formal situations. In all three cases the prevailing opinion among the male and female participants was negative towards the syntactic variable, thus, it is unlikely that sex of the participants influenced their opinion when responding to each statement regarding situations 1, 18, and 16. It is important to recognize that even though the prevailing opinion of both sexes was the same, in situations 1 and 16 the female participants demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability regarding the use of definite article. On the other hand, the results for situation 18 in Table 26 show that the male participants felt it was less acceptable for the lawyer to refer to his wife as "la Bárbara" when speaking to the doctor in the hospital.

It is apparent that the use of the definite article when referring to another person was unacceptable in the speech of the doctor, the lawyer and the maid in each formal situation. Not one instance occurred where a participant group accepted the syntactic variable. When the participants were separated into social class, the UC participants consistently demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability over the MC and LC participants. Further, when the results of the participants were analyzed according to age, the 61+ year-olds consistently demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability. Lastly, the prevailing opinion among the male and female

participants rejected the use of the definite article. Ultimately, it does not appear that the social class, age or sex of the participants consistently influenced their opinion when responding to the statements in situations 1, 18, and 16. On the other hand, since the LC participants and the youngest generation consistently demonstrated smaller degrees of unacceptability, it is possible that the use of the definite article before a proper name is more accepted among both participant groups.

Informal situations.

The use of the definite article before the proper names of people was portrayed in three informal situations in the questionnaire. Situation 9 involved a businessman referring to his secretary as “la Isabel” when speaking with another person. Situation 14 described the Chilean president of congress referring to his wife as “la María” in their home, and situation 19 involved a dentist referring to his daughter as “la Marta” when speaking to his wife in their home.

Total participants.

Table 27

Results of the Use of the Definite Article for Informal Situations regarding Total Participants

| ARTICLE STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #9 | | Informal Situation #14 | | Informal Situation #19 | |
|--|-----------------------|------------|--|------------|---|------------|
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Me parece bien que un empresario, hablando con otra persona, se refiera a su secretaria como "la Isabel" en vez de "Isabel". | | | Me suena normal que el presidente del Congreso se refiera a su esposa como "la María" en vez de "María" en su propia casa. | | Es natural que un dentista se refiera a su hija como "la Marta" en vez de "Marta" mientras habla con su esposa en casa. | |
| Total Participants (64) | 28% | 72% | 30% | 70% | 52% | 48% |

Situation 9 and 14. Of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 72% the use of the definite article in the speech of the businessman when referring to his secretary as “la Isabel” was unacceptable. Similarly, in the case of the speech of the president of congress, 70%

felt the use of the definite article when referring to his wife was unacceptable. It is possible that the occupation itself was an influential factor when the participants responded to each statement concerning situations 9 and 14. Further, it is possible that in the case of the Chilean president of congress, the social expectation for a high ranking political leader to constantly maintain a certain level of formality in his speech regardless of the informality of a given situation swayed the opinion of the participants.

Situation 19. According to the majority of all of the participants who were administered the questionnaire, 52% felt it was acceptable for the dentist to use the definite article before the first name of his daughter (referring to her as “la Marta”) while speaking with his wife in their home. It is interesting to note the difference in opinion between the results concerning the Chilean president of congress in situation 14 and the dentist in situation 19. Both individuals usually belong to a high social class and both individuals are portrayed in similar social situations, yet the majority of the participants rejected the usage of the syntactic variant in the speech of the president of congress and accepted its usage in the speech of the dentist. It is possible that the referent in each statement (e.g.: wife, daughter, etc.) swayed the opinion of the participants when responding to the statements concerning situations 14 and 19. It appears that it is acceptable to refer to one’s child using the definite article in an informal situation, yet not acceptable to refer to one’s wife in a similar situation.

General opinion. The participants who were administered the questionnaire both accepted and rejected the usage of the definite article before a person’s first name. It appears that the occupation of the speaker in question was an influential factor. Also it is possible that the referent in each statement was an influential factor. Ultimately it appears that the use of the definite article before a spouse’s name was unacceptable, the usage before a child’s name was acceptable.

Social class.

Table 28

Results of the Use of the Definite Article for Informal Situations regarding Social Class

| ARTICLE STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #9 | | Informal Situation #14 | | Informal Situation #19 | |
|--------------------|--|---------------|--|------------|---|------------|
| | Me parece bien que un empresario, hablando con otra persona, se refiera a su secretaria como "la Isabel" en vez de "Isabel". | | Me suena normal que el presidente del Congreso se refiera a su esposa como "la María" en vez de "María" en su propia casa. | | Es natural que un dentista se refiera a su hija como "la Marta" en vez de "Marta" mientras habla con su esposa en casa. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Upper Class (23) | 22% | 78% | 17% | 83% | 48% | 52% |
| Middle Class (24) | 29% | 71% | 32% | 68% | 54% | 46% |
| Lower Class (17) | 35.50% | 64.50% | 35% | 65% | 59% | 41% |

Situation 9. The majority of the participants from each social class rejected the use of the definite article in the speech of the businessman when referring to his secretary. The UC participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability regarding the syntactic variable compared to the MC and LC participants.

Situation 14. The use of the definite article in the speech of the Chilean president of congress when referring to his wife in their home was unacceptable according to the majority of the participants from each social class. Similar to the results in Table 28 regarding the businessman, the UC participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability regarding the syntactic variable.

Situation 19. The UC participants were the only social class to reject the use of the definite article in the speech of the dentist when referring to his daughter in their home. The MC and LC participants accepted the use of the syntactic variable. According to the results in Table 29 concerning situation 19, it is possible that the social class of the participants influenced their opinion when they responded to the statement.

General opinion. The use of the definite article before a person's first name appears to be both acceptable and unacceptable among the MC and LC participants. The only participant group to reject the use of the definite article in situations 9, 14, and 19 was the UC participant group. For that matter, in situations 9 and 14 when each social class demonstrated the same majority opinion rejecting the syntactic variable, the UC participants consistently demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability. Given the results in Table 28, it does not appear that the social class of the individuals consistently influenced their opinion when responding to the situations regarding the use of the definite article. On the other hand, since the UC participants rejected the use of the definite article before a person's name in each situation and demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability in situations 9 and 14 compared to the MC and LC participants, it appears that the use of the definite article before a person's first name is more acceptable among the lower class than the upper class.

Age.

Table 29

Results of the Use of the Definite Article for Informal Situations regarding Age

| ARTICLE STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #9 | | Informal Situation #14 | | Informal Situation #19 | |
|--------------------|--|---------------|--|---------------|---|------------|
| | Me parece bien que un empresario, hablando con otra persona, se refiera a su secretaria como "la Isabel" en vez de "Isabel". | | Me suena normal que el presidente del Congreso se refiera a su esposa como "la María" en vez de "María" en su propia casa. | | Es natural que un dentista se refiera a su hija como "la Marta" en vez de "Marta" mientras habla con su esposa en casa. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| 18-30 (17) | 18% | 82% | 53% | 47% | 65% | 35% |
| 31-45 (19) | 47.50% | 52.50% | 26.50% | 73.50% | 53% | 47% |
| 46-60 (18) | 11% | 89% | 11% | 89% | 50% | 50% |
| 61+ (10) | 40% | 60% | 20% | 80% | 50% | 50% |

Situation 9. According to the majority of the participants from each age group, the use of the definite article when referring to his secretary in the speech of the businessman was

unacceptable. It is possible that the social expectation for a businessman and his secretary to maintain a certain degree of formality in their relationship influenced the opinion of the participants when they responded to the statement regarding situation 9. Consequently, that social expectation would be relevant in the case of the speech of the businessman while referring to his secretary when she is not present.

Situation 14. The 18–30 year-old participants felt that the use of the definite article when referring to his wife in their home was acceptable in the speech of the Chilean president of congress. The 31–45, 46-60 and the 61+ year-old participant groups rejected the use of the syntactic variable in the same social context. It is possible that the personal relationship between the Chilean president and his wife influenced the opinion of the youngest generation. Apparently, despite the occupation of an individual, it is acceptable for a husband to refer to his spouse using the definite article before her first name.

Situation 19. The 18–30 and 31–45 year-old participant groups accepted the use of the definite article in the speech of the dentist. On the other hand, of all of the 46-60 and 61+ year-old participant groups, 50% of the participants from each group accepted the use of the syntactic variable and 50% rejected it. In the case of the 18–30 and 31–45 year-old participants, it is possible that the referent in situation 19 (the dentist's daughter) was an influential factor when the responded to the statement.

General opinion. It appears that the use of the definite article before a person's first name was both acceptable and unacceptable among each age group. It is interesting to note the results in Table 29 concerning the opinion of the 18–30 year-old participants. In situation 9, the youngest generation rejected the use of the definite article in the speech of the businessman. It is possible that the social expectation for a co-workers to maintain a certain degree of formality in

their relationship influenced the opinion of the 18–30 year-olds. On the other hand, the 18–30 year-olds accepted the use of the definite article in the speech of the Chilean president of congress and the dentist when they referred to a family member in their home. The results in Table 29 regarding the 18–30 year-olds supports the fact that the younger generation tends to be more accepting of linguistic variables that depart from the standard norm in the speech of individuals of a speech community. Next, it is important to note the difference in opinion of the 31–45 year-old participants regarding the statements in situations 14 and 19.

The majority of the 31–45 year-old participants rejected the use of the definite article in the speech of the Chilean president of congress, but accepted the use of the definite article in the speech of the dentist. Both speakers usually belong to a high social class. It is likely that the relationship between the speaker and the referent influenced the opinion of the participants when responding to situations 14 and 19; the use of the definite article when referring to a spouse was unacceptable, but acceptable when referring to one's child.

Sex.

Table 30

Results of the Use of the Definite Article for Informal Situations regarding Sex

| ARTICLE STATEMENTS | Informal Situation #9 | | Informal Situation #14 | | Informal Situation #19 | |
|--------------------|--|------------|--|------------|---|---------------|
| | Me parece bien que un empresario, hablando con otra persona, se refiera a su secretaria como "la Isabel" en vez de "Isabel". | | Me suena normal que el presidente del Congreso se refiera a su esposa como "la María" en vez de "María" en su propia casa. | | Es natural que un dentista se refiera a su hija como "la Marta" en vez de "Marta" mientras habla con su esposa en casa. | |
| | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo | De Acuerdo | Desacuerdo |
| Total Males (37) | 27% | 73% | 30% | 70% | 59% | 41% |
| Total Females (27) | 29% | 71% | 29% | 71% | 44.50% | 55.50% |

Situation 9 and 14. The majority of both the male and female participants rejected the use of the definite article in the speech of the businessman when referring to his secretary. Similarly,

they rejected the use of the definite article in the speech of the Chilean president of congress when referring to his wife. In the case of the businessman, the male participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability toward the use of the syntactic variable. On the other hand, the female participants demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability. Nevertheless, it does not appear that the sex of the participants influenced their opinion when they responded the statements in situations 9 and 14.

Situation 19. Of all of the males who were administered the questionnaire, 59% felt it was acceptable for the dentist to use the definite article before the first name of his daughter when referring to her in their home while speaking with his wife. On the other hand, 55.5% of the female participants rejected the use of the syntactic variable in the same situation. The results in Table 30 regarding situation 19 support the idea that the male individuals of a linguistic community tend to be more accepting of linguistic variable that depart from the linguistic standard.

General opinion. It does not appear that the sex of the participants consistently influenced their opinion when they responded to the statements regarding the use of the definite article before a person's first name in the speech of the businessman, the president of congress or the dentist. The only instance where the sex of the participants seems to have been an influential factor was in the case of the use of the definite article in the speech of the dentist.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The purpose of the experiment was to verify subjective information (linguistic attitudes) of the natives of the city of Santiago regarding three linguistic variables. The study involved the evaluation of two phonetic variables: the assibilated realization of /tr/ and the fricative realization of /tʃ/, and one syntactic variable, the use of the Spanish singular definite article before the first name of an individual. The experiment itself consisted of a questionnaire containing two sections: 1) The personal information section which allowed for the categorization of the participants according to the social factors of social class, age and sex, and 2) statements including the phonetic or syntactic variable in question presented in formal and informal social situations. The participants responded positively or negatively to the statements in the questionnaire and the subjective data was tabulated and interpreted. The results produced from the questionnaires both support and negate the initial hypothesis.

The fricative realization of /tʃ/ was both acceptable and unacceptable in formal and informal situations of Spanish spoken in Santiago according to the participants who were administered the questionnaire. It did not appear that the formality or informality of the situation swayed the opinion of the participants when they responded to each statement. This is supported by the fact that in both formal and informal situations, the fricative realization of /tʃ/ was rejected in the speech of individual who belonged to high social classes. On the other hand, it appears as though the occupation of both speakers in each statement was an influential factor when the participants responded to each situation in the questionnaire. Further, it is unlikely that neither the social class of the participant nor the age of the participants influenced their opinion. On the other hand, the results for situation 4 in Table 8 presented interesting findings, in that as the

degree of acceptability of the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the speech of the peasant gradually increased as the social class of the individual decreased. It appears as though the sex of the participants did not consistently influence their opinion regarding the fricative realization of /tʃ/ in the formal and informal situations except in the speech of the farmer. Ultimately, the fricative realization of /tʃ/ was more acceptable among the lower classes; however, the fricative variant did not seem to be consistently more acceptable among the youngest generation or one particular age group.

The assibilated articulation of the /tr/ was both acceptable and unacceptable in a variety of formal situations according to the participants, but it is apparent that the assibilated variant was more acceptable in some formal situations than the fricative realization of /tʃ/. In fact, Ralph Penny states that "...although retracted/devoiced articulations are socioeconomically dominant, they may alternate with the 'standard' /tr/ at the highest social levels" (Penny, 2000). This statement is supported by the fact that while the interviewer conducted the surveys with the participants, he witnessed the stigmatized realization of /tr/ in the speech patterns of the upper class individuals who were interviewed. It seems that the linguistic attitudes themselves do not drive the unconscious articulation of some utterance in Spanish. Linguistic attitudes are conscious thoughts regarding the speech patterns of an individual yet originate from attitudes towards the speakers themselves.

Besides the formal situations, the assibilated realization of /tr/ was presented in four informal situations. It appears that the realization of the assibilated variant was both acceptable and unacceptable according to the opinion of the participants who were administered the questionnaire. Similar to the findings regarding the assibilated realization of /tr/ in the formal situations, it appears as though the influential factor that swayed the opinion of the participants

when responding the statements concerning the informal situations was the occupation of the speaker in each statement. It is not likely that the social class, age or sex of the participants was an influential factor since the participants in each group consistently demonstrated the same opinion with few exceptions.

When the participants were divided among social class, each participant group demonstrated the same opinion except in the case of situation 7 which portrayed a taxi driver driving through the city. The UC and LC participants accepted the assimilated realization of /tr/ and the MC participants rejected it. When the participants were divided into different age groups, the 18–30 year-old participants accepted the assimilated realization of /tr/ in the speech of the politician whereas the 31–45, 46–60 and the 61+ year-old groups rejected it. Further in the case of situations 13 and 20, even though each age group accepted the assimilated variant in the speech of the fruit vendor and the taxi driver (portrayed in the bar with his co-workers), the 18–30 year-old participant group consistently demonstrated a greater degree of acceptability in their response compared to the older generations. Finally, when the participants were separated according to sex, the only case where the male and female participants differed in opinion was the case of the taxi driver in the cab. The results in Table 22 regarding situation 7 showed that 53% of the male participants rejected the assimilated realization of /tr/ and 51% of the females accepted it.

It is apparent that the use of the definite article when referring to another person was unacceptable in the speech of the doctor, the lawyer and the maid in each formal situation. Not one instance occurred where a participant group felt the use of the syntactic variable was acceptable. When the participants were separated into social class, the UC participants consistently demonstrated a greater degree of unacceptability over the MC and LC participants. Further, when the results of the participants were analyzed according to age, the 61+ year-olds

consistently demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability. Lastly, the prevailing opinion among the male and female participants rejected the use of the definite article. Ultimately, it does not appear that the social class, age or sex of the participants consistently influenced their opinion when responding to the statements in situations 1, 18, and 16. On the other hand, since the LC participants and the youngest generation consistently demonstrated lesser degrees of unacceptability, it is possible that the use of the definite article before a proper name was more accepted among both participant groups.

The use of the definite article before a person's first name was both acceptable and unacceptable in a variety of informal situations. According to the majority of the male and female participants who were administered the questionnaire. The use of the definite article was consistently rejected in the speech of the businessman and the Chilean president of congress. In those cases, it does not appear that the sex of the participants was an influential factor when they responded to each the statements regarding situations 9 and 14. Similarly, even though the UC participants consistently demonstrated the greatest degree of unacceptability regarding the use of the definite article compared to the MC and LC participants, it does not appear that the social class of the individuals influenced their opinion. Lastly, the use of the definite article in situations 9, 14 and 19 was both acceptable and unacceptable according to the results in Table 29. In some of the cases, it appears that there were a number of extra-linguistic factors pertaining to the speakers and the referents in the situations that influenced the opinion of the participants when responding to the situations regarding the use of the definite article in the three informal situations. It is possible that the relationships between co-workers, the relationship between a husband and a wife, and the relationship between a parent and a child were influential factors.

All in all, my original hypothesis was that the use of the definite article was widely acceptable among each social class, age group and both sexes. It appears that the use of the definite article before a person's first name in various formal and informal situations was highly unacceptable.

Recommendations

The present experiment provides procedures and results that are preliminary in nature. The project is limited to the study of the fricative realization of /tʃ/, the assibilated realization of /tr/ and the use of the definite article before an individual's first name. Likewise, the study presents results gathered from a subjective questionnaire regarding the linguistic attitudes of 64 participants who were natives from Santiago, Chile concerning the social acceptability of the two phonetic variables and the one syntactic variable. To determine whether the social factors consistently influence linguistic variation in Santiago, Chile a number of measures must be taken. First, it is important to study a wider variety of variables from every sub-field of the study of general linguistics. Second, to better obtain a diverse distribution of the variables according to each social factor, it is important to interview a larger quantity of individuals rather than one or two individuals from each social class. Next, the results presented in this study are based upon percentages derived from the questionnaires. It is important to test the data using readily available programs that aid in the analysis of similar experiments. Thus incorporating every sub-field of linguistics, a greater number of participants and more sophisticated instruments for analysis, one can illustrate the direct correlation between social factors and linguistic variables in a speech community.

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1. Me parece bien que un abogado diga la palabra ‘ministro’ así “...” delante del jurado durante un juicio.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

2. Es normal que un doctor, al referirse a una paciente en el hospital, diga “la Juana” en vez de “Juana”.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

3. Me suena bien si un político, mientras da un discurso sobre el estado del país por la tele, dice la palabra “Chile” así “...”.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

4. Me suena natural oír a un taxista decir la palabra “tráfico” así “...” mientras maneja el auto por la ciudad.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

5. Me parece bien que un huaso pronuncie la palabra “muchacho” así “...” mientras trabaja con sus colegas en la granja.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

6. Es normal que un doctor diga la palabra “chiquilla” así “...” hablando con su niña en la casa.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

7. Me suena normal que el presidente del Congreso se refiera a su esposa como “La María” en vez de “María” en su propia casa.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

8. Me parece bien que un ama de casa al confesarse con el sacerdote diga la palabra “trabajo” así “...”.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

9. Es aceptable que un huaso diga “otro” así “...” hablando con un misionero norteamericano.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

10. Me suena aceptable que un estudiante de la Universidad de Santiago diga “cuatro” así “...” hablando con su profesor de matemáticas en una reunión privada.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

11. Es normal oír un agricultor decir “trabajo” así “...”, hablando con el médico en la clínica.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

12. No es aceptable que un hombre que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra “traer” así “...” al hablar con una persona en la calle.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

13. Me parece bien que un agricultor diga la palabra “choca” así “...” al confesarse con un sacerdote.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

14. Me parece bien que un empresario, hablando con otra persona, se refiera a su secretaria como “la Isabel” en vez de “Isabel”.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

15. Es aceptable que una empleada de casa, mientras habla con el dueño de la casa, se refiera a la dueña como “la Marisa” en vez de “Marisa”.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

16. Me parece bien que el abogado al hablar con el doctor en el hospital en cuanto a su esposa diga “la Bárbara” en lugar de decir “Bárbara”.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

17. Es natural que un dentista se refiera a su hija como “la Marta” en vez de “Marta” mientras habla con su esposa en casa.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

18. Me parece aceptable que un político diga la palabra ministro así “...” mientras habla con su esposa en casa.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

19. No me suena aceptable que un taxista diga “tránsito” así “...” mientras habla con sus colegas en el bar.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

20. Me parece bien que un estudiante diga “Chile” así “...” mientras habla con un político en una entrevista.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

21. No es aceptable que un empresario diga la palabra “chica” así “...” mientras habla con su novia en un restaurante.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

22. Es normal que alguien que vende frutas en la calle pronuncie la palabra “mientras” así “...” confesándose con un sacerdote.

| Muy de acuerdo | De acuerdo | En desacuerdo | Muy en desacuerdo |
|----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |