

**TEACHERS' TALK ABOUT TALK: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE SOCIAL
MEANING OF VARIATION IN BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA**

by

Veronica Lifrieri

BA, University of Buenos Aires, 1993

MA, University of Pittsburgh, 2005

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
the Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2014

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
THE DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Veronica Lifrieri

It was defended on

April 29, 2014

and approved by

Dr. Christina B. Paulston, Professor Emerita, Department of Linguistics

Dr. Barbara Johnstone, Professor, Department of English, Carnegie Mellon University

Dr. Gonzalo Lamana, Associate Professor, Department of Hispanic Languages and Literatures

Dr. Shelome Gooden, Associate Professor, Department of Linguistics

Dissertation Advisor: Dr. Scott F. Kiesling, Associate Professor, Department of Linguistics

Copyright © by Veronica Lifrieri

2014

**TEACHERS' TALK ABOUT TALK: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE SOCIAL
MEANING OF VARIATION IN BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA**

Veronica Lifrieri, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2014

My dissertation investigates the (re)creation of folk beliefs about language among educators (i.e. teachers, principals and vice-principals) from elementary schools in Buenos Aires, Argentina. By drawing from Folk Linguistics/Perceptual Dialectology and Sociocultural Linguistics, my dissertation examines how educators' explicit metapragmatic talk enacts recurrent characterizations and valorizations of four salient linguistic variables of Buenos Aires (BA) Spanish. The variables included in this study are: (1) the pronominal system of deference, (2) *yeísmo*, (3) syllable-final /s/ production, and (4) the use of English. Explicit metapragmatic comments about these variables were elicited by a perceptual task, and obtained through semi-structured interviews with thirty-two educators from public, private and semi-private schools in the northern metropolitan area of Buenos Aires. My discourse analysis of these interviews shows how the variables are linked to different social categories, and participate in local social registers. My findings extend sociolinguistic knowledge about the stereotypical meanings of these linguistic variables in BA Spanish, and provide discursive evidence of how uses and users of different linguistic features are perceived and valued differently by educators in Buenos Aires. Given the decisive role of educators' attitudes towards language varieties on students' school performance and interrelationships, my dissertation offers a foundation for developing much-needed sociolinguistic training among educators in Buenos Aires.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	XI
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION.....	5
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
2.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION IN EDUCATION	7
2.1.1 The role of teachers	15
2.2 STUDYING THE SOCIAL MEANING OF VARIATION.....	21
2.2.1 The Socio-cultural Linguistic Approach	23
2.2.2 Folk metapragmatics in metalinguistic talk.....	29
2.2.3 Metasociolinguistic stances as metapragmatic resources	37
3.0 THE STUDY.....	42
3.1 SPANISH IN BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA	42
3.2 THE VARIABLES.....	45
3.3 THE PARTICIPANTS	46
3.4 THE INSTRUMENTS.....	50
3.4.1 Perceptual task.....	50
3.4.2 Imitation task	54
3.4.3 Semi-structured interviews.....	55

4.0	THE ANALYSIS	56
4.1	TEACHERS' TALK ABOUT THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM OF DEFERENCE	58
4.1.1	Introduction	58
4.1.2	The ethnometapragmatics of <i>vos</i>	62
4.1.3	The ethnometapragmatics of <i>usted</i>	75
4.1.4	The ethnometapragmatics of <i>vos</i> + <i>boludo/a</i>	92
4.1.5	Discussion of past and present findings.....	100
4.2	TEACHERS' TALK ABOUT <i>YEÍSMO</i>	102
4.2.1	Introduction	102
4.2.2	The ethnometapragmatics of <i>yeísmo</i>	104
4.2.3	Discussion of past and present findings.....	118
4.3	TEACHERS' TALK ABOUT SYLLABLE-FINAL /S/ PRODUCTION... ..	120
4.3.1	Introduction	120
4.3.2	The ethnometapragmatics of syllable-final /s/ aspiration and deletion..	121
4.3.3	Discussion of past and present findings.....	142
4.4	TEACHERS' ABOUT THE USE OF ENGLISH.....	144
4.4.1	Introduction	144
4.4.2	The ethnometapragmatics of using English words.....	146
4.4.3	Discussion of past and present findings.....	160
5.0	DISCUSSION	162
6.0	CONCLUSION.....	180

6.1	OUTLINE FOR AN IN-SERVICE TRAINING COURSE ON DIALECT	
	AWARENESS COURSE	185
APPENDIX A		189
APPENDIX B		195
BIBLIOGRAPHY		207

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Number and percentage of educators in my sample according to age categories in CND.	
.....	48
Table 2. Verbal forms for <i>vos</i> in BA Spanish contrasted with verbal forms of <i>tú</i> in other varieties.	
.....	58

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Use of <i>vos</i> + <i>boludo</i> , female speaker: ¿Podés cambiar el horario, boludo?	195
Figure 2. Use of <i>vos</i> + <i>boludo</i> , male speaker: ¿Podés cambiar el horario, boludo?	196
Figure 3. Use of <i>usted</i> , female speaker: ¿Puede cambiar el horario?	196
Figure 4. Use of <i>usted</i> , male speaker: ¿Puede cambiar el horario?.....	197
Figure 5. Voiced <i>yeísmo</i> , female speaker: Ya voy para allá.....	197
Figure 6. Voiced <i>yeísmo</i> , male speaker: Ya voy para allá.....	198
Figure 7. Voiceless <i>yeísmo</i> , female speaker: Ya voy para allá.....	198
Figure 8. Voiceless <i>yeísmo</i> , male speaker: Ya voy para allá.....	199
Figure 9. Aspiration of /s/, female speaker: Estamos bien.	199
Figure 10. Aspiration of /s/, male speakers: Estamos bien.	200
Figure 11. Deletion of /s/, female speaker: Estamos bien.....	200
Figure 12. Deletion of /s/, male speaker: Estamos bien.....	201
Figure 13. High-frequency words, Spanish, female speaker: ¿Me das el lápiz, por favor?	201
Figure 14. High-frequency words, Spanish, male speaker: ¿Me das el lápiz, por favor?	202
Figure 15. High-frequency words, Hispanicized English, female speaker: ¿Me das el lápiz, por favor?	202
Figure 16. High-frequency words, Hispanicized English, male speaker: ¿Me das el lápiz, por favor?	203

Figure 17. Low-frequency words, Spanish, female speaker: <i>Tengo que ser amable</i>	203
Figure 18. Low-frequency words, Spanish, male speaker: <i>Tengo que ser amable</i>	204
Figure 19. Low-frequency words, Hispanicized English, female speaker: <i>Tengo que ser</i> polite.	204
Figure 20. Low-frequency words, Hispanicized English, male speaker: <i>Tengo que ser</i> polite..	205
Figure 21. Low-frequency, Anglicized pronunciation, female speaker: <i>Tengo que ser</i> polite...	205
Figure 22. Low-frequency words, Anglicized pronunciation, male speaker: <i>Tengo que ser</i> polite.	206

PREFACE

Completing this dissertation has been a long and winding process from which I have learned invaluable lessons. Most of these lessons have come from those who accompanied me at some point or other along this journey, from the moment I embarked on my doctorate. Unfortunately, I cannot mention you all by name here, but if you ever read this, I would like you to know I am extremely thankful.

In particular, I would like to thank all the educators in Buenos Aires, Argentina, who believed in, and generously contributed their time and thoughts to my project. *Les agradezco a todos los docentes en Buenos Aires que participaron de mi estudio por su disposición, su tiempo y sus opiniones.* Two people were critical in the process of recruiting interviewees. A fellow sociolinguist from Buenos Aires, Ana Maria Martirena, with whom I frequently discussed my ideas over the phone and over coffee, and my sister, Valentina Lifrieri, who enthusiastically enlisted acquaintances and colleagues on my project. *Gracias, Ana y Val.*

I am deeply grateful to the members of my dissertation committee for their insightful comments, and their generosity and encouragement. I am indebted to Dr. Scott Kiesling, my dissertation advisor, and Dr. Christina B. Paulston for being unwavering forces and caring mentors all these years. I am honored to have been able to learn how to look at the world sociolinguistically from such knowledgeable scholars and giving teachers. I am also thankful to Dr. Barbara Johnstone for her advice in developing this dissertation project. Her passion for

discourse analysis, and extensive study of ‘Pittsburghese’ have greatly inspired my work in this dissertation, and beyond. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Gonzalo Lamana and Dr. Shelome Gooden for their incisive questions and observations.

My fellow graduate students in Pittsburgh were always an incredible source of support, ideas, and much-needed distraction. In particular, I want to thank Veronica Szabo for her hugs, our walks in Friendship, and her amazing hospitality.

At home, in Argentina, my heartfelt thanks go to all my fellow Argentinians who supported my public education from preschool through college. This dissertation is also the result of your belief in an education for all.

My father Néstor, and my mother Olga, deserve the bigger thanks of all. *Muchas gracias por el amor, la afección por conocer y la confianza que me permitieron volar tan lejos y con tanta libertad.* And, last but not least, I could not be completing my doctoral studies, and have such a wonderful daughter without my life partner Kai Heidemann. I thank you both for your endless patience and understanding.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Schools have an active role in the socialization of new generations into local uses, beliefs and valorizations of language, and thus in the reproduction or change of societal views. However, the recurrent reproduction of folk misconceptions about language in education affects the status and treatment of different language varieties in schools. As a result, some varieties are appreciated (e.g. standard varieties) while others are stigmatized (e.g. vernacular varieties). In particular, several studies have long shown that teachers' assumptions and attitudes based on the language used by their students play a decisive role in student achievement and self-confidence (e.g. Choy & Dobb 1976, DeMeis & Turner 1978, Giles 1971, Piché, Rubin, Turner & Michlin 1978, Rist 1970, Williams, Whitehead & Traupmann 1971, Williams, Whitehead & Miller 1972).

In the US, public debates and teacher training initiatives have improved the situation of students who speak non-standard varieties of English such as African American English (AAVE). In Buenos Aires, Argentina, debates on linguistic diversity in schools are less prominent, and have not yielded systematic efforts to provide teachers with the necessary linguistic tools to better deal with nonstandard varieties. As a result, educators' discourses about language can be expected to more often reproduce rather than challenge folk ideas and beliefs about language, with potential negative consequences especially for the children involved as demonstrated by the debates over African American English (AAVE) in US schools (e.g. Pullum 1999, Wolfram 1998).

In order to investigate the circulation of folk beliefs about language in elementary schools in Buenos Aires, my dissertation looks at how explicit metalinguistic talk – or talk about language – produced by educators from these schools enacts language ideologies about stereotypical linguistic forms of Buenos Aires Spanish (hereinafter, BA Spanish). Language ideologies, according to Michael Silverstein (1979), are “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (in Woolard 1998: 4). Articulating beliefs about language typically involves more than just representing language: it entails the discursive (re)creation of social worlds, with linguistic and non-linguistic resources as well as social categories and values being integrated and interrelated in systems of meaning called “registers” (Agha 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007). By analyzing how elementary school educators recurrently view and value linguistic variation, my dissertation also presents evidence of how the social landscape in Buenos Aires is systematically partitioned, organized and interpreted in relation to language.

In Agha’s view, registers can be observed and studied through “metapragmatic stereotypes,” i.e. “patterns of typifications that recur in the evaluative behaviors of many speakers” (2005: 26). Following Agha’s view, my first research question asks what metapragmatic stereotypes emerge in the teachers’ metalinguistic discourse about particular variants of BA Spanish. In other words, what values, social categories, and (non-)linguistic resources do the teachers associate with these variants? My study takes explicit metalinguistic (also metapragmatic) talk as a particularly rich source of discourses that communicate beliefs about language, and thus as a privileged site for the study of Agha’s registers. Scholars within folk linguistics/perceptual dialectology (e.g. Preston 1986, 1993, 2000, 2004, and Niedzielsky & Preston 2003) have based a great part of their research program on the elicitation and analysis of

folk commentary about dialectal differences. In addition, work from other sociolinguistic approaches has shown the relevance of discourse-analytic perspectives on metalinguistic talk for understanding sociolinguistic variation (e.g. Brown 2006, Johnstone & Kiesling 2008, Johnstone 2007, Kristiansen 2004, Laihonon 2008, Sclafani 2008).

In order to delve into the discursive construction of metalinguistic talk, my study combines conceptual and methodological tools from folk linguistics/perceptual dialectology with theoretical and discourse analytical contributions from the sociocultural linguistic approach (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). I particularly draw from Jaffe's (2009a, b) notion of "metasociolinguistic stances" defined as speakers' orientations towards sociolinguistic relationships and beliefs. My second research question then asks what metasociolinguistic stances do the teachers recurrently take in their talk about variants of BA Spanish? And, how do metasociolinguistic stances contribute to the meaning of the registers associated with the variables?

My study relies upon, and extends extant dialectal and variationist work that describes linguistic variants of BA Spanish as well as the distribution of these variants across standard demographic categories. This dissertation focuses on four linguistic variables of BA Spanish: (1) the pronominal system of deference (*vos*, *usted*, and *vos + boludo* [asshole]), (2) *yeísmo*, or the pronunciation of orthographic 'y' and 'll' as fricatives, (3) the aspiration or deletion of /s/ in syllable-final position before a consonant, and (4) the use of English. The findings reported here are based on thirty-two interviews with elementary school educators (teachers, vice-principals and principals) working at several public, private and semi-private schools in the northern part of the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires (or Gran Buenos Aires). Each recorded interview lasted between 1.5/2 hours, and was divided into a semi-structured component, and a perceptual task

modeled on the matched-guise test (Lambert, Giles, Gardner & Fillerbaum 1967). During the interview, interviewees provided demographic and professional information, responded general questions about language in Buenos Aires, listened to ten pairs of phrases (five recorded by a female speaker, and five recorded by a male speaker) containing the linguistic variables listed above, and responded questions about their perception of the variables.

For the discourse analysis of the interviews, I looked for patterns of lexical choices denoting attributes, personae, places, activities or events which were explicitly linked to the variables in order to establish recurrent associations, and characterizations of such associations. Following Agha's conceptualization of registers, I noted typifications of (1) linguistic and non-linguistic resources, (2) pragmatic values, and (3) the social distributions associated with the variables in the interviews. I also conducted a more in-depth discourse analysis of extracts from the interviews in order to show how the variables are discursively related to particular categories. In this case, I paid attention to how patterns of discursive and rhetorical resources are mobilized in constructing metasociolinguistic stances.

My analysis shows that overall the interviewees' talk enacts, and thus reproduces, metapragmatic stereotypes found in extant dialectal and variationist literature on the variables. The qualitative nature of my study, however, provides a more detailed and multi-faceted view of the relationships and values ascribed to the linguistic forms. One of the main findings of my analyses is the relevance of two local registers in the educators' comments about the variants which are linked to two social personae: the *(con)cheto* and the *villero*. These personae and the (non)linguistic repertoires associated with them are defined with respect to socio-economic status, which supports observations outside of sociolinguistics about the prevalence of class-based distinctions in Argentina (e.g. Frigerio 2006, Margulis 1997). But other notions such as

incorrectness and femininity are also relevant in the typification of the registers. I explain the relationships between these notions as “indirect indexicality”, following Ochs (1992) and Kiesling (2008). I show that indirect indexicality can be understood as the result of two discursive practices: the personification and spatialization of speech in explicit metapragmatic discourse.

In addition, my dissertation explores how, in displaying positions towards and valorizations of the variants and the social categories associated with them, educators take stances towards sociolinguistic relationships and beliefs about the variants. In other words, I argue that metasociolinguistic stances function as typifying resources in metapragmatic discourse. In my study, I argue that educators may take positive (i.e. sanctioning) or negative (i.e. challenging or disapproving) stances towards particular use(s) of the variants, and similar or different metasociolinguistic stances towards the relationships and beliefs underlying those uses. Thus, the focus on stancetaking allows us to reveal the complex interaction of different – sometimes even contradictory – orientations and valorizations of language use.

1.1 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2.0 provides the theoretical and conceptual background of my study. In the first section, I discuss the interest in, and study of linguistic variation in educational institutions, especially in the US and Europe (2.1). I particularly focus on research that investigates how teachers’ attitudes and beliefs towards language use can negatively affect students’ learning outcomes. I then turn to trace the study of the social meaning of variation within sociolinguistics, from dialectal and variationist work to the newly established

approach of socio-cultural linguistics (2.2). I situate and develop the main conceptual framework of my study within this approach, and I ground the need to explore explicit metapragmatic discourse by drawing from folk linguistic/ perceptual dialectology. As I discuss existing literature and develop my arguments for this study, I also pose the questions that lead my research.

Chapter 3.0 contains all aspects related to my study. There, I provide detailed information about and reasons for the choice of my case (3.1), the variables (3.2), the participants (3.3), and the instruments (3.4). Chapter 4.0 presents the analyses of the interviews, with each of the four sections dedicated to the ethnometapragmatics of one variable: *usted/vos/vos + boludo/a* (4.1), voiced and voiceless *yeísmo* (4.2), /s/ deletion and aspiration (4.3), and the use of English (4.4). In Chapter 5.0 I discuss and explain my main findings of this study in light of the framework I described in Chapter 2. Finally, Chapter 6.0 summarizes my conclusions, and discusses possible avenues for future research. Importantly, in this chapter, I develop an outline for a training course for in-service teachers in Buenos Aires based on Wheeler and Swords' (2006, 2010) methodology and applying some of the findings from this dissertation (6.1). Chapter 6 is followed by two appendices. In Appendix A, I provide the interview guide as well as the design and directions for the perceptual and imitations tasks I used to collect the data for my study (p. 189). In Appendix B, I provide spectrograms and waveforms of the stimuli I used in my perceptual task (p. 195). The appendices are followed by the list of bibliographic sources used in this dissertation.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION IN EDUCATION

Sociolinguistics has been devoted to the study of systematic linguistic variation related to socio-cultural distinctions.¹ One of the most important premises of sociolinguistic work has been that language varieties are all grammatically structured and rule-governed, while different in some of their structural characteristics and meanings attributed to them (Labov 1969, and Trudgill 1975 are two of the earliest attempts). Among non-linguists, by contrast, language varieties are often conceived and treated as intrinsically unequal in value, with some varieties being appreciated and others stigmatized. Such consistent misconception about linguistic variation has a broad negative impact, especially on speakers of stigmatized varieties, but also on the relationships between speakers of different varieties.

One public area that has received much attention by scholars interested in popular beliefs about language is formal education. Because of their active role in language socialization, educational institutions are viewed as sites where uses, beliefs and valorizations of language are recreated. Baquedano-López and Kattan (2008) argue that “(a)t the core of language socialization studies that look at school contexts is the notion that schools play a role in

¹ Here, Sociolinguistics is used in a restricted sense, and refers to the study of language variation. However, Sociolinguistics understood more broadly as the study of language in society also encompasses the work done in areas such as the Sociology of Language (see, for instance, Paulston & Tucker 1997).

reproducing the social order” (p. 161). The scholarship on language in school contexts has argued that popular beliefs about language are usually recreated by educational policy, school curricula and school educators (e.g. Cummins 1997). The recreation of popular beliefs about language in educational institutions typically entails that not all languages and language varieties (as well as their speakers) are treated equally in schools. Whereas some languages and language varieties may be favored by educational policies, included in the school curricula, and appreciated and encouraged by educators, other languages and language varieties may be excluded, rejected and/or discouraged.

Scholars that investigate the recreation of linguistic inequalities in schools have discussed some of the prevalent popular beliefs or *ideologies* about language that contribute to the inclusion or exclusion of languages or language varieties in schools. Siegel (2006) summarizes four main ideological positions that affect language more or less directly: “egalitarian pluralism”, “equal opportunity”, the “standard language”, and “monolingualism”. The first two of these ideological positions, namely, the ideologies of “egalitarian pluralism” and of “equal opportunity”, are more encompassing: they concern students’ language as well as other resources such as students’ knowledge, values and skills. Egalitarian pluralism, on the one hand, sustains that “despite differences in race, ethnicity, language, values and life styles, there is a basic equality among different cultural groups and with mutual respect and understanding, they can live happily together” (2006: 159). On the other hand, the ideology of “equal opportunity” conceives of schooling as the way in which, regardless of life circumstances, anyone can succeed by working hard. Siegel sustains that what these two ideologies have in common is an uncritical disregard or underestimation of the role of power in social organization.

From a perspective that takes into account the fact that societies are riddled with power struggles, language and language varieties have different statuses. The high or low status of these linguistic repertoires influences their level of recognition in institutional spheres – such as schools. And the level of recognition in institutional spheres in turn contributes to maintain (rather than challenge) the high or low status of linguistic repertoires (for the relation between power and language, see for example Bourdieu 1991, Fairclough 1989). Educational and life opportunities are indeed very much affected by the status of the linguistic practices acquired outside school. Therefore, by not recognizing these status differences, the ideologies of egalitarian pluralism and equal opportunity contribute to reproduce inequalities within mainstream education.

The other two ideological positions discussed by Siegel are the “standard language” ideology and the ideology of “monolingualism”. These ideologies have been described and discussed at length by various language scholars [see references in Siegel (2006)]. These are usually called *language ideologies* because they involve ideas and discourses that target linguistic phenomena in particular. Silverstein, for instance, has defined them as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (in Woolard 1998: 4). Through their direct focus on language, these “sets of beliefs” importantly create and reproduce images of speakers, their social identities, and their relationships to other social actors, to places and institutions. The ideology of a “standard language” involves “beliefs about the superiority of the language of dominant groups” (Siegel 2006: 161). That is, for specific socio-historical reasons, one language variety becomes enshrined as a ‘standard’ to the detriment of so-called ‘vernacular’ varieties. The linguistic

practices of non-dominant groups are usually considered inferior to the standard, and thus regarded unfit for use in schools.

The ideology of “monolingualism”, on the other hand, is deeply rooted in the notion that nations are unified linguistic entities. Monolingualism predicates that a single language and language variety is an essential part of a nation’s identity. The ideology of “monolingualism” is often at the core of widely-held positions that either reject or fail to recognize multilingualism and multidialectalism as viable options within schools. The ideologies of standard language and monolingualism then contribute to undermine the needs and rights of speakers of non-dominant languages and language varieties.

Research on language in school contexts across the world has particularly shown that such beliefs permeate crucial areas of education such as language-in-education policy, school curricula, and classroom interaction (e.g. Bambgose 2000, Hornberger 2005, Massini-Cagliari 2004, Pavlou & Papapavlou 2004, Siegel 1999, 2007, Tollefson 2002, Wiley & Wright 2004, Wolfram 1998). For the students involved, these ideologies have a deep negative impact on interpersonal relations between students, as well as on student achievement and self-confidence. Examples of the negative effects of these ideologies are students’ “negative attitudes and self-image”, “repression of self-expression”, and “difficulty in acquiring literacy” (Siegel 1999: 509-510).

In the United States, sociolinguists as well as other language experts have engaged in a long-standing and enriching public debate about the role of other languages – especially creoles (e.g. Siegel 2007), indigenous languages (e.g. McCarty 2003), and Spanish (e.g. Beaudrie & Fairclough 2012) –, and vernacular varieties of English – most notably, African American (e.g. Lanehart 2001, Ramirez & Carpenter 2005), but also Lumbee American Indian (e.g. Wolfram &

Dannenberg 1999), and Appalachian English (e.g. Heilman 2004) – in US schools. Sociolinguists have been actively committed to this debate by describing the sociolinguistic dynamics of these languages and language varieties, but also by addressing the language ideological underpinnings of mainstream educational policies and pedagogical practices.

For sociolinguists in the US, the recognition of African American Vernacular English (also known as AAVE) in schools has been a central concern and the object of research and public debate for several decades. William Labov's (1969) *The Logic of Nonstandard English* is considered a landmark article in the sociolinguistic literature about the role of popular misconceptions about AAVE-speaking children in school contexts. In his article, Labov argued that the low achievement of AAVE-speaking children in schools was not due to 'deficiencies' in the children's language context and acquisition, but rather to how differences between AAVE and 'school English' were conceived and handled in the classrooms. Typically, the features that characterize AAVE are taken as 'mistakes'; AAVE is seen as a 'broken language', and AAVE-speaking children are considered 'lazy' for not adopting 'school English'.

The debate over the recognition of AAVE in schools reached a pinnacle with the so-called 'Ebonics controversy' in the late 1990s. To understand the context, the Ebonics controversy ensued from the decision of the Oakland School Board to recognize AAVE as a distinct variety of English, and to include AAVE in the Language Arts Program. The decision of the Oakland School Board reached the media, and generated a heated public debate over the status of AAVE, its contrast with school English, and the consequences of its potential recognition in classrooms and school curricula. The debates that ensued revealed some of the most entrenched myths and prejudices about AAVE and AAVE speakers. Well-known sociolinguists as well as the Linguistics Society of America (LSA) made their positions in the

debate public, and became very actively involved in explaining the linguistic misconceptions that prevented AAVE-speaking children from reaching their full potentials at school (see Collins 1999, Pullum 1999, Rickford 1999, and Wolfram 1998 for some analyses of the controversy).

While the effects have not been as widespread, enduring and systematic, these controversies and discussions about language in the US have led to some improvements in the situation of speakers of AAVE (and of other nonstandard varieties of English) in US schools. There are at least three ways in which these public sociolinguistic debates can be said to have started to redress the unjust situation of speakers of nonstandard varieties of English in US schools. First, in asserting the legitimacy of AAVE, these debates have raised awareness in education about the non-deficient nature of ‘non-standard’ varieties of English. Second, these debates have introduced the notions of bi- or multidialectalism and dialectal code-switching as ways of conceiving of, and dealing with different varieties of English in schools. By proposing “additive dialect methods” of teaching language, advocates of the bi- and multidialectalism approach have offered pedagogical tools that help promote the value and legitimacy of children’s dialectal repertoires without disregarding the importance of acquiring ‘standard’ repertoires (Hazen 2008). Third, these developments in turn have paved the way for important language initiatives in educational policy and planning in the US such as the establishment of several bi-dialectal and bilingual programs, as well as the development of different methods (e.g. contrastive analysis, critical dialectal awareness) (Alim 2005). Sociolinguists in the US have been playing a dynamic role in turning the public eye to linguistic inequality in schools, and in devising, proposing and implementing educational projects to counteract such inequalities.

Similar debates have also occurred in other parts of the world. In Germany, for example, Rosenberg (1989) describes the emergence of the “language barrier” debate in the 1970s that

construed German dialects as obstacles to communication, the acquisition of academic knowledge, and socioeconomic success. The ‘language barrier’ debate led to the publication of Besch and Löffler’s (1977) *Dialekt/Hochsprache – Kontrastiv* book series, which was written as a resource for German teachers in order to deal with dialectally-diverse classrooms. In the UK, a discussion about standard vs. nonstandard varieties in education was sparked by the work of sociologist Basil Bernstein in the 1960s, who proposed a theory of “elaborate” vs. “restricted” codes that were interpreted as class-based linguistic distinctions (Cheshire, Edwards, Münstermann, & Weltens 1989). Bernstein’s proposal had repercussions inside and outside the UK that led, according to Cheshire *et al.* (1989), to the deficit vs. difference debates in the 1970s.

One important development that resulted from these debates in the UK was the emergence of the so-called ‘British Language Awareness Movement’ (James 1999). Preoccupation with language acquisition was propelled by several reports commissioned by the British government on the state of education in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. the *Crowther Report* of 1959, and the *Bullock Report* of 1975). These reports referred to the low literacy levels attained by primary and secondary school students in the UK. The Language Awareness Movement, as a collective effort within education to recognize the centrality of reflecting on linguistic variation and language use, indeed started as a grassroots endeavor by a group of teachers who brought language awareness into the schools (Donmall-Hicks 1997, James 1999). The Language Awareness Movement has led to key initiatives that have strengthened the role of linguistics in education in the UK. Some of the initiatives have resulted in, for example, the implementation of linguistic programs for pre-service and in-service teachers, the production of materials for schools, and the foundation of the *Language Awareness Journal*.

The Language Awareness Movement was successful in drawing the public eye towards dealing with language diversity in British schools. This interest in legitimizing children's linguistic repertoires in school has also resulted in the development of critical perspectives within Language Awareness. The approach known as Critical Language Awareness (CLA) is often attributed to the work of Norman Fairclough and colleagues since the beginning of the 1990s (e.g. Clark, Fairclough, Ivanič, & Martin-Jones 1990, 1991, Fairclough 1992). In this work, proponents of CLA argue that, while Language Awareness promotes the understanding of different language practices through explicit linguistic knowledge and discussion, this approach fails to provide resources for grappling with the power and ideological issues embedded in those practices. In short, CLA emphasizes the need for analyzing and de-naturalizing the meanings of everyday practices concerning language in order to promote linguistic equality inside and outside of schools. As Alim (2005) explains, "CLA developed as a means to go beyond cognitive awareness and move towards social and political consciousness-raising and action, thus radically transforming most 'language and dialect awareness' approaches (p. 215)

These debates about the need for recognizing the legitimacy of language varieties in education have led to an active research agenda into the particular dilemmas of language socialization at formal educational institutions. Language socialization, according to P. Duff (2010), consists in "the acquisition of linguistic, pragmatic and other cultural knowledge through social experience" (p. 427). That is, language socialization involves developing socio-culturally specific ways of communicating through interactions with other language users. In particular, scholars of language and education have been concerned with how different aspects of formal education contribute to socialize students into sociolinguistic beliefs and values that reproduce the social order, and thus maintain social inequalities. In particular, teachers' attitudes, beliefs

and expectations relative to students' linguistic repertoires have been found to play a decisive role.

2.1.1 The role of teachers

A great deal of research in the US and the UK during the 1960s and 1970s was fueled by the need to discover the reasons for the low literacy skills among African American and West Indian students respectively. A central finding of this early wave of studies was that dialectal differences between the home and school language varieties had a major influence on the students' acquisition of reading and writing skills. In general, users of low-status varieties like AAVE were found to display a lower performance than users of high-status varieties (Goodman & Buck 1973, Labov 1995, 2001). Harber and Bryen (1976), for instance, report findings from Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld & York (1966) and Cohen (1969) indicating a one-to-three grade level delay in reading in northeastern US schools, in particular among African American students. The dramatic reading failure of AAVE speakers brought about much research into describing the structure of AAVE, and into how AAVE differed from standard English (Labov 1995). In the UK, scholars noted, and tried to explain the unusually high number of West Indian students who were placed in "educationally sub-normal" (or ESN) British schools (Bagley 1971, Tomlinson 1978). The low performance of West Indian children also caught the attention of educational researchers, with some studies pointing to the role of linguistic differences in comprehension (Edwards 1976)

During these early years, scholarly interest in language and education was centered on dispelling the notions that nonstandard language varieties were 'illogical', and the result of poor linguistic environments. Educational professionals often relied on notions of 'disadvantage' as a

way to refer to ‘deficits’ both in the students’ environment outside of school and in the students’ personal traits (Edwards & McKinnan 1987). So, in looking for possible answers to school failure, many scholars turned to explore the effects of teachers’ knowledge and perceptions of language varieties on their students’ school performance (e.g. Giles 1971, Piché *et al.* 1978, Williams *et al.* 1971, 1972).

Several studies conducted in the US reported that teachers’ assumptions based on language usage were strong predictors of students’ achievement (Edwards & McKinnan 1987). For example, Rist (1970) conducted a longitudinal study that showed a correlation between socio-economic differences (including the use of standard or non-standard language) and groupings of children in kinds of learning ability (fast, slow). Rist’s conclusion was that teacher’s expectations based on socio-economically related factors matched the children’s success in US schools. DeMeis and Turner (1978) explored students’ characteristics (including use of standard and non-standard linguistic features as well as physical appearance and race) that may affect primary school teachers’ evaluations of the students’ performance. Their investigation found that the use of AAVE features, being black and not physically attractive generated negative evaluations about future academic success among the teachers regardless of academic performance. In Hawaii, Choy and Dobb (1976) found that teachers had lower academic expectations for students who spoke nonstandard Hawaiian English. According to Haig and Oliver (2003), Eltis (1978) was an early study of teachers’ perceptions among teachers in Sydney, Australia. Eltis also reports a stronger effect of accent on the teachers’ first impressions of students.

According to Brophy and Good (1970), there is a correlation between teachers’ expectations and students’ achievement that works as a “self-fulfilling prophecy”. Teachers’

expectations are translated into certain behaviors (e.g. demanding better standards, more or less frequent praising) that correlate with the teachers' assumptions of what levels of performance can be expected from each student. Teachers' behaviors in turn affect students' performance, which often ends up matching expectations. In the case of language, a teacher would have lower expectations for students who speak nonstandard varieties, and would thus produce behaviors that reinforce the lower academic performance of those students. Because of the power of this self-fulfilling prophecy, Goodman and Buck stated that "the only special disadvantage which speakers of low-status dialects suffer in learning to read is one imposed by teachers and schools" (Goodman & Buck 1973: 6-7). In the US, the effect of teachers' attitudes towards nonstandard language varieties became a matter of public concern in 1979 with the so-called Ann Arbor case. According to Ball and Lardner's (1997) account, in this case, the Federal Court ruled that it was the Ann Arbor School District Board's responsibility to ensure that teachers were sufficiently prepared to deal with linguistically-diverse classrooms: "In the Ann Arbor case, the Court ruled that the teachers' unconscious but evident attitudes towards the African American English used by the plaintiff children constituted a language barrier that impeded the students' educational progress" (based on Memorandum 1381 according to Ball & Lardner 1997: 471).

In general, those early studies thus confirmed (1) that teachers' attitudes are to a great extent based on the students' use of given language varieties, and (2) that those attitudes are in turn linked to teachers' expectations and students' outcomes. One of the major consequences of the research into teachers' attitudes has been the literature (partly within sociolinguistics) dedicated to remediate the situation, and provide teachers with tools for appropriately dealing with linguistic diversity in schools. Two issues are central in this endeavor: on the one hand, the

sociolinguistic preparation and training of pre-service and in-service teachers; on the other hand, the development of pedagogical tools and programs to apply in the classroom (Siegel 1999).

Regarding teachers' sociolinguistic preparation, Godley, Sweetland, Wheeler, Minnici and Carpenter (2006) mention a number of benefits resulting from the teachers' study and discussion of language. Some of these benefits are changes in beliefs as well as less extreme and less prescriptive positions towards language varieties (p. 31).

In terms of pedagogical tools and programs, Alim (2005) cites four different types of programs as described in Rickford (2003). The "linguistically informed approach" to reading, developed by William Labov, concentrates in analyzing differences in pronunciation between AAVE and standard English in order to identify and work on specific misunderstandings. The "contrastive analysis and code-switching" (Wheeler 2005, 2006, 2010, also Rickford 2005) promotes contrasting differing features of language varieties in order to draw attention to the differences between the systems. And then, this approach proposes code-switching as a way to teach students the complementary use of different language varieties. A third method consists in the use of "dialect readers". These readers were proposed (e.g. in Rickford 1995) in order to bring the students' vernacular language into the classroom, and progressively transition into standard English. Finally, "dialect awareness programs", developed and implemented by Walt Wolfram and his colleagues (e.g. Reaser & Adger 2007), instruct students on sociolinguistic principles and sociocultural differences, and train them so that students can learn about language varieties by carrying out their own community research projects (e.g. Wolfram 1999, 2004).

Siegel (1999) classifies the programs into three types. In addition to "awareness programmes" such as the one proposed by Wolfram, Siegel refers to "instrumental" and "accommodation" programs. Both instrumental and accommodation programs share the rationale

of allowing the use of the home variety in the classroom to varying degrees. Instrumental programs make use of the home variety for classroom interaction and teaching while accommodation programs “accept” the home variety in the classroom mostly as a way of transitioning into standard varieties later in the schooling trajectory.

As shown in this section, much has been learned, and changed as a result of the study of teachers’ attitudes and practices towards language use. Yet recent reviews about the present situation of nonstandard language speakers in schools continue to stress the prevalence of teachers’ negative value judgments towards nonstandard language use (e.g. Godley *et al.* 2006, Siegel 2007). In a review of (mostly) English-related Creoles and dialects, despite apparent gains in the incorporation of non-standard languages in schools, Siegel (2006) also admits that “[instrumental and awareness] programmes are still not acceptable to most administrators, teachers and parents because of existing attitudes and prevalent ideologies about the nature of language in general and these varieties in particular” (p. 80).

There is less systematic evidence about the attitudes, ideologies and practices related to dialectal diversity in schools, and their impact on the acquisition of literacy skills in other areas of the world. Latin America is a case in point. Evidence from the 2001 Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), a standardized reading test for fourth-graders, suggests that reading attainment is still problematic in the region. Out of 35 nations, Colombia and Argentina, the two Latin American countries included in the survey came out 31st and 30th respectively. While reading attainment can be the result of several factors, renowned Argentinian psycholinguist Emilia Ferreiro (1994) has pointed to “discriminating attitudes towards the dialect variations of the pupils” (p. 232) as one of three key ‘school barriers’ to literacy attainment in the region. Ferreiro highlights the crucial role of teachers in sustaining these attitudes: “As teachers

usually do not have any linguistics courses in their curriculum, they are unaware of the prejudices that are expressed through linguistic judgements” (p. 233). An initial step in diagnosing the treatment of dialectal variation in Latin American schools is then to look into teachers’ as well as other educators’ attitudes. Attending to Ferreiro’s claims, my dissertation investigates the discourses of primary school educators regarding language variation in the northern metropolitan area of Buenos Aires, Argentina.

At the moment, there is no official program in the primary schools of Buenos Aires that promotes awareness of, and reflection on dialect diversity. Neither does there seem to be a commitment to providing teachers with solid training on how to deal with dialect diversity in schools. In general, the gap between professional demands and teachers’ academic preparation in Argentina is indeed a matter of great concern among both educational experts and practitioners. Students of education in Argentina (e.g. Davini 1997, Vezub 2007) underline that teacher training programs (now lasting approx. 4 years) are mainly characterized by an “applied” view of teaching. These programs are thus mostly concerned with training would-be teachers in theories and methods of teaching, with little emphasis being put on providing tools and developing abilities for the critical assessment and understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics of teaching and school contexts. Even though teachers can take additional courses during their careers, it is hard to gauge the formative impact of these courses since teachers (at least in the public sector) can decide without any kind of supervision which courses to take and even whether to take them at all. As a vice-principal at a public elementary school commented, teachers can have a lifelong career without taking more than a handful of additional courses beyond their degree. According to some of my interviewees, the quality of these courses can also vary widely, and the main motivation for most teachers is to accumulate enough credits in order to have a better choice of

schools. Dubious, highly variable standards of teacher preparation seem to be compounded by other factors such as the poor educational background of the majority of students in teaching training programs (especially those in non-university type of institutions or *terciarios*, from where most of the teachers graduate) as well as the leading motivation for pursuing a teaching career (in particular, the ease of obtaining a secure job) (Cámpoli 2004, Pogr  2004). Given this scenario, teachers' beliefs and judgments about dialect variation can be expected to more uncritically recreate popular ideologies about language. The question is to what extent this is true, and more importantly, how these beliefs and judgments take shape discursively. I now turn to how new approaches in sociolinguistic research can contribute to a study of teachers' discourses about linguistic variation.

2.2 STUDYING THE SOCIAL MEANING OF VARIATION

Several reviews on contemporary sociolinguistics have been pointing to a shift of sociolinguistic work from the so-called 'variationist paradigm' that looks for correlations between sociolinguistic variables and broad pre-determined social categories to ethnographically informed studies of social practices. In this view, sociolinguistic variation is considered a resource in the (re)production of localized and situated social concerns (e.g. Bayley 2002, Bucholtz & Hall 2008, Eckert 2005, 2008, Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2008). Sociolinguistic efforts are now focused on the 'social meaning' of variation, i.e. how linguistic variants come to encode socially meaningful information that participates in both structuring and changing our social worlds (Eckert 2012, Johnstone 2010). My dissertation will contribute to this line of

sociolinguistic research by probing the discursive means by which the social meaning of variation is ascribed and articulated in explicit metalinguistic talk by primary school teachers.

But, how has the social meaning of variation become a central concern in current sociolinguistic research? The idea that linguistic forms convey social meaning was a central tenet in research that founded the sociolinguistic field (e.g. see Gumperz & Hymes 1964, 1972; for recent historical accounts, Bayley 2002, and Shuy 2003). Through different analytical perspectives and methodologies, this early sociolinguistic work established that variance in language is not random but constrained not only by grammatical but also by discursive and social considerations. In analyzing the study of variation in sociolinguistics, Eckert (2005, 2008, 2012) recently proposed to view this early sociolinguistic work as divided into two main strands or “waves” of research which have advanced our knowledge of social meaning in different and complementary ways. Eckert’s “first wave” (or variationist sociolinguistics), characterized by the preeminent use of quantitative methodology, evinced relationships between linguistic variants and pre-determined social as well as stylistic categories, and thus generated important questions about how to explain these relationships. In trying to respond these questions, there emerged a “second wave” of concurrent variationist research (or Bayley’s (2002) “variationist ethnography”) which added ethnographic work as essential in order to identify and account for relationships between relevant linguistic and social variables.

Despite their differences, the studies of variation that stem from these two waves, Eckert (2012) points out, shared a view of social meaning as ‘derivative from’ the structures of a (broad or local) social matrix. It is not until the “third wave” of studies on variation that social meaning was taken as a central concern. The third wave incorporated interactional perspectives in order to delve more deeply into how linguistic variants are imbued with social meanings through the

active participation of speakers in discourse. The work of the third wave, to which my dissertation intends to contribute, rests on several assumptions about the social meaning of linguistic forms which have been summarized by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) in the so-called “socio-cultural linguistic approach”. Under this approach, Bucholtz and Hall bring together conceptual and analytical insights from work on identity carried out by many researchers in different fields including sociolinguistics. Because sociolinguistic variation is one crucial component of meaning-making processes, the approach proposed by Bucholtz and Hall provides a clear framework to understand the place and relevance of studying variation through metalinguistic talk as I propose to do in this dissertation.

2.2.1 The Socio-cultural Linguistic Approach

The socio-cultural linguistic approach proposes to understand the current scholarly discourse-based view of identity as founded on five principles: Emergence, Positionality, Indexicality, Relationality, and Partiality. These principles encompass essential aspects of how identity is conceived today as well as the processes that enable identity to be produced and reproduced by linking the micro dynamics of texts and interactions to the formation of larger social structures. Under this approach, the social meaning of linguistic variants is taken to ‘emerge’ from the dynamics of discourse, that is, it is only in use that language forges links with contextual variables, and it is only in use that sociolinguistic variants can evoke and create (or, following Silverstein (2003), presuppose and entail) particular social contexts and assessments of such contexts (see Bucholtz & Hall’s Principle of Emergence). Unless embedded in written or oral discourse, linguistic variants can only be said to have ‘partially’ determined meanings within “an *indexical field*, or a constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be

activated in the situated use of the variable” (Eckert 2008: 454, original emphasis). I will return to the notion of ‘indexicality’ in detail below, but for now, the notion of ‘indexical field’ can be useful to visualize the idea that a sociolinguistic variant is connected to several meanings so that there is no univocal relationship between a linguistic form and social meaning (see Bucholtz and Hall’s Principle of Partiality). Given these premises, much variationist work has changed its focus, and has become more concerned with describing and explaining sociolinguistic variation as and in relation to discursive practice.

As the social function of linguistic signs is discursively actualized in a given emergent configuration of co(n)textual parameters, linguistic variants are argued to combine with other linguistic and non-linguistic resources in ‘positioning’ – i.e. establishing an orientation of - the speaker towards relevant aspects of the social world (see Bucholtz and Hall’s Principle of Positionality). Speakers use these resources to position themselves towards what becomes relevant in discourse, and they also or simultaneously take up positions towards the resources themselves. In so doing, speakers define possible categories of inhabitation and display orientations towards such categories, i.e. speakers project ways in which they adhere to or reject these categories. In the socio-cultural linguistic view, positioning is tantamount to projecting some aspect of one’s own and others’ identities - or facets thereof -, and does not only involve taking positions towards broad social divisions like gender or class. Eckert (2012) indeed argues that sociolinguistic variation has the potential to encode “the full range of social concerns in a given community” (p. 87), and Johnstone (2010) has recently gone further by questioning the distinction between ‘social meaning’ and simply ‘meaning’ in language. As Johnstone (2010) observes, “[d]iscourse is a continual process of mutual coordination in making sense of the world” through which “humans’ reflexivity – an ability to see what people do as an illustration of

how to do it, and to arrange things in ways that encourage others to attend to these illustrations – links together sets of actions, linguistic or otherwise, into *registers* of conduct” (p. 36, emphasis mine).

The idea of ‘registers’ (Agha 2004, 2005) suggests that, in taking and interpreting one’s own and other’s positions in ongoing discourse, speakers recurrently draw from and contribute to repertoires of interconnected linguistic resources that are associated with different social meanings about people, practices, affective states, and so on. In his recent work, Agha (2005) has redefined registers as “a social regularity of recognition” (p. 57, ft.1) so that “a linguistic repertoire is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in those practices (p. 24). A register in this sense is not only a set of linguistic variants, but also a “model” of speech that recurrently provides coordinates for the use and interpretation of such variants with respect to socially-relevant phenomena. Agha (2004, 2005) indeed points out that registers can be related to practices (e.g. professional), relationships between speakers (e.g. formality) and types of social personae (e.g. Valley Girls) and their attributes (e.g. gender). Registers are dynamic constructs, with the potential of being transformed in every instance of talk. More specifically, Agha’s registers are socio-historically rooted models of speech accessible through socialization to an ever-changing “social domain” of speakers who can use the register or interpret it, or both. This dynamic aspect of Agha’s perspective importantly highlights registers as a socially-sensitive construct in that it proposes that knowledge about language use is not distributed equally across speakers.

A significant aspect of Agha’s (2005) proposal, especially for analyzing the social meaning of linguistic variation, is that registers can be ‘observed’ in public semiotic displays through the existence of “metapragmatic stereotypes”, that is, “patterns of typifications that recur

in the evaluative behaviors of many speakers” (p. 26). From the point of view of registers as repertoires, a study of metapragmatic stereotypes is at the same time a study of the linguistic and nonlinguistic components of the register as well as a study of how speakers grasp and partition their world in culturally-specific ways through language. Through the notion of metapragmatic stereotypes, registers can thus help us theorize and study the relatively stable intersection between linguistic variants and social meaning. As Agha (2004) comments, “metapragmatic stereotypes of speech (...) are criterial in the identification of registers” (p. 38), so a study of registers looks towards stereotypical characterizations as a starting point.

Registers as dynamic formations cannot be fully understood unless we take account of how linguistic variants become “enregistered,” i.e. become part and parcel of a given recognizable register of speech. Indeed, the specific semiotic and interactional mechanisms that enable linguistic variants to acquire social meanings - and thus to become enregistered – are a central preoccupation in a socio-cultural linguistic approach to variation. Following influential work by Michael Silverstein, the notion of ‘indexicality’ as “the property of sign vehicle signaling contextual ‘existence’ of an entity” (1976: 29) has become a main referent in the semiotic analysis of variation (see Bucholtz and Hall’s *Principle of Indexicality*). As Johnstone (2010) explains, Silverstein’s indexicality extends Charles F. Peirce’s conceptualization of indexical signs to understand social meaning. For Silverstein, indexical meaning derives from a relationship established between a linguistic sign (e.g. a word or a pronunciation) and other simultaneously occurring features of the situation (e.g. phenotype, geographical origin, profession). Once an indexical relation (e.g. belonging to a group) is created, the sign can be detached from the situation of co-occurrence and function as an index by both presupposing (or pointing to the “indexical appropriateness-to”) similar situations or relationships, and entailing

(or pointing to the “indexical effectiveness-in”) other situations or relationships (Silverstein 2003: 195).

In Silverstein’s take on indexicality, the indexical meaning-making process is found to hinge on (at least) three basic conditions: co-occurrence, ‘noticing’ and metapragmatic activity (as explained in Johnstone 2010, Woolard 2008). Co-occurrence refers to correlations between a linguistic form and some other aspect/s of the context wherein that form appears. When the co-occurrence of particular linguistic and contextual variables is ‘noticed’ (i.e. both perceived and lifted off the situation of co-occurrence), the linguistic form is considered a first-order index (Silverstein 2003). Noticing provides potential ground for ideologization (as argued in Johnstone, Andrus & Danielson 2006: 83), and can be promoted by various factors such as the discursive status of the variant (see Woolard 2008 on salience and contrast) and/or socio-economic transformations affecting the users of the variant (see Johnstone *et al.* 2006 on ‘Pittsburghese’). If such first-order indexical relation in turn becomes the object of metapragmatic activities, ideologies are argued to come into play, and take the index in question to a second or even higher order of indexicality as it is inserted into socio-culturally specific systems of knowledge (Silverstein 2003). Metapragmatic activities, i.e. “activities that point to a feature’s appropriate context of use” (Johnstone *et al.* 2006: 80), are a key component in imbuing linguistic variants with social meaning and making them available for indexical work. These activities are possible due to linguistic *reflexivity*, or the inherent property of language to refer to itself, which Lucy (1993a) more specifically defines as “the capacity of language to represent its own structure and use” (p. 1). In Silverstein’s semiotic-functional approach, Lucy (1993b) explains, “most reflexive activity deals with the appropriate *use* of language” (p. 17) and is thus called ‘metapragmatic’.

In speaking about the relationship between indexicality and registers, Silverstein (2003) has actually noted the central role of metapragmatics in creating and validating the linguistic resources that make up registers of speech:

The existence of registers (...) is an aspect of the dialectical process of indexical order, in which the $n+1^{\text{st}}$ -order indexicality depends on the existence of a cultural schema of enregisterment of forms perceived to be involved in n -th-order indexical meaningfulness; the forms as they are swept up in the $n+1^{\text{st}}$ -order valorization become strongly presupposing indexes of that enregistered order, and therefore in particular of the ideological *ethno-metapragmatics* that constitutes it and endows its shibboleths with $n+1^{\text{st}}$ -order indexical value. (pp. 212-3, emphasis mine)

Given this salient role of metapragmatics for an indexical view of registers, an investigation of the social meaning of variation needs to come to grips with what metapragmatics is and how it can be studied in more detail. To put it differently, how can we as sociolinguists interested in variation conceptualize metapragmatics as an object of study? And, since metapragmatic practice develops in interaction, another important question is: how can we better look at metapragmatic practice as an interactional enterprise? In the next section, I will show that focusing on metalinguistic talk can be one fruitful way of studying metapragmatic practice. Bringing folk linguistic research more in line with the socio-cultural linguistic approach to variation may shed new light on how registers are formulated, contested and/or warranted interactionally.

2.2.2 Folk metapragmatics in metalinguistic talk

Many authors (e.g. Cameron 2004, Mertz & Yovel 2003, Silverstein 1993, Verschueren 2000) have addressed the inseparability of metapragmatic activity from the fabric of talk. While most distinguish between implicit and explicit metapragmatic practice, where ‘explicitness’ can be conceived as the presence of “indicators of metapragmatic awareness” such as performative verbs or discourse markers (Verschueren 2000: 446), these authors warn against equating metapragmatics with “explicit metadiscourse, or talk about talk” (Johnstone *et al.* 2006: 80; also, Lucy 1993b, Silverstein 1993, Verschueren 2000). According to Silverstein (2003), the “*metapragmatic function*” of language “resides in contextual organization itself, that is, in token co-occurrence patterns (...) that transcend, encompass, and supersede any denotationally literal *metapragmatic discourse*” (p. 196, emphasis mine). For Silverstein, metapragmatic practice is actually “most robust and effective” when working implicitly through the situatedness and scaffolding of a given token text or interaction. Metapragmatic discourse, on the other hand, is simply a subset of metapragmatic practices which makes metapragmatic function and content more evident.

A related distinction that surfaces in Silverstein’s oeuvre and can be useful in trying to study metapragmatic practice is that between metapragmatics and folk or ethno-metapragmatics. Probably due to Silverstein’s interest in the relationship between pragmatics and metapragmatics, folk or ethno-metapragmatics had not received a detailed definition until recently, when Silverstein (2010) described it as “the lens through which any specific community of language users reflexively understand – and culturally rationalize – their own (and thence, others’) habits of semiotic form and function” (p. 338). Given this definition, ethno-metapragmatics may be taken to refer to how speakers in a community interpret and explain (implicitly or explicitly, that

is) group norms about the indexical uses of linguistic resources with respect to folk models of language and social life.

Work by Silverstein has concentrated on how metapragmatic awareness takes shape in folk metapragmatic discourse, or in his own words, on “the relationship between pragmatic categories’ projectibility in metapragmatic forms and the semiotic types of the pragmatic categories involved” (1993: 54). In dealing with the methodological underpinnings of eliciting folk metapragmatic statements, Silverstein (2001, but also 1993 and 2003) has provided insights into what kind of linguistic information analysts can expect to obtain from ethno-metapragmatic discourse or, in Silverstein’s (2001) words, how “certain characteristics of the form and contextually-dependent function of the pragmatic markers in speech” impose limits on what kind of pragmatic information speakers are able to report on more explicitly, and how speakers are able to discuss this information in metapragmatic discourse (p. 383). According to Silverstein, limits on folk metapragmatic awareness originate partly in the characteristics of the linguistic sign and partly in the lack of appropriate folk meta-descriptors. On the one hand, speakers are most able to explain (i) the referential meaning of (ii) segmentable units of speech with regard to (iii) the presupposed conditions of use (Silverstein 2001). In addition, when speakers provide metapragmatic accounts, Silverstein (2001) contends, they do so by producing propositions about what the use of pragmatic forms would normally entail regardless of the particular context of use. And, the content of these propositions will also depend on how “metapragmatically transparent” a given pragmatic unit is, i.e. on the “degree of sameness between any metapragmatic utterances that could be used to talk about a pragmatic form, and the pragmatic form itself”. Metapragmatic transparency would favor “duplication” of the whole or part of the pragmatic event (e.g. the pragmatic form ‘I promise...’ described metapragmatically as ‘a

promise'). On the other hand, borrowing Lucy's (1993a) words, "Silverstein argues that it is difficult if not impossible for native speakers of a language to take account of those aspects of speech as social action that they have no ability to describe for us in their own (meta)language, that is, that they do not have ready terms or expressions for" (p. 26). The lack of meta-descriptors can be associated to metapragmatic transparency in the sense that metapragmatically transparent utterances furnish speakers with vocabulary to talk about those utterances.

Despite the above limitations, extant analyses of metalinguistic talk (e.g. Brown 2006, Johnstone & Kiesling 2008, Kristiansen 2004, Mertz 1993) show that (at least some) speakers can provide detailed metapragmatic accounts of their own and other's linguistic choices, and of the relationship between these choices and diverse discursive situations. Furthermore, this work shows how focusing the respondents' attention on language use can supply analysts of sociolinguistic variation with unique information about the speakers' perspective on, for instance, individual styles, regional as well as social dialects, code-choice. Emphasizing the richness and significance of the way people talk about language, Niedzielski and Preston (2003) have challenged the restricted scope of Silverstein's accuracy-based conception of folk awareness.² The point, Niedzielski and Preston (2003, 2010) argue, is that as much or as little as laypeople say about language returns a very nuanced and complex view of linguistic phenomena from the ground which should guide and complement studies in such varied linguistic areas as variation and change, language attitudes, language ideologies, language teaching and learning. In particular, Preston (2004) stresses the importance of conducting studies of folk metalinguistic talk in Western societies for understanding folk theories and beliefs about language not only in

² Niedzielski and Preston (2003) have posited three additional ranges of criteria to characterize folk metalinguistic commentary: degree of availability of linguistic phenomena for discussion, degree of detail in folk commentary, and degree of control over linguistic phenomena (what is said vs. what is done).

“cultures rather distant from modern industrial and technologically oriented ones” as anthropologists have traditionally done (p. 89).

Although sociolinguists interested in variation have gathered and discussed folk information about language since early on (e.g. see Labov 1966 on “subjective evaluations”), the theoretical and empirical import of investigating folk opinions has only recently begun to gain prominence. The recognition of the need for a systematic treatment of metalinguistic talk in sociolinguistics is greatly indebted to the extensive work by Dennis Preston and his colleagues in what is known as ‘folk linguistics’ (following the original proposal by Hoenigswald 1966). Folk linguistics, according to Preston (2004), is concerned with the analysis of “overt knowledge of and comment about language by nonlinguists” (p. 75). In practice, the field of folk linguistics has more often concentrated on the *content* of Preston’s (2004) “Metalanguage 1”, i.e. overt and conscious folk comment about language. Greatly influenced by traditional dialectology and the social-psychological approach to language attitudes, most folk linguistic research has been carried out from the perspective of ‘perceptual dialectology,’ which looks at how speakers recognize, define and characterize regional varieties of language through a set of elicitation tasks such as map drawing, difference ranking, ranking of correctness/pleasantness as well as through interviews (e.g. Preston 1989 as well as articles in Preston 1999, and Long & Preston 2002). The folk linguistic/perceptual dialectological tradition has thus been especially active in describing folk-based geographical allocations of different regional varieties, and the characterization of speakers and speech from these regions, particularly in the United States.

Less work has been done in folk linguistics/perceptual dialectology in order to study (1) the production of metalinguistic discourses about particular linguistic variants, and (2) the relationship between content and form in metalinguistic discourse. It is these rather understudied

areas of folk linguistics/perceptual dialectology that my dissertation incorporates with the purpose of exploring teachers' comments about language use – i.e. Preston's (2004) Metalanguage 1 – in Buenos Aires. By studying teachers' discourses about particular linguistic variants, my dissertation provides evidence of resources and meanings attached to social registers in Buenos Aires. By looking at how social registers are discursively recreated in teachers' comments, my dissertation lays the foundations for developing critical dialect awareness in teacher training programs and schools in Buenos Aires.

In other words, my dissertation uses tools from folk linguistics/perceptual dialectology in order to provide evidence of how teachers express language ideologies (or Preston's Metalanguage 3) based on their perception of stereotypical linguistic variants of Buenos Aires. Language ideologies have been variously defined (e.g. Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998, Woolard & Schieffelin 1994), but as I said earlier, I follow Silverstein's (1979) conceptualization of the term. Let us recall that, for Silverstein, language ideologies are “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (in Woolard 1998: 4). That is, when teachers in my study talked about their perceptions of the linguistic variants I presented them with, their discourses (re)enacted their beliefs – or language ideologies – about those variants. Applying Preston's (2004) terminology, language ideologies take shape through “Metalanguage 1” and “Metalanguage 2”, that is, through discourse that is *about* language as well as through discourse that *refers to* language in the course of dealing with other topics. Language ideologies permeate all instances and types of discursive practice. Nevertheless, instances of Metalanguage 1 wherein speakers reflect and comment on language specifically can be expected to be particularly saturated with explicit discourses that rationalize and justify language use.

To be sure, I am not arguing that folk metapragmatics emerges exclusively through Metalanguage 1 practices, or that folk metapragmatics that emerges through Metalanguage 1 practices is more or less ‘accurate’ than other instances of metapragmatic activity. Yet I do want to draw attention, as folk linguists have done before me, to the especially fertile ground of Metalanguage 1 for folk metapragmatics to be put to work – and thus to be observed. In this dissertation, I propose that focusing on speakers’ metalinguistic talk can give analysts of variation (in education or otherwise) a vantage point from which to observe the relationship between higher-order indexical forms and metapragmatic stereotypes, which can in turn shed light on culturally-specific ideological schematizations of registers.

An emphasis on metapragmatic stereotypes allows us, as Agha (2003) has noted, to explore at least three dimensions of register organization, namely, repertoire characteristics, range of pragmatic values and social domains of the register (p. 37). This dissertation illuminates these three dimensions of social registers in Buenos Aires as described by primary school teachers. The research questions that guided this section of my dissertation were as follows:

With respect to the linguistic variables included in this study, what metapragmatic stereotypes emerge in the teachers’ metalinguistic discourse? In other words, what pragmatic values do the teachers associate with the variables? What are the linguistic and nonlinguistic resources that teachers associate with the variables? How do the teachers typify these stereotypes differently or similarly?

Because this dissertation concentrates on the beliefs of primary school teachers, my study more specifically pertains to the domain of education. However, my findings more generally contribute to discern local patterns of registers in Buenos Aires.

Also important is the possibility that metalinguistic talk offers to study what Silverstein (1993) calls the dialectical metapragmatic-pragmatic relationship, that is, how “the explicit metapragmatic registers instantiated in metapragmatic discourse encapsulate ideologies of language use and play an obvious role in the institutionalization of discursive mechanisms of society” (p. 55). In this line, Niedzielski and Preston (2010), and Preston (2004) have stressed that the folk linguistic/perceptual dialectological perspective would benefit from analyzing content-form patterns in metalinguistic talk in order to grasp how laypeople evoke and create understandings of language use. I interpret Silverstein’s “metapragmatic registers” as repertoires of discursive resources that speakers routinely mobilize in their production of claims about particular linguistic variants and/or uses. That is, in constructing metalinguistic talk, speakers deploy specific metapragmatic resources that project a given orientation to given metapragmatic information. And, this orientation to metapragmatic information in turn evinces underlying assumptions about language use, i.e. how linguistic forms normatively relate to aspects of social life and the implications of those relationships. On these grounds, my dissertation shows how teachers’ metalinguistic discourse recruits discursive resources in articulating beliefs about given linguistic variants and social registers. That is, the recurrence of discursive forms in how teachers communicate particular metalinguistic content helps to construct and circulate metapragmatic stereotypes inside and outside schools.

Let me illustrate my point. Bucholtz, Bermudez, Fung, Vargas and Edwards (2008) recently reported a “political correctness effect” among respondents to their survey of linguistic

attitudes towards dialects and languages in the US state of California. When asked where people speak the best or worst in California, most respondents answered by identifying specific areas, and explained their choice in reference to groups of speakers together with their dialects or languages. A small number of respondents, however, did not produce this response, and rather contested the ideological basis of the survey question that proposed to assume that the way people speak can be valorized as ‘worse’ or ‘better.’ In other words, while most respondents aligned with the underlying assumptions in the question (i.e. a hierarchical organization of speech forms), some respondents disaligned from the validity of such assumptions. In the case of disalignment, Bucholtz *et al.* identified a set of recurrent rhetorical strategies (e.g. sarcasm, intellectualization) through which “non-compliant” respondents presented alternative beliefs. By using these rhetorical strategies, respondents to Bucholtz *et al.*’s survey took different recognizable *stances* towards the idea that languages and dialects can be organized hierarchically. Stances are a useful way to conceptualize and analyze how speakers routinely express their relationship to several aspects of the content of discourse including their beliefs about language itself. Due to their function as a “primary concern in conversation” (Kiesling 2009: 179), stances have been proposed as a key interactional mechanism that brings together content and form to fulfill immediate conversational needs while simultaneously relying on and projecting a given orientation to underlying folk beliefs. Stancetaking has thus become a central analytical concept in the sociocultural linguistic approach to social meaning (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). Below, I will explain how a stancetaking perspective of metalinguistic discourse can be promising in connecting the interactional micro-dynamics of Metalanguage 1 to language ideologies.

2.2.3 Metasociolinguistic stances as metapragmatic resources

Stances can be seen as an intermediate level of analysis in discourse as they relate *what* and *how* something is said to *why* we say things; stances relate the content and form of talk (e.g. lexicogrammatical choices) to a wide range of beliefs about the norms that regulate the type of discursive practice, the relationship between speakers, and the topic, among others. In discussing the notion of stance, John W. Du Bois (2007) has stated:

One of the most important things we do with words is take a stance. Stance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stancetakers, and to invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value. (p. 139)

In this way, Du Bois introduces and articulates the main components of stance into a theoretical framework referred to as “stance triangle”: on the one hand, the object of stance and the social actors involved are the reference points of stancetaking; on the other hand, evaluation, positioning and alignment are the kinds of interrelated moves epitomized by a stance act. Sociocultural beliefs, in addition, can constitute ideas that mobilize particular stances and upon which stance interpretation occurs, but they can also constitute the very object of stance. The object of stance, as Du Bois (2007) explains, is “the referential object or target toward which the stance is directed” (p. 147). Within a given stance, the object is assigned some value so that the stancetaker concurrently puts forward a position towards the object as well as towards the other speaker/s. Identifying the object (or objects) of stance can therefore be key in understanding the role of a given stance.

In metalinguistic talk, the object of stancetaking is often language itself. As shown in the case of Bucholtz *et al.*'s study, stances about language may be explicitly directed to ways of speaking and the metapragmatic stereotypes associated with them whereas other times it would seem that stances are more about folk beliefs about language and language use. In both cases, we can say that speakers are taking what Jaffe (2009a, b) has recently called *metasociolinguistic stances*. Through metasociolinguistic stances, according to Jaffe, "speakers take up positions with respect to core sociolinguistic issues that shape their worlds, including the conventional associations between language and social categories, linguistic ideologies, and language hierarchies" (2009a: 24).³ Metasociolinguistic stances, as argued by Jaffe (2009a, b), can occur as explicit commentary on sociolinguistic relationships or folk beliefs about language, or as individual or collective patterns of language use. In terms of metapragmatic discourse, by focusing on patterns in the production of metasociolinguistic stances, we can on the one hand describe how particular metapragmatic stereotypes are evaluated and positioned towards and, on the other, we can explain how speakers construe and align with norms and beliefs about language use related to those metapragmatic stereotypes.

Patterns of metasociolinguistic stances can be considered sedimented ways of talking about language which, as it occurs with other forms of metapragmatic discourse (e.g. performance verbs), may maintain more durable and recognizable indexical relationships with language as an object of stance (see, e.g., Bucholtz & Hall 2005, Eckert 2008, Kiesling 2004, 2009, Johnstone 2007). I will argue that, seen in this light, metasociolinguistic stances are one kind of metapragmatic resources that make up Silverstein's "metapragmatic registers" which

³ Jaffe distinguishes "metasociolinguistic" from "sociolinguistic" stances, where the latter "involve the taking of social positions *through* language choices that are already loaded with sociolinguistic meaning" (2009b: 119, original emphasis).

deserve closer attention from sociolinguists. Metapragmatic resources have actually been the object of extensive pragmatic and sociolinguistic study for a while under rubrics as varied as “speech representation, reported speech (“direct”, “indirect” and other types), linguistic reformulation and repetition” (Coupland & Jaworski 2004: 28). Furthermore, part of this work has addressed how particular metapragmatic resources are related to stancetaking (e.g. Clift 2006, Hongladarom 2007). The bulk of this research concentrates on “metapragmatics as performance” (following Hübler & Bublitz’s (2007) distinction), which explores how and for what purposes speakers signal metapragmatic activity in the course of engaging in diverse genres, situations, and topics of talk (e.g. Bucholtz 2009, Kiesling 2004, 2009, Shenk 2007). In order to complement this work, my dissertation concentrates on stancetaking in metalinguistic talk – or “metapragmatics as topic” in Hübler and Bublitz’s (2007) - , which has not received as much scholarly attention.

Some previous studies of metalinguistic talk give evidence that an in-depth stance analysis of metalinguistic talk can provide unique insights into the enactment and circulation of language ideologies. While not based on a theory of stancetaking, Preston (1993, 1994) has provided some earlier examples of how an analysis of Metalanguage 1 that integrates content and discursive organization can produce a well-grounded and more nuanced interpretation of folk beliefs about language. In his analyses of a single interaction between a fieldworker and a respondent about African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Preston looks at several discursive variables (e.g. argument structure, pronominal reference, discourse markers, the fore/backgrounding of information) in order to shed light on how, in the course of successive moves, the interactants display folk knowledge about language. More recently, Johnstone’s (2007) analysis of metalinguistic talk has shown that a stance perspective can be useful not only

in analyzing the relationship between content and form, but also in exploring links between the interactional function of such relationship and the creation and circulation of folk beliefs about linguistic varieties. Interested in how identities and dialects may be linked in interaction, Johnstone looks at the strategic moves used by two speakers in taking epistemic stances towards local speech. Johnstone finds that interactants' claims about the source of dialectal knowledge (i.e. external sources vs. competence in the dialect) have a different effect on speakers' roles and participatory rights. An epistemic stance that positions the speaker as having competence in the dialect, Johnstone argues, is more successful in this particular interaction. Based on her analysis, Johnstone further predicts:

Repeated engagement in metalinguistic talk in which claiming the social identity of a competent dialect speaker is useful for epistemic stancetaking serves to strengthen and stabilize the idea that being a Pittsburgher means being able to speak the local dialect. (p. 50)

Johnstone's argument relates to the idea that patterns in the display of stances can establish indexical relationships with social identities and, by extension, with registers and with the relationship between registers and social identities as well. Hence, a systematic study of metasociolinguistic stances in metalinguistic talk, as I undertake in this dissertation, can help us to describe and explain how recurrent stances towards sociolinguistic relationships and beliefs constitute key metapragmatic resources in the creation, circulation, and reproduction of metapragmatic stereotypes. The research questions that guided this section of my study are as follows:

What metasociolinguistic stances do the teachers recurrently take towards specific sociolinguistic relationships and beliefs in their talk about the variables? In other words, what sociolinguistic relationships and beliefs are presupposed or construed through the teachers' claims about each linguistic variable? How do these patterns of metasociolinguistic stances contribute to the meaning of the registers associated with the variables?

In order to explain the design of my study, I next present the methodology I used to collect the teachers' metalinguistic comments during my fieldwork in Buenos Aires.

3.0 THE STUDY

This dissertation is based on the discourse analysis of thirty-two interviews conducted with educators working in primary schools in Buenos Aires, Argentina. In this dissertation, ‘educators’ are defined as teachers, vice-principals and principals. At the moment of conducting the interviews, all the educators were working in public and private schools in Buenos Aires. The interviews were conducted and recorded by the researcher between July 2011 and August 2012 in Buenos Aires. The following sections provide more detailed information about: the characteristics of Spanish used in Buenos Aires (known as River Plate Spanish) (3.1), and of the linguistic variables selected for this study (3.2), the demographic and professional background of the participants (3.2), and the instruments used to generate the educators’ metalinguistic commentaries (3.3).

3.1 SPANISH IN BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

In order to study primary school educators’ metalinguistic talk about dialectal variation in Buenos Aires, this dissertation focuses on stereotypical linguistic variants of Spanish produced in the northern metropolitan area. The whole metropolitan area of Buenos Aires is a major urban center and port in South America with much cultural and linguistic diversity. With about half of Argentina’s total population conglomerated over 1,500 square miles, this area includes the City

of Buenos Aires proper (with about 2.9 million inhabitants) as well as the surrounding urban areas known as *Gran Buenos Aires* (with about 16 million inhabitants) (Indec 2008, 2010). The majority language in is Spanish. No languages indigenous to this region are spoken by any sizable community although migrant groups have brought languages such as *Quechua*, *Aymará* and *Guaraní*, which are indigenous to other parts of Argentina and neighboring countries. Also, languages from Asia and Europe are spoken and in many cases maintained by migrant speakers. And, of course, English is spoken not only as a mother tongue by migrants from English-speaking countries, but also widely learned as a foreign language (e.g. Nielsen 2003).

In linguistic terms, the variety of Spanish characteristic of the whole metropolitan area has been called ‘River Plate Spanish’ by sociolinguists because it is argued to be used in a wide geographic area which encompasses the banks of the River Plate (i.e. the Argentinian and Uruguayan banks of the River Plate). It is considered a prestige variety with evidence that some of its characteristic features have been spreading to other regions of Argentina as well as Uruguay and Paraguay (Lipski 2002a, b, Thompson 1991). According to my interviewees, however, there is no special folk term to refer to River Plate Spanish as a distinct variety. As I show in the analysis of the interviews, from a local perspective, the features analyzed in my dissertation are usually ascribed to different social registers. In this dissertation, I thus use the term ‘River Plate Spanish’ when drawing from the sociolinguistic literature, and ‘Buenos Aires Spanish’ (hereinafter, BA Spanish) when referring more specifically to the variables under study here.

A wealth of dialectal and sociolinguistic studies (especially in the variationist tradition) have identified and described linguistic features that distinguish River Plate Spanish from other Argentinean and Hispanic varieties (see, e.g., the extensive bibliography in Lipski 2002a). In

addition, some scholars (e.g. Blanco de Margo 1991, Russinivich Solé 1987, Solé 1991) have conducted survey studies on the perceptions and attitudes of speakers from Buenos Aires towards River Plate Spanish. And more recent sociolinguistic work (e.g. King 2009, Rodriguez-Louro 2009) has also discussed connections between some sociolinguistic variants of River Plate Spanish and stereotypical social attributes. This extant work thus provides information on distinctive sociolinguistic variables and their social distribution as well as some insights into the potential social significance of such variables. Yet there is still a scarcity of systematic investigations into how stereotypical variants of BA Spanish are integrated into and have become emblematic of social registers. Existing studies such as the ones mentioned above offer a solid foundation in order to explore the socio-cultural role of these stereotypical variants, and to build on our knowledge about the sociolinguistic dynamics of Buenos Aires from a folk perspective.

Being a native from the northern metropolitan area of Buenos Aires, and having lived, studied and worked both in this area and in the city of Buenos Aires proper for many years, I have a special interest in understanding sociolinguistic dynamics in this area. As a local, I am also acquainted with different registers and some of their social connotations. Such insider's knowledge has helped me to orient my study towards sources of meaningful sociolinguistic contrasts in schools. As a sociolinguist, I can contribute to systematize this knowledge in ways that can improve the quality of education in Buenos Aires. Having worked as a primary school teacher in Buenos Aires, I am interested in developing ways for sociolinguistic scholarship to penetrate and impact teaching and learning in these schools. In practical terms, my background in teaching actually opened some doors in my search for participants for the study, and allowed me to quickly establish a good rapport with my interviewees during the interviews.

3.2 THE VARIABLES

For this dissertation, I concentrated on four variables: (1) *voseo*, or the use of personal pronoun ‘vos’ (and its distinctive forms of verbal endings) instead of ‘tú’ for the second person singular, (2) *yeísmo*, or the pronunciation of orthographic ‘y’ and ‘ll’ as fricatives, (3) /s/ aspiration or deletion in codas, and (4) the use of English. Variables (1)-(3) can be considered stereotypical features of BA Spanish. Variable (4) is more exploratory in that not much has been published about the everyday use of English in Buenos Aires.

My choice of these features was driven by both linguistic and sociolinguistic factors. Linguistically, these features span linguistic phenomena that belong to different areas of grammar: morphological in (1), phonological in (2) and (3), and lexical in (4). Following Silverstein (2001), the level of metapragmatic awareness is partly promoted by the grammatical categories of the variables in question, with lexical features being the most available and phonological and syntactic features being the least available for metapragmatic discussion. By including variables from different grammatical categories in my study, I was able to test Silverstein’s hypothesis about metapragmatic awareness in relation to metapragmatic stereotypes, and also to compensate for the potential dearth of participant comments on given variables.

Sociolinguistically, these variables have been argued to be involved in different types of sociolinguistic contrasts. For instance, *voseo* in BA Spanish contrasts with pronoun usage in other varieties of Spanish as well as with the formal version *usted* within BA Spanish; *yeísmo*, and /s/ aspiration or deletion are both present in other Spanish-speaking regions but participate in distinct indexical relationships in Buenos Aires; and the use of English involves contrasts between the use of two languages in a preeminently monolingual context. This array of contrasts

helped me obtain more nuanced information about diverse social registers, and also tap onto diverse folk ideologies about language use. Additionally, these variables have received various degrees of scholarly attention among sociolinguists, with *voseo* and *yeísmo* having been the focus of more sociolinguistic research and the use of English having received less systematic attention.⁴ On the basis of extant research and my own observations, all the variables included in my study can be considered stereotypical in that they routinely find their way into metapragmatic representations of different social registers of BA Spanish.

3.3 THE PARTICIPANTS

Thirty-two primary school teachers and (vice-)principals were interviewed for this study in order to gain insights into the discursive ways in which social registers are conceived of, and talked about by educators in Buenos Aires. The participants were recruited through the researcher's contacts, and snow-balling (i.e. some participants offered their own contacts). I also visited schools, a teacher training college and in-service training centers with the aim of recruiting participants, but no interviews resulted from these attempts. All interviewees received a small monetary compensation or the equivalent in a token present for their participation.

Despite this material incentive offered to participants, many of the educators I approached decided not to participate in the study. Most of them alleged lack of time. Given the difficulty in recruiting participants, the only restrictions I placed on participation were (1) to live and work in the province of Buenos Aires, (2) to hold a degree as primary school teacher, and (3)

⁴ See, e.g., Temas de Patrimonio Cultural vol. 4: *Primeras Jornadas: Nuestra Lengua, un patrimonio* (2001) and vol. 11: "*Lengua y Poder*" *El argentino metropolitano* (2004) by L. Labraña and A. Sebastián, published by Comisión para la Preservación del Patrimonio Histórico Cultural de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires.

to be working in a primary school in the northern area of Gran Buenos Aires. Because of the recruitment method, and the difficulty in recruiting participants, it was not possible to further control the characteristics and background of the participants without compromising the collection of a satisfactory number of interviews. My final sample is thus not representative of the educators' population. Yet, when compared to data from the latest National Educators' Census (*Censo Nacional de Docentes*; hereinafter, CND) conducted in Argentina in 2004, some of the characteristics of my sample resemble the statistics of the CND for the entire Province of Buenos Aires. I will offer those CND statistics for comparative purposes when relevant as I describe my sample below.

Out of thirty-two interviewees, thirty were female educators (94%), and two were male educators (6%). Because primary school teaching is a highly feminized profession, it is not surprising that the overwhelming majority of my pool is composed by women. The 2004 CND also reports a broad gap between the percentages of female and male educators in all districts in Argentina, with the Province of Buenos Aires showing 89% of female educators against 11% of male educators. In addition, male educators are more likely to be found in higher positions within schools. In my sample, both male educators were at the moment of the interviews (vice)principals although they both had a background in teaching.

Regarding the age of my interviewees, most of the educators in my sample (i.e. 66%) fall between the ages of 30-44 (compared to 56.6% in the 2004 CND). Using CND's age groupings, my sample is as shown below:

Table 1. Number and percentage of educators in my sample according to age categories in CND.

Age	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60+
Number of interviewees	2	5	10	6	2	3	2	2
Percentage of interviewees	6.25%	16%	31%	19%	6.25%	9%	6.25%	6.25%

According to the 2004 CND, the number of educators in the Province of Buenos Aires decline progressively below or above the 30-44 age group. My sample, however, does not show a similar trend past age 44.

As mentioned above, all the interviewees in my sample had obtained a primary school teaching degree, and were working in a primary school at the time of the interviews. Even though all had worked as primary school teachers during their careers, not all of them had a teaching position at the time of the interview. Out of 32 interviews, twenty-three participants occupied a teaching position while nine occupied positions as (vice-)principals, which include administrative as well as pedagogical and supervisory functions. Of these nine participants, four were principals, and five were vice-principals. In Argentina, vice-principals and principals in primary schools are normally teachers who pursued further study, and passed a special board examination with the aim of occupying those higher ranked positions.

In terms of the interviewees' education background, twenty-one of the participants reported having taken courses in various other areas in institutions of higher learning (universities or colleges). Some of them had completed other degrees, mostly pre-school teaching degrees, or were in the process of completing degrees. In addition, all of the interviewees had taken in-service training courses in either private or public centers during their

teaching careers. Some teachers admitted not having taken in-service courses for several years. Educators in the public system often talked about in-service training as a way to obtain a score that would afford them a better choice of public school. Many referred to the poor quality and low standards of some of the courses, especially the private ones. Unlike public courses, which are free, private in-service courses are paid by the teachers, but they allow teachers to increase their scores more easily and rapidly. In private and semi-private schools, the situation varies depending on the requirements established by the school's authorities (i.e. (vice-)principals, pedagogical advisor, owners, board). For instance, in one case, the school organized and paid for teachers' workshops led by renowned experts on different pedagogical issues every year. In another case, a semi-private school was invited to participate in a training project led by a private university. The teachers and (vice-)principals had to attend classes and conduct a special project in the school under the supervision of university professors.

Regarding the types of schools, the educators in my study are from public, private and semi-private schools in the northern metropolitan area of Buenos Aires. The schools are located in the municipalities of San Fernando, San Isidro and Vicente López (from farthest to closest to the City of Buenos Aires). The distribution of participants according to each type of school is as follows: ten from private schools, eight from public schools, and fourteen from semi-private schools (eight from a school with an Evangelical orientation, and six from a school with a Catholic orientation). In Argentina, semi-private schools (known as *escuelas subvencionadas*) receive part of their funding from the state, and part from the families whose children attend the school. In the case of the two semi-private schools where my interviewees worked, state funding covered 80% of the costs of running the school, and the fees paid by the families were fairly low. Both of these semi-private schools were located in working class and poor urban neighborhoods.

In Buenos Aires, with the crisis of public education, middle class families have turned to the private sector, while working class families without the economic resources to pay for a private school, have turned to semi-private (often religious) schools.

3.4 THE INSTRUMENTS

Following the research tradition of folk linguistics/perceptual dialectology, I employed three different means of data collection: semi-structured interviews, a perceptual task and an imitation task (see Appendix A for a complete guide). The most extensive source of metalinguistic discourse was the semi-structured interviews conducted by the researcher where one participant at a time responded questions about the targeted variables (see Appendix A for a list of questions). The interview also included two types of tasks which are common in the folk linguistic/perceptual dialectological tradition: a perceptual task and an imitation task (e.g. see Preston 1993). These tasks were aimed at generating perceptual and production data on social registers of Buenos Aires. Interviews lasted between 1.5 and 2 hours, and were all conducted by the researcher. Given that interviewees chose the place where the interview would be performed, in order to minimize the inconvenience and thus secure the interview, I conducted the interviews in different types of locations, from private homes (mine or theirs) to schools and coffee shops.

3.4.1 Perceptual task

The perceptual task in my study was based on the well-known matched-guise technique developed by Lambert *et al.* (1960) as a method to investigate attitudes, and elicit stereotypes

about language. I followed the design proposed by Johnstone and Kiesling (2008). That is, participants listened to pairs of utterances recorded by the same speaker which contained the different alternations. Participants were then asked to note any differences between the recorded utterances, and to comment on those differences.

For the recording of the stimuli, I employed one male and one female native speaker of BA Spanish. These speakers were in their thirties, and had always resided in Buenos Aires at the time of the recording. The recordings were obtained in one session in the speakers' homes. The phrases used can be found in Appendix A. These phrases were read by the speakers several times, and all instances were recorded in MP3 files using a MicroTrack 24/96 2-channel mobile digital recorder with a stereo microphone. In order to minimize the potential effects of intraspeaker differences between tokens of the same carrier phrase, I selected a single recording of each carrier phrase by each speaker, and replaced the alternating segments to generate the stimuli. The recordings were analyzed and edited using Praat software, version 5201 for Windows. The final presentation of the stimuli was created using Audacity 1.3 Beta (Unicode) software to combine the phrases, and Lame for Audacity to save the files in MP3 format.

The manipulation of the stimuli in order to obtain minimally-divergent pairs of utterances containing the variables differed. Appendix B contains spectrograms and waveforms that show the final stimuli used in the perceptual task in phonetic detail. Here, I provide links to the corresponding figures in Appendix B for quick reference. In the case of the alternation in Variable 1 (*vos* vs. *usted* vs. *vos + boludo*), the final stimuli were created from the phrase recorded for *vos + boludo* (Figure 1 and Figure 2). In the case of *vos*, I simply deleted '*boludo*' at the end of the phrase. In the case of *usted*, in addition to deleting '*boludo*', I replaced the sequence '*podés cam-*' with '*puede cam-*' (Figure 3 and Figure 4). By replacing that sequence, I

was able to eliminate any traces of the aspiration of /s/ at the end of ‘*podés*’, which could have been misinterpreted as ‘(*tú*) *puedes*’.

In the case of the alternation in Variable 2 (*sheísmo* vs. *zheísmo*), the manipulations of the male speaker’s recording varied from those of the female speaker’s recording. The reason was that, even after some training, the male speaker found it hard to produce the voiced palatal fricative. After analyzing the recordings produced by the male speaker, I concluded that none of the tokens was a fully voiced version of the segment. In order to ascertain the voicing quality of the segments, I analyzed all tokens using Praat spectrograms and waveforms. I used the acoustic correlates proposed in Fernández Trinidad (2010) and Chang (2008): glottal pulses and (a)periodicity in the waveform, voicing bar in the low-frequency range of the spectrogram, intensity in the high-frequency range of the spectrogram, and striation (corresponding to glottal pulses) in the spectrogram. On the basis of this analysis, I identified a single half voiced-half voiceless token. Therefore, in order to create the stimuli, I cut out the portion of the sound that was voiceless in order to create a totally voiced segment for variant (a) (Figure 6). I followed the same procedure with the portion of the sound that was voiced in order to create a voiceless segment for variant (b) (Figure 8). I tested the stimuli informally, and all my informants perceived the distinction. In contrast, the phrases produced by the female speaker were consistently and completely either voiced or voiceless. For the stimuli, then, I used a recording of the phrase with the voiced variant (Figure 5), and I replaced the voiced segment with a voiceless segment from another recording for variant (b) (Figure 7).

As for the alternation in Variable (3) (*aspiration* vs. *deletion of syllable-final /s/*), I ran into two problems. On the one hand, there is little detailed phonetic description of the production of syllable-final /s/ in BA Spanish. The proposed acoustic correlates of aspirated /s/ in Spanish

come from phonetic research on other Spanish varieties, most notably, Andalusian Spanish (e.g. O'Neill 2009, Torreira 2006). In this work, /s/ aspiration in Spanish has been related to several acoustic correlates such as the end of vowel pulses on the waveform, and the energy of vowel formants in spectrograms that involve the contiguous segments. Given that aspiration has been found to be spread over contiguous segments, I decided to replace the whole VsC cluster of the phrase containing aspiration in order to avoid potential residue of aspiration. I used the phrase with aspiration for the stimuli (Figure 9 and Figure 10), and replaced the aspirated cluster with the cluster containing /s/ deletion (Figure 11 and Figure 12).

Finally, in the case of Variables (4) (*Spanish* vs. *English*), I used the token phrase recorded for the Spanish variant, and I inserted the end phrase that corresponded to each variant. My initial proposal was to use three pronunciations of the same words, i.e. Spanish, Hispanicized English and English. Yet, in the case of the high-frequency word 'please', the speakers were not able to produce a native-like pronunciation. The Hispanicized English and English versions were both phonetically similar. In order to avoid confusion by presenting two almost identical variants of 'please', I decided to reduce the number of variants to two in this case: Spanish ('por favor') (Figure 13 and Figure 14) and Hispanicized English ('plis') (Figure 15 and Figure 16). I nevertheless included the three versions of the low-frequency word 'polite' in in order to test whether a more English-like pronunciation is actually noted as different, and whether this difference carries any meaning for the respondents. In the case of the low-frequency English word, I presented the interviews with three recordings by a female speaker (Figure 17, Figure 19 and Figure 21), and three recordings by a male speaker (Figure 18, Figure 20 and Figure 22).

3.4.2 Imitation task

The imitation task was aimed at generating linguistic associations between the variables in my study and (i) additional linguistic features as well as (ii) non-linguistic features (such as Preston (1993) shows for roles and topics) which participants may make use of in the course of their imitation. Imitation in sociolinguistics has been defined as “the conscious use of a variety which is not the speaker’s vernacular” (Evans 2002: 96), and imitation tasks often involve asking participants to ‘talk like’ another sociolinguistically relevant group (e.g. Preston (1993) for imitation of “white” vs. “black” people’s speech; Brunner (2009), and Neuhauser and Simpson (2007) for imitation of ‘non-native’ accents). In a more general sense, imitation can be considered similar to Schilling-Estes’ (1995, 1998) “performance speech”, that is, “the register associated with speakers’ attempting to display for others a certain language or language variety, whether their own or that of another speech community” (1998: 53). Both imitation and performance speech are “highly self-conscious” (1998: 54) in that speakers concentrate on the display and enhancement of certain (non)speech features. However, imitation can be said to differ from performance speech in that imitation tends to refer to situations where a display of speech is requested of a speaker while performance speech is mainly used in reference to naturally-occurring displays of speech. In my interviews, there is a combination of (elicited) imitations, and (spontaneous) cases of performance speech. In many cases, interviewees used performance speech in the course of their commentaries. In some cases, I asked them if they could show me how a given phrase or persona would sound.

3.4.3 Semi-structured interviews

The interview was divided into two main parts. In the first part, participants were asked to provide some basic information (i.e. age, residence, type and location of school) as well as details about their academic training and professional career. Participants were also asked to comment on what dialect/s they speak, what dialect/s is/are spoken in Buenos Aires, and whether they have travelled to other areas where they noticed speech differences. The second part of the interview concentrated on the variables described in 3.4.2 above. The interviewees listened to the stimuli in MP3 format either on an MP3 player or on a computer (depending on where the interview took place]. After listening to each pair, participants were asked whether they noticed any differences between the phrases they heard. Participants were then invited to make any comments about the situations where each variant is more likely to be used or heard in Buenos Aires, and about which of the variants is more representative of the Spanish spoken in Buenos Aires. After that, I made specific questions about aspects of the alternations (see Appendix A).

4.0 THE ANALYSIS

For this dissertation, I conducted discourse analysis of the interviews and responses to the tasks. My goal was not to analyze how participants made use of the variables in their own speech, but rather how participants explicitly talk about the variables and relate them to locally relevant aspects of social life. My discourse analysis was divided into two stages. First, in line with conventional folk linguistics, I conducted a content analysis of the interviews. This stage involved listening to the recordings, and looking for explicit ways in which interviewees describe the variables in the study. As I listened to the recordings, I took notes of lexical choices denoting attributes, personae, places, activities or events which were explicitly linked to the variables in order to establish recurrent associations, and characterizations of such associations. The purpose of this stage was to explore the perceived social meanings of the variables, and their mappings onto distinct social registers. Following Agha's conceptualization of registers, I noted typifications of (1) linguistic and non-linguistic resources, (2) pragmatic values, and (3) the social distributions associated with the variables in the interviews.

Second, in line with the socio-cultural linguistic approach, I conducted a more in-depth discourse analysis of the interviews centered on how the variables are discursively attributed specific meanings. In this second stage of the analysis, I paid attention to patterns of discursive and rhetorical resources mobilized in the construction of metasociolinguistic stances. As defined before, metasociolinguistic stances are stance acts taken towards sociolinguistic phenomena such

as “the conventional associations between language and social categories, linguistic ideologies, and language hierarchies” (Jaffe 2009a: 24). I concentrated on how interviewees positioned themselves towards as well as evaluated uses of the variables, and also on how interviewees aligned with the ideologies recruited to explain those uses. My goal was to analyze how interviewees constructed negative or positive stances towards the reported associations of the variable. I selected extracts from the interviews in order to provide a more detailed analysis of how these positive or negative stances are displayed by creating similarities and contrasts as well as evaluations within them.

One aspect of metalinguistic talk that I considered in particular was the appellation to sources of pragmatic norms. That is, in constructing metasociolinguistic stances, interactants often invoke and typify normative sources (e.g. the school, the home, the written word, grammatical rules) as a way to support or impugn their claims about sociolinguistic relationships and beliefs (cf. Johnstone 2007). In this sense, metasociolinguistic stances can be said to be constructed, at least in part, by recruiting forms of pragmatic norming which endow register formations with differential value. In my analysis, I concentrated on the value of these sources as they interrelated with the variables in my study.

On the basis of this discourse analysis, my dissertation provides, on the one hand, a rich description of resources that constitute salient social registers of BA speech and, on the other, relevant local metasociolinguistic stances towards those resources and their meanings. Before I turn to the analyses, one caveat is in order. Although the term ‘social class’ is sometimes mentioned throughout the following sections, I do not refer to it as based on a scholarly definition. I use ‘social class’ as an emic category, i.e. a category produced by the interviewees in the course of the interviews. The following sections contain the analyses of the four variables.

4.1 TEACHERS' TALK ABOUT THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM OF DEFERENCE

4.1.1 Introduction

In this section, I report on my findings related to the ethnometapragmatic descriptions and understandings of the pronominal forms of address in BA Spanish. To summarize, the pronominal system of Buenos Aires Spanish (hereinafter, BA Spanish) includes two forms for the second person singular, *vos* and *usted*. Unlike the situation in Peninsular and other Latin American Spanish varieties, the pronominal form *tú* disappeared from BA Spanish during the second half of the 20th century. The only remnants of the *tú* form are the preservation of *te / ti* as objective pronouns and *tú / tuyo* as possessive forms for the second person singular which are now part of the *vos* pronominal paradigm. The verbal forms associated with *vos* in BA Spanish are the same as those traditionally used with *tú*, except in the Present Indicative, the Present Subjunctive and the Imperative. In the case of these three tenses, verbal forms for *vos* have acquired a particular form in BA Spanish. Table 2 below contrasts *vos* and *tú* forms in these three tenses.

Table 2. Verbal forms for *vos* in BA Spanish contrasted with verbal forms of *tú* in other varieties.

	CANTAR [to sing]	TEMER [to fear]	PARTIR [to leave]
Present Indicative	Vos cantás Tú cantas	Vos temés Tú temes	Vos partís Tú partes
Present Subjunctive	Vos cantes / cantés Tú cantes	Vos temas / temás Tú temas	Vos partas / partás Tú partas
Imperative	Vos cantá Tú canta	Vos temé Tú teme	Vos partí Tú parte

Like in other T/V systems of pronominal address, these two forms of address in BA Spanish are considered to have different complementary socio-pragmatic functions. *Vos* together with its pronominal and verbal inflections would fill in the slot of the T-form, and is traditionally conceived as appropriate in ‘informal’ contexts of use. In contrast, *usted* together with its pronominal and verbal inflections would fill in the slot of the V-form, and is traditionally conceived as appropriate in ‘formal’ contexts of use. In addition to these pronominal forms, the system of address in BA Spanish is also formed by nominal forms such as *señor/a* [sir/madam] which combine with the pronominal forms in order to create varying degrees of deferential treatment in interaction. As I will show in this section, the uses and meanings of both pronominal and nominal forms of address in BA Spanish have been undergoing critical changes. The results of these changes are presently evident in the explicit descriptive accounts provided by my interviewees. But my discursive analysis of the interviewees’ comments will additionally show that (1) stereotypical uses and meanings of *vos* and *usted* contrast and co-exist with other ethnometapragmatic interpretations, (2) alternative interpretations are not equally distributed and/or regarded among speakers, and (3) one key to understand these ideological tensions in the system of address is the reformulation of the notions of respect and distance.

Indeed, several sociolinguists have observed changes in the use of pronominal forms in BA Spanish throughout the 20th century. And, it is here that my own study started, with the aim of testing these claims by delving into the speakers’ perceptions especially in the context of elementary schools. According to the sociolinguistic literature, the first change in the BA Spanish pronominal system of address reduced the *vos-tú-usted* system to a *vos-usted* system. *Vos* had replaced *tú* in all contexts of use, even in all written genres, by the second half of the 20th century. As Fontanella de Weinberg (2004) puts it, “[l]a característica más destacada del

voseo bonaerense es (...) su extensión a todos los niveles sociales y a todos los estilos” (p. 51) [the most salient characteristic of *voseo* in Buenos Aires is its extension to all social levels and to all styles]. At present, the use of *tú* or its verbal inflections are perceived as a characteristic of the speech of peoples who are not native of Buenos Aires. This is evidenced by the comments made by some of my interviewees even though my study did not include this variant. As a result of this first change, *vos* (i.e. the ‘T’ form) together with its verbal inflections became the only appropriate pronoun for ‘informal’ contexts of use whereas *usted* (i.e. the ‘V’ form) together with its verbal inflections continued to be used in ‘formal’ contexts.

The second change has reportedly affected the resulting *vos-usted* system by extending the uses of *vos* to situations which were previously under the domain of *usted*. Both Fontanella de Weinberg (1987, ft. 21) and Rigatuso (2000) describe transformations in the use of pronominal forms of address in Buenos Aires. The authors observe that familial as well as other close relationships (i.e. friendly and romantic relationships) were increasingly characterized by the use of a symmetrical *vos-vos* treatment (instead of the asymmetrical *usted-vos* treatment and of the symmetrical *usted-usted* treatment observed in the 19th century). Rigatuso characterizes this change as “[un] avance de la cercanía e informalidad interaccional, correlacionado con una mayor informalidad en las pautas de la vida social” (2000: 316) [an advancement in interactional closeness and informality, correlated with a greater degree of informality in the patterns of social life]. In the author’s words, the prevalent trend in Buenos Aires has been towards “less formal and more solidary” uses of pronominal forms of address (2000: 316).

The third change also contributed to the extension of the use of *vos* by affecting the patterns of use of some nominal forms of address. On the one hand, some nominal forms of address indicating respect and lack of familiarity (e.g. *señora* [madam]) which were traditionally

accompanied by the use of *usted* and its verbal inflections in interaction began to be paired also with the pronominal form *vos* and its verbal inflections. Rigatuso (2000) provides ample examples of this trend from interactions in situations of commercial transactions (i.e. at stores or taxis between clients and service providers). For Rigatuso, these are instances of a “mixed, semi-formal” style of address, which had previously only been attested in the use of first names (less formal) in conjunction with *usted* (formal). On the other hand, it has been observed that nominal forms of address now include what has been called ‘insultive vocatives’. Following Ramírez Gelbes y Estrada (2003), “insultive vocatives” (in contrast with “insulting vocatives”) are phrases that are commonly known as *malas palabras* [lit. bad words] which, in addition to being considered an insult in some contexts, can function as a way to express “friendly familiarity” (p. 336) in other contexts. A quintessential example of insultive vocatives according to the authors is *boludo/a* [lit. ‘with big balls’]. My personal observations and interactions can support this claim. The insultive use of *boludo/a* has indeed become so characteristic of friendly talk in Buenos Aires that a recently published popular guide to *Porteño* Spanish by James Bracken is entitled *¡Che, boludo! A Gringo’s guide to understanding the Argentines*. Ramírez Gelbes and Estrada contend that, as a result of the retraction in the use of *usted* and the spread in the use of *vos*, at least some speakers (esp. adolescents and young adults) make generalized use of *vos* + insultive vocatives such as *boludo/a* in situations of friendship and intimacy which used to be indexed through the contrast between *vos* and *usted*.

In sum, according to recent sociolinguistic literature on pronominal and nominal forms of treatment in BA speech, the address system can be described as follows:

Formal style:	<i>usted</i> / formal nominal phrases (e.g. <i>señor/a</i> [sir/madam], last name)
Semi-formal style:	<i>vos</i> / formal nominal phrases

	<i>usted</i> / informal nominal phrases (e.g. first name)
Informal style:	<i>vos</i> / informal nominal phrase
Extremely informal style:	<i>vos</i> / (insultive) vocative (e.g. <i>boludo/a</i> [asshole], nickname)

My report and analysis in this section of my study thus focus on enhancing our knowledge about the pronominal variants as described in the literature. My perceptual task and thus the explicit elicitation of comments from the interviewees included only three variants from the list above: *vos*, *usted* and *vos* + *boludo/a*. However, the semi-structured study allowed me to also gather comments about some nominal forms and their relationship with pronominal forms which emerged in the course of some interviews. These comments about nominal forms of address were not systematic, but they are useful in offering some insights into how some nominal elements are integrated into the system of address in BA Spanish.

4.1.2 The ethnometapragmatics of *vos*

The use of *vos* is indeed mentioned in the interviews as a characteristic linguistic practice that differentiates BA Spanish from the Spanish spoken in other parts of Argentina and/or from the Spanish spoken in the rest of the Hispanic world. Where it occurs, this commentary emerges when interviewees are asked how they would describe BA Spanish in general to someone who is not from the area. That is, in this section of the interview, interviewees were presented with an open question with the aim of establishing the idea that there were no right or wrong answers during the interview, and also of understanding what would be the most distinctive aspects of BA Spanish for each interviewee. Given the salience of *voseo* in Buenos Aires, I expected that the

practice of using *vos* instead of *tú* would be invoked by the majority of interviewees. However, that was not the case in my fieldwork.

Interestingly enough, the metalinguistic commentary that arose as a result of the perceptual task in relation to the uses and meanings of *vos* in BA Spanish does evince some distinctive particularities. The majority of the interviewees explicitly describe *vos* as the most common pronominal form of address in BA Spanish, i.e. the one appropriate for a greater number of situations by all kinds of speakers. In addition, interviewees do not provide as much detail about the use of this variant as they do about the use of the other two. Thus, in comparison with *usted* and *vos + boludo*, this is the variant for which interviewees provide less detail and whose use is associated with less specific situations in the interviews. This finding in metalinguistic comments corroborates the observations in the sociolinguistic literature regarding the spread of *voseo* in BA Spanish. I would argue that these general discursive trends that I find in my interviews point to and re(create) the central place that *vos* occupies in the ethnometapragmatics of deference in Buenos Aires. That is, the less detailed discursive presence of *vos* in the interviewees' metalinguistic comments about pronouns of address lends it a more implicit omnipresence. *Vos* thus becomes a seemingly encompassing backdrop against which the other forms of address acquire more clearly delimited meanings in the course of the interviews.

In addition to the discursive trends mentioned above, one salient way in which the ethnometapragmatic centrality of *vos* is metalinguistically constructed in the interviews is by relating the use of *vos* to two general notions: closeness and informality. In some interviews, these notions are expressly mentioned as such. In other cases, these notions emerge in relation to two main factors invoked for the choice of *vos*: the closeness of the interactants' relationship and the informality of the interactional situation. A few interviewees also mentioned the age of

the participants in the sense that the generational distance between the speakers plays a role in the (dis)preference of *vos*. That is, a smaller generational distance between the participants would favor the choice of *vos* and vice versa. However, this age factor does not figure so prominently in the interviews about *vos* as it does in relation to *usted*, so I will deal with this factor below when I discuss ethnometapragmatic understandings of *usted* in the following section.

Now, regarding closeness, the overwhelming majority of interviewees relate *vos* to situations where there is “*confianza*” [closeness/familiarity], “*más relación*” [a closer relationship] or even “*algún tipo de relación*” [some sort of relationship] between the interactional participants; interactants need not be family or friends, but “*comparten mucho tiempo*” [they share lots of time]. For most interviewees, an interlocutor uses *vos* most frequently when s/he “*conoce a la persona*” [knows the other person] either from home, work or some leisure activity. The idea of having routine interactions with the other speaker thus establishes *vos* as the normative form regardless of how intimate these interactions are. That is, both family members and colleagues at work (even more senior ones such as the school principal, for instance) would be appropriately addressed as *vos*. Notice how, in the extract below, N, a teacher at a semi-private school, describes her perception of *voseo* being used (in)appropriately towards her depending on her relationship with the other interactant:

una es ‘¿podés cambiar el horario?’ donde es-ya te da más confianza y hay veces que esa confianza está bien tomada si vos querés que hay alguien que conocés o es alguien que comparte mucho tiempo con vos en el gimnasio o una compañera de trabajo pero si vos te vas a un consultorio médico y te dicen ‘¿vos podés?’ ya es como que se está tomando confianza que um- yo no quiero que esa persona se tome mi confianza (N, teacher, semi-private school)

[one is ‘can you reschedule?’ [vos verbal inflection] where there’s-it’s already creating more familiarity and there’s times when that familiarity is well assumed if you want that-it’s someone you know or it’s someone that shares time with you at the gym or a co-worker but if you go to a doctor’s office and you’re asked ‘can you [vos] reschedule?’ it’s already like the person is assuming familiarity that em- I do not want that person to assume we’re close]

In this extract, the interviewee (I, teacher, private school) relates the appropriate use of *vos* to having an ongoing relationship with the other interactant. In a similar vein, the extract below refers to how *vos* can be used appropriately despite differences in seniority, as in the case of addressing the principal of the school, and despite the lack of friendship between the interactants.

- 1 *I: peroooo por ejemplo a la dueña del colegio yo tengo determinada distancia*
[buuut for example there is certain distance with the owner of the school]
- 2 *porque no es mi amiga y igualmente le-la trato de vos [V: aha aha]*
[because she is not my friend and anyway I address you-her with *vos*]
- 3 *eh mm hay otras personas en el colegio que que no que la tratan de usted*
[ah mm there are other people in the school that that do not, that address her with *usted*]
- 4 *pero tiene que ver con el roce social que tienen*
[but it has to do with the social experience they have]
- 5 *V: ajá ajá ¿a qué te referís [interrupción]*
[Aha aha what do you mean [interrupted]]
- 6 *I: No con el respeto no sé si me entendés*
[Not with respect I’m not sure if you understand me]

- 7 *V: sí sí sí*
 [yes yes yes]
- 8 *I: No es de confianzuda [V: aha]*
 [It is not being too forward]
- 9 *es que tiene que ver con-con-con el uso que se le da al usted actualmente*
 [it's got to do with-with-with the use that *usted* is given now]

In the first two lines, the interviewee exemplifies the use of *vos* with interactants who are not friends or family. Notice how the interviewee here tries to explain this less canonical use of *vos* by referring to alternative interpretations of the phenomenon: lack of respect for the rank of the other person (line 6) and too much familiarity with someone who is neither a friend nor a family member (line 8). In the second case, the practice of inappropriately addressing someone with *vos* is labeled as being “*confianzuda*” [lit. exercising excessive familiarity]. I will show throughout this section how the reformulation of the notions of respect and distance are recurrent in the interviews about forms of address. Basically, adjusting the parameters of these two notions seems to be central to the transformation of the address system in BA Spanish.

Some interviewees also or alternatively explain the choice of *vos* as reliant upon the informality of the situation. There are fewer interviewees that actually refer to informality. Informality does not necessarily have to do with the closeness or familiarity between the interactants; it constitutes a separate notion that typifies the interactional situation. This association with informal situations would thus allow the use of *vos* where closeness between the interactants does not exist such as with a bystander in the street, for instance, or in commercial transactions at a store (cf. Rigatuso 2000). Informality and closeness can overlap, but may also act independently and extend the domain of *vos* beyond closeness.

According to the interviewees, schools are dominated by the use of *vos*. *Voseo* is reported to be used and regarded appropriate in routine interactions regardless of the role of the interactants. In other words, students, parents, teachers, (vice)principals, other staff (secretaries or members of the psychopedagogical group), and even municipal schools supervisors normally address each other using *vos* and its pronominal and verbal inflections in the school. A few of the interviewed teachers reported addressing the principal or the supervisor using *vos* only after some time in the school (which sustains the idea of a ‘closeness’ factor) or after noticing that *voseo* was the norm in the school.

In addition to *vos*, children are also reported to address teachers using a variety of nominal forms which are particular to the school context. According to the interviewees, children address their teachers with the following forms: ‘*señorita*’ [miss] or its shortened form ‘*seño*’ with or without the addition of the shortened or full first name of the teacher, the shortened form ‘*se*’, or just the first name of the teacher, either in its full form (e.g. Laura) or in a shortened form (e.g. Lau). The combination ‘*seño*’ + full or shortened name seems to be the most widespread form of address, as in ‘*Seño Lau*’.

Even though these nominal forms of address appear in my interviews as the most common and widespread, one teacher from a private school in San Isidro provides insights into how certain forms may have a different local meaning. The comment below, as I will show, makes reference to the stigmatization of addressing the teacher as *seño* [miss] (and of using *escuela* instead of *colegio* for school) and of using *usted* instead of *vos* in the context of that particular school. In both cases, the teacher refers to a class-based register that regiments the use of nominal and pronominal forms of address differently at least in that particular school. I should note that neither the other teachers in the same school nor any teachers in other schools referred

to this particular attitude towards these expressions, so there is no additional evidence supporting this teacher's claims. However, it is an interesting finding to note for further study that these three expressions may have different pragmatic value with a seemingly more restricted distribution in BA Spanish. In terms of metalinguistic discourse, I think this comment is useful to show that the particular way in which the interviewee's metasociolinguistic stance is constructed proves successful in engaging the interviewer's attention and, at the same time, creates a more overt connection between the linguistic practices in question and a fad or a geographical location while backgrounding the potential connection with social status. Here is the extract (I, teacher, private school):

- 1 *I: actualmente eh hh es-es com acá en-en esta zona donde nosotros nos manejamos*
[now eh it is-is like here in-in this area where we work]
- 2 *es un horrrrrror hablar decirle a alguien de usted*
[it is a::wful to address someone with *usted*]
- 3 *V: ah sí?*
[oh really?]
- 4 *I: Seee si está muy mal visto*
[Ye::s yes it is very badly seen]
- 5 *V: ajá ah está mal visto*
[aha ah it is badly seen]
- 6 *I: está mal visto*
[it is badly seen]
- 7 *V: no sólo que no se usa sino que está mal visto*
[It is not just that it is not used but it is badly seen]
- 8 *I: Claro sí sí*
[Exactly yes yes]

- 9 *V: ¿por qué está mal visto?*
[why is it badly seen?]
- 10 *I: Porque eh ehm porque ahora se relaciona con gente que no-que culturalmente no tiene roce*
[Because ah ahm because now it is related to people that are not-that does not have a relationship with status groups]
- 11 *salvo determin-a ver si yo me cruzo con eh Cristina [Kirchner] viste no le voy a decir*
[except for certain-let's see if I run into ah Cristina [President Cristina Kirchner] ok? I'm not going to tell her]
- 12 *qué hacés Cristina obviamente porque la voy a tratar de cómo le va presidenta*
[how are you doing Cristina? Obviously because I am going to address her as how are you Ms. President?]
- 13 *y-y voy a hablar en función del cargo jerárquico que tiene [V: aha]*
[and-and I am going to speak in terms of the hierarchical position she has]
- 14 *peroooo por ejemplo a la dueña del colegio yo tengo determinada distancia*
[Bu::t for example there is certain distance with the owner of the school]
- 15 *porque no es mi amiga y igualmente le-la trato de vos [V: aha aha]*
[because she is not my friend and anyway I address you-her with vos]
- 16 *eh mm hay otras personas en el colegio que que no que la tratan de usted*
[ah mm there are other people in the school that that do not, that address her with *usted*]
- 17 *pero tiene que ver con el roce social que tienen*
[but it has to do with the social experience they have]
- 18 *V: ajá ajá ¿a qué te referís [interrupción]*
[Aha aha what do you mean [interrupted]
- 19 *I: No con el respeto no sé si me entendés*
[not with respect I'm not sure if you understand me]
- 20 *V: sí sí sí*
[yes yes yes]

- 21 *I: No es de confianzuda [V: aha]*
[it is not being too forward]
- 22 *es que tiene que ver con-con-con el uso que se le da al usted actualmente*
[it's got to do with-with-with the use that *usted* is given now]
- 23 *V: ajá ajá y cuando vos decís 'roce social' ¿a qué-a qué te referís?*
[Aha aha and when you say social experience what do you mean?]
- 24 *I: Aaa mmm ehheh a esta-a esto que te estoy diciendo*
[Toooooo mmm ehheh to this-to what I am telling you]
- 25 *de a qué clase social [V: ahh aha aha] pertenece la persona*
[to what social class the person belongs]
- 26 *V: porque vos decís que una persona de clase social más alta o más baja usa el usted?*
[Because you say that a person of a higher or lower social class uses *usted*?]
- 27 *I: Más alta pue-tutea más [V: ah] que aquella persona de clase social más baja [V: ahh aha]*
[a person of a higher social class may-uses vos more than that person from a lower social class]
- 28 *podríamos divagar y hablar de-de de-de cómo se siente ese emisor al hablar con la persona*
[we could ramble on and speak about-about about-about how the speaker feels when talking with the other person]
- 29 *por-tiene que ver con no sé ehheh estoy divagando*
[because-it has to do with I don't know ok I'm rambling on]
- 30 *pero tiene que ver con una se-sensación de inferioridad em o de mmm o de respeto hacia el otro*
[but it has to do with a feel-feeling of inferiority am or of mmm of respect to the other]
- 31 *por-por también por esta cuestión de escalafón [V: aha aha] no jerárquico sino sociocultural [V: aha aha] mm*
[because-also because of this question of not hierarchical but sociocultural rank mm]

- 32 *V: o sea o sea a ver si lo entiendo es como que el escalafón jerárquico se traduce en un escalafón social*
[that is-that is let me see if I understand it's as if a hierarchical rank is translated into a social rank?]
- 33 *I: o tiene-par-parte de un escalafón social de alguna manera? Porque de todas formas hay una diferencia jerárquica*
[or has-sta-starts from a social rank somehow? Because there is a hierarchical difference anyway]
- 34 *hay una diferencia jerárquica*
[there is a hierarchical difference]
- 35 *pero ahora no está dada también por el us-no está dada como antes por el usted [V: okay aha aha]*
[but not it is not realized also by the us-is not realized like before by usted]
- 36 *está dada por otras cosas sí*
[it is realized by other things yes]
- 37 *V: no no lo había escuchado eso*
[I had not not heard that]
- 38 *I: sí ehh insisto se daaaaa ya te digo por una cuestión de moda [V: mhm] ehm no se usa ahora el usted*
[yes I insist it occurs I tell you because of a fad ahm usted is not used now]
- 39 *V: mhm y los chicos tampoco lo usan entonces*
[mhm and the kids don't use it either then]
- 40 *I: bueno acá es un horror que te digan señor*
[well here it is awful that they address you as señor [miss]]
- 41 *está mal visto [V: aha] entendés?*
[it is badly seen do you understand?]
- 42 *O que digan escuela y no colegio que para mí son pavadas totales*
[Or that they say escuela [school] rather than colegio [school] that for me it's complete nonsense]

- 43 *pero te-te reconozco que-que existen dentro de esta área*
[but I acknowledge to you that-that they exist within this area]
- 44 *V: y está mal visto por-por la mayoría de o sea por los chicos por*
[and it is badly seen by-by the majority of that is by the kids by]
- 45 *I: Y acá la maestra que dice escuela la miran con cara de eh ehm no tiene roce [V: aha aha]*
[well here the teacher that says escuela [school] is looked at as if ah ahm she doesn't have social experience]
- 46 *Y aunque a lo mejor la maestra que está diciendo escuela eh no solamente*
[And even though maybe the teacher that is saying escuela [school] ah not only]
- 47 *ehh e ehh e es instruida sino que más instruida*
[ahh ah ahh i-is educated but more educated]
- 48 *que aquella que viste [con acento esnob] el colegio gorda entendés?*
[than the one that you know [with a snob accent] the colegio [school] dear do you understand?]
- 49 *pero ehh ya te digo tiene que ver con una cuestión de moda y de-de una región*
[but ahh I tell you it has to do with a question of fads and with-with a region]

In terms of content, there are basically two sections in this commentary. The first section (lines 1 to 39) centers on the use of *usted* while the second section (lines 40 to 49) focuses on the use of nominal phrases *seño* [shortened form of 'miss'] and *escuela* vs. *colegio* ['school' in both cases]. Both of these sections are strikingly similar, almost parallel in structure and meaning, although the section on *usted* is decidedly longer, especially because it contains a greater number of explanations. To start, lines 1-3 about *usted* look very much like lines 40-43 about *seño* and *escuela*, and they both convey similar beliefs and stances towards those beliefs. Both sections include, though in a somewhat different order: (1) almost identical deictic references to place: *acá* [here], *en esta zona* / *en esta área* [in this area]; (2) the impersonal evaluative expressions

es un horror [it is awful] and *está (muy) mal visto* [it's (very) badly seen]; and (3) generalizations about 'saying': *decirle a alguien, que te digan, que digan*. In each section then, the pragmatic norm is constructed in parallel ways and thus conveys the idea that the three expressions are part of the same register. By virtue of the deictic system, the references to place (1) start by marking a contrast between the linguistic practices in that particular school and/or area where the school is located and other schools and/or areas. 'Saying' *usted, señor or escuela* (3) in that school or area is negatively valorized (2).

The negative pragmatic value assigned to these expressions seems to rest on the belief that people who use the expressions do not belong to or have sufficient interactions with the high status members of the school/area. A speaker who uses those words in the school is one that *(culturalmente) no tiene roce (social)* (lines 10, 17, 45) [(culturally) has no (social) experience]. According to the interviewee, this expression refers to *a qué clase social pertenece la persona* [to what social class the person belongs] (line 25). The noun *roce* comes from the verb *rozar*, which literally means 'brushing against'. In other words, *tener roce social* can refer more literally to a person's knowledge (or lack thereof) of the norms that govern practices in high status groups, and more metaphorically to the fact that the person either belongs to a higher social class or has access to high status groups. Notice that the interviewee repeatedly uses this expression even after the more transparent explanation provided in line 25. I would suggest that the repeated choice of this expression over a more literal and transparent reference to social class allows the speaker to adopt an ambiguous stance that permits her both to distance herself from the group that supposedly sanctions the norm and its stigmatizing effects and to claim sufficient knowledge of the group's norms and thus avoid stigmatization.

Indeed, I would argue that the interviewee projects this ambiguous stance towards the stigmatization of *usted*, *seño* and *escuela* through other discursive devices as well. By means of an extensive deployment of impersonal generalizations throughout the extract, the interviewee distances herself from the creation and enforcement of the pragmatic norms and their stigmatizing consequences. Only in lines 11-17 does the interviewee provide a unique personal specific reference to her own practices, which results in aligning her practices with the expected normative behavior in high status groups. In addition to impersonal generalizations, the interviewee makes use of two other resources that contribute to distance her from those norms. On the one hand, she expresses a negative assessment of the linguistic practice at the school through an explicit negative comment in line 42 (*para mí son pavadas totales* [for me it's complete nonsense]). On the other, she produced two instances of a mocking performance of stereotypical snob speech in each section, one in line 2 (*es un horror* [it's awful]) and another one in line 48 (*el colegio gorda* [the school dear]). These two instances of performance speech importantly contribute to the distancing effect as they (re)create a way of speaking that is distinctly marked from the rest of the commentary and is attributed to a different social persona who seems responsible for the norm and its effects. Finally, despite the reported relationship between the pragmatic restriction against the use of *usted*, *seño* and *escuela* and social class, the interviewee explicitly points out (in line 22) and later emphasizes (*insist* [I insist] in line 38 and *te digo* [I tell you] in line 49) that the restriction stems from a “fad” and a region, which tends to downplay the role of class in favor of alternative explanations based on time and place distinctions.

In sum, while the use of *vos* is associated with similar factors, i.e. closeness and informality, across school communities as described in my interviews, I showed that some

distinctions seem to surface in relation to social class. There is an indication that *vos* is perceived to be used more extensively by members of higher status groups. This class-based register in schools would include nominal terms of address like *seño* [miss].

4.1.3 The ethnometapragmatics of *usted*

My interviews for this study provide evidence of the circulation of notions traditionally associated with *usted* such as respect towards and distance between interactants. At the same time, there is some evidence of changes in the uses, meanings and scope of *usted* in communication. With regards to more traditional views, where *usted* is typically related to the expression of a high degree of deference towards the interlocutor, *usted* treatment continues to be systematically perceived as related to four main contextual factors: (1) *formality*, as in the register of written official documents, (2) *lack of closeness or familiarity*, e.g. when addressing or being addressed by the receptionist in a doctor's office or a stranger in the street, (3) *age*, in addressing older people, and (4) *higher rank or hierarchical position*, e.g. in an organization or institution. Although the interviewees do not always mention all four factors, these factors are mentioned by the interviewees quite frequently.

One of the most consistently mentioned factors across the interviews is the age of the addressee. Most interviewees report that *usted* is frequently used when addressing “*gente grande*” or “*gente mayor*” [elderly people or older people], but this is certainly not the only possibility. Even though the addressee's older age is reported to be a stereotypical factor in the choice of *usted* as an address form, many interviewees point out that other factors, such as familiarity, can override the age effect and make ample room for the use of *vos*. An example would be the reported symmetrical *vos-vos* treatment in routine school interactions, where the

age difference between the interactants is not perceived to typically affect the choice of pronominal forms of address. A few interviewees, however, referred to the routine use of *usted* towards certain individuals as a “habit”. For instance, the principal at a public school explained his consistent use of *usted* towards the handyman at the school on the basis of their age difference even though they had known each other for several years.

A couple of interviewees, like J, a teacher from a semi-private religious school (Extract below), also explicitly note that the pragmatic norm of using *usted* with older addressees can be negotiated in each interaction upon the request of the addressee.

y cuando y al principio cuando conocés una persona o es mayor, siempre siempre de usted ehh si la persona no te dice no tratáme ehh viste hay personas que no les gusta que las traten de usted porque se sienten mayores entonces te-te aclaran no no por favor tutéame porque viste ahí ya tenés que cambiar tu manera de hablarle (J, teacher, semi-private school)

[and when and at the beginning when you meet a person o it is an older person, always always with usted ahh if the person does not tell you no treat me ahh you know there are people who don’t like to be addressed using usted because they feel older then they they make it clear to you no no please use vos because you know then you already have to change your way of speaking to her/him]

In this extract, J reaffirms the widespread use of *usted* with older people (notice the repetition of the adverb *siempre* [always]). But J importantly draws attention to the possibility of a request for reformulation by the addressee. One salient characteristic of this comment is that,

although my question to the interviewee asks for a personalized answer (“and you, when do you use *usted*?”), the interviewee responds by means of impersonal generalizations all through the passage. The impersonal generalizations used by the interviewee (especially, in contrast with the personalized question of the interviewer) present an ethnometapragmatic view of *usted* treatment where the two options are (a) equally acceptable, with one presented as the norm (i.e. addressing older people using *usted*) and the other as the exception (i.e. negotiating *usted* treatment upon the request of the addressee), and (b) equally shared by all speakers including the interviewee. Notice also how, according to J’s commentary, the negotiation over the address form would be recognizable and carried out through a particular script which appears in direct reported speech (“*no tratáme...*” [no, treat me], “*por favor tuteáme*” [please use vos]) introduced by verbs of saying (“*te dice*” [they tell you], “*te aclaran*” [they make it clear to you]). This script presents us with a seemingly ritualized exchange whereby the responsibility for breaking the stereotypical norm of *usted* usage towards older people thus becomes deflected to the addressee. In this ethnometapragmatic view, not only can the addressee request *vos* treatment, but s/he is also presented as the source of this alternative pragmatic norm, which is considered compulsory (“**tenés que** cambiar tu manera de hablarle” [**you have to** change your way of speaking to her/him]).

J’s commentary also explicitly rationalizes the reason for the addressee’s request for non-*usted* treatment: “*hay personas que no les gusta que las traten de usted porque se sienten mayores*” [there’s people who don’t like to be addressed with *usted* because they feel older]. Given this explanation, I would argue that, the ritualized exchange described in J’s commentary by which an addressee requests non-*usted* treatment involves what Coupland calls “a denial of ageing” (2008: 83). Denials of ageing, according to Coupland, are “conventionalized responses”

such as “age complimenting” which are rooted in ageist ideologies. Coupland defines ageist ideologies or ageism as “a complex ideological formation – a structured, historically formed set of myths or discourses that endorse the subordinate or marginal positions and qualities of the old” (2008: 80). Like sexism, racism and classism, ageism also operates through social practices, including linguistic ones. In the case of *usted* treatment towards older people, the linguistic practice of addressing someone may be valorized negatively due to the implied presupposition that the addressee is a member of the ageing group. Notice that, in this commentary, the addressee’s denial of ageing becomes sufficient reason for dropping *usted* treatment. The notion that ageing is undesirable is at the center of the addressee’s request and of the addressor’s interpretation of and compliance with such request, but the relationship between ageism and *usted* treatment is neither openly discussed nor questioned.

Given the strong perceived relationship between using *usted* and the addressee’s age, I propose that the ethnometapragmatics of *usted* in BA Spanish is critically imbued with ideas about age and ageing. Metalinguistic comments on (not) using *usted* towards older people can thus shed some light on how *usted* treatment is perceived to be recruited in the (re)creation and circulation of ageism in Buenos Aires. As argued in the previous paragraph, J’s commentary presents the use of *usted* as linked to a denial of ageing by the addressee. The conventionalized nature of this denial is supported by the Extract below, where L, a teacher in a private school, also brings in the voice of the addressee worded in similar terms (“*por favor tuteáme*” [please use vos] vs. “*tuteáme*” [use vos]) when referring to the production of a request for non-*usted* treatment.

es que las personas mayores cuando vos usas el-el ‘puede’ te dicen ‘tuteame’ [V: ajá] o sea que esta cosa de marcar está marcado digamos no me parece mal puede y tod-pero a veces es como que te limita en tus relaciones porque el otro se siente mal es como que ya está generalizado [V: ajá] el hecho de que tratar de usted sea para personas mayores [V: ajá ajá] entonces eso también es como maltratar a alguien decirle ‘usted’ (L, teacher, private school)

[it’s that older people when you use ‘puede’ [usted verbal inflection] they say ‘use vos’ that is that this thing of marking-it’s marking I mean I don’t think ‘puede’ is [unintelligible] but sometimes it’s like it constrains your relationships because the other person feels bad it’s like it’s already generalized-the fact that using *usted* is for older people, so addressing someone using *usted* is also like mistreating someone]

L also points to the connection between *usted* treatment and age as the reason for the addressee’s request. Both extracts link this stereotypical use of *usted* towards older people to a potentially negative value of *usted* originating in the implication of ageing. This negative value of *usted* is in both cases attributed to the presumed feelings of the addressee (“*se sienten mal*” [they feel bad] in Extract 4 and “*el otro se siente mal*” [the other person feels bad] in Extract 5) towards ageing. Yet in Extract 5, the addressee’s request is presented more as a generalized reaction to *usted* (“*when you use... they say*” [when you use... they say]) than as an exception (cf. Extract 4: “*siempre... si la persona no te dice*” [always... if the person does not tell you]). I would contend that the rhetorical strategy of Extract 5 implies a further step in the rejection of the stereotypical use of *usted* towards older people. That is, the addressee’s request for non-use appears to be so widespread that the addressor may well end up avoiding the use of *usted*

altogether. The explicit mention in this Extract of how the use of *usted* can negatively affect the addressor as well (“*te limita en tus relaciones*” [it constrains your relationships] and “*es como maltratar a alguien decirle usted*” [addressing someone with *usted* like mistreating someone]) would contribute to pave the way for a potential avoidance strategy.

While not widespread among my interviewees, these metalinguistic commentaries support an ethnometapragmatic view of *usted* as a stigmatizing linguistic practice with the potential for narrowing the uses of *usted*. The stereotypical use of *usted* for expressing respect and deference towards older age is understood as being renegotiated in interaction on the basis of a negative perception of ageing. In this renegotiation, respect and deference towards the status of older age is being reformulated as respect and deference towards the addressee’s feelings about ageing. Requests for non-*usted* treatment or, in extreme cases, even avoidance of *usted* treatment towards older people appear as possible ways of recreating alternative expressions of respect and deference which, by avoiding to comment on someone’s age, erode the scope of *usted* usage in favor of *vos*.

Indeed, in the school context, the use of *usted* is generally reported to be very rare in verbal interactions nowadays. In fact, all interviewees coincide that children in particular are never or rarely heard using *usted* in the school and children as well as teachers address (vice)principals using *vos*. However, interviewees report some specific instances of *usted* treatment in the school. In general, *usted* is reported to be commonly used in written official communications within the schools or from the school to other institutions. A teacher referred to this use as part of the “protocol” of writing official letters or memos. So, unlike routine oral interactions, official written communication between teachers and (vice)principals may be

characterized by the use of *usted*, especially when the document is meant to be read by actors outside of the school.

Some commentaries also refer to the use of *usted* by or towards parents within the school. In some cases, interviewees refer to an initial use of *usted* which is, in time, replaced with *vos*. This interpretation is congruent with the traditional view that *usted* is better suited for addressing an interlocutor with whom there is no or little familiarity. Some interviewees alternatively explain their own use of *usted* with some parents as respectful towards the parents' choice of address form. That is, when parents use *usted* to address the school's staff, some interviewees reportedly maintain the same form of address towards the parents. This routine may change to *vos* after getting acquainted with each other, though. And there is a third group of commentaries that explain the use of *usted* as a rather conscious strategy by the teachers in order to establish distance and/or garner respect from the parents. In this case, *usted* is presented more as a resource that is strategically deployed by the interviewees, that is, as an effective way to recreate a particular relationship between the interlocutors.

Regarding the use of *usted* as a resource for establishing distance, a few interviewees described another situation that is characterized by *usted* treatment towards parents and – most commonly – towards children. In this case, *usted* is portrayed as a way to strategically disrupt routine communication patterns (i.e. the expected familiar treatment) in order to deal with a conflictive situation. I propose that this use is presented discursively as a stance: Interviewees report that by means of their non-normative use of *usted*, they reposition themselves towards the addressee and simultaneously communicate the inappropriateness of the addressee's actions. In other words, interviewees describe this use of *usted* as a way of disaligning from the addressee while, at the same time, evaluating his or her actions (or the object of their stance) as

inappropriate and positioning themselves against those actions. For example, S, a principal at a private school in San Fernando, refers to this use of *usted* towards parents in the extract below.

con los padres del colegio? A veces fuerzo el usted y sobre todo porque el vos nos acerca mucho y cuando hay alguna situación tensa que plantear o complicada en fin según a ver si hay una familia que tiene una relación muy hab-muy cercana y hay un vos instalado que es lo habitual se-se sostiene pero a veces hay entrevistas que son complicadas (S, principal, private school)

[with the parents from the school? Sometimes I force the use of *usted* and above all because *vos* draws as too close and when there is some tense or complicated situation to address, in sum, it depends let's see if there is a family that has a very [unintelligible]-very close relationship and *vos* has been used which is the common situation the use of *vos* is maintained but sometimes there are interviews which are complicated]

Notice that S speaks about this use of *usted* as a personal choice which goes against the norm: “*Fuerzo el usted*” [I force the use of *usted*]. The verb ‘*forzar*’ [to force] conveys the idea of an unexpected and non-normative use of *usted* which, paired with the first person singular and the adverbial phrase ‘*a veces*’ [sometimes], indicates a one-sided and isolated personal act. This personalized way of using *usted* is particularly highlighted by its contrast with the representation of *vos* that follows: “*el vos nos acerca mucho*” [vos draws us too close]. By occupying the agent role of the verb ‘*acercar*’ [draw closer], *vos* is here presented as an agentivized entity that affects both interactants equally (“*nos acerca mucho*” [draws **us** too close]). So, unlike before, addressor and addressee are both affected by the agentivized *vos*. In addition, the use of the

present indicative without mitigation – such as the adverbial “*a veces*” [sometimes] used with relation to *usted* before – highlights a generalized meaning of *vos*. In sum, this use of *usted* is discursively represented as a break from the norm of using *vos* towards parents which the speaker seems to put into practice deliberately in order to produce a contrastive effect.

As the same interviewee confirms in another part of the interview (extract below), the use of *usted* as indexical of a conflictive situation is also directed towards children.

a veces si alguno está con una situación pero como pasa eeh bueno en-en la casa eh a los padres nos pasa a veces al revés los adultos ‘pero usted tal cosa’ en la-a la hora de un reto o de llamar la atención algún adulto puede traer este y yo me divierto a veces con los mismos chicos del colegio ‘pero usted está’ y le pongo el usted y-y rompo con todo lo-el modo cotidiano de tratarnos y como una distancia y que se yo pero-pero así eh cuando la cosa va muy en serio no justamente [V: ajá] para no desconcertarlos ni confundirlos (S, principal, private school)

[sometimes if one [kid] is in a situation but as it happens ahh well at-at home ah it happens to us parents sometimes but the other way round, adults ‘but you [*usted*] such and such thing’ when it’s time for reprimand them or calling the attention of a kid some adult can use this and I have fun sometimes with the very kids of the school ‘but you [*usted*] are’ and I use *usted* and-and I break with all the-the routine form of treatment and like a distance and I don’t know but-but like this, not when it is really serious [V: aha] in order not to puzzle them or confuse them]

In this commentary, S refers to how parents or other adults in general may use *usted* towards children at home or at school. But, unlike *usted* treatment towards parents, S associates her use of *usted* towards children with a less serious way of breaking a pragmatic norm. The

situation is presented as associated with some kind of conflict due to the child's misbehavior. That is, the social practice of 'reprimanding or calling the attention of a kid' is characterized here by the use of *usted* treatment. But, while the first half of S's comment is characterized by generalizations about what parents and/or adults do at home, in the second half, the interviewee refers particularly to her own personal deployment of that strategy at school. In this second half, S presents her use of *usted* towards children as a humorous ("yo me divierto a veces" [I have fun sometimes]) and playful stance ("cuando la cosa va muy en serio, no" [not when it is really serious]) towards misbehavior. The first half, which represents the most generalized position, is not described as conveying this lighter tone. The contrast between both halves of the commentary would reinforce the idea that the use of *usted* towards children would be more generally taken as more serious or even lacking positive affect.

In fact, J, a teacher in a semi-private school in San Fernando, also provides evidence of the negative affective stance that her own use of *usted* towards children conveys.

Muchas veces yo looo [risa] yo a veces lo uso cuando estoy enojada [V: ah sí?] síh en mi casa a usted le parece que...? o-o a un nene cuando lo estoy retando en el recreo corrió le pegó a alguien a veces no sé por qué pero como que para imponer más respeto no sé pero [ininteligible] ahora que lo pienso no? Por ahí no me di cuenta pero algunas veces lo he usado con chicos por ahí no está bien pero cuando me enojo, a usted le parece que le tiene que hacer eso? Por ejemplo no? (J, teacher, private school)

[many times I usse [laughter] I sometimes use it when I'm angry [V: oh yes?] yeah at home do you [usted] think that...? Or or to a child when I'm scolding him during recess he ran he hit

someone I don't know why but like to impose more respect I don't know but [unintelligible] now that I think about it no? Maybe I didn't realize but sometimes I have used it with kids maybe it's not right but when I get angry, do you think it's right to do that to him/her? For example, no?]

In this commentary, the use of *usted* is also linked to a register for reprimanding children due to their misbehavior. And J also explicitly associates *usted* treatment towards children with conveying a negative affective stance. J specifically refers to her being angry (“*cuando estoy enojada*” [when I'm angry], “*cuando me enojo*” [when I get angry]) as a highly salient emotional aspect of the situation that typifies her use of *usted*. J's usage of *usted* treatment towards children thus reportedly contributes to express an angry stance when issuing a reprimand.

Notice that J only refers to this usage as part of her own linguistic repertoire for reprimanding children (she uses the first person singular throughout the extract). Unlike S before, who does speak about how parents in general make use of *usted* towards children when reprimanding them, J does not refer to this usage as a widespread or even shared practice in her community. J's representation of this usage as personal is discursively reinforced by her explicit claims to uncertainty regarding the reason (“*no sé por qué*” [I don't know why]) and its social valorization (“*por ahí no está bien*” [maybe it's not right]). A third interviewee, A, a vice-principal in a semi-private school in San Fernando, also comments on a similar use of *usted* in her own linguistic repertoire.

- 1 *A: hay una en particular, yo cuando me enojo los trato de usted*
 [there's one in particular, when I get angry I use usted with them]
- 2 *V: ah sí? Por qué?*
 [oh, yes? Why?]

- 3 *A: no sé la verdad a veces me encuentro haciéndolo y digo pero por qué le digo de usted*
 [I don't know really sometimes I find myself doing it and I say but why do I use usted or]
- 4 *o les hablo del apellido no sé por qué uno lo hace pero a usted le parece lo que*
 [or I use their last name I don't know why one does it but do you [usted] realize what
 you]
- 5 *acaba de hacer, pegarle a un compañero? O viste o hablarles del apellido pero dura*
 [just did, hit a classmate? Or you know using the last name but it lasts]
- 6 *lo que dura el sermón y después uno restablece la comunicación con ese chico con el vos*
 [as long as the reprimand and then one reestablishes vos treatment with that kid]
- 7 *V: y es en circunstancias de de así de de enojo de...*
 [and it occurs in situations of of like that of anger]
- 8 *A: de enojo [V: claro] cuando uno está preocupado porque hicieron algo que*
 [of anger [V: sure] when one is worried because they did something that]
- 9 *no corresponde pero sabés qué, creo que es más para eh para que el chico se dé cuenta*
 [is inappropriate but you know what? I think it's more so ahh so that the kid realizes]
- 10 *eh como nosotros interactuamos mucho con ellos difícilmente si uno no hace un un*
 [ah since we interact with them a lot, if one does not make a-a]
- 11 *cambio en en el lenguaje van a interpretar que uno está enojado o que está preocupado o*
 [change in-in language they would hardly get that one is angry or worried or]
- 12 *que lo que hicieron no estaba bien yo creo que tiene que ver con eso que tiene ese*
 fundamento
 [that what they did was not right, I think it has to do with that, that it's based on that]

Overall, A's comment points to similar characteristic aspects in the use of *usted* towards children. According to A's comment, *usted* can be used as a form of address by an adult towards a child as a way to communicate a negative affective stance (described as expressing anger) towards the child's behavior. This use of *usted* is considered to index and be constitutive of an act of reprimanding, and thus to function as a linguistic resource that typifies the register of some

school staff. Like J's commentary before, A's commentary presents this use of *usted* as part of a personal repertoire rather than as part of a professional or institutional repertoire. However, unlike J's commentary before, A's commentary does introduce the possibility of a more widespread phenomenon. This possibility, I would argue, is discursively created by a pronominal shift away from the first person singular *yo* [I] and towards the impersonal pronoun *uno* [one]. The pronominal shift occurs in line 4, which starts with the first person singular that characterizes the preceding part of the extract and continues with the impersonal pronoun *uno* [one] that characterizes the remaining part of the extract. The shift towards impersonalization presents this use of *usted* as a more generalized linguistic practice within the school. Indeed, the question that follows the interviewee's comment ("*y-y los otros mae-los maestros lo usan también?*" [and-and the teachers-the other teachers use it too?]) is directly concerned with the distribution of this practice among the teachers in the school, and thus seems to be sensitive to A's implicit generalization. In sum, while the three extracts quoted here stress the use of *usted* towards children as a personal strategy, at least two of them (S's and A's commentaries) simultaneously depict it as a more broadly distributed phenomenon among adults in schools and even at home.

In addition to *usted*, A's commentary includes the use of the last name as another form of address that can produce a similar stance expressing negative affect (see line 5 in the extract above). So, according to A's commentary, both the pronoun *usted* and the last name would be part of the same register. The relationship between *usted* and the last name and their meaning when used towards children in the school also showed up in another commentary. The following extract was produced by K, a vice-principal in a public school in San Fernando, and describes a

heated debate that occurred during a school meeting about different takes on using certain linguistic forms like *usted*, *señor* [sir] and the last name when addressing children in the school.

en esta jornada en esta última jornada que fue una gran jornada pero que se, pero de discusión y que están todos enojados conmigo como qué les he dicho y de hecho vos fijate que lo han tomado tan mal que me siguen discutiendo lo del apellido no lo pueden entender pero entonces que entonces viste porque el apellido lo vincularon con cosas de su infancia y que a ellos los enorgullece el apellido pero yo no estoy hablando en contra del apellido yo lo que les digo es que si querés vincularte con alguien desde lo afectivo y lo tratás por el apellido si vos le decís esto por no en el lenguaje para volver al tema del lenguaje si vos le decís a un niño ‘señor’ ¿dónde está el vínculo, no? entonces en realidad en un modelo más conductista y más tradicional, surgen estas cosas en tratar a los chicos por el apellido, en decirles ‘señor’, en tratarlos de ‘usted’ y que en realidad ningún niño que no sienta una relación vincular con su maestro va a aprender... o van a aprender pero van a tener más dificultades para aprender porque en realidad el niño necesita el afecto (K, vice-principal, public school)

[on the meeting day on the latest meeting day with the teachers that was a great meeting day but that-but of discussion and everybody is angry with me like what I told them and in fact you see that they took it so badly that they are still arguing with me about the last name they cannot understand it but then that then because they related the last name to their childhood and that they are proud of their last name but I’m not speaking against the last name what I tell them is if you want to relate to someone affectively and you address that person by the last name if you tell him/her this is about language to go back to the topic of language if you address a child as sir

where is the relationship? So in fact in a more traditional more behaviorist model you get these things like addressing kids by their last name, calling them sir, addressing them with *usted* and that in fact a kid that does not feel there is an affective relationship with his/her teacher is going to learn or they are going to learn but they are going to have more difficulties to learn because in fact the child needs affection]

This account shows evidence that, together with *usted* and the last name, *señor* [sir] is also regarded as a form of address which is part of a similar register used towards children in schools. Importantly, this account also provides evidence of a different metasociolinguistic stance towards such register. That is, in the previous extracts, the use of these forms of address towards children was explained as a way to briefly break away from the habitual use of *vos* and the first name in order to index a negative affective stance towards a given action. In that view, the use of *usted* and the other related forms towards children in the school is expected to be interpreted as part of a reprimand, and as such it is considered a common and rather inconsequential – even humorous – practice.

The extract above, in contrast, presents a different view, which highlights how the meanings of this addressing practice in the school can be controversial. In this extract, the commentary about address forms is discursively framed within an account of a meeting where the vice-principal (i.e. the interviewee) proposed to discuss different forms of mistreatment in the school. The narration thus serves as a useful discursive strategy to vividly link the debate over the value and effect of an addressing practice to a debate over the meaning of pedagogical practices and their supporting ideologies. In this view, the use of *usted* and the other related forms of addressing children is attributed farther-reaching effects. Two sides emerge in this

narrated debate over the use of address forms: “todos” [all] and the third person plural “ellos” [they] representing the teachers, and the first person singular representing the narrator (i.e. the vice-principal). Each side is portrayed as either favoring or disfavoring the use of the last name (which is later extended to *usted* and *señor* as well) towards children. The side that favors this usage, i.e. the teachers, reportedly associates the last name with the family and past experiences whereas the side that disfavors this usage, i.e. the vice-principal, associates it with the relationship between interlocutors. It is in the latter case that the use of certain forms of address towards children is valorized negatively. As in the previous extracts, the use of *usted*, *señor* and the last name towards children is argued to recreate a stance of negative affect, but in this extract, the negative affective stance has significant effects: it is reported to impair the learning process and to be linked to a “more traditional more behavioral” pedagogical model. Interestingly, this commentary indicates that, in some schools, educators seem to be actively engaged in debating and trying to change addressing practices towards children. The construction and circulation of metalinguistic discourses like this one, which associate the use of *usted* and other related forms of address with “traditional” – and dispreferred – pedagogical practices and, in turn, pit these “traditional” practices (linguistic and pedagogical) against new teaching approaches, can also contribute to the changing value and scope of *usted* in Buenos Aires.

In sum, as I have shown through the description and analysis of reported *usted* treatment, the use of *usted* as well as of other related address forms (e.g. *señor* [sir] and the addressee’s last name) is typically reported to rely on some notion of ‘distance’ between the interlocutors. That is, *usted* can index generational distance, relational distance or hierarchical distance. In most cases, *usted* is stereotypically described as a linguistic element that indicates that distance between the interlocutors is being acknowledged and maintained, and thus ‘respected’. In these

cases, interviewees speak about the use of *usted* as simply presupposed on the basis of the addressee's membership into a given category relative to the addressor unless their continued routine interactions make room for other forms of address (e.g. *vos*). For some interviewees, however, this presupposition is reported to be challenged by their awareness of alternative, negative implications of *usted* treatment such as, for instance, pointing to the older age or the lower status of one of the interactants. So, for these speakers, using *usted* does not necessarily show deference or respect. Several interviewees explicitly refer to the notion of respect when they comment on the uses of *usted*. Indeed, traditional accounts of the contrast between T/V forms typically conceive of V-forms like *usted* as “elevated or marked in value, and hence a desirable thing in and of itself for a Speaker to use” (Silverstein 2003: 209). However, my interviews suggest that, although *usted* has fulfilled a similar role and still does in some ways, its status as “desirable in and of itself” is not unchallenged. Several interviewees comment that using *vos* or not using *usted* in circumstances where *usted* used to be the norm in the past is not deemed disrespectful anymore. In this respect, J [E17] a teacher from a public school in San Fernando, actually commented: “*se puede usar usted y faltar el respeto*” [you can use *usted* and treat someone disrespectfully].

I also showed that *usted* is sometimes described as a linguistic resource that can be used to create (rather than acknowledge or maintain) distance between the interlocutors. In these cases, the presupposition of distance that characterizes *usted* treatment is strategically put to work in interactional contexts where participants do not normally address themselves using *usted*. Particularly when used towards children, the addressee (i.e. the child) does not belong to any of the traditional categories that are supposed to receive *usted* treatment. The distancing effect that is produced by the use of *usted* indexes, for some teachers, a negative affective stance

directed towards a child's action that is considered inappropriate. In these cases, the practice of using *usted* (as well as *señor* and/or the last name) towards children tends to be related to and interpreted as constitutive of an act of reprimanding. For one vice-principal, though, the negative affective stance communicated through a widespread use of *usted* towards children has significant negative effects in that it is tied to traditional pedagogical approaches which failed to take into account the role of positive affect in the teaching/learning process. In this way, the use of *usted* towards children is integrated into an ongoing (often reportedly heated) debate over the broad curriculum overhaul occurring in Buenos Aires schools (especially, state-funded ones). Like new pedagogical practices, which are often reported to be resisted or even ignored by teachers, the potential negative effects and ensuing value of using *usted* towards children are also contested. Given that the new curriculum is a top-down initiative, it was not surprising to find evidence of resistance in many of my interviews. But, if the new curriculum stands the test of time, and discourses about the use of *usted* towards children continue to be associated with traditional pedagogical, the negative value of *usted* in schools may become more widespread.

4.1.4 The ethnometapragmatics of *vos* + *boludo/a*

The third variant included in my test of BA Spanish address forms was *vos* used together with the so-called insulting *boludo/a* [lit. with big balls; asshole]. Based on my own observations and my native knowledge, I was aware that *vos* + *boludo/a* is a widespread linguistic feature in Buenos Aires. Therefore, I included this variant in my study with the purpose (1) of obtaining evidence about its uses, meanings, and perceived associations, and (2) of better understanding its perceived place in the address system in Buenos Aires. My goal was essentially to contribute information about any relevant aspects of *vos* + *boludo/a*. Indeed, one striking finding in my

study is that many of the interviewees mention *vos + boludo/a* in their responses to my initial open-ended questions about the characteristics of BA Spanish, and the different ways of talking in Buenos Aires. That is, before being prompted to talk about this feature in any way, most interviewees have already volunteered some comment about *vos + boludo/a*. The interviewees' spontaneous comments by themselves show what a salient feature of BA Spanish this address form has become.

As explained before, *boludo/a* has historically been used, and is still used, as an insult (similar to 'asshole' in English) towards someone with whom you may or may not have an ongoing relationship in order to express anger towards some act by the addressee. Nowadays, *boludo/a* as an insult co-exist in BA Spanish with the use of *boludo/a* as an insulting vocative. As an insulting vocative, i.e. as a way of addressing someone without indexing anger, *boludo/a* is typically reported to be used "entre pares" [among peers] especially with friends or relatives, thus pointing to a close relationship between the interlocutors. P, a principal of a public school, described it "*más como sinónimo de persona*" [more as synonymous with person]. And a few teachers also mention the similarity in function and meaning between *boludo/a* and *che*, still a quintessential vocative among friends in BA Spanish.⁵

In the case of *boludo/a*, however, its alternative use as an insult seems to lead some of my interviewees to reject it as a habitual form of address. For these interviewees, *boludo/a* is "*una mala palabra*" [a bad word] regardless of its function, "*otra grosería*" [another vulgarity] normally used for cursing. These speakers associate the indiscriminate use of *boludo/a*, regardless of its function, with a lack of respect towards others, with exhibiting vulgarity and bad manners, and/or with having a limited expressive vocabulary. This ethnometapragmatic view is more

⁵ Among Spanish speakers, this vocative has been such a stereotypical feature of BA speech that it became the nickname given by Cubans to the famous Argentinian revolutionary leader Ernesto 'Che' Guevara.

prevalent among – though not exclusive of – interviewees from religious schools in my sample. Some of these speakers also claim that their own speech style is devoid of bad words, and/or that the variant ‘*vos + boludo/a*’ is actually “worse” than ‘*vos*’ and ‘*usted*’ (while in most commentaries, the appropriateness of forms of address is claimed to be dependent upon the context of use rather than an intrinsic value of the form itself).

In terms of types of speakers associated with the use of *vos +* insulting *boludo/a*, the majority of my interviewees tend to spontaneously start by attributing the use of *vos + boludo/a* to younger speakers, mostly those in the final years of elementary school (aged 8-12) and adolescents. A few interviewees invoke similar descriptive phrases such as “*es el nombre de todo el mundo*” [it’s everybody’s name] or “*es el segundo nombre de todos*” [it’s everybody’s middle name]. These hyperbolic phrases are not uncommon among adults referring to the use of *boludo/a*, and I would argue they emphasize the perceived high prevalence of this form among younger speakers. A typical observation among interviewees, and one that can contribute to the perceived prevalence of *vos + boludo/a*, is that younger speakers use this form of address wherever they are as long as they are interacting with an appropriate interlocutor, i.e. friends or relatives.

Younger speakers are thus represented as using *vos + boludo/a* with no regard for or awareness of contextual or situational restrictions except for their relationship to the speaker. This observation about the use of *vos + boludo/a* seems to entail a rather negative evaluation of younger speakers as non-compliant with socio-pragmatic norms of appropriateness. That is, according to these norms, using *vos + boludo/a* would not be appropriate in certain places (like schools or even public transportation), especially within ear-shot of an adult, probably because of its alternative function as an insult. In school in particular, the use of *vos + boludo/a* is reported

to be definitely censored inside the classroom by most interviewees, and also condemned during recess by some interviewees (though not always).

Yet interviewees also report that, at least in the elementary schools where they work and at home (if they have (pre)adolescent children or contact with (pre)adolescent children), younger speakers only use *vos + boludo/a* towards other younger speakers of a similar age group (such as friends, school mates or relatives). That is, despite being considered such a prevalent feature of (pre)adolescent speech, *vos + boludo/a* as used by younger speakers is rarely reported by most interviewees to be directed to inappropriate interlocutors (e.g. parents or teachers). Indeed, whenever I explicitly asked if students would ever use *vos + boludo/a* towards the teachers or other staff members of the school, interviewees in general considered that outrageous, and expressed a highly negative stance towards that possibility. In view of my interviewees' reports, it would seem that the norm for using *vos + boludo* differs between younger speakers and adults. Among the former, the use of *vos + boludo/a* seems to be mostly based on the intersubjectivity between the interlocutors while, among the latter, its appropriate use would additionally involve taking account of the presence of overhearers.

In fact, many interviewees also report either using *vos + boludo/a* themselves or talk about knowing other adults who use this form of address under certain circumstances. According to these reports, the use of *vos + boludo/a* among adult speakers is similar to its usage among younger speakers in that this form of address is used among interlocutors who have a friendly relationship and habitual contact. For instance, many teachers from all types of schools report using *vos + boludo/a* towards other teachers inside the school, but never towards (vice)principals or district supervisors. So, it would seem that the ethnometapragmatics of *vos + boludo/a* is also sensitive to hierarchical difference between the interlocutors. Moreover, these teachers also

report that not only is *vos* + *boludo/a* not used towards certain interlocutors (as explained before), but it is also avoided when in the presence of certain categories of overhearers, such as parents and children. One interviewee, for example, described it as a “code language” she only uses with her university friends, and claims not to use it at home, neither with her children nor with her husband.

One particularly interesting finding of this section of my study is the reported use of *vos* with other vocatives similar to ‘*boludo/a*’. One case is the claim by a few interviewees that the vocative ‘*boludo/a*’ is often transformed into shortened forms such as “*bola*”, “*bolú*”, “*boló*”, and used in place of ‘*boludo/a*’. Since they are never used for cursing or insulting, these shortened forms have a more distant connection with the insulting function and meaning of ‘*boludo/a*’. Even though there is no evidence in the interviews pointing in this direction, I believe that these shorter forms may be considered a more playful and mitigated variant of ‘*boludo/a*’. A second case involves the claim by some interviewees who work in public and semi-private schools serving low-income and poor populations that the students in these schools use other insulting vocatives. In addition to or instead of ‘*boludo/a*’, these interviewees report, students can be heard calling each other ‘*guacho*’ [lit. orphan] and/or ‘*gato*’ [lit. cat]. Both of these forms are argued to function as vocatives meaning ‘friend’, but they can also be used as insults meaning ‘bad person’ in the case of ‘*guacho*’ and ‘stupid’ in the case of ‘*gato*’. The latter is particularly interesting. The vocative ‘*gato*’ [lit. cat; stupid] reportedly originated as jargon used among prisoners. My interviewees add that the use of this vocative has spread in very poor areas or ‘*villas*’ [shanty towns], and that it has also been adopted by younger speakers sharing public or institutional spaces (such as schools) with speakers from or near shanty towns.

My interviews therefore provide some evidence that metalinguistic talk about the pragmatic value and distribution of different insulting vocative forms is being produced in BA Spanish. I would argue that these metalinguistic commentaries might indicate that, for some speakers, ‘*guacho*’ and ‘*gato*’ could be or could be becoming second-order indexical vocative forms whose social meaning contrasts with that of the more stereotypical ‘*boludo/a*’, and is associated with socio-economically based spatial distinctions. Most comments about ‘*boludo/a*’ portray this form as presently quite widespread in Buenos Aires, especially among younger speakers. One teacher in a private school in fact remarked that ‘*boludo/a*’ used to be originally associated with speakers of lower socio-economic status, whereas nowadays it is used by everyone regardless of social class. However, another teacher in the same private school who also works in a semi-private school and has done volunteer work in a widely known *villa* [shanty town] in northern Buenos Aires provides a more detailed and somewhat different view. According to C, “*el boludo lo usan todos, hoy en día en cualquiera de las ramas [sic], es más yo creo que en La Cava no se usa tanto ahora*” [And boludo is used by everyone, today in any of the branches, and what’s more I think that it is not used so much in La Cava (name of a shanty town in San Isidro, Buenos Aires)]. C’s comment also explicitly describes *boludo/a* as commonly used by speakers from all socio-economic backgrounds while it points out that speakers with a highly impoverished background might be abandoning this practice.

Indeed, in the rest of C’s commentary, there emerges an explicit distinction between the linguistic practices of younger speakers which is based on the types of spaces that they inhabit (and which C is supposedly acquainted with). Speakers from *villas* [poor neighborhoods] are described as favoring a different way of speaking, called ‘*villero*’ [from the shanty town], which includes the preference of the vocative ‘*gato*’ over ‘*boludo/a*’. Speakers who attend semi-private

schools, generally in working class areas, are described as using ‘*boludo/a*’ more extensively, but also ‘*villero*’ language with the purpose of “*hacerse el canchero*” [playing cool] or joking around as well as “*no perder [sus] raíces*” [not losing their roots]. And, finally, speakers who attend private schools, in affluent areas, are described as habitually using ‘*boludo/a*’ while sometimes using ‘*villero*’ language in order to ‘*hacerse los negros*’ [play black] or joke around, but “*sin saber muchas veces el significado*” [often without knowing the meaning]. Importantly, this commentary does not only elaborate on perceived differences in the distribution of the vocative variants (what could be called first-order indexicality), but also about perceived (re)interpretations and (re)creation of those distributional differences (i.e. second-order indexicality). As second-order indexicals, ‘*guacho*’ and ‘*gato*’ are reported to be employed and recognized as linguistic resources in the (humorous) performance of a tough stance.

Last but not least, the use of *vos + boludo/a* was the only variant in the group of address forms tested in my study that generated any gender-related comments. Two caveats are in order here. One, most interviewees reported no gender differences in the use, value and/or distribution of *vos + boludo/a*. Two, I must remind readers that, just like the staff in most elementary schools in Buenos Aires, my sample was characterized by an overrepresentation of female interviewees (33 females vs. 2 males). Therefore, in terms of gender, the metalinguistic perceptions and representations I will report here are skewed in order to represent the gender bias in the elementary teaching profession.

One interesting finding is that, for most interviewees who did report a correlation with gender categories: *vos + boludo/a* is perceived as most typically used either among males or among females, and less in male-female interaction. However, a couple of interviewees actually reported that women may use *vos + boludo/a* towards men more often than men towards women.

Meanwhile, other interviewees actually report a greater use of *vos* + *boludo/a* by male speakers. Some reasons were offered to explain this perceived higher rate of occurrence among males: men are “less expressive” (i.e. use fewer lexical items) than women; men tend to use *boludo/a* as an insult more often while women prefer other insults; men use it in a wider range of situations; men tend to monitor their language use less than women; men are more “practical and direct”.

To sum up, the use of *vos* + *boludo/a* is linked to younger, especially – but not restricted to – male, mostly in friendly, informal interactions. Address forms with similar functions and meanings have been described elsewhere. A salient example is that of ‘dude’ in the US, as shown in Kiesling (2004). According to Kiesling, ‘dude’ also works mainly – though not exclusively – as terms of address among younger male speakers. It serves to construct a stance of “cool solidarity” and “camaraderie” (p. 282) that, Kiesling argues, evokes dominant representations of masculinity such as “masculine solidarity, strict heterosexuality, and nonconformity” (p. 282). From my interviewees’ reports, the use *boludo/a* in BA Spanish can be seen to recreate similar notions: it is perceived as used more typically among males; it literally refers to a male sexual organs, and it is also used as an insult. While similar in those respects, ‘dude’ and *boludo/a* present some differences that emerge by comparison with the commentaries in my interviews. Because of their different origins, ‘dude’ in “the ‘surfer’ and ‘druggie’ subcultures” and *boludo/a* as an insult, these address forms maintain different ties with the dominant representations of masculinity mentioned by Kiesling. ‘Dude’ is thus associated with “effortlessness” or “laziness”, which stresses a cool form of solidarity. In contrast, *boludo/a* is often characterized as ‘vulgar’, and generates negative stances among some overhearers, which, I would argue, contributes to heighten its nonconforming value.

4.1.5 Discussion of past and present findings

In line with previous observations (e.g. Fontanella de Weinberg 1987, Rigatusso 2000), *vos* appears as the most extensively used pronominal form of address for the second person in the singular. *Usted* and *vos + boludo/a* appear as more restricted options. The results of my analysis of teachers' metalinguistic commentaries show the persistence of explicit discourses that have traditionally linked the appropriateness of using *vos* vs. *usted* to notions of situational (in)formality. My analysis also reveals (1) that (in)formality can acquire specific meanings, and (2) that (in)formality is not the only – and not even the main – parameter reported to affect the choice between *vos* and *usted*. In the case of the specific meanings of informality, while written official documents are considered formal and thus reported to require the use of *usted*, oral communication within the school is mostly described as dominated by the use of *vos*. In the case of other parameters that interplay with informality, interviewees report closeness and familiarity as highly salient ones that affect the choice between *vos* and *usted*. In particular, the frequency of interactions (including the ones at schools) emerges as a key defining aspect of closeness and familiarity. This observation by my interviewees in fact coincides with the trend described by Fontanella de Weinberg (1987) and Rigatusso (2000) regarding the increasing expansion of symmetrical *vos-vos* treatment between more closely-related speakers.

This reported expansion of *vos* treatment is also mirrored by the more limited uses of *usted* as reported by my interviewees. In my interviews, the use of *usted* appears as more narrowly defined than the use of *vos*, which contributes to project a broader scope of usage for *vos*. In addition to its use in official written documents and among speakers who are not close or do not know each other well, *usted* is said to be appropriately used when addressing older or more highly ranked people in order to construct respect. But *usted* treatment for respect can be

rejected by the addressee. Rejection of *usted* treatment is explicitly mentioned and described in the case of an older addressee. On the basis of these metapragmatic comments, I argue that *usted* treatment towards older addressees may be interpreted as stigmatizing rather than respectful. I have found no published data on this phenomenon, so the analysis of actual interactions would be necessary in order to obtain insights into this potential trend in BA Spanish. In the same vein, there are another two uses of *usted* reported by some of my interviewees that would require interactional data for corroboration and refinement. One of them is the use of *usted* treatment as a resource to create distance and project a negative affective stance towards the addressee. The other refers to a perceived ‘overuse’ of *usted*, with addressees that can and are addressed normally as *vos*. This case was reported by only one of my interviewees, and would signal the user’s lack of knowledge of deference norms among higher status members of society.

Finally, my interviews match the observations by Ramírez Gelbes & Estrada (2003) regarding the extended use of *vos + boludo/a* in Buenos Aires. Indeed, my interviewees mention the widespread use of this variant before doing the perceptual task as a salient feature of BA Spanish. According to my interviewees, the use of *vos + boludo/a* points to a close relationship between equals. And like Ramírez Gelbes & Estrada, my interviewees tend to explicitly relate *vos + boludo/a* to younger people, even though many of the teachers also acknowledge using the variant themselves. I would argue that the connection between the use of *vos + boludo/a* and age merits further investigation because the use of *vos + boludo/a* may be more widespread than explicitly acknowledged by my interviewees in metalinguistic commentaries. Among some of my interviewees, however, the vocative *boludo/a* retains a strong association with the insult *boludo/a* and with its more literal meaning, and is rejected for those reasons. In addition, a few of my interviewees also make a connection between male speakers and the use of *vos + boludo*.

This connection is not very strong in my sample, and but its existence points to the potential of the term *boludo/a* to evoke dominant representations of masculinity, in particular its nonconforming aspect, as discussed in reference to Kiesling's (2004) analysis of 'dude' in English. Other vocatives such as *guacho/gato* are also mentioned having a more restricted distribution among speakers of BA Spanish. These two vocatives, also reported to be used with *vos* by some speakers, evoke a higher level of nonconformity due to their association with criminality and low status speakers. A study of the connections between gender and *vos* + different vocatives using different kinds of data sources would be necessary in order to better understand the relationship between the actual production, meanings and perceived associations among various vocatives.

4.2 TEACHERS' TALK ABOUT YEÍSMO

4.2.1 Introduction

The second section of my analysis is devoted to the description and analysis of how voiced and voiceless versions of *yeísmo* are perceived and represented by speakers of BA Spanish. The phonological phenomenon known as *yeísmo*, which characterizes BA Spanish, is argued to have originated in the merger of the palatal fricative /j/ and the palatal lateral /ʎ/, which occurred in the 18th century. The sound resulting from the palatal merger, namely, /j/, later became transformed into the voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/ – a phenomenon known as *zheísmo*. *Zheísmo* became generalized among BA speakers by the end of the 19th century. It was the predominant realization of orthographic 'll' and 'y' until the voiceless palatal fricative /ç/ was

incorporated into the sound inventory of BA Spanish, probably through foreign words, and started to spread to native words – a phenomenon known as *sheísmo*.

Since approximately the mid-20th century onwards, the presence of both *zheísmo* and *sheísmo* has been consistently reported in sociolinguistic studies of BA Spanish. Several sociolinguistic studies have since argued that the replacement of *zheísmo* with *sheísmo* is a change in progress (for a summary of studies, see Rohena-Madrado 2011). Recent sociophonetic studies (e.g. Chang 2008, Rohena-Madrado 2010, 2011) actually contend that the change towards *sheísmo* is near completion, particularly among the younger and middle class speakers in their samples. Yet these studies also continue to show that voiced and voiceless pronunciations still co-exist, with a tendency towards the production of *zheísmo* among certain age and socioeconomic groups (upper class speakers regardless of age and older middle class speakers, according to Rohena-Madrado 2011).

Given the persistence of both pronunciations in BA Spanish, my aim in including voiced and voiceless variants of *yeísmo* in my perceptual study was to concentrate on potentially distinctive social functions and meanings which may explain why both variants are still maintained. Some studies have already pointed to some possible associations of these variants with socially-relevant categories. There is an indication in the literature that the voiced vs. voiceless contrast in *yeísmo* would be particularly associated with class-based distinctions. Some authors (e.g. Colantoni 2011, King 2009, Rohena-Madrado 2010, 2011) claim that, overall, the voiced variant is often linked to speakers of higher middle and upper classes whereas the voiceless variant is more often associated with middle and working class speakers. But, there is at least one study (Chang 2008) that reports a link between the voiced variant and notions such

as ‘provinciality’ and ‘lack of sophistication’. The stark contrast between these associations merits further investigation into the perceived meanings of different forms of *yeísmo*.

My own study does not examine production patterns or the correlation between production patterns and given linguistic or social categories (like King’s (2009) and Rohena-Madrazo’s (2011) for instance). However, some of the results of previous studies are confirmed by the analysis of my interviews. In particular, I found that interviewees perceive voiceless *yeísmo* as the most widespread variant, which is also considered characteristic of BA Spanish. My study also shows that voiced *yeísmo* is perceived to be alive and kicking as part of the repertoire of linguistic forms of BA Spanish, although there is evidence that its social distribution is more restricted than that of voiceless *yeísmo*. In terms of meaning, the voiced variant is attributed to higher status personae and places, and described as ‘*cheto*’ [typically meaning ‘snob’]. The voiced variant is also correlated with female speech, contrary expectations based on data from the sociolinguistic literature indicating that the spread of voiceless *yeísmo* was headed by women. Finally, my study found that the variants are additionally contrasted on the basis of the perceived ‘expressive tone’: while the voiced variant is associated with notions such as ‘smoothness’ and ‘respectfulness’, the voiceless variant evokes ‘strength’ and ‘authority’.

4.2.2 The ethnometapragmatics of *yeísmo*

As mentioned above, recent production studies on *yeísmo* point to a growing decline in the usage of the voiced variant in Buenos Aires. Overall, the responses to my study show that, for many speakers, voiced and voiceless forms are perceptually distinct, and indexical of specific meanings. The three most salient trends in my study can be summarized as follows: (1) most –

but not all – the interviewees reported a contrast between the voiced and voiceless variants presented in the perceptual task; (2) among these interviewees, the variants were associated with regional and social registers, and (3) *zheísmo* – or the voiced version of *yeísmo* – is reported to have a more restricted social distribution. These findings thus suggest that neither the perception of the contrast between the variants nor the meaning of the contrast is equally shared by all BA speakers. That is, some speakers perceive a distinction and are able to report a meaningful contrast between voiced and voiceless *yeísmo* while, for other speakers, this voicing variation goes unnoticed, and is irrelevant. As I will explain below, my results actually corroborate claims made by other linguists regarding the perception of voiced vs. voiceless *yeísmo* as linked to socio-economic differentiation (e.g. Colantoni 2012, King 2009). And my results also indicate that the voiced-voiceless distinction is sometimes attributed to regional dialectal differences, though not to ‘provinciality’ (cf. Chang 2008). My analysis also builds on these findings and provides more details about the role of voiced *yeísmo*, a marked form in comparison with the voiceless version. My analysis shows how, in my interviews, voiced *yeísmo* systematically evokes and thus contributes to characterize both speakers and spaces with a higher socio-economic status. Voiced *yeísmo* is then understood as a stereotypical feature of an adopted speech register, called ‘*cheto*’ (i.e. snob).

Regarding the perception of voiced and voiceless forms of *yeísmo*, my interviewees can be broadly divided into two groups: those who noticed a meaningful contrast between the tokens (24/32), and those who did not (8/32). The latter group is represented by a smaller number of interviewees who either reported hearing no contrast between the variants, or who did report a contrast, but were not able to explain the basis of such contrast in any way. In cases like these, where interviewees had trouble noticing a distinction between the variants, I provided various

additional opportunities for listening to the phrases. I played the recordings more than once; sometimes I also read the token phrases myself in order to provide alternative versions; and I asked about different potential categories of association (following my interview questions). Despite these attempts, the interviewees in this group were not able to produce additional commentaries. It is possible that the stimuli used for the task was the main reason why these interviewees were not able to perceive differences between the variants. That is, it might be that these interviewees are sensitive to contrastive features which are different from the ones built into the stimuli (e.g. degree of voicing, phonological context, discursive context). Yet, since most interviewees were able to perceive and describe a distinction between the tokens, the tokens seem to be representative of a contrast between /ž/ and /š/. Assuming then that the tokens are indeed representative of a contrast between voiced and voiceless *yeísmo*, I argue that, for those participants who were not able to report any meaningful differences, the distinction between /ž/ and /š/ may be sociolinguistically insignificant. In other words, some speakers of BA Spanish may not perceive voicing as a systematic contrastive feature of *yeísmo*, but possibly as random variation in production.

However, the larger group of interviewees is formed by those who did report perceiving a meaningful contrast between the tokens, and attributed specific meanings to such contrast. Within this second group, there were mainly three different meanings attributed to the contrast. There are commentaries that associate the contrast with what is described as the expressive ‘tone’ [“*el tono*”] of the phrase. On the one hand, the phrases containing tokens of *žeísmo* were typified as a smoother (“*más suave*”), more respectful (“*más respetuoso*”) way of talking. On the other hand, the phrases containing tokens of *šeísmo* were associated with anger (“*enojo*”), and a stronger (“*más fuerte*”), firmer (“*más firme*”), more authoritarian (“*más autoritario*”), more

impatient (“*más impaciente*”) way of talking. Given that each pair of recorded phrases originate in the same utterance except for the segments involved in the alternation, the distinct values attributed to the phrases can be argued to be greatly influenced by the use of voiced or voiceless forms of *yeísmo*.

Notice that most of the notions attributed to the utterances (such as respect, authority, impatience) indicate ways in which a speaker positions him/herself towards other speakers. That is, according to the interviewees, a speaker can project different degrees of respect, authority, or impatience towards other speakers in the interaction by using voiced or voiceless versions of *yeísmo*. Qualities, such as being smooth, strong or firm, which appeal to the senses, can be said to project the speaker’s position more indirectly: they transform speech forms into sensory experience, which can in turn contribute to the construction of notions like respect, authority and impatience. Notice the following example from my interviews: “*lo imperativo de la oración se potencia en decir más fuerte la y griega*” (L, teacher, semi-private school) [the imperative quality of the sentence becomes more powerful when saying ‘y’ more strongly]. Here, the notion of imperativeness is explicitly associated with voiceless *yeísmo*, which is described as a ‘stronger’ production. On the other hand, *zheísmo* is associated with ‘smootheness’, as in the following example: “*Macri es un buen ejemplo de hablar así eh s-este suaviza las ‘y’ griegas, digo yo que suaviza*” (A, teacher, private school) [Macri is a good example of talking like that uhm s-I mean smoothening the ‘y’, I say he smoothenes them]. In this case, the interviewee offers the example of a well-known politician, usually identified with right-of-center politics, and currently the mayor of the City of Buenos Aires, whose way of speaking can be easily heard on the media.

This ‘strength’ or ‘smoothness’ of *yeísmo* are ethnometapragmatic terms that help speakers characterize linguistic phenomena. In linguistic terms, the perception of the phenomena described here could derive from the effect of voicing on the production of fricative noise. In acoustic terms, the intensity of fricative noise has been argued to be higher (and thus more perceptible) among voiceless fricatives (such as [š]) than among voiced ones (such as [ž]) due to the aerodynamic difficulty of producing both voicing and frication simultaneously (e.g. Ohala 1983, 1997 on the aerodynamic voicing constraint). Higher frication can then contribute to the folk interpretation of voiceless *yeísmo* as ‘stronger’ or, as other interviewees pointed out, ‘more marked’ (“*más marcada*”, “*remarcada*”).

Another group of commentaries describes the contrast between voiced and voiceless *yeísmo* as indicative of regional linguistic distinctions. The tokens containing [ž] are described as characteristic of Spanish varieties spoken outside of Buenos Aires, either in other provinces of Argentina or in other Spanish-speaking countries (e.g. Spain). For example: “*la primera es como hablaría cualquier persona fuera de Buenos Aires y la segunda como hablamos en Buenos Aires, marcamos la y griega a full*” (L, teacher, semi-private school) [the first one is the way any person outside of Buenos Aires would speak and the second is the way we speak in Buenos Aires, marking ‘y’ a lot]. As shown in the example, *zheísmo* is perceived as a non-local variant while *sheísmo* is pointed to as a local variant of BA Spanish. Unlike Chang (2008), who mentions that younger speakers in his study identified the voiced variant with “provinciality”, I did not find a negative valorization of *zheísmo* on the basis of regional distinctions in my study. That is, some of my interviewees pointed to *zheísmo* as a speech form typical of other ‘provinces’ other than Buenos Aires (as shown in the example), but none of my interviewees related *zheísmo* with notions such as “provinciality” or “lack of sophistication”.

Finally, a third set of commentaries explicitly rationalizes the contrast on the basis of socio-economic status, with *zheísmo* singled out as indicative of a higher socio-economic status. This socio-economic distinction maps voiced and voiceless productions of *yeísmo* with different socio-economically based categories, and suggests that *yeísmo* is involved in the recreation of status distinctions in Buenos Aires. This finding corroborates what has been argued by other students of *yeísmo* (more recently, by Colantoni 2011, King 2009). Despite the more widespread distribution of the voiceless form, the social significance of the voicing contrast emerges as a reason why the voiced form is still observed in Buenos Aires.

In general, interviewees produce remarks that explicitly recreate the link between the *zheísmo* and having more economic resources. For example: “*viste que parece que a veces éstos que son muy adinerados usan así esos modismos de hablar*” (P, principal, public school) [you know that it seems that sometimes those who have a lot of money use these ways of talking]. One of the commentaries even emphasizes the central significance of the economic dimension by contrasting economic and other kinds of resources: “*no tiene que ver con no con un capital cultural sino con un capital económico*” (L, teacher, private school) [it doesn’t have to do with cultural capital but with economic capital].

One of the most salient categories mentioned and typified in the metapragmatic commentaries about *yeísmo* is the speakers, i.e. the users of the variants. In these commentaries, users of *zheísmo* are characterized by their economic status, as in the following example: “*hay gente de nivel-de nivel socio-económico alto que hablan-que pronuncian la y griega de otra forma, no la pronuncian como nosotros eso es lo que yo creo pero no sé*” (S, teacher, public school) [there’s people of a level-a higher socio-economic level that speak-that pronounce ‘y’ in another way, they don’t pronounce it like we do, that’s what I think but I don’t know]. While

commentaries about users of *zheísmo* typically recreate a persona with economic power, some commentaries actually extend the indexical meaning of the variant to include other users. In the following commentary, for instance, the interviewee relates the variant to two other categories: “*la gente que por ahí que tiene dinero que quiere, que está en la televisión o que quieren marcar una diferencia*” (J, teacher, public school) [people that maybe have money that want, that are on TV or want to mark a difference]. Notice that two of these categories of users (i.e. those with money and those on TV) can be distinguished from the third category on the basis of intentionality. That is, the last category is defined by the users’ intention (i.e. ‘wanting’) to distinguish themselves from other users, thus relating the variant to the wilful performance of a persona.

This performative use of *zheísmo* emerges from other commentaries as well. For instance, note the following extract from an interview with a teacher from a private school:

L: *son características de gente muy... no sé, no sé cómo explicártelo, como una forma de ostentar de pertenecer*

[they are characteristic of people who are very... I don’t know how to explain it to you, like a way to show off, to belong]

V: *ajá ajá y de ostentar qué?*

[aha aha and to show off what?]

L: *y como que-que a partir de esa forma se marca como cierto nivel social alto*

[and like with-with with that form one marks like certain high social level]

Here, L points to *žéismo* as a resource in the performance of a persona with high status. That is, according to L, speakers can show and mark status by using this variant regardless of their origins. In the following excerpt, another interviewee actually explains a theory of how the variant has spread to users who do not necessarily have economic status over time:

que ya no-para mí que ya no está ligado solo e-era marcado que sí se pertenecía a cierta clase social hoy ya no no no es tan así yo conozco gente de otras clases sociales que también han incorporado la forma de hablar porque o se relacionan en determinado context, porque van a una escuela este donde pasa, por contacto pero sí creo que sigue siendo una manera de tartar de diferenciarse del resto de la sociedad [A, teacher, private school]

[Not anymore-for me it's no longer linked only it w-was marked that one did belong to a certain social class, not today, it's not not not so much like that, I know people from other social classes that have also incorporated the way of talking either because they interrelate in a given context, or because they go to a school uhm where that happens, because of contact, but I do believe it continues to be a way of trying to distinguish oneself from the rest of society]

In this comment, the discursive space is divided between past ('was', 'belonged') and present ('today', 'is'), which are bridged by a process of 'incorporation' ('have incorporated') in the present perfect, and by the continued role ('continues to be') of the variant in dividing the social space. Notice how the process of incorporation of the variant in other socio-economic groups is attributed to contact between speakers of different varieties in certain spaces, in

particular in schools. I will return to the role of spaces in the ethnometapragmatics of *yeísmo* below.

Regarding the voiceless variant, the interviewees typically identify it with a more general trend in the speakers of Buenos Aires. In some cases, the local character of *sheísmo* emerges from a contrast between local and non-local registers. For instance: “*me parece como algo más que usamos nosotros los que vivimos en Buenos Aires*” (V, teacher, semi-private school) [I see it as something like we use, the ones who live in Buenos Aires]; “*la primera es como hablaría cualquier persona fuera de Buenos Aires y la segunda como hablamos en Buenos Aires*” (L, teacher, semi-private school) [the first is how any person outside of Buenos Aires would speak and the second how we speak in Buenos Aires]. The distinction between a local and a non-local uses of *yeísmo* is personified by means of a contrast between ‘we’, i.e. the speakers in Buenos Aires, and ‘others’, i.e. the speakers outside of Buenos Aires. This contrast arises implicitly in the first example, since the ‘others’ are not mentioned but can be deduced. In other cases, it is rather two local registers that are contrasted through the personification of the voiceless variant in the persona of ‘ordinary’ users. For instance: “*más del común de la gente*” (P, principal, public school) [more of ordinary people]; “*común, que no quiere aparentar nada con el lenguaje*” (L, teacher, private school) [ordinary, who doesn’t want to fake through language]; “*la forma me suena la primera más así achetada (...) y la otra más comunacha*” (K, teacher, semi-private school) [the form sounds the first more cheto-like (...) and the other more common-like]. Note that the word “*común*” [ordinary, common] is the preferred descriptor in Spanish, which helps to define and interconnect both *sheísmo* and its users through the idea of widespread distribution. By contrast, both *zheísmo* and its users emerge as more restricted, and typified as

cheto-like (snobbish) and fake. One of the teachers (J, public school) referred to users of *sheísmo* as “*careta*” (lit. mask), meaning ‘fake’, in relation to projecting status.

Interpretations of *zheísmo* and its users as snobbish and fake point in the direction of a negative perception the use of this variant. One of the interviewees cited above provided a rich illustration of such negative valorization of *zheísmo* through an anecdote. Her anecdote concentrates on comments made by her husband and a friend of her husband’s about the way of speaking of a third male speaker, who the interviewee described as making a profuse, noticeable use of the voiced variant. The anecdote contributes to connect the use of *zheísmo* with a *concheto* persona, and, importantly, recreates a negative evaluative positioning of three different actors towards the use voiced variant. Through the use of direct speech, the interviewee recruits the voices of two male speakers, and vividly illustrates the emotional stances that can arise towards the use of *zheísmo*. The first extract refers illustrates her husband’s, and ultimately her own positioning:

L: *en realidad me habló así y yo lo tomé con naturalidad a mí no me molestó ni nada porque bueno gente que habla así bueno no me-no me preocupa entonces dice ‘viste como habla es re-concheto’ y mi marido es de Martínez y a él que es de Martínez le jodió más que a mí entonces*

[in fact he spoke to me like that and I took it naturally it didn’t bother me at all because well people who speak like that well I’m not worried by them so he (her husband) then says ‘see how he speaks? he’s super *concheto*’ and my husband is from Martínez and he being from Martínez bothered more than I did so]

V: *pero tu marido habla con ese-con ese-tiene esa esa pronunciación?*

[but your husband speaks with that-with that-has that that pronunciation?]

L: *No no no no no porque lo mato yo o sea yo de vez en cuando hablar con esta gente sí pero*

[no no no no no because I'd kill him I mean for me every now and then speak with those people, it's ok, but]

The central focus of the anecdote is a contrast between the interviewee's stance of indifference, and the husband's stance of disapproval towards a *concheto* male persona. Through the negation of an emotional reaction ('I took it naturally', 'it didn't bother me', and 'I'm not worried'), the interviewee presents a stance of indifference towards the use of a *concheto* way of speaking. The interviewee's stance is then contrasted with her husband's reaction. The husband's remark, which explicitly connects the man's way of speaking with a *concheto* persona, is explained as a 'being bothered'. This stance of disapproval is further confirmed by a reference to the husband's place of origin, a neighborhood of San Isidro that is associated with high status. This reference highlights the contrast between both stances by implicitly evoking the expectation that, having been socialized around a given register, the husband would be more indifferent to that way of speaking. However, notice that the interviewee's stance of indifference changes to one of extreme disapproval when I suggest the possibility of a different interlocutor. The interviewee's stance is heightened by rhetorical exaggeration expressed through the repetition of a negative polarity item ('no' is repeated five times) followed by a verb that denotes eradication ('I'd kill him'). This extreme disapproval peaks in the extract that follows, when the interviewee voices her husband's comment about the same male speaker: *"y cuando habla Juan dice 'vos sos un pelotudo, cómo te bancaste a este tarado como hablaba tanto tiempo es un imbécil casi más le*

pego por el teléfono’ [and after Juan talks to him, he says ‘you’re such an idiot, how did you put up with this stupid guy? the way he spoke, for so long, he’s an asshole I almost hit him through the phone’]. As the interviewee retells the comment by her husband’s friend, she performs a highly aggressive stance of disapproval that is not only conveyed through naming choices (‘stupid’, ‘asshole’) and potential act (‘I almost hit him’), but also through a crescendo tone of voice.

As suggested in the extracts above, the use of *zheísmo* is not only linked to a *concheto* persona, but also to particular spaces in the social geography of Buenos Aires. I noted L’s reference to Martínez as a way to indicate her husband’s familiarity with the voiced variant and its users. Martínez is thus used as a socio-spatial landmark that maps a form of speech and its users onto a recognizable area. High socio-economic status then circulates among these three resources, and interconnects them. Martínez, as mentioned above, is a neighborhood within the municipality of San Isidro, in northern Buenos Aires, but San Isidro is also mentioned by other interviewees. And one of the interviewees describes *zheísmo* as “*la tonada sanisidrense*” (San Isidro’s accent). However, it is not only regions that are connected with the voiced variant. The following comment about the use of *zheísmo* actually points to several types of spaces associated with the use of the variant:

tiene que ver con una región, con una educación que es una educación no formal que tiene que ver con ehh, con-con de qué cuna sos, de dónde saliste, de que familia venís, de que-en qué ámbito social te manejas que no tiene que ver solamente con el colegio sino que tiene que ver con el club con la familia con las relaciones que vos establezcas dentro y fuera del colegio (I, teacher, private school)

[it has to do with a region, with an education that is a non-formal education that has to do with uhh with-with your origins, where you come from, what family you come from, in what social milieu you relate that has to do not only with the school but has to do with the club, with the family, with the relationships you establish inside and outside the school]

Thus, this interviewee points to ‘regions’ as well as to institutional spaces like the school, and the club. Indeed, there is a micro-geography of the socially relevant spaces produced by the interviewees in relation to the variant. Interviewees from San Fernando, a municipality contiguous to San Isidro, mention Beccar (another neighborhood in San Isidro and closer to San Fernando) as well as more specific areas within San Fernando, for instance: “*si trabajás de las vías para el lado de Libertador por ahí lo sentís*” (J, teacher, public school) [if you work from the train tracks towards Libertador Avenue you may hear it]. Being from San Fernando, I am acquainted with the dividing socio-economic line often evoked by the train tracks, and with Libertador Avenue as a landmark of socio-economic status.

Other interviewees add other spaces that are recruited in the ethnometapragmatics of *zheísmo*: private (as opposed to public) schools, clubs where field hockey and rugby are played (as opposed to ‘*sociedades de fomento*’, i.e. small neighborhood clubs), and gated communities (e.g. Nordelta). Interviewees also referred to spaces where the voiced variant is not heard, in particular, *villas* and low-income neighborhoods, thus detaching the variant from categories associated with those other spaces. One of the interviewees remarks the absence of the voiced variant also at the public university and teachers’ training college, which strengthens the perception that this is not a ‘popular’ variant, but rather a more ‘selective’ one.

Finally, another category that is singled out in some commentaries as relevant in contrasting voiced and voiceless *yeísmo* is gender. Out of the interviewees that indicated the contrast is based on socio-economic status, five of them also correlated the use of the voiced variant with gender differences. In all of these cases, the voiced variant was perceived to be a more common pronunciation among female than male speakers. This perception of the voiced variant as more widespread among female speakers is fairly counter-intuitive given that studies of sociolinguistic variation in Buenos Aires have argued either that *yeísmo* is more often voiceless among female speakers (Fontanella de Weinberg 1992), or that both male and female speakers (especially younger ones) favor the voiceless version (Chang 2008). The perception among my interviewees may be driven by their demographic characteristics since all were female teachers, 37-41 years of age, and from the northern metropolitan area of Buenos Aires. However, despite the seemingly reduced social distribution of this perception, the finding points to the existence of a gender-based metapragmatic stereotype associated with the use of *žeísmo* that would merit further investigation.

A salient component of this gender-based stereotype of *zheísmo* is the negative valorization of male uses of the variant. Remember how L's anecdote above displays a stance of disapproval, especially among the male actors in the story, towards a male speaker who uses this variant. Indeed, among the interviewees who made reference to the gender contrast, two made comments that typify the use of *zheísmo* among male speakers as 'more ridiculous' ["*más ridículo*"], and not 'very masculine' ["*muy varonil*"]. One of the interviewees, L again, actually relates the variant to a way of speaking that constructs a 'weaker' male persona: "*el hombre que siente que tiene que marcar que es hombre que se yo que se cuanto el hablar así como que le da medio de cómo medio flojito*" (L, teacher, private school) [for the man who feels that has to

highlight that he is a man and so on and so forth speaking like this is like he appears kind of weaker]. Notice that this typification of *zheísmo* as connected to a ‘weaker’, ‘less masculine’ speaker seems closely associated with the folk view of the voiced variant as smoother, and also contributes to the feminization of the variant mentioned above. I will return to the relationship between different notions, qualities and categories associated with a variant in the discussion chapter of this dissertation.

4.2.3 Discussion of past and present findings

My analysis of explicit metapragmatic comments by educators confirms some of the results of previous studies focused on the production and/or perceptions of the variable. In consonance with previous findings (e.g. Chang 2008, Rohena-Madrado 2010, 2011), my investigation also points to the perception that voiceless *yeísmo* is the most widespread variant. Indeed, my interviewees note *sheísmo* as a distinctive characteristic of BA Spanish. No distinctions based on age, gender, class or any other category emerge from my interviews regarding the current use of voiceless *yeísmo*. This variant, whose presence started to be noted in the first half of the 20th century, has since then become more prominent than the voiced version.

In addition to the voiceless version, my study shows that voiced *yeísmo* is perceived to be alive and kicking as part of the repertoire of linguistic forms of BA Spanish. Although there is evidence that its social distribution is more restricted than that of voiceless *yeísmo* (e.g. some of my interviewees were not able to notice a distinction between voiced and voiceless variants in the perceptual task), my investigation indicates that both versions of *yeísmo* still co-exist, as shown by other recent studies like Rohena-Madrado (2011) and King (2009). Today’s coexistence of both variants in BA Spanish as demonstrated by my study and others corroborates

predictions by Wolf (1984) that both versions of *yeísmo* would remain part of the repertoire of BA Spanish. In contrast, Chang (2008) and Rohena-Madrado (2011) argue that the age and socio-economic distributions of the variants would indicate that the change towards devoicing is either complete or almost complete for some demographic groups (i.e. younger and middle-class speakers). Unfortunately, my study does not provide evidence about Chang's and Rohena-Madrado's claims about the completion of the change.

In terms of categories associated with the variants in my study, the voiced variant tends to be attributed to higher status personae and places, and described as '*cheto*' [typically meaning 'snob'] in my study. This finding corroborates previous claims by other scholar such as Colantoni 2011, Chang 2008, King 2009, Rohena-Madrado 2011) who have found a preference towards the voiced variant among upper class speakers. The recurrent association with voicing and lower rate of devoicing among upper class speakers can indeed be traced back to the works by Fontanella de Weinberg and Wolf in the 1970s.

Another relevant association in my study is that between voicing and female speakers. In this case, my interviewees' comments contrast with Fontanella de Weinberg's (1979) early description of the change towards devoting. In her 1979 article, Fontanella de Weinberg argues that the change towards devoicing is headed by female speakers, who are found to exhibit a higher rate of devoicing in every age group when compared to male speakers. In the case of my study, female speakers are reported to be characteristic users of the voiced variant. This contrast between early findings and my results may suggest a change in voicing preferences in terms of gender which merits further investigation.

Finally, in my study, the variants are additionally contrasted on the basis of the perceived 'expressive tone': while the voiced variant is associated with notions such as 'smoothness' and

‘respectfulness’, the voiceless variant evokes ‘strength’ and ‘authority’. This distinction in perceived tone between the variants may be affected, I argue, by the acoustic properties of voiced fricative. And, at the same time, the characterization of voiced *yeísmo* as ‘smoother’ may contribute to construe the connection between the variant and higher status personae or female speakers as inherent to these categories. The use of voiced *yeísmo* by male speakers is in fact explicitly typified by two of my interviewees as ‘weaker’ and ‘less masculine’.

4.3 TEACHERS’ TALK ABOUT SYLLABLE-FINAL /S/ PRODUCTION

4.3.1 Introduction

This section of my dissertation is devoted to the description and analysis of metalinguistic comments about the production of syllable-final /s/ among speakers of BA Spanish. The weakening of syllable-final /s/ is a widespread linguistic phenomenon in the Spanish-speaking world, and BA Spanish is no exception. In BA Spanish, syllable-final /s/ has been found to undergo such weakening processes as aspiration (sometimes referred to as debuccalization) and deletion. According to Fontanella de Weinberg (2004), the typical pattern in BA Spanish is “*pérdida de /s/ en posición final de palabra y aspiración en posición preconsonántica*” [loss of /s/ in word-final position and aspiration in pre-consonantal position] (p. 47).

In pre-consonantal position (whether in word-final or word-medial position), there is actually variation between deletion and (degrees of) aspiration of /s/, and this variation has been argued to be socially conditioned. According to previous sociolinguistic studies, different sociolinguistic factors such as gender, educational level, and speech style are correlated with the

aspiration or deletion of pre-consonantal syllable-final /s/ (e.g. Fontanella de Weinberg 1987, 2004, Lipski 2002a). To summarize, these previous studies have shown that pre-consonantal syllable-final /s/ is more likely to be deleted (1) by men than women at the same level of education, (2) by speakers with lower educational levels in general, and (3) in informal styles. Overall, the aspiration of /s/ (regardless of the degree of aspiration) has been described as more “socially neutral” (Lynch 2009: 772) whereas deletion of /s/ has been reported to be highly stigmatized (Lipski 2002: 190-191).

4.3.2 The ethnometapragmatics of syllable-final /s/ aspiration and deletion

In the case of this variable, all my interviewees were able to perceive a difference between the phrases containing /s/ deletion and /s/ aspiration in the perceptual task. And, the interviewees also attributed different meanings to the variants. The most salient and consistent aspect of my interviewees’ metapragmatic discourse about the production of syllable-final /s/ is their representation of aspiration as the normative pronunciation, and deletion as the non-normative pronunciation of /s/ in BA Spanish. This finding supports extant sociolinguistic literature on /s/ production in BA Spanish wherein /s/ aspiration is described as “socially neutral” (Lynch 2009: 772). In my interviewees’ responses, the (non)normative character of /s/ production can be observed discursively as an overall tendency to focus on the characterization of /s/ deletion in contrast with the characterization of /s/ aspiration, which becomes less visible and its meanings mostly assumed.

In addition, the pragmatic value of each variant emerging from my study overall fits the descriptions in the literature: /s/ aspiration is valued positively whereas /s/ deletion is typically stigmatized. The question is how these values are constructed in discourse by the educators in

my study. In my interviews, there are at least three primary discursive strategies that take part in the process of the pragmatic valorization of /s/ deletion and aspiration. One of these strategies consists in the deployment of expressions denoting ‘correctness’ in relation to the aspiration of syllable-final /s/. In these cases, interviewees speak about aspiration as the ‘correct’ or ‘adequate’ way of producing syllable-final /s/. Here are a few examples: “*la primera como que está digamos correctamente pronunciada o dicha*” [the first one is like it is let’s say pronounced or said correctly] (female teacher, semi-private school), “*la primera es la más clara y la correcta además*” [the first one is the clearest and the correct one, too] (female teacher, semi-private school), “*si va a hablar en otro ámbito, va a hablar correctamente y va a pronunciar adecuadamente las eses*” [if s/he is going to speak in another context, s/he is going to speak correctly and is going to pronounce the ‘s’ adequately] (female teacher, private school). Sometimes, this stance is expressed in attenuated form as a personal belief, as in “*es la forma de hablar correctamente para mí, sí, obvio*” [the way of speaking correctly for me, yes, obviously] (female teacher, public school). Notice here the addition of ‘for me’ that leaves room for alignment with alternative norms.

One characteristic of this stance based on correctness is the evocation of a source of authority. That is, discourses on correctness are sometimes linked to some explicit source of authority from which the ‘correct norm’ emanates. One of the sources invoked in my interviews is “the rules” of Spanish as in: “*el primero más ehheh ad- como más **adecuado**, el lenguaje bien utilizado, **cumpliendo con las reglas**, el segundo no*” [the first one more ahheh ad-like more adequate, well-used language, complying with the rules, the second is not] (female teacher, private school). Another source of authority invoked in my interviewees is the written word or its orthographic form, particularly as it appears in books. For instance a teacher justified the

correctness of /s/ aspiration with reference to the presence of orthographic syllable-final ‘s’ in the written form of ‘*estamos*’: “*en la lengua castellana se dice estamos y yo enseño a leer y escribir y en los libros dice es[s]tamos (...) lo correcto es estamos*” [in the Spanish language it is said *estamos* and I teach to read and write and in the books it says *estamos* (...) what’s correct is *estamos*”].⁶

In contrast with the ‘correctness’ of /s/ aspiration, a second discursive strategy involved in the pragmatic valorization of the variants in my interviews is the use of negative expressions that construct /s/ deletion as either ‘wrong’ or ‘undesirable’. There are at least two salient ways in which my interviewees establish the notion of /s/ deletion as ‘being wrong’. One way is the widespread use of the expression ‘*comerse la ese/una letra*’ [lit. to eat the ‘s’/a letter] when referring to the phenomenon of /s/ deletion. This expression is used spontaneously by almost all my interviewees, often several times throughout the interview. In many cases, this expression is indeed the first comment that interviewees make in order to describe the variation between the recorded phrases. There is one interviewee that also uses a similar expression ‘*tragarse algo/las eses*’ [lit. to swallow something/the eses]. Notice, for instance, the following comment where, through direct speech, the interviewee attributes the use of the expression ‘*comerse la ese*’ to a student as well: “*cuando uno se equivoca acá mirá lo que dijiste, fijate o mirá **te estás comiendo una ese**, eso sí, lo remarcan porque saben que está mal*” [when one makes a mistake here look what you said, check it out or see **you’re eating an ‘s’**, that for sure, they highlight it because they know it’s wrong]. The expression ‘*comerse una ese*’ is thus used as an acceptable phrase to describe /s/ deletion which involves a prescriptive stance. To be sure, ‘*comerse (algo)*’ [lit. to eat

⁶ It is interesting to note that my interviewees do not describe debuccalized /s/ as a weakened form (as linguists do), and they do not valorize it unfavorably in comparison with sibilant pronunciations of the consonant either. And, neither do my interviewees do make any distinction between the pronunciations of /s/ in different word positions.

(something)] is certainly not a novel expression; it can be found in mainstream dictionaries (such as *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*), and is commonly used when an element, which is expected to appear in either spoken or written discourse, is omitted.⁷ Yet the systematic use of ‘*comerse la ese/una letra*’ in reference to the deletion of syllable-final /s/ among my interviewees would indicate that this is also a local way of referring to this particular phenomenon, which due to its prescriptive weight contributes to recreate the stereotype of /s/ deletion as an error.

In addition to ‘*comerse la ese/la letra*’, there are other expressions which recreate the value of /s/ deletion as an error. Another salient way by which interviewees construct /s/ deletion as ‘wrong’ or ‘undesirable’ is by using a range of lexical items that directly and unmistakably establish the negative quality of /s/ deletion. For instance, the quotation cited in the previous paragraph contains another two expressions that characterize /s/ deletion as erroneous, namely, ‘*equivocarse*’ [make a mistake] and ‘*estar mal*’ [to be wrong]. The adverb ‘*mal*’ [wrong, badly] in fact appears in several phrases about /s/ deletion: ‘*utilizar mal las palabras*’ [to use words in the wrong way], ‘*hablar/expresarse mal*’ [to speak/express oneself in the wrong way], ‘*pronunciar mal*’ [to mispronounce]. The use of ‘*mal*’ in these cases contributes to recreate the notion of error with reference to a norm. In other examples, ‘*mal*’ [badly] highlights instead the undesirability of /s/ deletion with respect to sensory-based qualities, as in ‘*quedar mal*’ [to look bad] and ‘*sonar mal*’ [to sound bad]. The adjective ‘*feo*’ [ugly] as in ‘*quedar re-feo*’ [to look super bad] and the verb ‘*gustar*’ [to like] as in “*a mí no me gusta porque sé que correctamente no se dá*” [I don’t like it because I know that it does not happen correctly] similarly produce the

⁷ The idea of expectation associated with this expression is crucial. However, this idea does not appear in the dictionary definition. According to the online version of the 22nd edition of the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (www.rae.es) for example, ‘*comer*’ [to eat] can mean: “omitir alguna frase, sílaba, letra, párrafo, etc. cuando se habla o escribe” [to omit a phrase, syllable, letter, paragraph, etc. when talking or writing].

idea of sensory undesirability, thus reinforcing the negative value of this variant without directly representing it as an error.

The pragmatic valorization of /s/ deletion and aspiration does not emerge only through the interviewees' explicit lexical choices, but also through their responses' alignment with or disalignment from the interlocutor's lexical choices. In particular, there is an insightful trend in how some interviewees respond to the interview question that asked them whether one variant is 'better' or 'worse' than the other. Many interviewees indeed accepted and aligned with this 'better vs. worse' dichotomy: in these cases, /s/ aspiration is invariably described as better, and /s/ deletion is invariably described as worse. However, other interviewees adopted a consistent pattern of stancetaking against describing the variants as better or worse. These interviewees expressed their valorization of the variants by disaligning from the dichotomy I introduced in my interview question, and simultaneously aligning with another way of describing the meanings of the variants. In some cases, disalignment from the proposed dichotomy was made more explicit by the use of the negative polarity item 'no', as in "*en este caso me parece mejor la primera pero no mejor o peor, me parece correcta o incorrecta pero no que esté mejor o peor*" [in this case, I think the first one is better but not better or worse, I think it is correct or incorrect but not better or worse]. In other cases, disalignment was made more implicit by directly replacing the proposed terms with others in the response, as in "*me parece que está bien acentuada, bien pausada, tiene un ritmo dulce y la otra como que falta algo*" [it seems to me that it (the first one) is well stressed, well paced, it has a sweet rhythm and the other one, it is like something is missing] (female teacher, private school). In all the cases of disalignment, the better vs. worse dichotomy is replaced by some notion of (in)correctness in the answer. Note how, in the first of the examples above, (in)correctness is mentioned explicitly in the response while, in the second

example, the notion of (in)correctness arises indirectly by contrasting ‘well (stressed, paced)’ and ‘missing’ (i.e. bad).

Whenever there is disalignment, the notion of (in)correctness prevails over the ‘better vs. worse’ dichotomy. Here are a couple of illustrative examples: “*la primera opción es como el mejor uso del len-no mejor, el más adecuado, el que más respeta la regla del uso la regla del uso del lenguaje del español de la lengua española; la segunda no se ajusta a la regla” [the first option is like the best use of the lan-not the best, the most adequate, the one that complies with the rule of usage the most, the rule of usage of the Spanish language, of Spanish; the second does not comply with the rule] (female teacher, private school), or “*hay una forma que es como más formal diría yo, sí hay una forma correcta pero bueno hay una forma que también es de uso familiar*” [there is a form that is like more formal I would say, yes there is a correct form but well there is a form that is also for familiar use] (female teacher, semi-private school).*

Notice how, in the second example, the notion of ‘formality’ is likened to ‘correctness’ through parallelism, and is opposed to ‘familiarity’ through contrast (*pero* [but]). This discursive disassociation between ‘correctness’ and ‘familiarity’ introduces the idea that ‘familiar’ uses of language may not be evaluated as right or wrong. Another comment, this time by the principal of a private school, explains this position in a similar way: “*simplemente por la corrección desde el idioma por eso no digo que esté mal porque quien usa eso y lo usa seguramente en su ambiente familiar o cotidiano o su-su entorno natural está bien por eso digo que no me parece que esté mal pero no me parece correcto*” [simply because of correctness in the language that’s why I don’t say it’s wrong because the person who uses that certainly uses it in a familiar or everyday context or in her natural environment and it’s ok that’s why I say I don’t think it’s wrong but I think it’s not correct] (M, principal, private school). I argue that, by disassociating correctness

from familiar uses of /s/ deletion, these comments display a stance in favor of suspending the application of grammatical correctness as a criterion for the pragmatic valorization of /s/ deletion when used colloquially.

In other words, these comments show evidence of discursive attempts at reconciling the notions of grammatical (in)correctness and contextual variability by defining different norms of applicability. As does the following (longer) explanation by a teacher from a private school, which constructs some positive valorizations (e.g. the creation of empathy) in association with /s/ deletion:

tal vez el formal es usar todas las letras correspondientes a la palabra que pronunciamos es correcto ahora si la otra persona no lo usa y te comunicas con el otro y lo usas en un contexto determinado y forma empatía y no me parece mal pero si yo tuviera que enseñarle a hablar a un niño me esforzaría para enseñarle de tal forma que utilice todas las letras y tal vez diría y la mejor manera es la primera pero no me parece mal y hasta creo que podría ser interesante usar la segunda en algunos momentos

[maybe the formal (option) is to use all the letters in a Word that we are pronouncing, it's correct, now if the other person uses it and you communicate with the other and you use it in a specific context and creates empathy I don't think it is wrong, but if I had to teach a kid how to speak I would make an effort to teach in such a way that s/he uses all the letters and maybe I would say well the best way is the first option (i.e. /s/ aspiration), but I don't think it's wrong and I even believe it could be interesting to use the second one (i.e. /s/ deletion) at some moments].

It should be noted that examples like these, which describe /s/ deletion as acceptable, amount to just a few comments that deviate from what constitutes the norm in my study, i.e. that /s/ deletion is an error. Moreover, it should be noted that these comments do not characterize /s/ deletion as ‘right’, but rather as ‘not wrong’ or ‘acceptable’ under specific conditions.

In my study, the evaluation of /s/ deletion on the basis of grammatical (in)correctness is still the most widespread option. A third discursive strategy that contributes to sustain discourses of grammatical (in)correctness in relation to /s/ deletion and aspiration in my interviews consists in (re)producing and aligning with so-called ‘correctionist’ teaching techniques. The “correctionist model” or “correctionist approach” is described as a long-standing traditional model – especially widespread in education – of dealing with sociolinguistic variation (e.g. Wolfram 2007, 2008, 2009; Wheeler 2006, 2009; Wheeler & Swords 2004). In this approach, “language differences are explicitly noted only for correction to prescriptivist norms” (Wolfram 2009: 131). Notice, for instance, how K, a vice-principal in a public school, articulates the role of schooling as inextricably tied to a correctionist model: “*la educación te enfrenta a lo correcto y después es una lucha tratar de revertir tu forma de hablar*” [education puts you face to face with what’s correct and then it’s a struggle to try to change your way of speaking].

In my interviews, correctionist discourses are sometimes produced spontaneously by the interviewees in relation to /s/ deletion. Correctionist discourses were also expressly introduced by me with the aim of testing whether interviewees tend to align with or disalign from this model. When expressly asked whether they would correct the deletion of syllable-final /s/ in their students’ written and oral outputs, all the interviewees responded affirmatively. This overwhelming adherence to the correctionist model in the conceptualization and treatment of /s/ deletion again suggests that, among elementary school educators in Buenos Aires, variation in /s/

production is consistently associated with the ‘right vs. wrong’ opposition. The representations of /s/ aspiration and deletion that I have discussed throughout this subsection contribute to the correctionist model by (re)creating a ‘right vs. wrong’ opposition that validates “prescriptivist norms”. These norms simultaneously establish the (un)grammaticality of /s/ deletion and aspiration.

Overall, establishing the (in)correctness of /s/ production thus emerges as a preeminent way of conceptualizing, and attributing pragmatic value to syllable-final /s/ production. But, the aspiration and deletion of /s/ are also associated with categories of speakers and – in many cases – the spaces that different types of speakers are presumed to inhabit. Grammatical ‘(in)correctness’ and/or ‘(un)desirability’ do not only attribute different values to /s/ aspiration and deletion, but also contribute to the characterization of locally-defined types of speakers and spaces. Particularly in the case of /s/ deletion, my interviews provide ample evidence that users as well as places where these users are locatable tend to be defined as ‘socio-economically deprived’. Socio-economic deprivation is represented overall as a relative lack or insufficiency of socio-cultural resources, material possessions and/or educational background, but I will show below how this notion of socio-economic deprivation takes shapes discursively.

Some interviewees refer to socio-economic deprivation by referring to ‘social classes or groups’ that are characterized as having a ‘low(er)’ social status and/or few material resources. Here are some illustrative excerpts: “*tiene que ver con una persona, insisto, de-de-de una clase social más baja*” [it has to do with a person, I insist, of-of-of a lower social class] (I, private school); “*una forma de hablar de clases bajas*” [a way of speaking of low classes] (L, private school); “*es una forma de hablar que tienen las personas del sector socio-económico bajo*” [it is a way of speaking that people from a low socio-economic sector have] (S, public school); “*la*

ligo o a grupos sociales más bajos o de ba-de más bajos recursos que hacen este tipo de pronunciación” [I associate it with either lower social groups or groups with low-with lower resources that produce this kind of pronunciation] (V, semi-private school); “*pertenecen a un grupo social más bajo o o más humilde*” [they belong to a lower social or or more deprived (lit. humble) social group] (M, private school). By using the present indicative with verbs expressing states (rather than actions) like ‘have’, ‘belong’ or ‘be’, these commentaries represent /s/ deletion as a stable quality of – and thus as inextricably associated with – speakers or even groups of ‘low(er)’ socio-economic status in Buenos Aires.

Another way in which my interviewees’ discourse connects /s/ deletion with the idea of resource deprivation is in connection with the level of education that a given speaker may have attained. In this sense, deletion of /s/ is sometimes described as indicating (qualitatively or quantitatively) ‘low’ levels of educational attainment, as in the following examples: “*nivel bajo educativo*” [low educational level] (A, teacher, private school), or “*estamos hablando siempre de personas con nivel bajo de in-intelectual con un básico de sec-primario o secundario*” [we are always talking about people with a low intellectual level with a basic elementary or secondary school level] (N, teacher, semi-private school).

Alternatively, deletion of /s/ is described as resulting from ‘lack’ or ‘insufficient’ education, as in the following examples: (1) “*con barrios humildes, barrios barrios pobres, barrios con falta de educación*” [with low-income neighborhoods, poor neighborhoods, neighborhoods with lack of education] (F, teacher, private school), or (2) “*como que suena feo como que da sensación de-de de falta de educación o falta de de escuela*” [it sort of sounds bad sort of feels like-like-like lack of education or lack of-of schooling] (G, teacher, public school), (3) “*acá suena es fea la palabra al bruto al que no tiene cultura al que no tiene educación*” [here

it sounds, the word is awful, like an ignorant person, like someone who is not cultured, one who does not have an education] (S, principal, private school). Notice how all these examples (1-3) also make use of parallel structures. The repetition of the same structure with only minimal changes thus connects /s/ production with several entities, and allows the variant to participate in relationships and valorizations that also involve speakers (as in 3) and spaces (as in 1). The use of parallel structures contributes to extend the valorizations of /s/ production beyond language, and to interrelate the valorizations of speakers and spaces with language. The ‘lack’ of syllable-final /s/ becomes symbolic of a ‘lack’ of education, and vice versa.

In addition to making an explicit association between /s/ deletion and education, some commentaries also produce an explicit disassociation of /s/ deletion from the possession of material resources. That is, while some interviewees relate /s/ deletion to the economic situation of the speakers through references to socioeconomic class (as exemplified above), others explicitly mention the possibility that the use of this variant may not in reality involve a lack of economic resources. For example: “*tal vez socioeconómico hasta es un poco injusto porque no necesariamente todos los que tienen pocos recursos pero tal vez cultural o educativo*” [maybe socio-economic is even a bit unfair because not necessarily all the people with little resources, but maybe cultural or educational] (J, teacher, private school), “*gente sin estudio con poca formación no lo asocio a un pobre o a un rico me parece que-que tiene que ver con otra cosa*” [people who haven’t studied with little education I don’t associate it to a poor or rich person I think that-that it has to do with something else] (K, vice-principal, public school). These commentaries thus contrast economic and cultural or educational differences, and explain /s/ production as an index of the latter. This explicit move among some interviewees against automatically relating /s/ deletion with material deprivation evinces an ideological turn that

establishes the crucial role of cultural and educational differences over the economic situation of the speakers.

Educational differences sometimes emerge as contrasts between public and private schools. For instance, a teacher in a private school, refers to public schools (notice the use of ‘*escuela*’ instead of ‘*colegio*’) as a space where cultural patterns (or ‘the family model’ in her own words) such as the use of /s/ deletion are maintained, contrary to the expectation of schools acting as a ‘leveling’ force: “*la escuela actual a mi criterio afianza y repite el modelo de familiar que trae el chico lamentablemente porque soy una convencida de que la educación es la única manera de-de igualar*” [the school reinforces and repeats the family model that kids bring with them unfortunately because I am convinced that education is the only way of leveling]. In this comment, the adverb ‘unfortunately’ serves to negatively qualify the role of public schools in sustaining nonstandard cultural norms. The public educational space is then represented as governed by cultural patterns (such as deletion of /s/) that are undesirable.

But, the meaning of ‘education’ varies in the interviews: education sometimes refers to formal education (or schooling), as in the previous example, but it may also refer to informal education, or even to both. Some commentaries, for instance, refer to education more generally as a process of socialization. Instead of describing /s/ deletion as a direct indicator of educational attainment, these commentaries foreground the process of socialization that promotes the acquisition and maintenance of the variant among speakers.

One of the interviewees actually uses the terms ‘socialization’: “*para mí lo idiomático tiene que ver con la socialización*” [to me, the idiomatic has to do with socialization] (B, female principal, public school). In other words, these commentaries refer to /s/ deletion as resulting from, and reflective of, a speaker’ socio-cultural trajectory. In these commentaries, deletion of /s/

is correlated with three main factors in the speaker's socialization: the family, the peers and the school as illustrated in the following examples: “*es su forma de expresión y te vuelvo a decir cuando los escuchás hablar a los padres se expresan del mismo modo*” [it's their way of expressing and I'll say it again when you hear the parents speak, they express themselves in the same way] (K, female teacher, semi-private school), “*no hablan de esa forma porque pertenecen a alguna provincia o vienen de afuera sino porque digamos es como que se lo van adquiriendo de esa manera de los papás y cuando van a la escuela también digamos se juntan con otra gente que habla de la misma manera y es como que se va cómo te podría decir se va fijando esa forma pero no porque como te digo no porque sean de otras provincias sino porque van adquiriendo el lenguaje así como yo le digo como empobrecido*” [they don't speak that way because they belong to some province or come from abroad but because let's say it's like they acquire it in that way from the parents and when they go to school also let's say they get together with other people that speak in the same way and it is like it's, how could I explain it, not because they are from other provinces but because they acquire language like that like I call it impoverished] (V, female teacher, semi-private school), “*tiene que ver con-con-con la poca formación o con- más allá de la formación con el entorno de la gente que te crió no*” [it has to do with-with-with little instruction or with-beyond instruction with the environment of the people that raised you no] (K, female vice-principal, public school), “*no te ayuda en la forma a veces de que hablan las familias en la casa porque vos estás todo el tiempo pobres remarcándoles el error*” [it doesn't help you sometimes the way families speak at home because you are all the time highlighting the error, poor kids] (A1, teacher, semi-private school) “*yo creo que es la forma en que hablan ellos y sus padres y el barrio y el contexto*” [I think it is the way they and their parents and their neighborhood and the context speak] (G, public school) “*es el chico que está todo el tiempo con*

chicos de barrio, de villa entonces ya en su entorno te das cuenta que es eso” [it’s the kid that hangs out all the time with kids from the neighborhood, from the shanty town, then already in her context you notice that that’s what it is]. Notice how, in these examples, the linguistic variant is linked to various categories: speakers (e.g. parents, other kids from the neighborhood), institutions (e.g. families) and spaces (e.g. the neighborhood, *villas* or shanty towns). And, these categories and their valorizations are connected by reference to language in interaction.

Spatial constructs are indeed very often involved in the ethnometapragmatics of /s/ deletion. In the last example above, for instance, space plays a central role: besides age (“*chicos*” [kids] vs. parents), speakers are characterized relative to spatial categories as in “*chicos de barrio, de villa*” [kids from the neighborhood, from the shanty town]. Both ‘*el barrio*’ [neighborhood] and ‘*la villa*’ [shanty town] are recurrently invoked in the interviews when interviewees refer to the use of /s/ deletion. The recurrent use of these categories in my interviews points to their socio-cultural relevance in the division of space in Buenos Aires. Space is recreated in terms of associated linguistic practices. The shanty town or ‘*villa*’ is actually the place most often associated with /s/ deletion. So-called ‘*villas de emergencia*’ [emergency settlements] or ‘*villas miseria*’ [towns of misery] are typically characterized by precarious living conditions. In Buenos Aires, precariousness, poverty, and marginality are some of the negative qualities attributed to *villas*, and their inhabitants, usually referred to as ‘*villeros*’. As posed by Giménez and Ginóbili (2003):

la "villa" constituye no sólo un enclave de pobreza dentro de la ciudad sino también un espacio estigmatizado en donde la trama cultural construye una identidad también estigmatizada en sus habitantes. (p. 76)

[the ‘villa’ constitutes not only an enclave of poverty within the city, but also a stigmatized space where the cultural fabric constructs in its inhabitants an identity that is also stigmatized]

My interviews show how a particular linguistic practice such as /s/ deletion becomes stigmatized and stigmatizing in its relationship with the cultural world of ‘*la villa*’. Discursively, the tight relationship between *villas* and /s/ deletion is often produced through the merger of place and speakers. Place becomes an inseparable quality of a category of person, and vice versa, as in: “*los que omiten la ese son los villeros*” [the ones who omit ‘s’ are the shanty town dwellers] (S, teacher, public school). Notice how the use of the definite article ‘*los*’ [the, masc + plural] in “*los villeros*” additionally contributes to produce users of /s/ deletion as an established, well-defined grouping of people, which is locatable in space and identifiable through speech. Indeed, one of the interviewees (N, teacher, semi-private school) actually described the use of /s/ deletion in the perceptual task as “*hablar villero*” [i.e. to speak like a shanty town dweller]. This comment shows that “*villero*” can also be used to name a stereotypical way of speaking (or social register) associated with ‘*la villa*’ and its inhabitants whereas the use of /s/ deletion is perceived as a stereotypical linguistic practice of such register.

In some cases, the relationship between /s/ deletion and spaces is not represented by means of references to *villas* or *barrios*, but rather by reference to ‘*sectores*’. Hence, when asked if /s/ deletion is associated with any types of people or places, some interviewees respond with comments like these: “*en los sectores como más bajos más pobres, en la facultad no lo voy a escuchar*” [in the sectors that are sort of lower poorer, at the university I won’t hear it] (L, teacher, private school), “*yo trabajé en sectores bajos y hablan así*” [I worked in low sectors and

they speak like that]. In *Diccionario de la Real Académica Española* (www.rae.es), ‘sector’ is defined as (1) a place and (2) a grouping of people. So, whereas ‘sector’ may refer to low-income or poor groups of people, there is also an implied reference to spaces. The implication that place is locally relevant in the characterization of socio-economically-defined status – and thus of /s/ deletion – also emerges through other discursive details in the examples above. The contrast between “sectores” and a place like “*facultad*” [school at a university], and the use of the preposition “*en*” [in] in “*trabajé en sectores*” instead of *con* [with] point to the relevance of space. Both ‘*en*’ (for places) and ‘*con*’ (for people) are commonly used with ‘sectores’ in BA Spanish, thus indicating that the categories of both speakers and spaces are activated whenever ‘sectores’ is used.

Another identifiable place mentioned by some interviewees in connection with /s/ deletion is the soccer stadium (*la cancha*). While not highly prevalent in my study, references to the soccer stadium (and sometimes simply to soccer (*fútbol*) in general) are worth noting because they also related to a predominance of /s/ deletion among male speakers. Whereas interviewees do not generally refer to /s/ deletion as a stereotypically gender specific feature, some (female) interviewees do report perceiving a higher rate of /s/ deletion among males. And, according to my interviewees’ reports, this higher rate of /s/ deletion among males tends to occur at soccer stadiums or to involve the practice of soccer in some way. For example: “*habla como hablan los futboleros*” [he speaks like soccer fans do] (B, teacher, public school), or “*a lo mejor entre varones está mejor visto o-o más instaurado en el lenguaje coloquial y con el amigo que no es lo mismo que-a lo mejor con la mujer o con los hijos pero sí con el amigo en la cancha*” [maybe among males it is better regarded or-or more established in the colloquial language and with friends, which is not the same as- maybe with the wife and with the children but certainly with a

friend at the soccer stadium] (I, teacher, private school). Note that these comments do not reproduce the connection between /s/ deletion and a lack of resources. In the first example, the interviewee is actually describing a particular male friend who, despite having a college degree and being a professional, sometimes uses /s/ deletion. This friend is not described as using the language of socio-economically deprived groups, but rather the language of soccer and soccer fans (*‘como hablan los futboleros’*). The widespread negative stance towards /s/ deletion based on incorrectness and undesirability does not emerge here. In the second example, there is even a positive evaluation of using /s/ deletion among male speakers (*‘it is better regarded’*) with certain interlocutors and under certain circumstances, including the soccer stadium.

The link between /s/ deletion and male speakers does not seem to be as relevant as that between /s/ deletion and lack of socio-economic or educational resources. But my interviews show evidence that soccer, still a preeminently male activity in Buenos Aires that brings together friends and fans from different socio-cultural contexts, may be contributing to (re)produce a meaningful connection between masculinity and /s/ deletion. More data would be necessary to corroborate my claim, but it would seem that /s/ deletion can be perceived in a more positive light in the case of males when associated with soccer.

Finally, a third reference to place that emerges from my interviews also reveals that /s/ deletion may be attributed positive or negative meanings depending on *where* it is perceived to originate. Some comments make a distinction between local spatial categories in Buenos Aires and other geographically relevant divisions (like provinces or regions) in Argentina. That is, two types of spatial contrasts are invoked and typified in relation to /s/ deletion: differences within local space (e.g. *‘villas’* vs. other neighborhoods), and differences between local and non-local spaces (e.g. other provinces vs. Buenos Aires). Deletion of syllable-final /s/ is perceived as part

of local and regional registers of speech, but the pragmatic value attributed to each relationship differs. Whereas /s/ deletion is valorized positively if it is considered a feature of regional ways of speaking, /s/ deletion is valorized negatively if it is considered a feature of a local dialect. For instance: “*no porque sean de otras provincias sino porque van adquiriendo el lenguaje así como yo le digo como empobrecido*” [not because they come from other provinces but because they acquire language as I call it impoverished], “*esto tiene que ver con la forma de expresarse en alguna provincia que no quiere decir que sea alguien inculto*” [this has to do with the way of talking in some province which doesn’t mean that somebody is uneducated (M, principal, private school). In these extracts, the register of ‘other provinces’ is contrasted and differentiated from local registers, wherein /s/ deletion is characterized as part of an ‘impoverished’ linguistic register used by ‘uneducated’ speakers. Thus, we can see how a single linguistic feature can be seen to play a role in recreating different spaces, and their inhabitants, with different values ascribed to them.

So far, my analysis has shown that the use of /s/ deletion in BA Spanish generates a negative stance in most of the commentaries. This stereotypical negative stance draws from discourses about grammatical incorrectness, and/or a lack of socio-economic and educational resources. In the last part of this section, I will turn my attention to discursive attempts that depart from the more stereotypical ways of talking about /s/ deletion, and thus propose alternative stances towards the use of this variant. To be sure, all the interviews contain references to stereotypical representations of /s/ deletion, as described above. But in some cases, these representations interplay with stances that challenge the stereotypical valorizations of /s/ deletion. I will call these stances ‘positive’ because they express ways of legitimizing the use of /s/ deletion.

Examples of these positive stances are not widespread in my interviews. Here, I present and analyze two cases. I selected these two cases because interviewees provide a richer explanation of their views that can help understand the basis of these alternative stances. Discursively, the positive valorization of /s/ deletion is warranted, as I will show, by an analogy between local and non-local registers, in the first case, and by an additive view of language learning in schools. The commentaries analyzed below were made by a teacher from a private school, and a teacher from a semi-private school. I was not able to find any pattern in their personal background that would point to a reason for their different stances. The most salient detail is that the schools where they worked had been more actively engaged in providing quality in-service training. However, it should be noted that other teachers from the same schools did not express similar stances to /s/ deletion in the interviews.

In the first extract, a different stance towards /s/ deletion is made possible by a claim to similarity between the local form and non-local ways of speaking:

si lo pensás como pertenencia no tendría por qué evitarse, porque es como evitar la tonada del cordobés, depende cómo lo mires, yo pienso que-que que si no sé-no sé, no sé porque estoy como pensando no en voz alta, de repente si uno puede educar como familia y-y y cosas cosas pero básicas, sentarse a la mesa, comer todos juntos, hacer un-hacer un plato de me entendés, básico, no hablemos de, pero por otro lado si lo pensás como grupo de pertenencia en realidad por qué estaría mal, siiiii respetar al otro como es pero igual me parece que el que-el que logra salir deja de hacerlo entonces evidentemente hay algo que también pesa en la educación (F, teacher, private school)

[if one thinks about it as membership, there's no reason why it (/s/ deletion) would have to be avoided, because it is like avoiding the accent from Córdoba (a province in Argentina), it depends on how you see it, I think that-that that if, I don't know- I don't know, because I'm kind of thinking aloud, if one can educate as a family and-and, and things but basic things, sitting at the table, eating together, making-making food, do you understand me?, basic let's not talk about, but on the other hand, if one thinks about it as group of membership, in fact why would it be wrong, iiiif respecting the other as s/he is, but anyway I think that one that-the one that manages to get out, stops doing it (using /s/ deletion), so evidently there's something of importance in education]

The two underlined phrases explicitly instruct the audience on the criterion to use in order to interpret language use, i.e. 'group membership'. That is, by analogy ('it is like'), the interviewee extends an accepted positive stance towards speech forms associated with non-local groups (the 'accent' characteristic of another province) to re-interpret a speech form associated with a local group (/s/ deletion). Because the two underlined phrases are almost identical, we can say they mark two parallel sections in the extract. The parallelism extends the explicit analogy in the first section to the second section, where the analogy becomes implicit. And parallelism also allows the interviewee to incrementally build on the positive valorization of /s/ deletion, from 'not have to be avoided' to 'not wrong' and finally 'be respected'. Importantly, both sections in the extract also show us how this alternative stance does not replace but rather conflicts or competes with the stereotypical negative stance towards /s/ deletion related to (informal and formal) 'education'. This tension between positions is can be observed in the high degree of hedging throughout the extract. Hedges like the conditional ('would be'), rhetorical questions

(‘why would it be wrong’), expressing opinion (‘I think’) and lack of knowledge (‘I don’t know’) would, according to Hyland (2005), “imply that a statement is based on plausible reasoning rather than certain knowledge” (p. 179). Following Hyland, hedging allows the interviewee in this extract to “withhold complete commitment” to any of the stances. ‘Education’ exerts a powerful pull towards negative interpretations of /s/ deletion. Therefore, re-interpreting the role of education in dealing with language diversity is a key in any attempt to re-value /s/ deletion.

Actually, the second extract provides clues on how the role of schooling in language learning can be re-interpreted. In this case, an alternative stance is warranted by the idea of adding to – rather than erasing from – the repertoire of forms that children learn at home: *“tampoco nosotras como maestras podemos decir ‘lo que te enseñan en tu casa está mal’ entonces lo bueno es que conozca la f-la forma en que se dice o la forma en que se usa, de otra forma es como muy violento que yo le diga ‘no lo que te dice tu mamá está mal dicho’, pero sí que conozca que hay una forma correcta”* [neither can we as teachers say ‘what you are taught at home is wrong’, so it’s a good thing that s/he knows the w-the way in which it is said or the way in which it is used, otherwise it is kind of very aggressive if I say ‘no what your mother says is not well say’, but it is good that s/he knows that there is a correct form] (V, teacher, semi-private school)

Again, this extract can be partitioned into two parallel sections. In this case, each section reproduces in structure a contrast between a negative (‘violent’) and a positive (‘good’) way of dealing with /s/ deletion at school. The negative way of dealing with /s/ deletion is connecting the home language with the notion of incorrectness, while the positive way of dealing with /s/ deletion is to *add* information about the standard form, or in the interviewee’s words, ‘the way in which it is said or the way it is used’/‘the correct form’. Despite the reference to incorrectness,

the extract also recreates recreates the notion of additive bi-/multidialectalism for the treatment of non-standard registers at school (e.g. Sato 1989), which views different registers of language as complementary, and switching between registers as a routine practice.

4.3.3 Discussion of past and present findings

My analysis above presents discursive evidence that supports the tendencies described in previous sociolinguistic works regarding the production of pre-consonantal syllable-final /s/ in BA Spanish. Indeed, the previous descriptions of the contrast between aspiration and deletion of /s/ tend to agree that aspiration is seen as the normative, characteristic realization of /s/ in BA speech while deletion of /s/ is more often considered a stigmatizing variant (Lipski 2002, Lynch 2009). My study corroborates that the metalinguistic discourse of educators tend to reproduce these stereotypical view of the variants.

In particular, my interviewees' metalinguistic comments provide evidence that overall the ethnometapragmatics of syllable-final /s/ production in BA Spanish is often related to the speaker's educational level and to the (in)formality of the speech style (Fontanella de Weinberg 2004, Lipski 2002a). My study, however, provides more details about how these pragmatic stereotypes about syllable-final /s/ production are discursively represented, and circulated. In metalinguistic talk, the stigmatization of deletion is produced mainly (1) by describing the use of this variant as an 'error' that needs to be 'corrected,' and (2) by explaining the persistence of this 'error' as resulting from the speakers' lack of education, and/or other cultural or material resources. The absence of syllable-final /s/ in speech is thus associated and construed as a stereotypical linguistic index of the speaker's social, cultural and/or economic wants.

In the context of education, a salient distinction is made by my interviewees regarding the context of socialization, i.e. family, peers and the neighborhood, as well as the kind of school. The use of aspiration or deletion is linked to the distinction between private and public schools as well. In private schools, the use of /s/ deletion is typically associated with performances of other social personae while, in public schools, speakers are more often described as less able to switch at will between different variants.

While previous findings report a higher rate of /s/ deletion among male speakers (Fontanella de Weinberg 2004), my own findings do not suggest a generalized association between /s/ deletion and gender categories. There is some indication that for some interviewees, /s/ deletion is linked to a still predominantly male-oriented sport like soccer. However, when asked directly about a possible connection between /s/ deletion and gender, most of my interviewees rejected that option.

Importantly enough, given the highly prejudicial stances towards /s/ deletion, I provide an analysis of two extracts wherein interviewees project more positive stances towards the variant are displayed. Two key discursive moves used by these two interviewees in the re-valorization of the variant are an analogy between local and non-local repertoires, and a reinterpretation of language learning at school as additive. This finding of more positive stances created on the basis of alternative discourses about /s/ deletion, which is possible due to the nature of my study, is critical in order to construct better ways of dealing with the use of this variant in schools.

4.4 TEACHERS' ABOUT THE USE OF ENGLISH

4.4.1 Introduction

This section offers a description and analysis of how the everyday use of English lexical items by Spanish speakers in Buenos Aires is perceived and represented. Like in other regions of the world (e.g. see Hoffman (2000) on Europe, Morrow (1987) and Kay (1995) on Japan), Argentina has also been affected by the spreading influence of English as a global lingua franca. It is no surprise that, in the realms of business and technology, BA Spanish has been greatly impacted by the use of English (Nielsen 2003). Argentine sociolinguist María Beatriz Fontanella de Weinberg indeed noted in the 1980s that, due to spreading modernization, BA Spanish was incorporating English terms into everyday use “*en campos semánticos como la ciencia y la tecnología, la mecánica, el automovilismo, la aviación, los deportes, etc.*” (1987: 161) [in such semantic fields as science and technology, mechanics, motoring, aviation, sports, etc.].

More interestingly, Fontanella de Weinberg (1987) observed that Spanish speakers in Buenos Aires also included English words and expressions outside of those semantic fields in their everyday interactions. This routine use of non-technical English terms and expressions was linked, according to Fontanella de Weinberg, to the emergence of a ‘new cosmopolitan lifestyle’ among the upper middle and upper classes of Buenos Aires. In other words, the use of English outside of specialized contexts in Buenos Aires was at that time acquiring particular social meanings associated with a new high-status way of living.

More recently, other students of language in Argentina commented on – and thus confirmed – the persistence of this phenomenon in BA speech. In a 2004 article, Argentine linguist Yolanda Hipperdinger describes and exemplifies some of the linguistic processes that

affect English loanwords in BA Spanish (e.g. hypercorrection). In discussing English loanwords, Hipperdinger highlights two salient aspects of English usage in BA Spanish: (1) the uneven distribution of English words, from widespread or even mandatory to rare or idiosyncratic, and (2) the distributional restrictions of these words in terms of lexical fields, purpose and group affiliation. Like Fontanella de Weinberg before, Hipperdinger here too alludes to a relationship between code choice and distinct social registers in Buenos Aires. However, no systematic empirical study has explained the meanings and ideologies regarding the use of English in BA speech.

In their glossary of contemporary “Metropolitan Argentinean” Spanish, authors Luis Labraña and Ana Sebastián (2004) also note and comment on the phenomenon of English use in Buenos Aires:

No es muy agradable y, al contrario, a veces es hasta irritante el empleo indiscriminado de términos extranjeros, en especial ingleses, sobre todo cuando existen los mismos en castellano y, para colmo, usados por personas que poco o nada manejan la otra lengua, lo que nos atiborra de sale, hot always hot, open, free, delivery, etc. Pero tampoco es nuevo (...). (p. 38)

[It is not very pleasant and, on the contrary, sometimes even irritating to hear the indiscriminate use of foreign terms, especially English ones, above all when there exist the same terms in Castilian [Spanish] and, to make it worse, by people who have little or no command of the other language, which overloads us with sale, hot always hot, open, free, delivery, etc. But this is not new either (...)]

In this paragraph, Labraña and Sebastián confirm that the use of English is indeed a common and current practice in Buenos Aires. But they also provide evidence of a negative stance towards the use of English in BA Spanish. This negative stance is constructed linguistically by using a high number of negative evaluative expressions (underlined throughout the paragraph above), and tied both to discourses about purism ('there exist the same terms in Castilian') and about speakers with poor linguistic resources ('people who have little or no command of the other language'). This commentary thus provides evidence that the use of English may be viewed negatively as well. The following analysis provides more details about the meanings ascribed to English use by speakers of BA Spanish.

4.4.2 The ethnometapragmatics of using English words

The evidence from my interviews indicates that the use of English is recognized as a routine linguistic practice in Buenos Aires. Both variants, the high- and low- frequency words used in the perceptual task, were recognized, and generated comments about their perceived meanings. In the case of the high-frequency English word 'please', none of my interviewees had trouble recognizing and/or immediately commenting on the recorded phrases that contained this variant. Moreover, all of the interviewees identified the source language as English, and had no trouble suggesting other high-frequency English words often used similarly by Spanish speakers in Buenos Aires. As for the low-frequency word 'polite', the results were different. In this case, many interviewees had trouble understanding the low-frequency word 'polite'. Only interviewees who self-reported higher proficiency in English were able to understand the last set of phrases containing the low-frequency English word 'polite'. This evidence suggests that the

use of high- and low-frequency English words is distributed differently among the population, and can trigger different interpretations by those who hear them.

What I refer here as high-frequency English words, like ‘please’ in the perceptual task, are lexical items which can be more easily inserted in everyday conversations, and can thus be used more often. All of these words have a Spanish counterpart. In most cases, the words included in this group signal the performance of a particular speech act (Searle 1969), that is, a request (e.g. ‘please’), an apology (e.g. ‘sorry’), agreement (e.g. ‘okay’), greeting (e.g. ‘bye’). According to the interviewees, the most widespread of these high-frequency English words in Buenos Aires are ‘please’ (the one used in the perceptual task), ‘sorry’ and ‘okay’, but other words such as ‘hello/hi’, ‘thank you’, ‘bye’, ‘excuse me’ are also mentioned. In addition, interviewees also mentioned evaluative expressions such as ‘too much’ and ‘cool’ as part of the repertoire of English expressions in BA speech.

Regarding the contrast between ‘please’ and ‘*por favor*’, it is interesting to note that some interviewees (5/32) produced explicit commentaries that refer to the use of ‘*por favor*’ as becoming rare in situations where it would have been expected. In other words, the use of ‘*por favor*’ is perceived to be becoming less normative in making requests. For instance: “*acá es dame el lápiz o voy se lo saco y se terminó*” (P, principal, public school) [here is give me the pen or I go take it and that’s it]; “*no escuchas el por favor en castellano así que*” (J, teacher, semi-private school) [you don’t hear please in Spanish so]; “*cada vez se usa menos el por favor, o el ser agradecido, no, o el pedir perdón, por eso acá cuando escuché me llamó más la atención que diga ‘me das el lápiz por favor’*” (K, vice-principal, public school) [por favor is used less and less, or being thankful, okay, or saying sorry, that is why here when I heard the recording I was more surprised that the person said can you give me the pen please?]. Notice that the last

commentary widens the scope of the phenomenon to also include the use of other expressions, i.e. thank you and sorry. This last commentary actually establishes a comparison between the Spanish and English versions ('I was *more* surprised') whereby the English version implicitly stands out as more common than the Spanish version. In the following example, the commentary adds 'excuse me' to the list of expressions that are seen as becoming rare, and relates all the expressions to the notion of 'respect'.

(G, teacher, public school)

G: *el por favor casi no se usa en la escuela*

[please is almost never used in the school]

ese es otro de los temas

[that is another issue]

V: *ah no se usa?*

[oh it's not used?]

G: *y tenemos que estar trabajando mucho con eso de permiso, por favor, o viste,*

[well, we have to work a lot on the use of excuse me, please, or you know]

V: *ah, si?*

[oh really?]

G: *y:: gracias*

[and thank you]

son palabras que se estan perdiendo mucho

[these are words that are being lost to a great extent]

o sea el respeto y y todo eso se trabaja mucho

[I mean respect and all that we work on a lot]

Notice how the last two lines of G's commentary liken the expressions mentioned before (i.e. 'excuse me', 'thank you' and 'please') to the notion of 'respect' by means of a parallel construction. Hence, the perception that these Spanish expressions are used less often is construed as a decrease in showing respect. It is noteworthy that the Spanish expressions identified by these interviewees as becoming rare coincide with the English expressions that are said to be frequently used in Buenos Aires. In short, while the Spanish expressions are used less, English expressions are used frequently. G's commentary in particular then provides evidence that the English counterpart of these expressions is not necessarily interpreted as a linguistic marker of respect towards the interlocutor. Indeed, as I will show below, the English counterpart is part of different registers, which are not associated at all with expressions of respect in my interviews.

For most of the interviewees, the use of high-frequency English words is linked to a combination of the perceived 'informality' of the communicative situation and the perceived 'familiarity' between the interlocutors. One typical example in my interviews is conversations with friends, family members or colleagues. Many of the interviewees, for instance, reported hearing and/or using high-frequency English words at school, among children – usually older, and I will return to this below – and among teachers, but not between teachers and children or parents. Indeed, during my visit to one of the public schools, I observed that a visible handwritten note addressed to the school's staff and pinned to the board in the teachers' lounge contained the word 'please'. This message can be said to fulfill the perceived conditions for usage of high-frequency English words as reported by my interviewees, i.e. informality and

familiarity. On the one hand, the message was handwritten and pinned on a message board in a space where teachers hang out during their breaks. On the other, the message was produced by a member of staff and directed to other members of staff, thus occurring among colleagues familiar with each other. Yet not all educators reported the routine use of English at their respective schools. Two teachers (one from a public and one from a private school) reported not using and/or hearing English words among teachers. And another teacher reported a variable use of English words, with some of her colleagues using them and others not.

In conjunction with the conditions of informality and familiarity, some educators explained the variation in the use of English words as originating in characteristics of the speaker. Three categories of speakers were typically mentioned in connection with the English variant: older children/teenagers, younger adults, and female speakers. The relationship with the first two categories makes the variant part of a register associated with younger generations, and thus with age. Identifying English use as ‘modern’, and ‘youthful’, also as a ‘fad’, recreate the temporal meaning of this variant as distinctive of different generations (the young vs. the old). Regarding the third category, the variant is consistently described as more typical of women than men, and associated with femininity. Many interviewees straightforwardly indicated the prevalence of the English variant among female speakers. And, in addition, some commentaries even characterized male speakers who use the English variant as ‘effeminate’, or even ‘gay’, thus extending femininity to male users.

To illustrate further, I will refer to the use of high-frequency English words by Argentinian President Cristina Kirchner, which has been garnering attention from the media, and provides additional evidence of the wider circulation of the patterns of typification produced in my interviews. Several publications ranging from books to newspaper articles have noted that

President Cristina Kirchner has been including non-technical English words in her speeches (in addition to the use of English words in her Twitter and Facebook postings). Most recently, on January 19, 2013, *La Nación*, one of two major nationally-circulating newspapers in Argentina, published an article in the political section analyzing the President's "new" speech style. The words used by the experts cited in the article in order to describe the presidential new style were 'youthful' ["*juvenile*"] and 'informal' ["*informal*"], thus reproducing the evaluations made by my interviewees. The most broadly recognizable of the President's English expressions is undoubtedly 'too much'. Even before January 2013 (and as early as 2005), several articles in the same newspaper note the salience of this expression in the speech style of the president. 'Too much' has indeed become so emblematic of the President's speech style that articles can be often found that use the expression (with or without quotation marks) as a way of directly and critically engaging the President and her actions. The President's public use of non-technical English (and 'too much' in particular) has thus contributed to (re)create the expectations of informality, youthfulness, and femininity mentioned in my interviewees.

The perception of the President's use of high-frequency English words, however, has not evoked other associations of the variant which could actually be interpreted as contradicting some of the administration's ideological pillars. One of these aspects is the relationship between the variant and the speakers' high economic status. Most of the interviewees in my study link the use or non-use of the English variant to (1) the routine linguistic practices at home, and/or (2) their economic status. In the following extracts, for instance, the interviewees are explaining how the (non-)use of English reflects the everyday linguistic interactions in their homes and with their family: "*hablan un poco como hablan en la casa, me parece que en la casa no tienen esa forma no de expresarse*" (J, teacher, semi-private school) [they speak a little as they speak at home, I

think that at home they don't have this way of speaking]; “*no lo usás porque-porque no-no eh-no está en tu forma de hablar, tampoco te-me criaron así*” (F, teacher, private school) [you don't use it because-because it's not-not ehm not your way of speaking, neither were you-was I raised like that]. In these extracts, the (non-)usage of English is presented as a 'custom' [“*una costumbre*” says J], as a non-conscious linguistic practice.

The relationship between the (non-)use of English and the speaker is also described with reference to economic background. Both J and F above, as well as many other interviewees, also explicitly invoke the role of economic background in other parts of their interviews. For J, the use of English used to have, but no longer maintains, meaningful ties with high status, thus making a temporal distinction between past and present uses of English words: “*hay más palabras del inglés que están más incorporadas en todos los niveles, no; antes niveles más altos o con conocimientos de inglés las podías escuchar, ahora es como que-que está más incorporado*” [there is more English words that are incorporated at every level, right; before, in the higher levels or among those with knowledge of English you could hear this words, now it is like-like it is more incorporated]. F, on the other hand, refers to the present use of English and its relationship not to objective measures of wealth ('purchasing power'), but to the projection of economic status. So, although for F, the use of English indicates membership in high status groups, membership is not real, but claimed in the use of the variant: “*no tiene que ver con el poder adquisitivo, tiene que ver con una actitud, con una postura, con una forma de ser*” [it doesn't have to do with the purchasing power; it has to do with an attitude, with a posture, with a way of being]. Comments like J's and F's are common throughout my interviews as interviewees relate English use to economic background.

In this ethnometapragmatic view, English usage is a ‘variant with a history’: it maintains some symbolic ties with high economic status, but no longer a correlation with it. This perceived shift in the social distribution of the variable, from users who have economic capital to users who invoke economic capital is accompanied by an affective stance that rejects the use of the variant. One expression of this stance relies on the notions of authenticity and humbleness. Basically, the current use of the variant is negatively valorized as inauthentic and pretentious. Expressions like “*se hace el agrandado o el fino*” (he pretends to be more than he is, or to be refined), “*éste se la cree*” [he thinks too highly of himself], “*mira para arriba*” [looks upwards], “*querer pretender*” [to want to pretend], “*no te hace más*” [it doesn’t make you more], “*darse de algo*” [act as self-important], which are used throughout the interviews, conjure up the persona of a speaker who intentionally aligns with a higher status that s/he does not really have, and projects a hearer that rejects such alignment. Some interviewees also refer to this kind of persona as “cheto/a” [local snobs] and “esnob” [snob]. Notice for instance the use of “*qué te hacés la concheta*” [you are acting snob] and “*qué te hacés la sorry*” [you are acting a ‘sorry’ style] as parallel expressions that recreate a stance against inauthenticity and pretentiousness while also equating being ‘concheta’ and using English words like ‘sorry’.

Another expression of this stance against a speaker’s alignment with a high status persona is the parodic use of the English variant. In other words, some of the interviewees referred to how they themselves or others may use the variant as part of a humorous performance of a *cheto* persona. Reflecting about her own use of high-frequency English words, J (teacher, public school) comments: “*yo lo uso por ejemplo para hacer reír a los demás ehh porque sé que se matan de la risa cuando hablan así a veces digo ‘sorry no me pasás por favor? No es que lo uso mucho, lo uso sí en ciertas situaciones para cargar a los demás’*” [I use it for example to

make others laugh uhh because I know they laugh their head off, when they speak like this sometimes I say ‘sorry could you pass me that please?’ it’s not that I use it a lot, I use it in certain situations to make fun of others]. As J explains the way she uses English to create a humorous effect, she offers a performance of the *cheto* way of speaking through the phrase ‘sorry no me pasás por favor?’ which includes ‘sorry’ as well as a stereotypical pronunciation and intonation of the phrase that is used through the interviews in performative representations of this register. The performance of this way of speaking as a stance towards the use of high-frequency English words highlights the perceived inauthenticity of such use.

In the following extract, a teacher from a private school creates a hypothetical situation that allows her to explain the actors’ parody of the register as a way of drawing attention to the inauthenticity and pretentiousness of its use: “*lo veo más como en el salón, capaz dos chicos que están cargando a otra que se hace la canchera, o algo, y entonces entre ellos empiezan a pedirse cosas cerca de ella diciendo o ‘please’ o ‘sorry gordo’ o ‘okay’, exagerándolo tal vez para exponer al otro que ellos entienden está haciéndose, se está agrandando en esa situación me lo imagino*” (JBSF) [I see it more in the classroom, maybe two kids who are making fun of a girl who plays cool, or something, and then the kids start asking themselves for stuff near her saying ‘please’ or ‘sorry baby’ or ‘okay’, exaggerating it maybe to expose the other who they understand pretends to be, or is putting on airs in that situation I imagine it]. According to the narrator, the two kids in the hypothetical situation interpret the girl’s use of English as ‘pretending’ and ‘putting on airs’, and parody her style ‘exaggerating’ it to make it salient as a performance. Notice that this hypothetical situation also recreates the linkage between the use of English and female speakers by proposing a female actor, a girl, as the character that uses the register in question.

Finally, a last set of discourses about the use of high-frequency English words evokes the widespread notion that using words from a different language is a practice that infringes on the normative separation between linguistic entities recognized as languages. That is, Spanish and English are considered different languages, so speakers are expected to use only one of them at a time. In my interviews, the practice of English use in BA Spanish is usually referred to as “mezclar” [mixing], “hablar mezclado” [to speak mixing], “discurso mezclado” [mixed discourse], “mezclar idiomas” [to mix languages], and “espanglish” [Spanglish]. Similar terms have been used in other parts of the world to describe a similar phenomenon, for instance, Spanglish in the US. However, the practice of English use in Buenos Aires does not often involve bilingual speakers. In fact, for my interviewees, users of high-frequency words need not know English very well or at all. That is the case of President Kirchner, for instance, who has publicly acknowledged her low proficiency in the language. But, as in other parts of the world, the use of a different language such as English in Buenos Aires is also viewed as ‘incorrect’, thus reenacting discourses about purism. Several interviewees explicitly related the practice of mixing to incorrectness. Like Labraña and Sebastián in the extract cited at the beginning of this section, my interviewees described mixing as “una deformación del lenguaje” [a deformation of language], not “un buen uso del lenguaje” [a good use of language], “absurdo” [absurd], “inadecuado” [inadequate], and also “incorrecto” [incorrect]. Some also relate the use of English to cultural imperialism, and acknowledge attempts on their part to rid their interactions of English words. But discourses about the spread of English around the globe are actually not widespread in my interviews.

Indeed, the negative stance towards the use of English on the basis of its incorrectness is also attenuated, according to my interviewees, in so-called ‘informal’ communicative situations.

For the interviewees, if English is used within a Spanish utterance in situations that can be labeled as informal (e.g. as mentioned before, in conversations with friends, family or colleagues), such use is accepted. Unlike the deletion of syllable-final /s/, the use of English is not so strongly related to a correctionist stance. Interestingly, one of the educators (a principal from a public school) actually compares these variants in terms of their correctness. Speaking about the use of English, KSF says “*no la considero como buen uso del lenguaje, me parece como algo incorrecto, no tanto como no pronunciar una ese*” [I don’t consider it a good use of language, I see it as something incorrect, not so much as not pronouncing ‘s’]. Even though this interviewee had previously indicated the need to ‘correct’ the use of English words in the classroom, her correctionist discourse is attenuated through a comparison with a variant that invariably evokes incorrectness (‘not so much as’).

In the case of low-frequency English words, the perceptual task presented a contrast between two pronunciations (in addition to the Spanish word): an Anglicized one, and a Hispanicized one. Most of the interviewees did not perceive any differences between these pronunciations due, according to them, to their low English proficiency. Therefore, I asked them whether they perceived any differences between the uses of the high- and low-frequency expressions. Interviewees focused on categories of speakers in this case. That is, they typified speakers associated with the use of low-frequency words, as opposed to high-frequency ones. Speakers associated with low-frequency words like ‘polite’ in the experiment were described as (1) having some level of English proficiency and/or (2) as using English as part of their job or profession. While the use of high-frequency English words was attributed mostly to younger speakers, especially adolescents and young adults, the use of low-frequency words is attributed to older speakers, with a white-collar job where they are in contact with English.

The use of low-frequency words like in everyday interactions can be related to the idea of ‘showing off’. A principal in a private school offered the following interpretation of how English is recruited to ‘show off’:

el que habla inglés tiene como más ehm está más calificado que el que no a nivel de lo que es el mercado de trabajo, en lo social si estudiaste inglés [ininteligible] que si no estudiaste y en fin y el inglés suma entonces puede que si alguien quiere pretender puede usar alguna palabra así mechada como para darse dique de que está un poco más por encima que otros (S, principal, private school)

[the one who speaks English has like more ehmmm is more qualified than the one who doesn’t, at the level of the job market, socially if you studied English [unintelligible] than if you didn’t, and in sum English adds, so it may be that if someone wants to pretend, they can use some word like this mixed in, to show off that s/he is a little above the others]

In this commentary, the interviewee starts by characterizing the user of English: someone ‘who speaks English’ and ‘studied English’. And, knowing English is in turn qualified as positive addition (through the phrases ‘more qualified’ and ‘English adds’). Both the characteristics of the user and the value of English are presented as necessary pre-conditions for the use of low-frequency English words. The final part of the extract then brings those two conditions together with the idea of intention to pretend. That is, a speaker who uses low-frequency English words is seen as intentionally wanting show off their knowledge and – consequently – their advantage over others. The expressions used by the interviewee to refer to

the presupposed intention of the user (i.e. ‘to show off’ and ‘to be above others’) suggest a negative stance towards such usage.

The presumed intention of the speaker plays a key role in this negative stance, as shown by the following extract. In this case, the opposition between a positive and a negative stance towards English use is implicated by the contrast between the interpretation of use out of habit, i.e. unconsciously, and the interpretation of use for showing off, i.e. intentionally:

suponete este papá, viaje mucho, y la usa mucho en inglés porque habla todo el tiempo en inglés, que-cómo que le surge más rápido y le parece más específico decirla en inglés no para hacerse el-el pio-digamos el sabiondo, como que se yo, el que sabe y que usa esa palabra (M, principal, private school)

[suppose that this father travels a lot, and uses it [a word] a lot in English because he speaks all the time in English, it is like it [the word] comes to mind faster, and he thinks it’s more specific to say it in English, not to pretend to be coo-let’s say a know-it-all]

Here, the interviewee proposes a hypothetical example (‘suppose’) in order to present an alternative, positive interpretation for the use of English: it can emerge as a habit. A key discursive component of this alternative interpretation is the contrast that is produced in the last line with other possible interpretations. In relation to the alternative interpretation, the interviewee provides a detailed description of the situation of the speaker, which suggests a less common scenario. In contrast, the denial of the speaker’s use of English in order to ‘pretend[s] to be coo[l]’ or a ‘know-it-all’ does not provide further details on the situation of the speaker,

which suggests then a more generalized, maybe more easily recognizable situation. A contrast simultaneously emerges regarding the interviewee's valorization of the use 'out of habit' vs. the use 'for showing off'. The choice of 'pretend' suggesting insincerity, and of a pejorative expression like 'know-it-all' point to a negative judgment. Thus, the practice of using low-frequency English words is represented here as indexical of claiming access to valuable knowledge, a move reportedly creates a negative stance on the part of the hearer.

As I have shown, the use of high- and low-frequency English both generated reports of negative stances on the basis of inauthenticity. In both cases, this perceived inauthenticity is construed as pretending to be, to have or to know something valued. In the case of high-frequency English words, speakers are seen as 'pretending' to be of a higher social status and to have economic resources. In the case of low-frequency English words, speakers are seen as 'pretending' to know a language that is valued, i.e. English, and thus to have access to better jobs for instance. In her investigation of Mock Spanish in the US, Jane Hill (1998) found that Anglicized Spanish forms are also used to create stances among Anglo speakers where the notion of inauthenticity plays a salient – though different – role. In Mock Spanish, Hill argues, the use of Anglicized forms of Spanish is fundamental in that it creates a humorous effect that allows to index a "congenial" persona, while simultaneously enabling Anglo speakers to deny that they are actually speaking Spanish. Inauthenticity allows Mock Spanish to work as a "covert racist discourse" (p. 683) that relies on indirect indexicality to transmit racist representations of Latinos. In the case of BA Spanish, however, high-frequency Hispanicized English forms can similarly recreate humorous effects as well as friendly, informal interactions. The perceived inauthenticity of English in this case conversely contributes to link these forms with a fake snobbish persona that can instead become the focus of mockery themselves.

4.4.3 Discussion of past and present findings

The use of English by speakers of BA Spanish is recognized as a widespread and everyday practice among the interviewees in my study. The use of words like ‘please’, ‘sorry’, ‘okay’, etc. is indeed regarded as very common, and, in the case of ‘please’ in particular, even more common than the Spanish version.

Following Hipperdinger’s (2004) distinction between “widespread” vs. “rare or idiosyncratic” English forms, my study incorporated what I call high- and low-frequency lexical items. Based on Hipperdinger’s argument, my hypothesis was these two groups of forms are treated differently in BA folk ethnometapragmatics, and would thus elicit different patterns of typifications among my interviewees. Indeed, most of my interviewees attributed different uses and social meanings to high- vs. low-frequency English words. High-frequency (or Hipperdinger’s “widespread”) English words such as ‘*please*’, ‘*sorry*’, ‘*bye*’, ‘*okay*’ often evoke speakers who are teenagers or young adults, and mostly female. These kinds of English words are also considered to be typical of, and appropriate in interactions where speakers share a high degree of interpersonal familiarity. On the other hand, low-frequency (or Hipperdinger’s “rare or idiosyncratic”) English words such as ‘*polite*’ in my study are most typically associated with (1) higher English proficiency, (2) professionals, and (3) people who use English on a regular basis and have regular contact with speakers outside of the Spanish-speaking world.

Although the use of high-frequency English words in BA Spanish is considered a routine activity among certain categories of speakers, as described in the previous paragraph, this practice is also linked to economic background. This finding of my study actually corroborates Fontanella de Weinberg’s (1987) observations that non-technical English usage in Buenos Aires is linked to displaying higher social status. My interviews however point to the use of English

words for projecting high economic status regardless of the correlation between a speaker and his or her socioeconomic level. That is, the use of English is now more often viewed as recreating rather than evincing higher economic status. Of particular interest here is the reported use of these high-frequency English words by some speakers in order to construct a humorous or ironic stance towards the snobbishness or pretentiousness of speakers who are seen as projecting higher status through the use of English.

Finally, the use of a different language in everyday interactions is usually described among my interviewees as “*mezclar*” or ‘mixing’ languages. This practice of ‘mixing’ languages is often explicitly described as incorrect, and can be linked to claims about boundaries between languages, thus recreating discourses of purism. That is, languages are conceived as distinct entities that should be kept separate in discursive practice. My interviews thus confirm the circulation of a negative stance towards the use of English. This negative stance is linked to ideologies of linguistic purism in everyday BA speech, like the one expressed in Labraña and Sebastián’s paragraph above. However, my interviews also reveal that this explicit negative stance is not always linked to high-frequency English words, which are considered to be part of an informal register in Buenos Aires, a young people’s way of speaking, which is not seen as incorrect or inappropriate in certain interactions.

5.0 DISCUSSION

When people explicitly comment on language and language use, as educators did during my interviews, they (re)create a social world around speech. With language as a focus, people characterize language users and their interlocutors, may situate them in time and space, and overall provide vignettes of social encounters. Agha (1998) has referred to these accounts of language use as “metapragmatic narratives”. According to Agha, “[metapragmatic] narratives are peopled by social beings of different kinds. They describe social personae as engaged in pragmatic acts of language use. In such types of metasemiotic work, the boundary between language and non-language is erased, yielding stereotypic constructs that motivate one in terms of the other” (p. 168). My analyses in this dissertation show that metapragmatic narratives are indeed a rich resource in the investigation of sociolinguistic variation. Metapragmatic narratives guide us in situating and understanding the dynamics and meanings of specific linguistic forms in local contexts, with respect to other “culturally routinized construct[s]” (p. 179) from a folk perspective.

In my study, I proposed Agha’s conceptualization of registers as a way to understand how webs of meaningful connections between the selected variables and other resources, social categories, attitudes and values are constructed in educators’ metapragmatic narratives. My first set of research questions was thus meant to elucidate what and how local registers of BA Spanish emerged in relation to the selected variables through the educators’ narratives. My analysis

shows that the two most recurrent ways in which the variables of BA Spanish become socially meaningful in the teachers' metapragmatic discourse is by their relationship with local personae and places.

According to Agha, a register is "a linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices". Thus, 'persons' are a key element both in registers and in metapragmatic narratives. In the educators' narratives, persons are sometimes real, identifiable human beings, illustrations of how ways of speaking are embodied. But most times, just like Agha points out in the description of metapragmatic narratives, persons emerge as 'social personae'. According to P. Eckert (2005), social personae are "particular social types that are quite explicitly located in the social order" (p. 17). Social personae, such as 'nerds' in the US (Bucholtz 2001) or the 'Beijing Smooth Operator' in China (Zhang 2008), are characterized by bundles of features (including speech) that represent particular registers - or "persona styles" in Eckert's approach (2008: 456).

Commenting on language use, as is done in metapragmatic narratives, normally recruits and typifies language users and their interactants, and recreates these social personae through the "personification" of speech (Agha 1998). Using language presupposes the existence of people who use it, so the characterization of the interactants (or social personae) involved in speech events has a central role in metapragmatic narratives. One salient finding of my study is the recurrence of two social personae in BA Spanish. These personae, which in folk terms are referred to as '*(con)chetos*' and '*villeros*', are known to, and mentioned by all the interviews. These personae evoke different socio-economic statuses. They are defined by associations with various linguistic and non-linguistic features, which engender recurrent stances towards them. Their distribution in the landscape of Buenos Aires recreates a local micro-geography of

associated places. Because of these regularities in their typifications, I will argue that these two social personae are indeed recognizable emblems of two social registers in Buenos Aires.

On the one hand, my interviews contain references about a social persona with a higher-status or socio-economic background known as *(con)chetos*. *(Con)chetos* are often represented as snobs, although sometimes they are considered the product of a different (more affluent) socializing environment. There is a way of speaking associated with the *(con)cheto* register that is often described as ‘*hablar con la papa en la boca*’ (lit. to speak with a potato in the mouth). Most interviewees spontaneously imitated this way of speaking in similar-sounding ways and even using similar phrases (which often included a high-frequency English word like ‘sorry’ or ‘please’). This way of talking also includes, according to the interviewees, two of the variants from my study: (i) the voicing of the palatal fricative (known as *zheísmo*), and (ii) the use of (esp. high-frequency) English words. The use of *(con)cheto* speech is often interpreted as an affected way of speaking, a marker of affluence, and thus as intentionally attempting to establish a status distinction or distance between interlocutors.

At the other end of the socioeconomic spectrum, we find references to a different social persona known as *villeros*. The term *villero* itself derives from the name given to shanty towns, i.e. *villas (de emergencia)* [lit. emergency villages]. Literally speaking, *villeros* are then inhabitants of *villas*. The *villero* persona is not just ‘poor’; the *villero* persona is a marginalized character, associated with criminality, and deprivation. In making a distinction between ‘*villeros*’ and ‘the poor’, Giménez and Ginóbili (2007) point out:

En Argentina el pobre es aquel que merece ser asistido por sus valores morales y que habita en determinados barrios de la ciudad, mientras que el "villero" es un pobre "mal reputado", desacreditado, que vive en un lugar marginado, en terrenos ajenos y de mala calidad, sin planeamiento urbano, donde abundan los "pasillos" y "corredores" y predominan las construcciones precarias" (p. 77)

[In Argentina, the poor are those who deserve assistance because of their moral values and who inhabit certain neighborhoods in the city, while *villeros* are the poor with bad reputation, discredited, who live in a marginalized place, on land that belongs to somebody else and is of bad quality, without urban planning, where “halls” and “corridors” abound, and precarious constructions prevail”].

In terms of language, the *villero* register is characterized by certain way of speaking that most educators imitated similarly and generally spontaneously. This way of speaking, which one of the interviewees called ‘*hablar villero*’ [lit. to speak villero language], is perceived to be stereotypically associated with two variables in my study: (i) the use of *vos* + insultives ‘*guacho/gato*’, and (ii) the consistent deletion of syllable-final /s/. Additionally, some educators pointed to the absence of English use, and the production of short utterances and reduced vocabulary as characteristic of a *villero* register. Regarding the vocatives associated with the *villero* register, notice how ‘*boludo*’, which is reported to have spread to all socioeconomic levels in Buenos Aires, is perceived to have been replaced by terms like ‘*guacho*’ and ‘*gato*’ in the *villero* way of speaking. The term ‘*gato*’ is indeed said to originate in the jargon used by prisoners, which re-enacts the linkages between the *villero* persona and the criminal world. In

this respect, some educators made explicit reference to a popular musical group at the time of the interviews called Wachiturros, whose name plays on the re-spelling of the address term ‘guacho’ as ‘wachi-’. The language and content of the lyrics as well as their particular clothing style was referred to as the epitome of a *villero* persona.

Overall, the use of *villero* speech is stigmatized. Like other behaviors mentioned in the interviews such as yelling in public spaces or low levels of cleanliness, *villero* speech is generally disapproved of. The invariable deletion of /s/ in syllable-final position, in particular, has become emblematic of *villero* speech. In the educators’ narratives, this variant is associated with incorrectness and undesirability, considered and treated as an error, and rationalized as the product of deprivation. Even switching between /s/ deletion and aspiration (the standard variant) in different contexts (e.g. inside and outside school) may be rejected. The following excerpt is a good example of how the ability to code-switch between /s/ deletion and aspiration is not only not valued, but even disapproved of:

todavía es como que yo tampoco entiendo por qué eso siempre-yo siempre digo estas personas que-que-que, me pasó en La Cava esto de que se identifican de tal manera que creen que la sociedad los está aislando cuando ellos mismos se están aislando y entonces yo digo por qué reniegan de- o sea de-de no digas, decí las eses, no te las comas o sea pero usálo siempre no cuando estás en la- porque en un momento vos decís cómo este chico lo sabe manejar porque cuando vuelve con sus amigos si llega a pronunciar una ese de más para ellos es como eh qué te pasó de dónde venía que te hacés el cheto esas cosas y entonces como que tampoco quieren

estar de aquel lado pero saben que si tienen que estar en el colegio la ese la tienen que decir, es decir ellos saben pero tienen este temor a... no sé por qué” (C, teacher, private school)

[it’s like I still do not understand either why that always –I always say these people that-that-that it happened to me in La Cava (a well-known shanty town in San Isidro) that they identify in such a way that they think that society is isolating them when they are isolating themselves and then I say why do they not accept that –I mean that-that don’t say, say the ‘s’, don’t swallow it, I mean, but use it all the time not when you are in the- because suddenly you say how this kid knows to handle it because when s/he is back with his/her friends if s/he dares to pronounce an unnecessary ‘s’ for them is like eh what’s up with you, where did that come from, are you acting *cheto*, that kind of thing and then it’s like they don’t want to be on that side either but they know that if they are in the school, they have to say the ‘s’, that is, they know but they are afraid of... I don’t know why]

In this teacher’s commentary about her personal experience volunteering in a shanty town, the children are described as having acquired the ability to switch between different productions of syllable-final /s/ depending on the context (with friends vs. in the school). Notice how the interviewee turns to direct speech in the underlined section in order to represent a hypothetical command to these children. The use of the imperative form and an effusive tone in direct speech, I would argue, project a strong disapproving stance towards such practice, asking the children to use the standard form ‘all the time’, i.e. even with their friends. As illustrated by this example,

the negative evaluation of /s/ deletion may even reach contexts where the use of the standard is not considered normative.

The descriptions I provided above show that the characterization of the (*con*)*cheto* and the *villero* persona affect the meanings of the linguistic variants associated with them, and that the interpretations of these variants in turn recreate valorizations of those social types. But, metapragmatic narratives can also show us how, despite not being the same, the meanings attributed to personae and to variants interrelate in mutually defining ways. Agha (1998) proposes to understand the interrelation between personae and linguistic forms by using the concepts of ‘leakage’ and ‘remotivation’. Leakage, on the one hand, refers to the process by which the characterization of one element, say a linguistic form, influences (or ‘leaks’ into) the characterization of another element, say a social persona. For example, in his analysis of metapragmatic commentaries about honorifics, Agha contends that the use of certain honorific words is associated with respectfulness. When the use of those honorific forms is personalized, i.e. when the purported users of those forms are recruited and typified, the notion of respectfulness is reinterpreted as refinement. In other words, while the honorific forms are said to express respect, the speakers who use them are said to be seen as refined. The characterization of linguistic (i.e. honorific words) and non-linguistic (i.e. language users) “objects of metasemiosis” are thus connected to different notions, in this case, respectfulness and refinement. Respectfulness and refinement are, in turn, related to – but not equated with – each other; they redefine each other. This leakage between a linguistic form or practice and a category happens, according to Agha, as a result of the “remotivation” of pragmatic activity, a common process in metapragmatic narratives. In Agha’s (1998) words, “[t]he activity of narrative remotivation is an

ongoing cultural practice whereby language users rationalize and remotivate the pragmatic significance of language use” (p. 183).

The “personification” of speech, as shown in the example from Agha (1998), is one way in which leakage and remotivation can take shape. Let us look, for instance, at the case of /s/ deletion in syllable-final position in my study. As I showed in my analysis, /s/ deletion is predominantly associated with incorrectness in Buenos Aires. This negative valorization of /s/ deletion is to a great extent motivated by a contrast with the written form, which contains an orthographic ‘s’, and is conceived as a source of authority in the case of language norms. When personified (i.e. remotivated), the deletion of /s/ is presented as a common practice by speakers from *villas*. As I explained above, *villas* and *villeros* are stereotypically connected with marginality and deprivation. Therefore, when the incorrectness of /s/ deletion ‘leaks’ into the social category of *villeros*, incorrectness becomes connected with deprivation. The ‘lack’ of a sound is translatable into a ‘lack’ of resources, as synthesized in the phrase “*pobreza lingüística*” (lit. linguistic poverty). That is, the notion of ‘incorrectness’ attached to the linguistic form, and the notion of ‘deprivation’ attached to the *villero* persona are interconnected so that the linguistic forms can now be rationalized as an index of (educational) deprivation.

The possibility of linguistic forms to evoke certain qualities which are in turn associated with the characterization of given personae has been understood by E. Ochs (1992) as the result of ‘indirect indexicality’. Indirect indexicality highlights the idea that there are intervening processes (such as Agha’s leakage and remotivation) and practices (e.g. personification) that vest the linguistic form with characteristics of the social categories associated with them. Based on Ochs’ proposal, we can say that /s/ deletion can act and be interpreted as an indirect index of the *villero* persona. This view of /s/ deletion as an indirect index also shows the interaction of what

Kiesling (2008) calls “social action norms” and “social group norms”. According to Kiesling (2008), while social action norms link a variant such as /s/ deletion with a notion such as ‘incorrectness’, social group norms link a social category such as *villeros* with a notion such as ‘deprivation’. In turn, the connection between these two types of norms can be motivated, for instance, by the perceived social distribution of the variant, or in Kiesling’s terms, by “social significance norms” (p. 510).

Another example of how social action and social group norms function together comes from *zheísmo* (or the voicing of the palatal fricative), a variant associated with the *(con)cheto* register. On the one hand, during my analysis, I showed that *zheísmo* is often positively valorized by educators as a ‘softer’, ‘less aggressive’ way of speaking. Some phoneticians (e.g. Ohala 1983, 1997) indeed have argued that the intensity of fricative noise among voiced fricatives in general is lower – and thus potentially less audible – than among voiceless fricatives. This lower fricative noise among voiced fricatives is attributed (at least in part) to the difficulty of producing voicing and frication simultaneously. I would contend that this lower frication of *zheísmo* may be what is interpreted and described as ‘softness’ in folk metapragmatic discourse. On the other hand, *zheísmo* is reported to be more common among female than male speakers, and a couple of interviewees also referred to its use by gay men. Moreover, I showed in my analysis that *zheísmo* is often personified and attributed to feminized users. The male persona associated with the use of *zheísmo* is valorized as ‘weaker’ while the use of the variant is also described as ‘not very masculine’. Following the discussion indirect indexicality above, we can say the social action norm that relates *zheísmo* and ‘softness’ is linked to the social group norm that relates *zheísmo* with a female persona, so that *zheísmo* can indirectly index a femininity. In addition, notice that a register stereotypically attributed to speakers of higher status such as the *(con)cheto* register is

not unlikely to be connected with the quality of ‘softness’ (as opposed to ‘roughness’). But, here, I will further argue that, for some interviewees, *zheísmo* is not just an indirect index, but an icon of a female persona. Irvine and Gall (2009) define the process of iconization as follows: “By picking out qualities supposedly shared by the social image and the linguistic image, the ideological representation – itself a sign – binds them together in a linkage that appears to be inherent” (p. 403). In the case of *zheísmo*, ‘softness’ is a quality that has been reinterpreted as inherent to both the variant and femininity. This can explain why, to some interviewees, its use produces a feminized speaker, regardless of whether the speaker is male or female.

So far, I have shown how leakage and remotivation occur through the personification of speech. Personification is a common, even typical, practice in metapragmatic narratives. As I mentioned earlier, when people talk about language use, they generally end up referring to the language users. With the aim of building on the practices that promote the creation of indirect indexicality in metapragmatic narratives, I will show that speech is not only personified; it is also spatialized. The spatialization of speech, I contend, is another salient discursive practice in metapragmatic narratives.

In its more canonical form, narratives have been said to contain three key structural features: temporal juncture, tellability and evaluation (De Fina 2009). Indeed, recent work on narratives has challenged this view, and highlights the salient role of other notions such as space in the creation of narrated worlds (Herman 2009). Metapragmatic narratives can be a case in point since they do not easily fit in the canonical criteria. In particular, metapragmatic narratives typically lack a temporal juncture. Although there may be stretches of metapragmatic narratives which can be characterized as stories or anecdotes where time plays a role, metapragmatic narratives tend to present speech and speech events as routine activities and interactions. In

contrast, based on interviews, I would argue that metapragmatic narratives rely more often on space than on time in order to define ways of speaking and their values.

Like personae, space motivates the production of types, that is to say, of places, and metapragmatic narratives do this through the spatialization of speech. De Fina defines spatialization “as an indexical process through which individuals, groups and institutions invest material space coordinates with social meanings” (2009: 111). The location of language and language users in space is actually part of this indexical process of spatialization. My analysis indeed shows that the ethnometapragmatics of all the variables in my study invoke the notion that language variation is related to spatial distribution. That is, the linguistic forms studied here are often reported to be spatially bound in some way, thus evincing the relevance of ideologies linking language and space.

Space is a prevalent parameter in the construction of sociolinguistic categorization and meaning, as Johnstone (2004) notes. And just as sociolinguistic variables are characterized and described in terms of spatial distribution, space is in turn partitioned and categorized into relevant ‘places’. Places in metapragmatic narratives are locatable, meaningful spaces that emerge through their participation in local registers. In talking about the speech forms in my study, interviewees often refer to where the variables can be locatable, i.e. where variables can be heard or not, what place/s a variable may represent or not, where the stereotypical users of certain variables may live or come from. That is, in most cases, interviewees had no trouble associating the linguistic variants with spatial coordinates, sometimes spontaneously and sometimes when being asked. Local places typically took preeminence over non-local ones in the metapragmatic narratives. By local places, I mean spaces defined within the geography of the northern metropolitan area of Buenos Aires. These are the spaces that become relevant, I would

argue, in and for partitioning and navigating the social landscape of the areas more proximal to the interviewees.

There is also a distinction between, what I will call, ‘regional’ and ‘local’ places. By regional places, I mean spaces defined by political boundaries such as provincial or national boundaries. In my study, regional boundaries become relevant in comments about *yeísmo* and syllable-final /s/ production. Interviewees identify Argentinian provinces other than Buenos Aires, or countries other than Argentina as typical places associated with the production of a given variant. The geographic and linguistic planes are superimposed, and Buenos Aires thus becomes a geographic and linguistic unit.

One salient distinction between the spatialization of the *(con)cheto* and the *villero* registers is the concentration vs. diffusion of their locatability. By concentration and diffusion, I mean that these registers differ in terms of the array of places that they stereotypically invoke. On the one hand, the *villero* register is represented as highly concentrated in *villas* (*de emergencia*) or sometimes *barrios de emergencia* [i.e. shanty towns]. Some interviewees make reference to poor or marginal neighborhoods as well, to neighborhoods in the vicinity of their schools, but generally in comparison with *villas*. Because this register is associated with the persona of *villeros*, who are literally inhabitants of *villas*, there is an inherent connection of the register with the spatial dimension. In other words, whenever speech is personalized in the *villero* persona, it is also simultaneously spatialized. In the landscape of Buenos Aires, *villas* are the most visible spaces of poverty and precariousness. In metapragmatic narratives, *villas* often appear as sites of (language) socialization where the acquired knowledge and norms (such as /s/ deletion) are considered deficient. And even though *villas* typically have names, just *La Cava* (a well-known *villa* in San Isidro that has actually been mostly dismantled) was mentioned in the

interviews, which implies a lack of variation between these neighborhoods, and also contributes to the concentration of attributes in a type of space.

The *(con)cheto* register, by contrast, appears as more diffused over space, being associated with many different types of places. This register is indeed locatable across a variety of places, such as in sports clubs (with hockey and rugby teams), private schools, in certain shopping malls (e.g. Unicenter, a well-known shopping mall in San Isidro), in gated communities (e.g. Nordelta) as well as in geographical areas such as San Isidro (a municipality in the northern metropolitan area of Buenos Aires) and near Libertador Avenue (closer to the river banks), or cities such as Béccar and Martínez (part of the municipality of San Isidro) or Victoria (in the municipality of San Fernando) as well as in northern areas of the City of Buenos Aires proper (such as Palermo and Recoleta). The *(con)cheto* way of speaking thus evokes a micro-geography of places that are spread out over the landscape of northern Buenos Aires. This diffuse spatialization of the *(con)cheto* register in turn may contribute to the perception among my interviewees that the use of the linguistic forms associated with this register (i.e. *zheísmo* and the use of English words) can variably indicate a speaker with higher status, or a speaker ‘fabricating’ higher status. In other words, the diffusion of the register’s locatability recreates insecurity about the authenticity of the speaker’s status.

De Fina (2009) contends that “[w]hen places are foregrounded and become invested with meanings they can be seen as landmarks in specific narratives or sets of narratives” (p. 114). A second aspect of the spatialization of the *(con)cheto* and *villero* registers in the metapragmatic narratives is that, in each case, there is one place, i.e. a landmark, that emerges as more central to the registers definition. In the case of the *(con)cheto* register, despite the several spaces defined in relation to this register, most interviewees located the variants in San Isidro. One of the

interviewees even referred to this way of speaking as “la tonada sanisidrense” [the San Isidro accent], thus linking a way of speaking to the geographical location. And some of the other places mentioned (e.g. Unicenter, Martínez, Béccar) are indeed located in the municipality of San Isidro. Therefore, San Isidro can be seen as a landmark of *(con)cheto speech* in the northern metropolitan area of Buenos Aires.

In the case of the *villero* register, on the other hand, *villas* are a centrally defining landmark, but some comments refer to how the register is seen as spilling onto surrounding (usually, working class) areas due to the ‘covert prestige’ of *villero* culture. By covert prestige, I refer to “the favorable connotations that nonstandard or apparently low-status or ‘incorrect’ forms have for many speakers” (Trudgill 2003: 30). This kind of prestige, Trudgill (2003) contends, derives from attributing a high status to “friendliness and loyalty”, and since it is “less publicly acknowledged”, it is called ‘covert’ (as opposed to the overt prestige of the standard, for example). In particular, it was the metapragmatic narratives of educators from a semi-private school in one of these working class areas that recurrently focused on the spreading influence of the *villero* register on the behaviors of working class children living in liminal areas. Working class children are described as routinely adopting elements of the *villero* register, such as clothing, music, and language of course. In contrast, educators from a private school reported that the students adopted features of the register in order to use in particular interactional situations. This contrast shows how geographical and social distance to the central landmark, i.e. *villas*, may contribute to define different uses and values attributed to the same register.

As discussed, the variables in my study are related to different place-based categories and the personae that inhabit those spaces. The *villero* and *(con)cheto* personae are thus locatable in a micro-geography of locally relevant places. Places, variables, social personae are interrelated

categories that make up distinctive and recognizable registers. My study shows that these categories and variables are stereotypically related and attributed specific recognizable meanings. In some cases, interviewees even named these ways of speaking in relation to social personae (e.g. *hablar villero*, i.e. speak like a *villero*) or places (e.g. *la tonada sanisidrense*, i.e. San Isidro's accent). These discursive practices indicate, I would argue, that some bundles of categories and linguistic features have been involved in processes of what Agha (2005) calls "enregisterment." Enregisterment refers to the "processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users" (p. 38). In Buenos Aires, the processes of enregisterment have connected linguistic features with local social personae and local places rather than with BA Spanish as a whole. Unlike other varieties, such as Pittsburghese in the US (Johnstone *et al.* 2006, Kiesling & Johnstone 2008), the local registers of BA speech are not discussed and identified as clearly by my speakers under a given register name. Yet, this could be the result of the design of my study, so more research would be necessary in order to better ascertain the level of enregisterment of the *villero* and *(con)cheto* ways of speaking.

So far, I have discussed how the linguistic forms under study and relevant social categories of language users and space become interrelated as part of the *(con)cheto* and *villero* registers in educators' metapragmatic narratives. The second set of questions in this dissertation aimed at elucidating what metasociolinguistic stances towards the variables in the study recur in the metapragmatic narratives, and how these patterns contribute to the meaning of those registers.

To make sure, Jaffe (2009a) defines metasociolinguistic stances as stances through which "speakers take up positions with respect to core sociolinguistic issues that shape their worlds,

including the conventional associations between language and social categories, linguistic ideologies, and language hierarchies” (p. 24). Throughout my analyses, I have pointed out the ways in which the interviewees express their positions towards, and evaluation of different perceived uses of the variants. Sometimes, speakers display metasociolinguistic stances in their interpretations of other people’s use of the variants, while other times speakers produce metasociolinguistic stances regarding their own use of a particular variant. All in all, I demonstrate how stancetaking is, rephrasing Kiesling (2009), also a “primary concern” in explicit talk about language use.

The analysis of patterns in metasociolinguistic stancetaking indeed show that stances may contribute to evoke and reformulate the meanings associated with the *(con)cheto* and *villero* registers. In other words, metasociolinguistic stancetaking contributes to the pragmatic valorization of the variants, and the registers they participate in. I have thus mostly referred to these metasociolinguistic stances contributing a positive or negative valorization depending on whether they implicate a sanctioning or a challenge of the uses of a particular variant on the basis of the meanings ascribed to it.

Regarding /s/ deletion, a core variant of the *villero* register, speakers mostly display negative stances which express disapproval of its use. This negative stance of disapproval emerges through various practices described in the narratives: the correction of language use, the use of negative descriptors towards the variants (e.g. expressions of undesirability) and users (e.g. ‘bruto’ [brute] or ‘ignorante’ [illiterate]), the rejection of switching between varieties. That is, interviewees’ stances contribute to uphold the notion of incorrectness and undesirability. Although some of the interviewees enact discourses of respect for socio-cultural difference that

have the potential to mitigate negative stances, in most cases, these discourses do not lead them to question the belief that /s/ deletion is ungrammatical.

In the case of the *(con)cheto* way of talking, metasociolinguistic stances can be negative as well. Speakers take a negative stance either towards a perceived lack of authenticity in the link between speakers and social status, or towards the socio-economic distance that the use of the variables implies to them. In the case of the use of English, a positive stance is alternatively linked to the use of English to recreate friendliness and familiarity. In addition, uses of *(con)cheto* variables by male speakers may engender more negative stances than uses by female speakers due to the connection of these variables with femininity. This heightened negative stance towards male uses of *(con)cheto* speech indeed sustains the connection between this way of talking and a female persona. One of the reported actions through which speakers report to position against these uses of the variants is by using a performance register in order to mock the *(con)cheto* way of talking, thus reportedly creating a humorous effect. It is worth noting that, in contrast to the strong correctionist position that characterizes stances towards /s/ deletion, the use of the variants connected to the *(con)cheto* register are more widely reported to be the target of mockery than of corrections.

Stancetaking through mockery is not without potential negative consequences, though. To illustrate, a recent article from a nationally circulating newspaper reported a case of physical aggression by peers towards two girls in a public school in Pilar, in northern Buenos Aires, where an explicit link is made between bullying and language use: “*Apenas entraron al colegio, las hermanas comenzaron a sufrir malos tratos por parte de sus compañeras, que las insultaban y discriminaban por su forma de hablar y de vestirse. Las chicas eran molestadas y acosadas por “ser chetas”, dijo su papá, que detalló que en un primer momento las agresiones sólo eran*

verbales.” (*Clarín* online, 11/1/2013) [As soon as they started school, the sisters began to be ill-treated by their female peers, who insulted and discriminated against them because of their way of speaking and dressing. The girls were picked at, and harassed for “being *chetas*”, said the father, who stated that, at the beginning, aggressions were only verbal”. This case particularly shows that language is a relevant factor in discrimination and bullying at schools. And, not only do attitudes towards registers associated with low-status have negative effects, as shown in this case. In recent years, bullying at schools has become a public concern in Argentina, with individual cases being often reported in the news. However, the role of attitudes towards language use in creating situations of bullying has not garnered attention.

In order to promote the appreciation of linguistic diversity inside and outside schools, sociolinguists and educators should thus work together in finding more inclusive ways to treat, but also to talk about language. In the conclusion, I discuss how the findings from my study can be useful in developing in-service training courses for educators which may help question, and change prejudicial patterns of stances and metapragmatic discourses recurrently associated with the *villero* and (*con*)*cheto* registers in schools. Before the conclusion, I present a subsection that discusses how researching metalinguistic talk can add to our sociolinguistic knowledge of variation. The next section summarizes and compares the outcomes from my study with previous findings about the same variables.

6.0 CONCLUSION

Teacher's beliefs and attitudes towards language use have a critical impact on students' interpersonal relations, achievement and self-confidence (see Section 2.1.1). This dissertation proposed to analyze teachers' ideologies about language through explicit commentaries about language – or Agha's (1998) metapragmatic narratives. My dissertation thus investigated how educators in Buenos Aires, Argentina, attribute meaning to particular linguistic variants of BA Spanish through metapragmatic narratives. For this study, I concentrated on four stereotypical variants of BA Spanish: (1) the address forms *usted*, *vos* and *vos + boludo/a*, (2) voiced and voiceless *yeísmo*, (3) the deletion or aspiration of syllable-final /s/, and (4) the use of English.

First, I explored how the meanings of the selected variants emerge by their participation in the production of local registers. I followed Agha's (e.g. 1999, 2005) conceptualization of registers as socio-historically rooted models of speech that are observable through the existence of metapragmatic stereotypes. These stereotypes take shape, according to Agha, through recurrent typifications of (non)linguistic resources, their pragmatic values, and their social distribution. In view of these typifications, my discourse analyses of educators' metapragmatic commentaries show the relevance of two local registers in Buenos Aires linked to two social personae: the *(con)cheto* and the *villero*. These personae and the (non)linguistic repertoires associated with them are linked to different socio-economic statuses as well as to other notions such as incorrectness and femininity. Following work by Ochs (1992) and Kiesling (2008), I

argued that notions associated with social personae are sometimes linked to notions associated with the linguistic variables, so that linguistic variants indirectly index the characteristics of the social personae. I show that indirect indexicality often occurs through the processes of personification and spatialization of speech in metapragmatic narratives.

Second, my dissertation looked into stancetaking as a metapragmatic resource in the characterization of the variables. Here, following Jaffe's (2009a) concept of metasociolinguistic stances, I examined how "speakers take up positions with respect to core sociolinguistic issues that shape their worlds, including the conventional associations between language and social categories, linguistic ideologies, and language hierarchies" (p. 24). I indicated that, in describing their interpretations of the linguistic variants and categories associated with them, educators take positive (i.e. sanctioning) or negative (i.e. challenging or disapproving) stances towards the use(s) of the variants. Because stances involve taking different positions towards, and expressing different values for particular uses of the variants, stances also sanction or challenge the relationships and beliefs underlying the meaning of the variants. In analyzing metapragmatic commentary from a stance perspective, we can particularly zoom in on the complex interaction of different – sometimes even contradictory – sociolinguistic relationships and beliefs about language use.

One contribution of my work in this dissertation is to the study of sociolinguistic variation in Spanish, and in Argentina more specifically. My findings regarding the linguistic variants here expand our knowledge about the meaning of stereotypical linguistic variants of BA Spanish, thus adding depth to previous variationist work done on this variety of Spanish. That is, in addition to corroborating some extant sociolinguistic work on BA Spanish, my findings offer a more multifaceted view of these variants as they interact with numerous non-linguistic

constructs. A second (related) contribution of my dissertation is that it offers an alternative perspective for research on language variation by merging two established approaches from sociolinguistics. My dissertation proposes that drawing from both folk linguistics/perceptual dialectology and the sociocultural linguistic approach is a fruitful way to study the meaning of language variation. Together, these two sociolinguistic approaches provide conceptual, theoretical and methodological tools for the research of language variation through metapragmatic discourse.

The folk linguistic/perceptual dialectological approach (Niedzielski and Preston 2003, Preston 1999) has been showing the relevance of looking into how people explicitly talk about language and language use. So, applying insights and methodology from this linguistic tradition, as I have done in this dissertation, helped me to motivate my study, and to actually obtain metapragmatic narratives. On the one hand, folk linguistics/perceptual dialectology emphasizes how explicit commentaries about language foster the recruitment and explanation of folk terminology, which has a salient role in folk interpretations of language use. Preston (1999) indeed points to the educators' need to know and understand folk metapragmatic terminology and concepts, "especially when different languages and/or varieties are held in different regard by members of speech communities" (pp. xxiv-xxv).

On the other hand, the use of certain methodologies has provided folk linguistic/perceptual dialectology with tools to generate folk comments about language. The perceptual task (based on the match-guise test) is one of these tools. The use of this type of task in my dissertation proved to be an invaluable tool for focusing the educators' attention on particular linguistic contrasts that had been signaled as meaningful in previous variationist work. One characteristic of the perceptual task I designed for my dissertation was the use of minimally

different contrastive recordings in order to lower the chances that differences in the production of the pair phrases may take attention away from the variants under study, or even affect the perception of the variants. In order to produce these minimally different contrastive recordings, upon Barbara Johnstone's suggestion (personal communication), I maintained a single recording of the phrase by each of the speakers, and I deleted or replaced material exclusively related to the variable from this recording. Given this manipulation of the variants, I can argue that differences in interviewees' perceptions are unlikely to derive from differences in the stimuli.

In order to analyze metapragmatic narratives, I proposed to draw from the sociocultural linguistic approach (Bucholtz & Hall 2005, 2008). Due to its emphasis on the local, situated ways in which language contributes to produce and recreate social realities, the sociocultural linguistic approach helps us to better conceptualize and theorize how people ascribe meaning to language in metapragmatic narratives. In the case of this dissertation, the sociocultural linguistic approach can illuminate how relationships between linguistic variants and social categories are produced and valorized, and how narrators position themselves towards such relationships and values. One of the concepts arising from the sociocultural linguistic approach that has been instrumental to my analysis here is 'registers'. In this dissertation, Agha's conceptualization of registers has proven useful in establishing connections to metapragmatic stereotypes, which offer observable ways of tracing the existence of registers in discursive practice. In order to build on Agha's registers, I have also proposed the application of Jaffe's metasociolinguistic stancetaking to the analysis of metapragmatic narratives. Metasociolinguistic stances, I argue, are a key analytical tool in the characterization of registers because interviewees are constantly positioning towards, and evaluating the uses of linguistic components of registers in the production of their narratives.

And finally, a third contribution of my dissertation relates to its potential impact on the perception and treatment of language varieties in schools in Buenos Aires. The findings reported in this dissertation can contribute to ground and build on the necessary knowledge about educators' valorizations of language varieties, their users and their spaces of use that is a necessary step in trying to change teachers' attitudes and beliefs. As shown by the case of AAVE in the United States, sociolinguists first undertook a great amount of descriptive research on this variety before programs were developed for teachers and students to better understand and deal with language diversity in schools. In a similar vein, in order to plan ways to address teachers' attitudes and beliefs about language varieties in Buenos Aires, experts of language in schools need first to obtain and analyze information about what are these attitudes and beliefs, and how teachers express them. My dissertation about educators' explicit metapragmatic discourse is thus one step in this direction. But other sources of information and research on other variants are necessary. In addition to explicit metapragmatic discourse, other relevant sources of information that can shed light on these or other variants are, for instance, analyses of classroom interactions, of students' written work and how teachers evaluate this work, of textbooks used in class, and of teachers' meetings. These other sources would afford researchers and teachers different perspectives on how the characterization and attitudes towards the variants take shape and are circulated. Moreover, research on other variants of BA Spanish could expand the repertoires of meaningful linguistic resources that need to be considered when addressing non-vernacular varieties at schools.

Despite the need to continue researching the meanings of these and other variables of BA Spanish, in the following section, I outline how my dissertation can contribute to develop teacher training courses specifically intended for educators in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires.

Here, I have in mind courses for teachers who are in service, and who can thus bring to the course their experiences dealing with linguistic diversity in the classrooms.

6.1 OUTLINE FOR AN IN-SERVICE TRAINING COURSE ON DIALECT AWARENESS

I draw from R. Wheeler and R. Swords' (2006, 2010) proposal based on contrastive analysis and code-switching as a blueprint for a teachers' training course. My choice of Wheeler and Swords' methodology rests on two main reasons. First – and most importantly – Wheeler and Swords' textbooks show a practical, applicable, way of dealing with language teaching in linguistically diverse school contexts while also providing accessible background on sociolinguistic theory and concepts. Especially after having heard educators talk about training courses, I am aware that teachers appreciate courses that are more devoted to learning how to do things in the classroom. In their textbooks, Wheeler and Swords devote most of the time explaining in detail how to develop the students' ability to recognize different varieties of language, and how to code-switch between varieties.

I believe that an in-service training course for teachers in Buenos Aires should start by drawing teachers' attention to discursive practices that publicly display the variants in diverse contexts. The purpose of this initial step would be to foster awareness about how these variants are present in the discursive landscape of Buenos Aires, especially in widely circulating media. Some of the material that can be used for this stage is: (1) cartoons, e.g. the Clemente cartoon by Caloi, who character's voice often contains representations of the popular variety (such as ellipsis and *yeísmo*), (2) TV programs, e.g. by comedian P. Capusotto, especially the section

called ‘Ministry of Education’, where Capusotto especially draws on linguistic stereotypes, or the Argentinean series for children ‘*Patito Feo*’, that contrasts two types of female characters ‘las divinas’ [the divine ones] and ‘las populares’ [the popular ones] characterized by different linguistic repertoires, and (3) songs, e.g. by Wachiturros, the band mentioned by the educators in characterizing the *villero* persona. The presentation of this material can provide the opportunity for discussion of ways to talk about the linguistic phenomena observed in these illustrations. Some useful sociolinguistic concepts at this stage would be ‘dialects’, ‘registers’, ‘stereotypes’, ‘prejudice’, ‘valorization’. Also relevant here is the introduction of possible classifications of dialects and registers (e.g. local vs. regional, standard vs. nonstandard, etc.).

A second stage would involve making teachers aware of dialectal and register variation in their immediate environment. On the one hand, it would be useful to understand how teachers themselves make use of different dialects and registers, i.e. how they code-switch, depending on their interpretation of different aspects of the interaction (e.g. setting, interactants, topics, etc.). The use of a journal to record their daily code-switches can be a rich source of information for discussion. On the other hand, it is crucial that teachers become aware of how their students also make routine use of different repertoires. Teachers can be asked to record their students’ switches if they can recognize any. Otherwise, as my study shows, teachers can easily offer examples of their experiences with switching between varieties in the classroom. These examples can be analyzed using the contrastive technique proposed by Wheeler and Swords (2006, 2010). That is, teachers can provide contrastive analyses of the different repertoires used by them and/or their students. This contrastive analysis of the examples collected by the teachers themselves can be particularly insightful. As Wheeler and Swords (2006) show, these examples usually illustrate the ways in which teachers and other students treat and deal with code-switches

in the classroom. Furthermore, the analysis of examples will also prompt the need to discuss the concept of ‘code-switching’ as a better way to construe and talk about the uses of different varieties inside and outside the classroom.

A third stage would involve focusing on particular linguistic variants, such as the ones investigated in my dissertation. The contrast between /s/ deletion and aspiration would be a good start given the strong views attached to it, and the varied research projects that have dealt with /s/ production in Spanish. I would use the same perceptual task I used in my study in order to motivate perceptions and beliefs about the contrast among the teachers. In light of our discussions in the course so far, teachers should be able to reflect on, and reformulate some of their own views. I would talk about differences between the variants in phonetic terms, pointing to different potential realization of syllable-final /s/ across the Spanish-speaking world and how these variants can have different meanings for different speakers and hearers. One practical exercise can consist in actually listening to these different realizations of /s/ in different regional varieties, and note their differing valorizations. We will analyze their own and others’ discourses about the variants in order to understand the ideologies that these discourses draw from, and to compare them with and suggest alternative ways of formulating metapragmatic commentaries. For this exercise, I will present selective quotes from my own interviews that point to some potentially alternative ways of rationalizing and talking about the variants.

Finally, we will contrast the correctionist and code-switching methods of dealing with variation, and the effects of their application in class. Drawing from Wheeler and Swords (2006, 2010), I will demonstrate how these methods work differently in class. In the case of code-switching, teachers will be able to get acquainted with the three main steps in Wheeler and Swords’ methodology: (1) identifying the differences between variants as instances of formal vs.

informal language, (2) making contrastive lists of speech forms for classroom reference, and (3) practicing switching between formal and informal codes. In sum, the combination of conceptual and applied in-course practice is designed to supply teachers with what Wheeler and Swords call “a linguistic toolbox”. This toolbox can allow teachers to *act* differently, and can also allow them to *talk* differently with respect to the use of non-vernacular variants in the school. As Cameron (1997) points out in her well-known essay *Demythologizing Sociolinguistics*, “a change in linguistic practice is not just a reflection of some more fundamental social change: it is, itself, a social change” (p. 64). Therefore, a social change in the attitudes towards and treatment of nonstandard varieties of language in Buenos Aires schools demands different ways of thinking, of acting upon, but also of talking about talk.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE AND TASKS

An English translation is provided in square brackets after the Spanish version or before each phrase in the case of the perceptual task.

A.1 INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

Demographics

- a. *¿Cuántos años tenés?* [How old are you?]
- b. *¿Dónde vivís? ¿Siempre viviste en Buenos Aires? ¿Dónde?* [Where do you live? Have you always lived in Buenos Aires? Where?]

Work

- a. *¿Dónde trabajás? ¿Es una escuela pública o privada? ¿Trabajaste en otras escuelas públicas y/o privadas? ¿Dónde? ¿Qué grados has tenido a cargo?* [Where do you work? Is that a public or private school? Have you ever worked in other public and/or private schools? Where? What classes have you been in charge of?]

Academic training

- a. *¿Dónde hiciste el magisterio? ¿Cuántos años duraba el magisterio cuando lo hiciste? ¿En qué año te recibiste? ¿Hace cuántos años que trabajás como maestra de grado?* [Where did you earn your degree as an elementary school teacher? How long was the degree program? When did you graduate? How long have you been an elementary school teacher?]
- b. *¿Hiciste cursos de capacitación? ¿Cuántos? ¿Qué tipo de cursos hiciste?* [Did you do any additional in-service courses? How many? What kind of courses did you take?]

Language

- a. *¿Cómo describirías las formas de hablar que se usan en Buenos Aires?* [How would you describe the ways of speaking used in Buenos Aires?]
- b. *¿Cómo describirías la/s forma/s de hablar que utilizás habitualmente? ¿Siempre hablás de la misma forma? ¿Cuándo y cómo cambia tu forma de hablar?* [How would you describe your own way/s of speaking? Do you always speak in the same way? When and how does your way of speaking?]
- c. *¿Has estado en lugares dentro o fuera de Buenos Aires donde hayas notado una forma distinta de hablar? ¿Dónde? ¿En qué dirías que es diferente?* [Have you been to places within or outside of Buenos Aires where you have noticed a different way of speaking? Where? What would you say is different about it?]

A.2 PERCEPTUAL TASK

Instrucciones: A continuación, vas a escuchar unos grupos de frases. Después de escuchar cada grupo, te voy a hacer unas preguntas sobre lo que escuchaste.

[Instructions: Now, you will listen to some sets of phrases. After listening to each set, I will ask you some questions about what you heard.]

Variable 1: Pronominal system of deference

[Phrase: Can you change the schedule?]

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| a. <i>¿Podés cambiar el horario?</i> | [vos] |
| b. <i>¿Puede cambiar el horario?</i> | [usted] |
| c. <i>¿Podés cambiar el horario, boludo?</i> | [vos + boludo/a] |

Variable 2: Yeísmo

[Phrase: I'm going there right now]

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| a. Y[zh]a voy para all[zh]á. | [voiced] |
| b. Y[sh]a voy para all[sh]á. | [voiceless] |

Variable 3: Production of syllable-final /s/

[Phrase: We are OK.]

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| a. <i>Es[h]tamos[h] bien.</i> | [aspiration of /s/] |
| b. <i>Es[ø]tamos[ø] bien.</i> | [deletion of /s/] |

Variable 4: Use English words

High frequency [Phrase: Can you give me the pencil, please?]

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| a. <i>¿Me das el lápiz, por favor?</i> | [Spanish] |
| b. <i>¿Me das el lápiz, please [plis]?</i> | [Hispanicized English] |

Low frequency [Phrase: I have to be polite.]

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| c. <i>Tengo que ser amable.</i> | [Spanish] |
| d. <i>Tengo que ser polite</i> [polait]. | [Hispanicized English] |
| e. <i>Tengo que ser polite</i> [pəlait] | [English] |

A.3 QUESTIONS ABOUT EACH VARIABLE

1. *¿Notás alguna diferencia entre las frases que escuchaste? ¿En qué se diferencian las frases?*

[Do you notice any difference between the phrases you heard? What is the difference?]

2. *¿Podrías describir las circunstancias en las cuales se puede escuchar cada una de las versiones? Aquí te pido una descripción detallada de todas las características de la/s situación/es que asocies con cada versión. ¿Recordás alguna instancia en particular donde hayas escuchado alguna de estas versiones?* [Could you describe the circumstances in which each of the versions can be heard? Here I am asking you to provide a detailed description of all the characteristics of the situation/s that you associate with each version. Do you remember a particular instance when you heard any of these versions?]

3. *¿Podrías describir en detalle quién o qué tipo de persona asociás con el uso de cada una de las versiones en Buenos Aires? Es decir, ¿qué tipo de persona usa cada versión con mayor frecuencia en Buenos Aires? ¿Por qué?* [Could you describe in detail who or what kind of person you associate with the use of each one of the versions in Buenos Aires? That is, what kind of person uses each version more frequently in Buenos Aires? Why?]

4. *¿Podrías describir en detalle los lugares que asociás con el uso de cada una de las versiones en Buenos Aires? Es decir, ¿dónde se usa cada versión con mayor frecuencia en Buenos Aires? ¿Por qué?* [Could you describe in detail the places that you associate with the use of each one of the versions in Buenos Aires? That is, where is each version used more frequently in Buenos Aires? Why?]

5. *¿Podrías describir en detalle qué actividades y/o eventos asociás con el uso de cada una de las versiones en Buenos Aires? Es decir, ¿en qué actividades y/o eventos se usa cada versión con mayor frecuencia en Buenos Aires? ¿Por qué?* [Could you describe in detail what activities and/or events you associate with the use of each of the versions in Buenos Aires? That is, in which activities and/or events is each version used more frequently in Buenos Aires? Why?]

6. *¿Asociás alguna de las versiones con la escritura o con la oralidad, o con ambas? Es decir, ¿es más frecuente el uso de cada versión para escribir o para hablar, o para ambas? ¿Por qué? Si es frecuente el uso de alguna versión en la escritura, ¿en qué tipo de medio escrito es más frecuente? ¿Por qué?* [Do you associate any of the versions with writing or with speaking, or with both? That is, is it more frequent to use each version to write or to speak, or to do both? Why? If the use of a version for writing is frequent, in what kind of written medium is it more frequent? Why?]

7. *¿Dirías que alguna versión es mejor o peor que otra? ¿Cuál/es de las versiones es mejor/peor? ¿Por qué?* [Would you say that any version is better or worse than another? Which of the versions is better/worse? Why?]

A.4 IMITATION TASK

Para apreciar mejor el uso y la pronunciación de cada versión, me sería muy útil si pudieras reproducir cada acento usando otras frases. ¿Podrías mostrarme cómo sonaría cada acento?

[In order to better appreciate the use and pronunciation of each version, it would be very useful to me if you could reproduce each accent using other phrases. Could you imitate how each accent would sound?]

APPENDIX B

SPECTOGRAMS AND WAVEFORMS OF STIMULI

B.1 VARIABLE 1: PRONOMINAL SYSTEM OF DEFERENCE

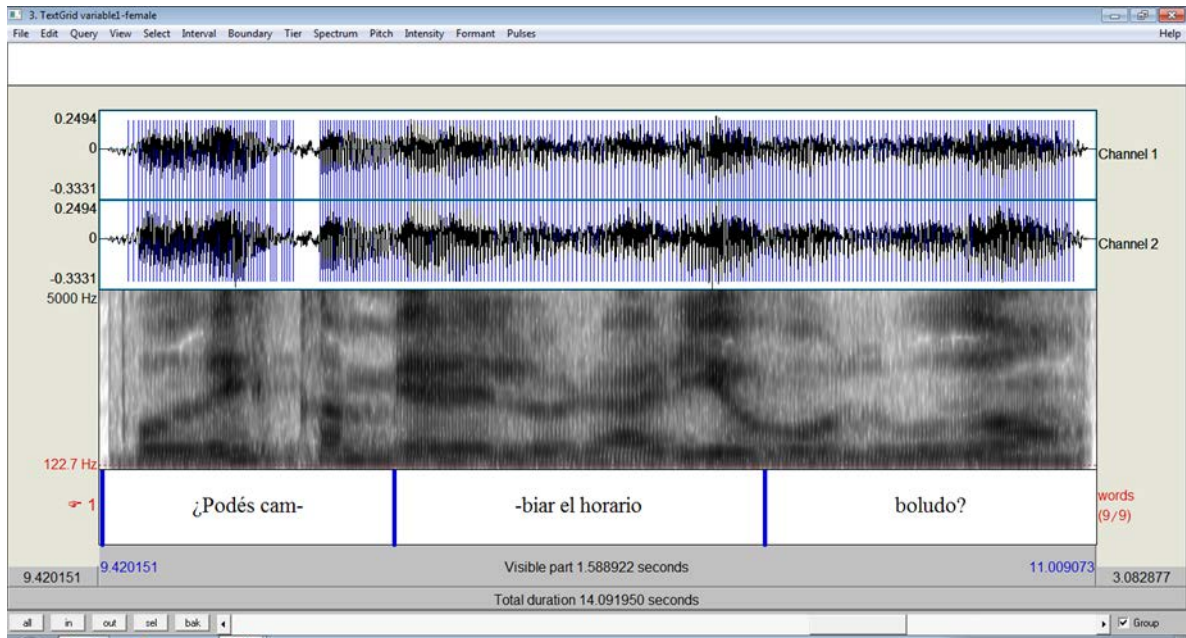


Figure 1. Use of *vos* + *boludo*, female speaker: *¿Podés cambiar el horario, boludo?*

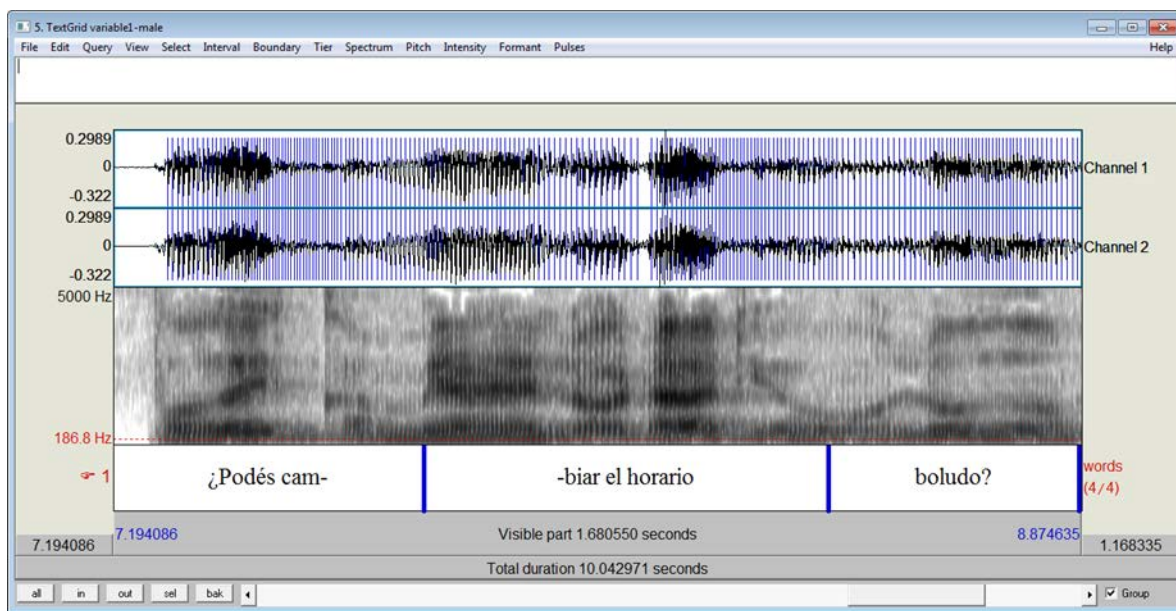


Figure 2. Use of *vos* + *boludo*, male speaker: *¿Podés cambiar el horario, boludo?*

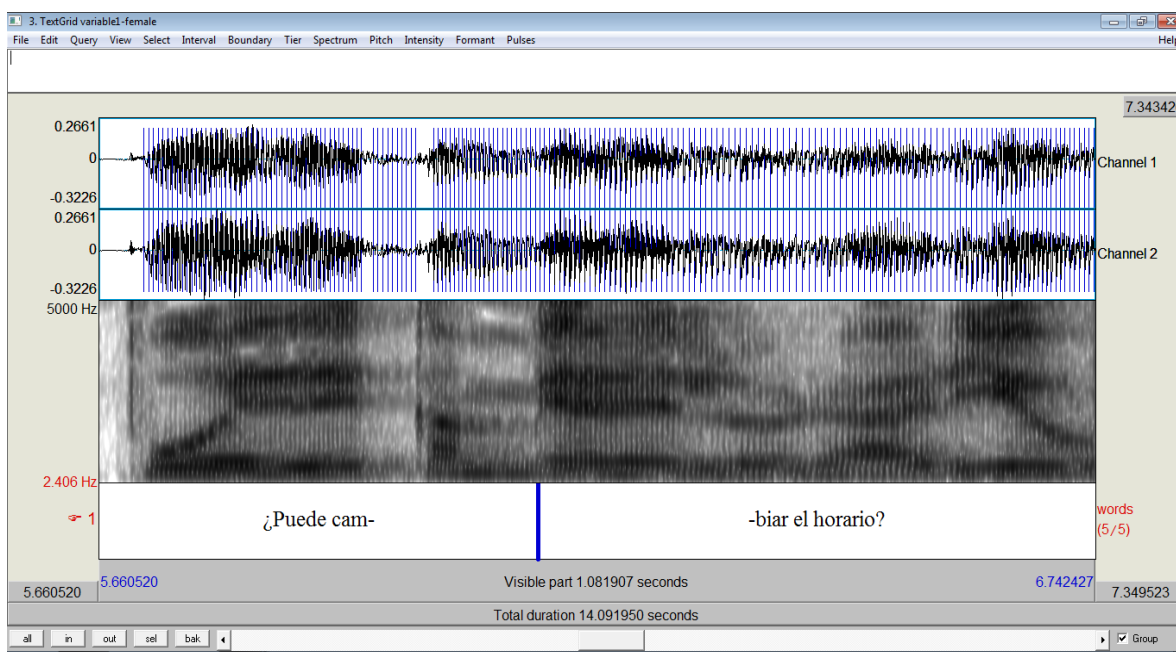


Figure 3. Use of *usted*, female speaker: *¿Puede cambiar el horario?*

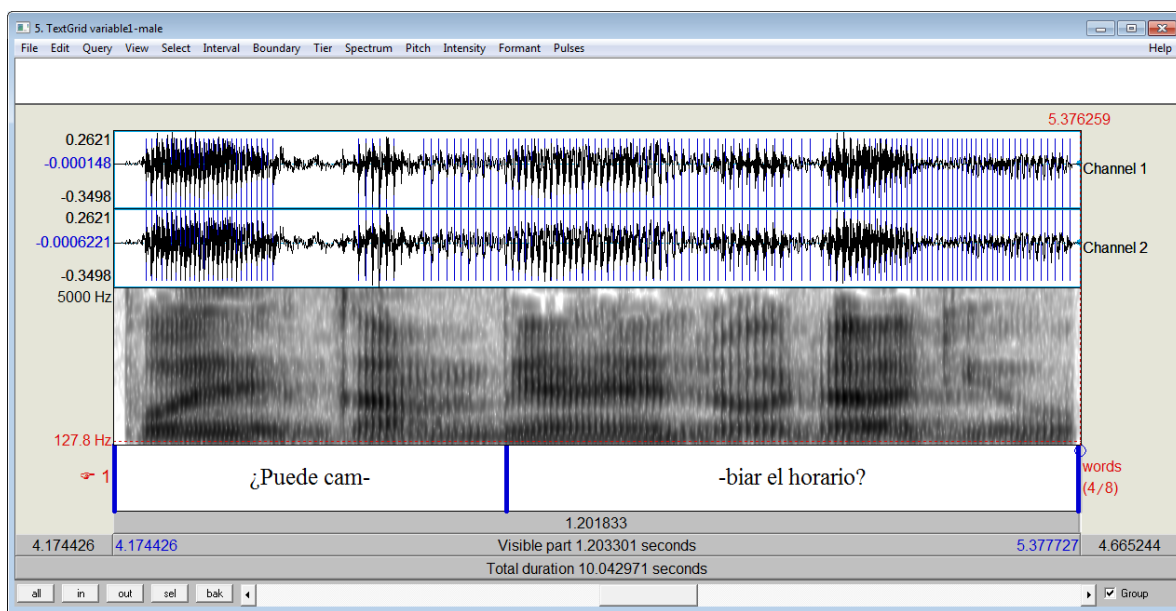


Figure 4. Use of *usted*, male speaker: *¿Puede cambiar el horario?*

B.2 VARIABLE 2: YEÍSMO

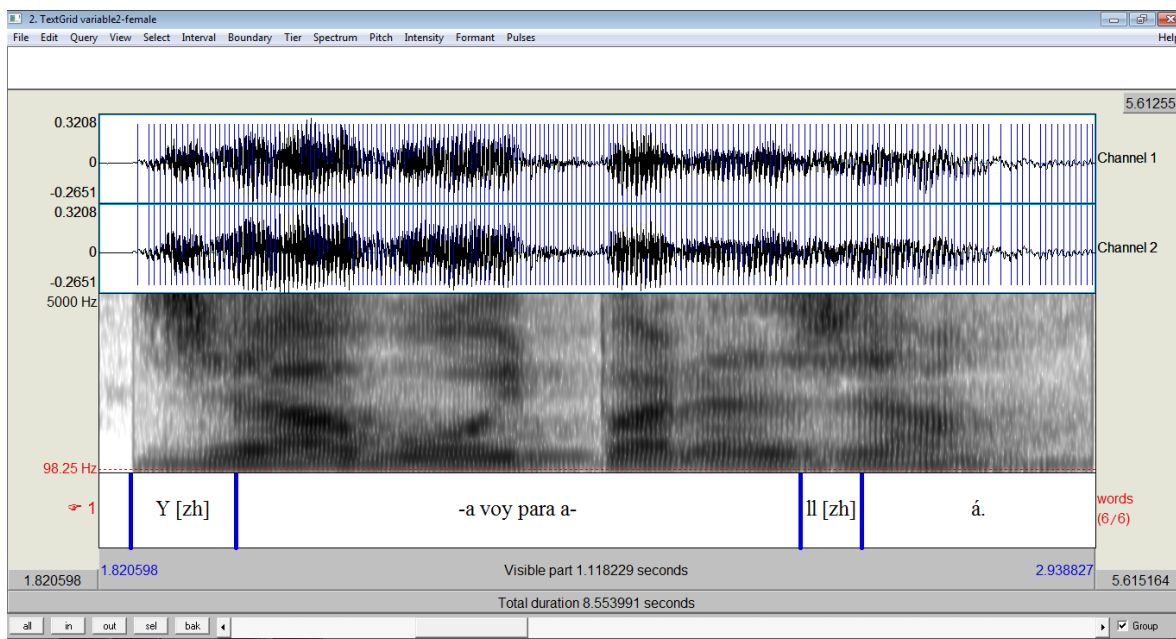


Figure 5. Voiced *yeísmo*, female speaker: *Ya voy para allá.*

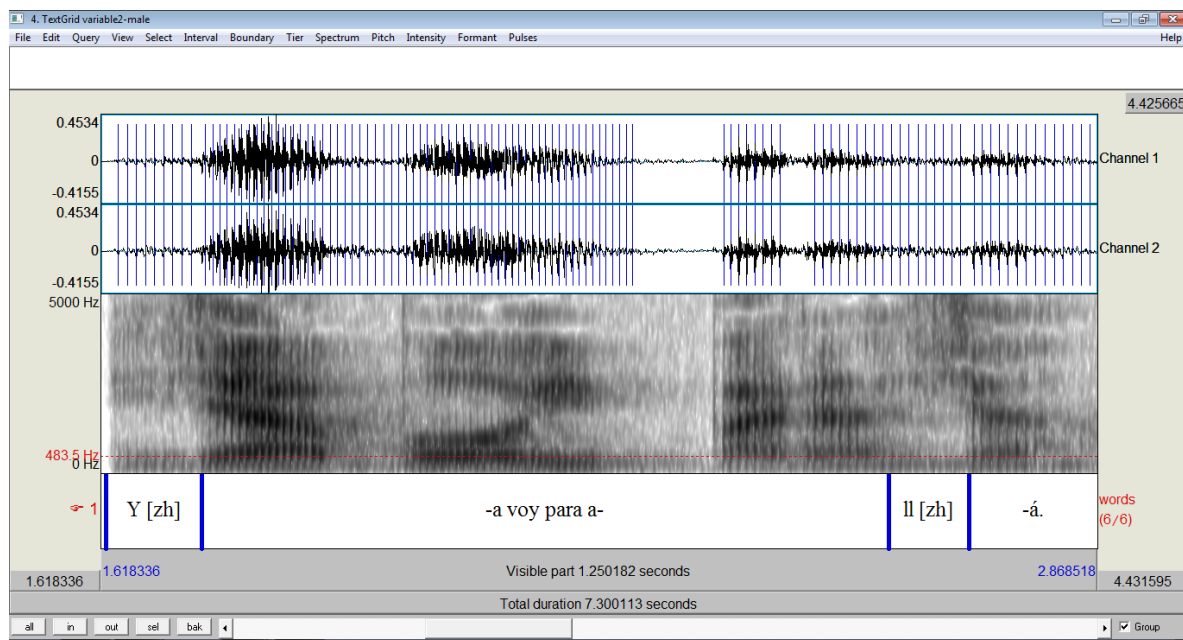


Figure 6. Voiced *yeísmo*, male speaker: *Ya voy para allá.*

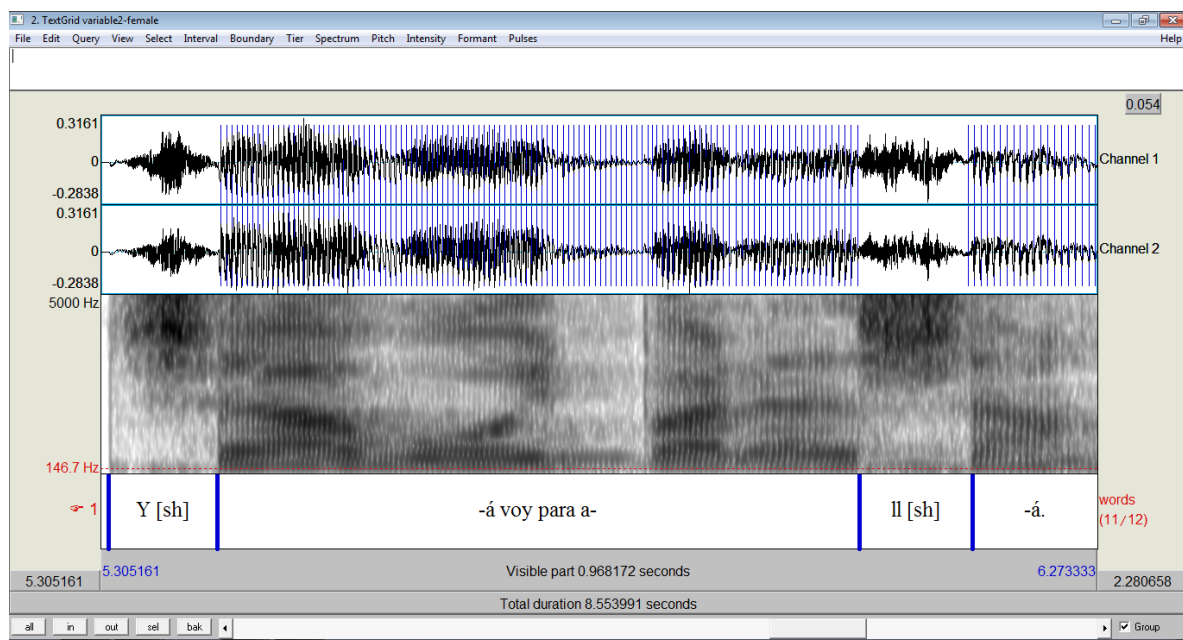


Figure 7. Voiceless *yeísmo*, female speaker: *Ya voy para allá.*

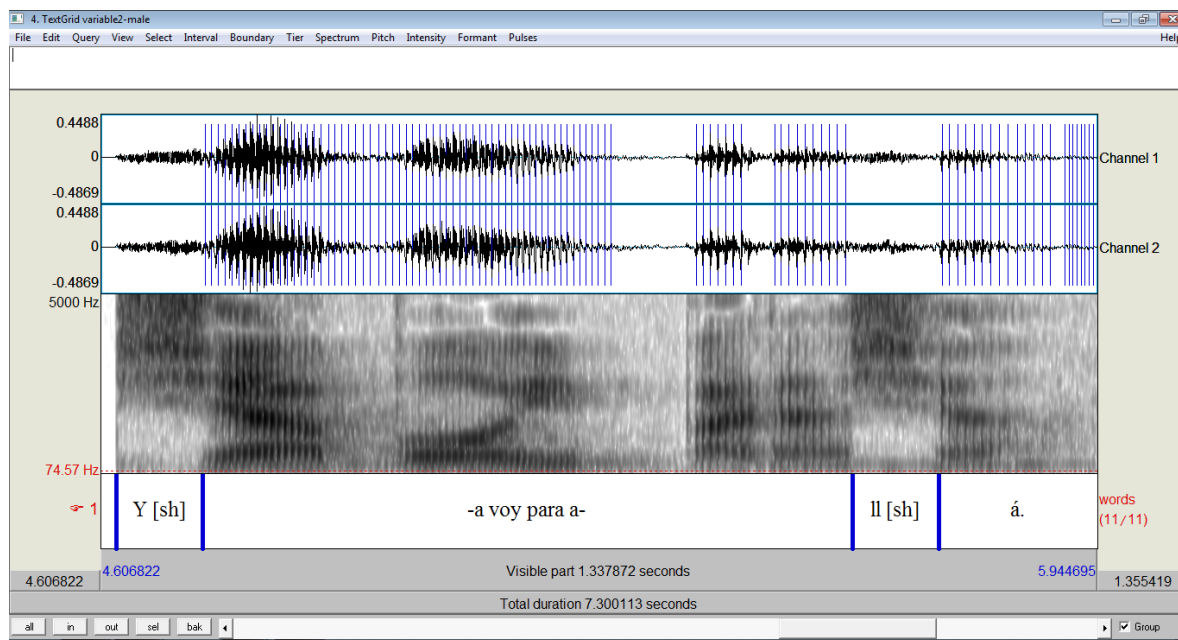


Figure 8. Voiceless *yeísmo*, male speaker: *Ya voy para allá*.

B.3 VARIABLE 3: PRODUCTION OF SYLLABLE-FINAL /S/

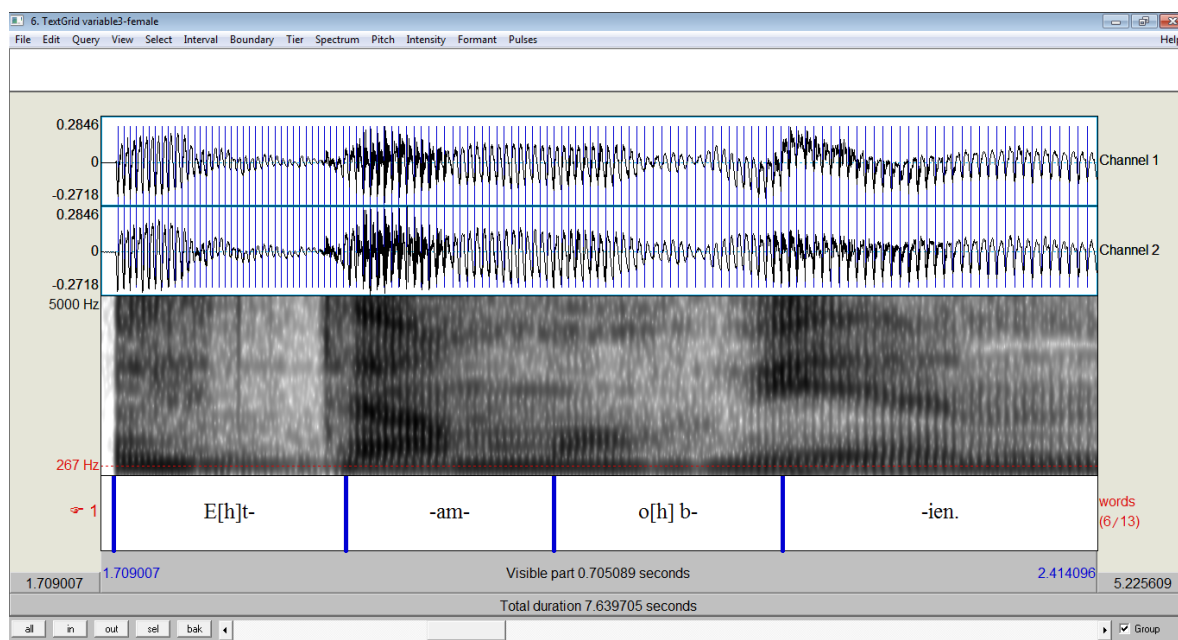


Figure 9. Aspiration of /s/, female speaker: *Estamos bien*.

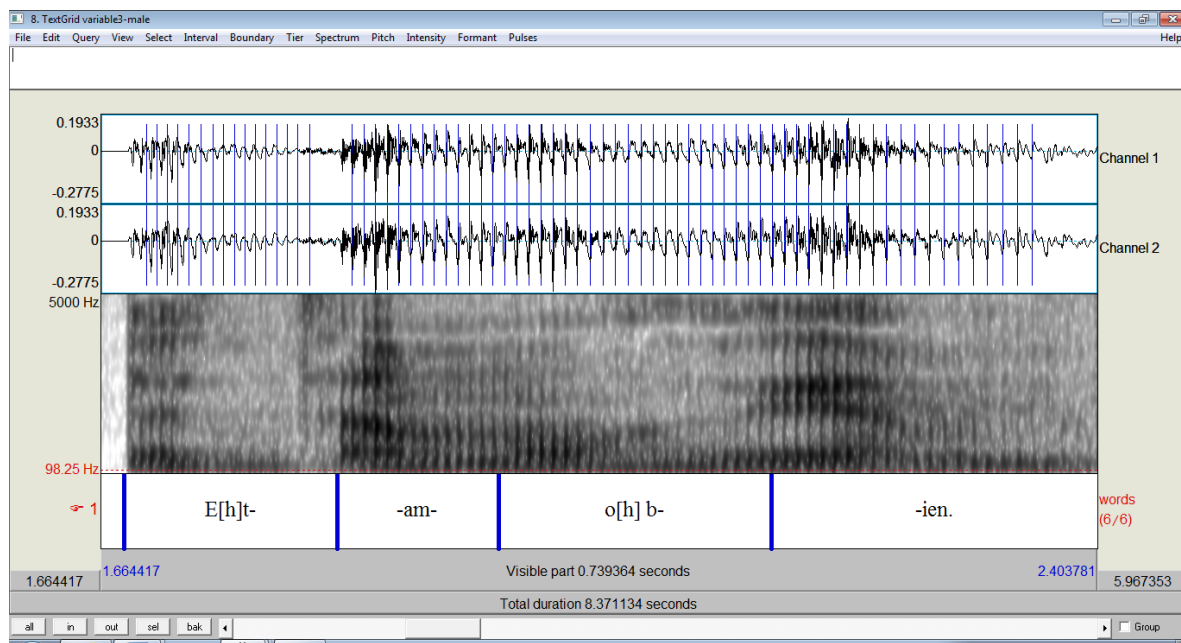


Figure 10. Aspiration of /s/, male speakers: *Estamos bien*.

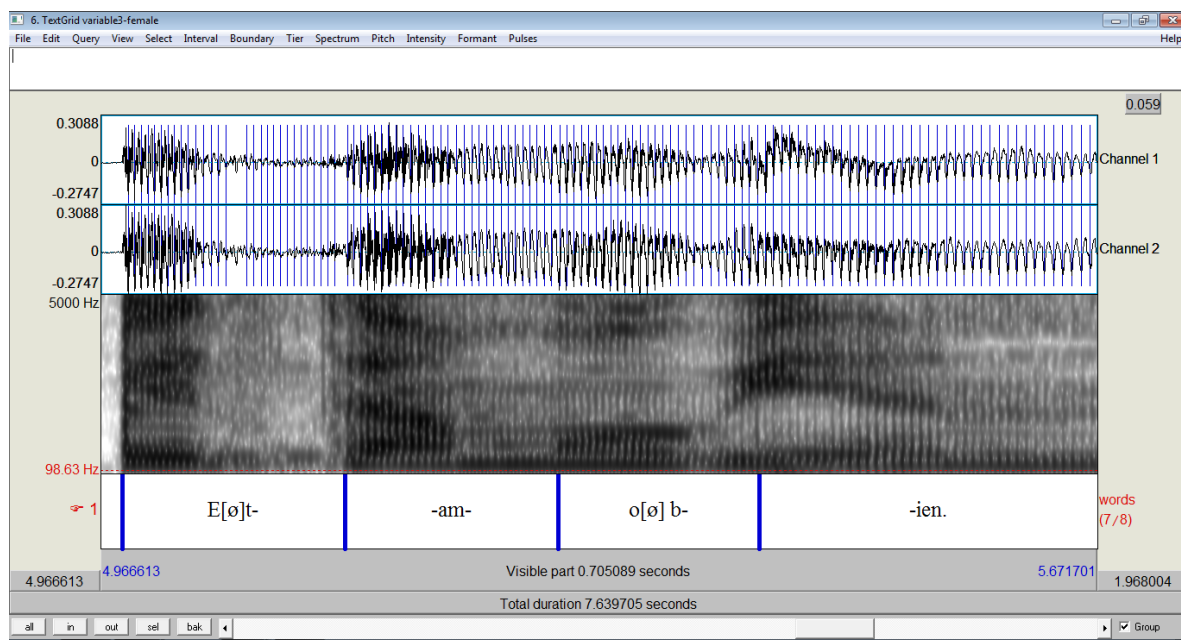


Figure 11. Deletion of /s/, female speaker: *Estamos bien*.

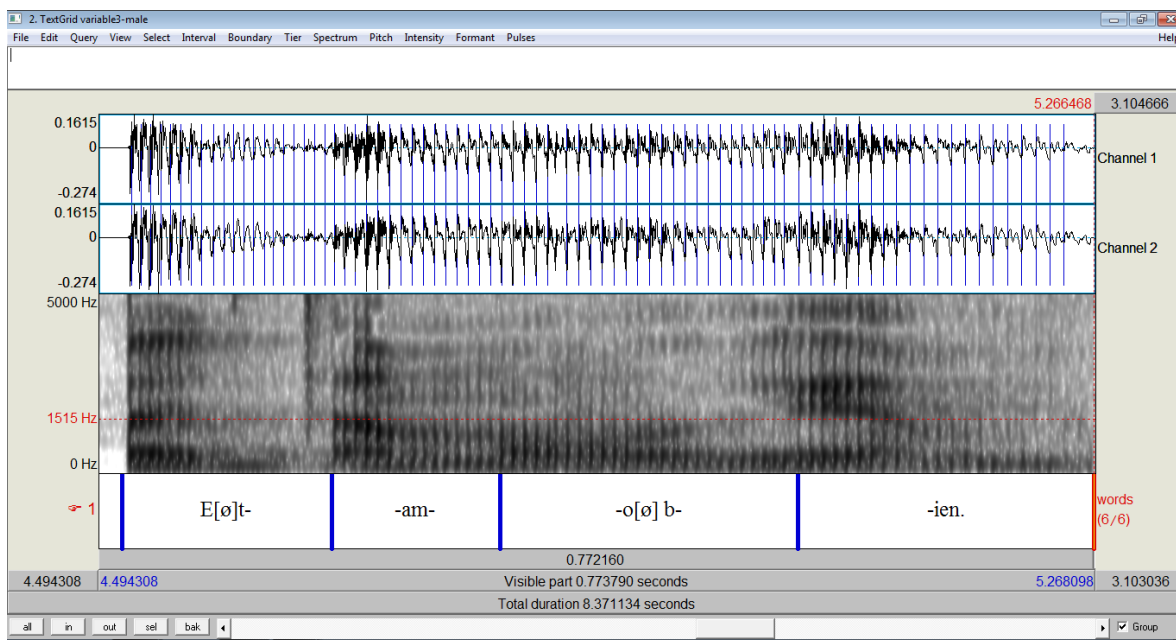


Figure 12. Deletion of /s/, male speaker: *Estamos bien.*

B.4 VARIABLE 4: USE OF ENGLISH WORDS

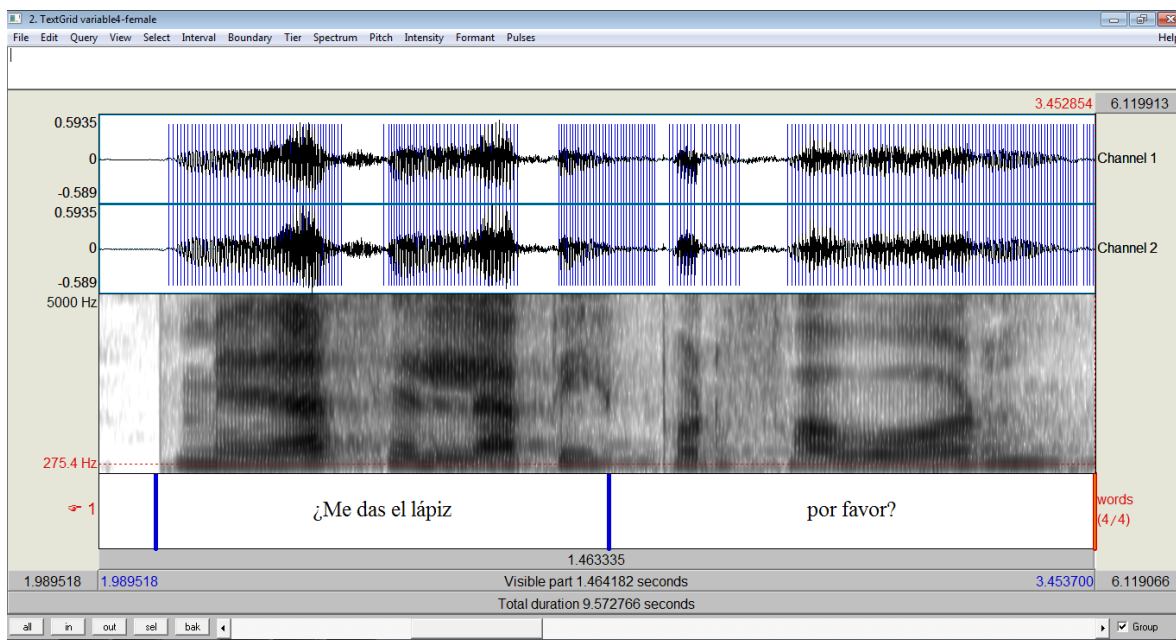


Figure 13. High-frequency words, Spanish, female speaker: *¿Me das el lápiz, por favor?*

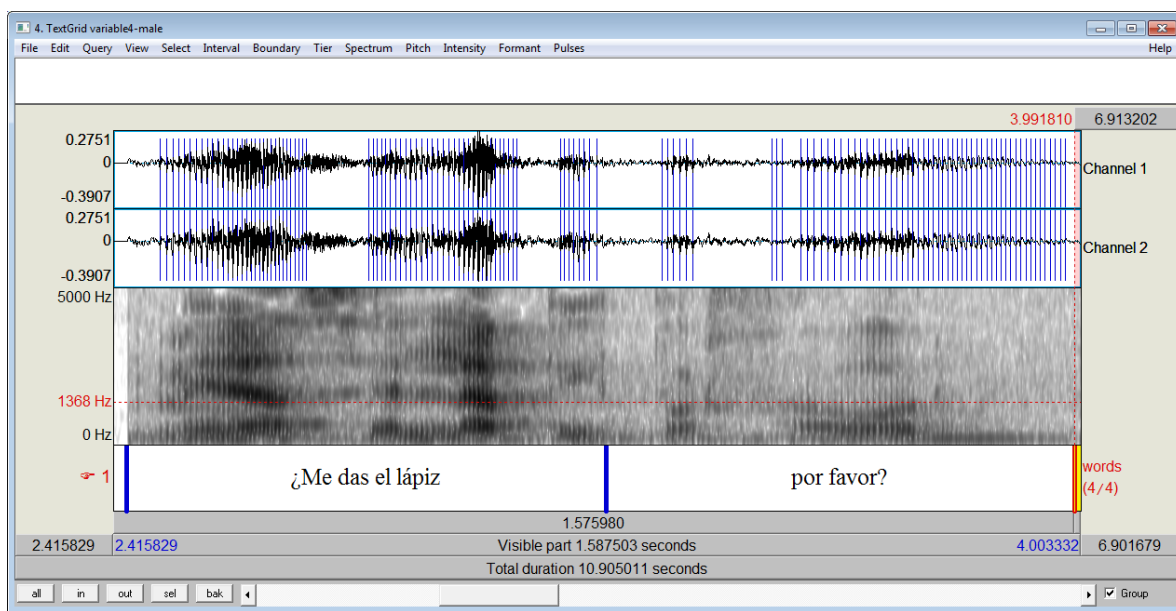


Figure 14. High-frequency words, Spanish, male speaker: *¿Me das el lápiz, por favor?*

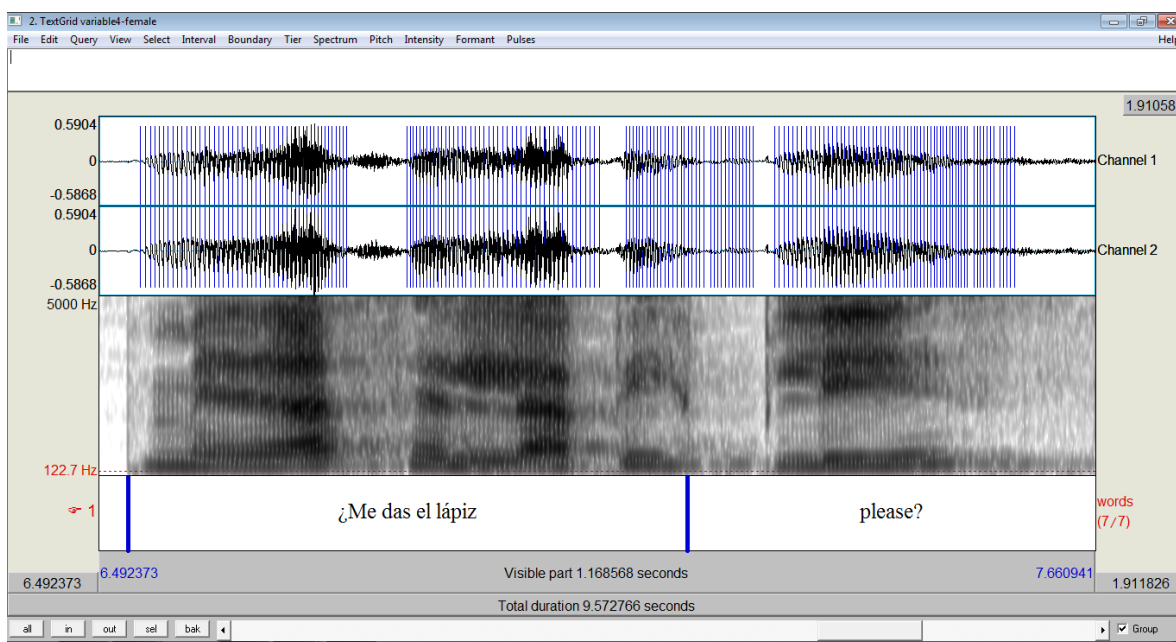


Figure 15. High-frequency words, Hispanicized English, female speaker: *¿Me das el lápiz, please?*

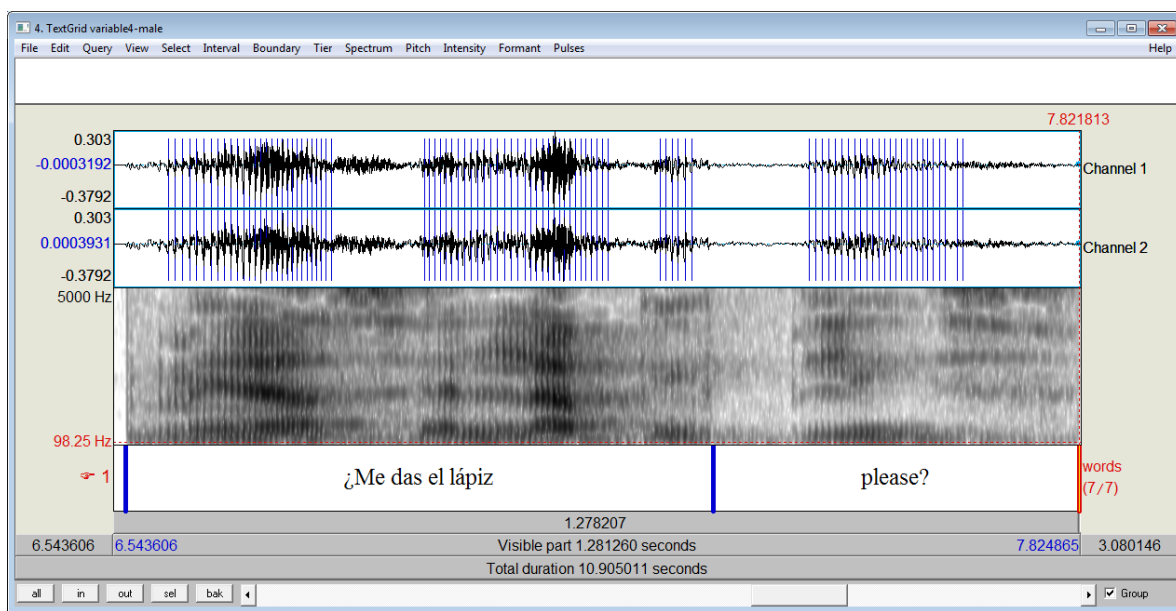


Figure 16. High-frequency words, Hispanicized English, male speaker: *¿Me das el lápiz, por favor?*

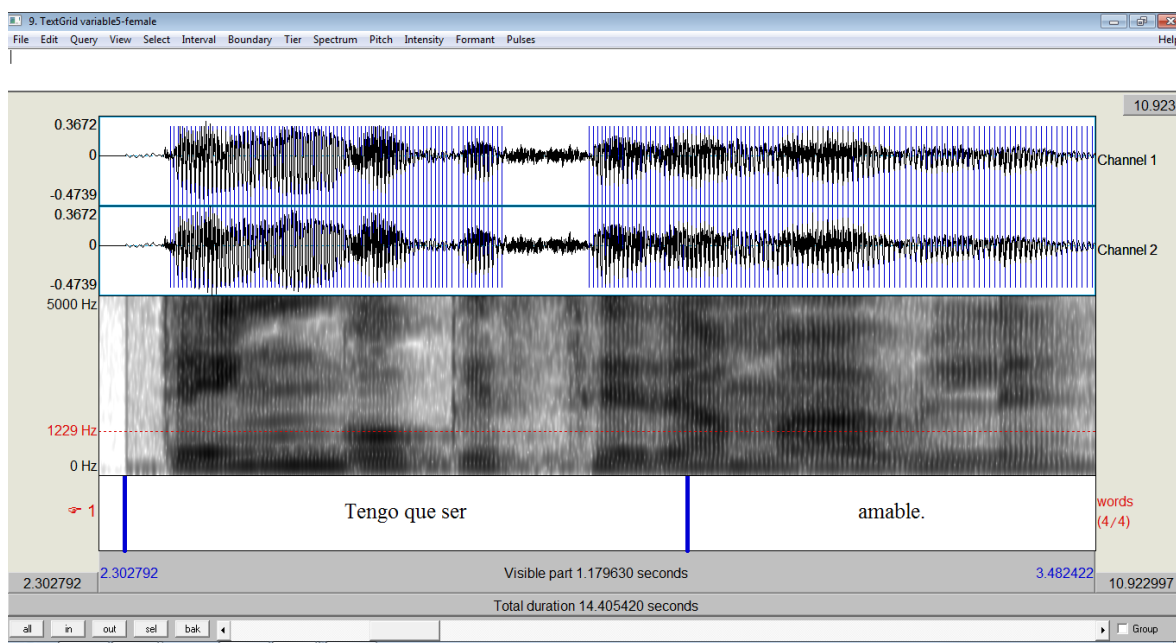


Figure 17. Low-frequency words, Spanish, female speaker: *Tengo que ser amable.*

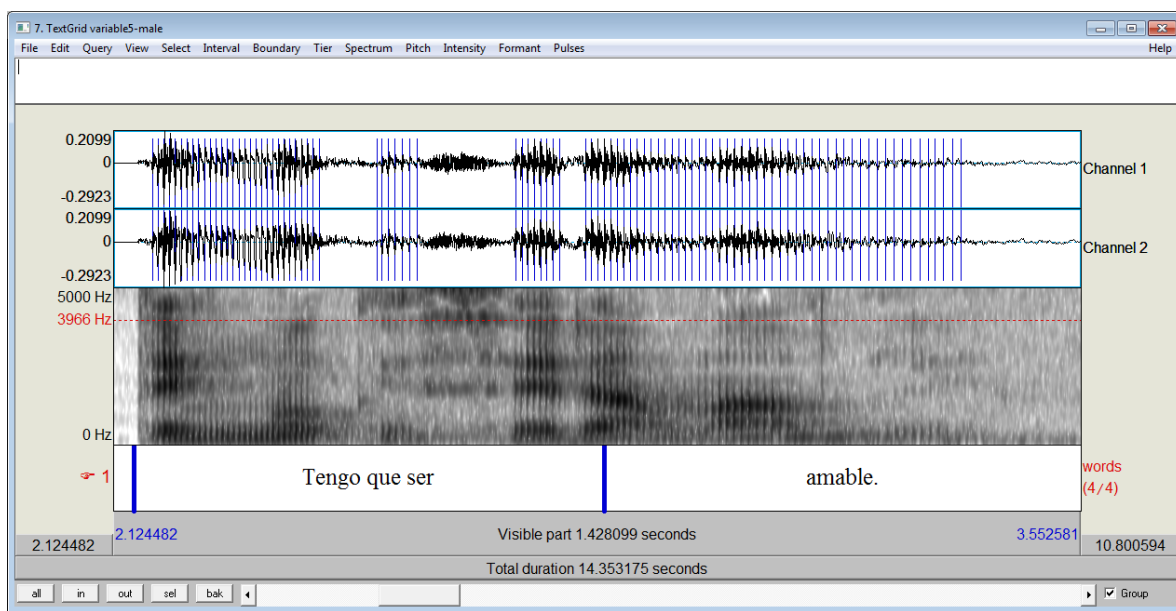


Figure 18. Low-frequency words, Spanish, male speaker: *Tengo que ser amable.*

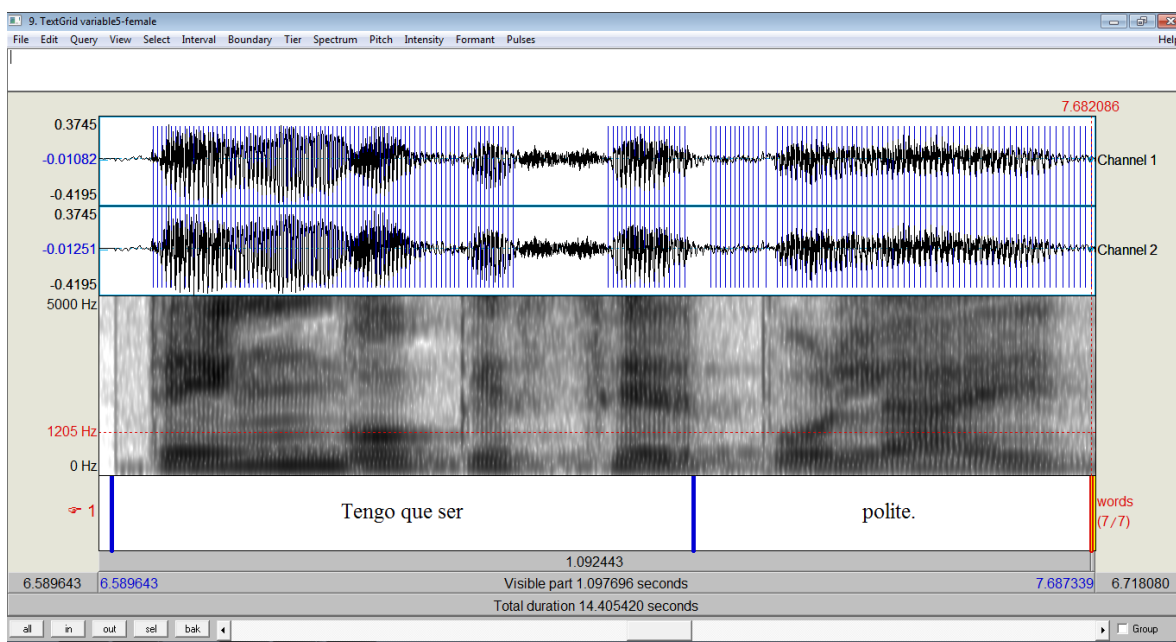


Figure 19. Low-frequency words, Hispanicized English, female speaker: *Tengo que ser polite.*

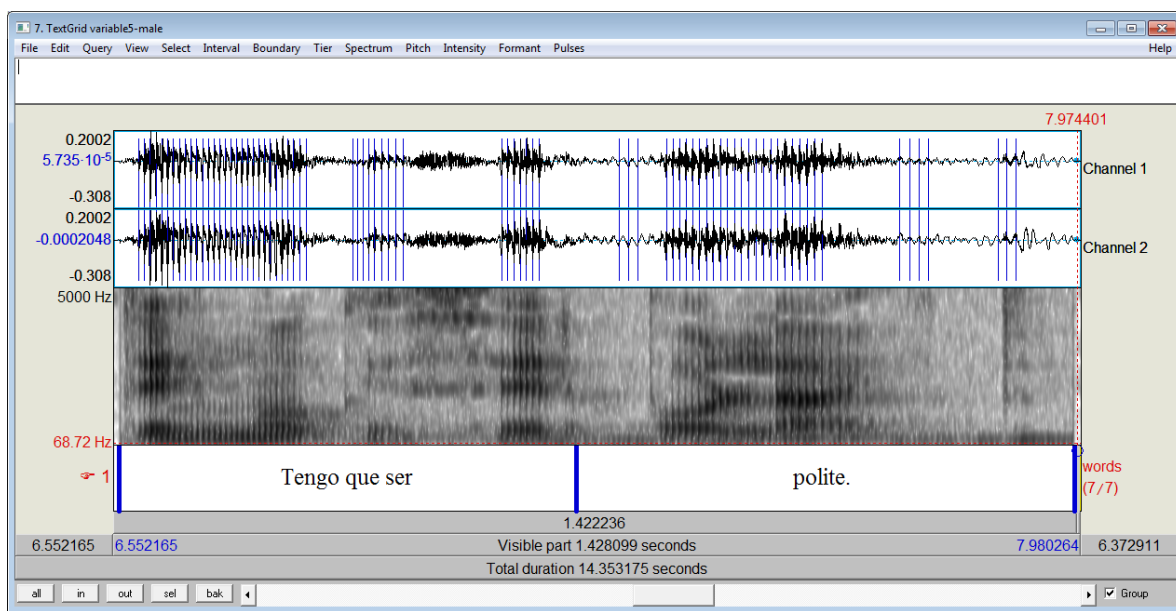


Figure 20. Low-frequency words, Hispanicized English, male speaker: *Tengo que ser polite.*

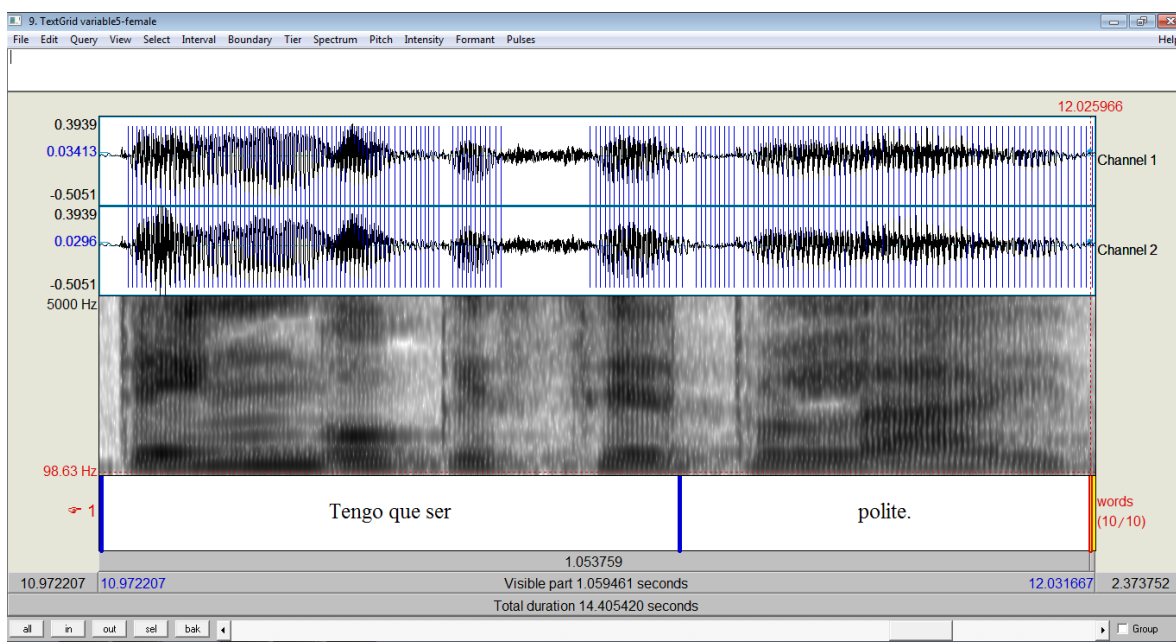


Figure 21. Low-frequency, Anglicized pronunciation, female speaker: *Tengo que ser polite.*

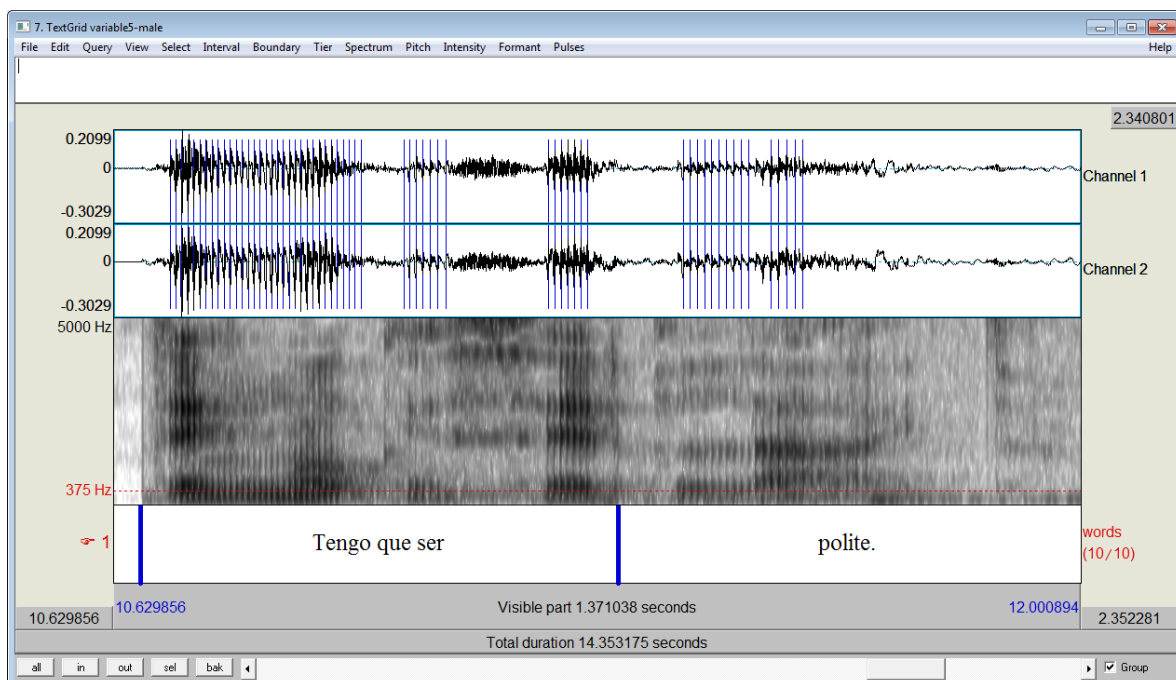


Figure 22. Low-frequency words, Anglicized pronunciation, male speaker: *Tengo que ser polite.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agha, A. (1998). Stereotypes and registers of honorific language. *Language in Society*, 27(02), 151-193.
- Agha, A. (2003). The social life of cultural value. *Language & Communication*, 23(3), 231-273.
- Agha, A. (2004). Registers of language. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 23-45). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Agha, A. (2005). Voice, Footing, Enregisterment. *Journal of linguistic anthropology*, 15(1), 38-59.
- Agha, A. (2007). *Language and social relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Alim, H. S. (2005). Critical language awareness in the United States: Revisiting issues and revising pedagogies in a reseggregated society. *Educational Researcher*, 34(7), 24-31.
- Auguste, S., Echart, M., & Franchetti, F. (2008). *The quality of education in Argentina*. An Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) Research Project. Retrieved from <http://www.iadb.org/res/laresnetwork/files/pr294finaldraft.pdf>.
- Bagley, C., & Girvan, C. (1971). A comparative study of social environment and intelligence in West Indian and English children in London. *Social and Economic Studies*, 20(4), 420-430.
- Ball, A., & Lardner, T. (1997). Dispositions toward language: Teacher constructs of knowledge and the Ann Arbor Black English case. *College Composition and Communication*, 48(4), 469-485.
- Bamgboṣe, A. (2000). *Language and exclusion: The consequences of language policies in Africa* (Vol. 12). Hamburg, Germany: LIT Verlag Münster.
- Baquedano-López, P., & Kattan, S. (2008). Language socialization in schools. In P. A. Duff & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (Vol. 8) (pp. 161-173). New York, NY: Springer.

- Bayley, R. (2002). The quantitative paradigm. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 117-141). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Beaudrie, S. M., & Fairclough, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Spanish as a heritage language in the United States: The state of the field*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Besch, W., & Löffler, H. (1977). *Alemannisch. Dialekt/Hochsprache kontrastiv*. Düsseldorf, Germany: Schwann.
- Blanco de Margo, M. I. (1991). *Lenguaje e identidad: Actitudes lingüísticas en la Argentina, 1800-1960*. Bahía Blanca, Argentina: Universidad Nacional del Sur, Departamento de Humanidades, Gabinete de Estudios Lingüísticos.
- Blommaert, J. (2007). Sociolinguistics and discourse analysis: Orders of indexicality and polycentricity. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 2(2), 115-130.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bracken, J. (2007). *¡Che Boludo! A gringo's guide to understanding the Argentines*. Bariloche, Argentina: Ediciones Continente.
- Briggs, C. L. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, D. W. (2006). Girls and guys, ghetto and bougie: Metapragmatics, ideology and the management of social identities1. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 10(5), 596-610.
- Brunner, E. (2009). Imitation and the perception of variation. Poster presented at the 38th annual meeting of New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV 38), October (pp. 22-25). Retrieved from <http://www.sociolinguistics.uottawa.ca/nwav38/>
- Bucholtz, M. (2001). The whiteness of Nerds: Superstandard English and race markedness. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 11(1): 84-100.
- Bucholtz, M. (2009). From stance to style: Gender, interaction, and indexicality in Mexican immigrant young slang. In A. Jaffe (Ed.), *Stance: sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 146-170). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bucholtz, M., Bermudez, N., Fung, V., Edwards, L., & Vargas, R. (2007). Hella nor Cal or totally so Cal? The perceptual dialectology of California. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 35(4), 325-352.
- Bucholtz, M., Bermudez, N., Fung, V., Vargas, R., & Edwards, L. (2008). The normative North and the stigmatized South: Ideology and methodology in the perceptual dialectology of California. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36(1), 62-87.

- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse studies*, 7(4-5), 585-614.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2008). All of the above: New coalitions in sociocultural linguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 401-431.
- Cameron, D. (1997). Demythologizing sociolinguistics. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics. A reader and coursebook* (pp. 55-67). Houndmills, UK: Palgrave. (Original work published in 1990)
- Cameron, D. (2004). Out of the bottle: The social life of metalanguage. In A. Jaworski, N. Coupland & D. Glasinski (Eds.), *Metalanguage: Social and ideological perspectives* (pp. 311-322). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cámpoli, O. (2004). *La formación docente en la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: UNESCO/IESALC and Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias, Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la República Argentina. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001494/149470so.pdf>
- Chang, C.B. (2008). Variation in palatal production in Buenos Aires Spanish. In M. Westmoreland & J.A. Thomas (Eds.), *Selected proceedings of the 4th workshop on Spanish sociolinguistics* (pp. 54-63). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla.
- Cheshire, J., Edwards, V., Münstermann, H., & Weltens, B. (1989). Dialect and education in Europe: A general perspective. In J. Cheshire, V. Edwards, H. Münstermann & B. Weltens (Eds.), *Dialect and education: Some European perspectives* (pp. 1-10). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Choy, S. J., & Dodd, D. H. (1976). Standard and nonstandard Hawaiian English-speaking children: Comprehension of both dialects and teacher's evaluations. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 68(2), 184-193.
- Clark, R., Fairclough, N., Ivanič, R., & Martin-Jones, M. (1990). Critical language awareness part I: A critical review of three current approaches to language awareness. *Language and Education*, 4(4), 249-260.
- Clark, R., Fairclough, N., Ivanič, R., & Martin-Jones, M. (1991). Critical language awareness part II: Towards critical alternatives. *Language and Education*, 5(1), 41-54.
- Clift, R. (2006). Indexing stance: Reported speech as an interactional evidential. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 10(5), 569-595.
- Cohen, S. A. (1969). *Teach them all to read*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Colantoni, L. (2011). Laboratory approaches to sound variation and change. In M. Díaz-Campos (Ed.), *Handbook of Hispanic sociolinguistics* (pp. 9-35). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E. Q., Hobson, C. J., McPartland, F., Mood, A. M., Weinfeld, F. D., & York, R. L. (1966). *Equality of educational opportunity*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Collins, J. (1999). The Ebonics controversy in context: Literacies, subjectivities, and language ideologies in the United States. In J. Blommaert (Ed.), *Language ideological debates* (pp. 201-234). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Coupland, N. (2008). Age in social and sociolinguistic theory. In J. F. Nussbaum & J. Coupland (Eds.), *Handbook of Communication and Ageing Research* (pp. 69-90). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Coupland, N., & Jaworski, A. (2004). Sociolinguistic perspectives on metalanguage: Reflexivity, evaluation and ideology. In A. Jaworski, N. Coupland & D. Glasinski (Eds.), *Metalanguage: Social and ideological perspectives* (pp. 15-51). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cragolini, A. (2006). Articulaciones entre violencia social, significante sonoro y subjetividad: La cumbia “villera” en Buenos Aires”. *Revista transcultural de música*, 10. Retrieved from <http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/articulo/147/articulaciones-entre-violencia-social-significante-sonoro-y-subjetividad-la-cumbia-villera-en-buenos-aires>.
- Cummins, J. (1997). Cultural and linguistic diversity in education: a mainstream issue? *Educational Review*, 49(2), 105-114.
- Davini, M. C. (1998). *El currículum de formación del magisterio en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Miño y Davila.
- De Fina, A. (2009). From space to spatialization in narrative studies. In J. Collins, S. Slembrouck & M. Baynham (Eds.), *Globalization and Language in Contact. Scale, Migration, and Communicative Practices* (pp. 109-129). London, UK: Continuum.
- DeMeis, D. K., & Turner, R. R. (1978). Effects of students' race, physical attractiveness, and dialect on teachers' evaluations. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 3(1), 77-86.
- Donmall-Hicks, B. G. (1997). The history of language awareness in the United Kingdom. In *Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 21-30). Springer Netherlands.
- Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse. Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 139-182). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Duff, P. A. (2010). Language socialization. In N. H. Hornberger & S. L. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education* (pp. 427-452). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

- Eckert, P. (2005, January). *Variation, convention, and social meaning*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Linguistics Society of America, Oakland, CA. Retrieved from <http://www.justinecassell.com/discourse09/readings/EckertLSA2005.pdf>
- Eckert, P. (2008). Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 453-476.
- Eckert, P. (2012). Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, 87-100.
- Edwards, V. K. (1976). Effects of dialect on the comprehension of West Indian children. *Educational Research*, 18(2), 83-95.
- Edwards, J., & McKinnon, M. (1987). The continuing appeal of disadvantage as deficit: A Canadian study in a rural context. *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducation*, 12(2), 330-349.
- Evans, B. E. (2002). An acoustic and perceptual analysis of imitation. In D. Long & D. R. Preston (Eds.), *Handbook of perceptual dialectology* (Vol. 2) (pp. 95-112). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. Harlow, UK: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (Ed.) (1992). *Critical Language Awareness*. London, UK: Longman.
- Fernandez Trinidad, M. (2010). Variaciones fonéticas del yeísmo: un estudio acústico en mujeres rioplatenses. *Estudios de fonética experimental*, 19, 263-292. Retrieved from <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/EFE/issue/view/16399/showToc>.
- Ferreiro, E. (1994). Problems and pseudo-problems in literacy development: Focus on Latin America. In L. Verhoeven (Ed.), *Functional literacy: Theoretical issues and educational implications* (pp. 223-235). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Fontanella de Weinberg, M. B. (1979). *Dinámica social de un cambio lingüístico: La restructuración de las palatales en el español bonaerense*. México: Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Fontanella de Weinberg, M. B. (1987). *El español bonaerense. Cuatro siglos de evolución lingüística (1580-1980)*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Hachette.
- Fontanella de Weinberg, M. B. (1992). *El español de América*. Madrid, Spain: Mapfre.
- Fontanella de Weinberg, M. B. (2004). El español bonaerense. In M. B. Fontanella de Weinberg (Coordinator), *El español de la Argentina y sus variedades regionales* (pp. 45-73). Bahía Blanca: Asociación Bernardino Rivadavia. Proyecto Cultural Weinberg/Fontanella.

- Frigerio, A. (2006). "Negros" y "blancos" en Buenos Aires: Repensando nuestras categorías raciales. *Temas de Patrimonio Cultural*, 16 (Buenos Aires negra: Identidad y cultura), 77-98. Retrieved from <http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/areas/cultura/patrimonio/comision/publicaciones.php>.
- Fuller, J. (2000). Changing perspectives on data: Interviews as situated speech. *American Speech*, 75(4), 388-390.
- Garriga Zucal, J. (2008). Ni 'chetos' ni 'negros': Roqueros. *Revista Transcultural de Música*, 12. Retrieved from: <http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/articulo/89/ni-chetos-ni-negros-roqueros>.
- Giles, H. (1971). Teachers' attitudes towards accent usage and change. *Educational Review*, 24(1), 11-25.
- Giménez, M. N., & Ginóbili, M. E. (2003). Las 'villas de emergencia' como espacios urbanos estigmatizados. *HAOL (Historia Actual Online)*: 75-81. Retrieved from <http://www.historia-actual.org/Publicaciones/index.php/haol/issue/archive>.
- Godley, A. J., Sweetland, J., Wheeler, R. S., Minnici, A., & Carpenter, B. D. (2006). Preparing teachers for dialectally diverse classrooms. *Educational Researcher*, 35(8), 30-37.
- Goodman, K. S., & Buck, C. (1973). Dialect barriers to reading comprehension revisited. *The Reading Teacher*, 27(1), 6-12.
- Guber, R. (2004). Identidad social villera. In M. Boivin, A. Rosato & V. Arribas (Eds.), *Constructores de otredad. Una introducción a la antropología social y cultural* (pp. 115-125). Buenos Aires, Argentina: Antropofagia.
- Gumperz, J.J., & Cook-Gumperz, J. (2008). Studying language, culture, and society: Sociolinguistics or linguistic anthropology? *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 532-545.
- Gumperz, J. J., & Hymes, D. (Eds.) (1964). The ethnography of communication. *American Anthropologist*, 66(6).
- Gumperz, J. J., & Hymes, D. (eds.) (1972). *Directions in sociolinguistics*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Harber, J. R., & Bryen, D. N. (1976). Black English and the task of reading. *Review of Educational Research*, 46(3), 387-405.
- Hazen, K. (2008). Variationist approaches to language and education. In K. A. King & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (Vol. 10) (pp. 85-98). New York, NY: Springer.
- Heilman, E. E. (2004). Hoosiers, hicks, and hayseeds: The controversial place of marginalized ethnic whites in multicultural education. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 37(1), 67-79.
- Herman, D. (2009). *Basic elements of narrative*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

- Hill, J. (1998). Language, race, and White public space. *American Anthropologist*, 100(3): 680-689.
- Hipperdinger, Y. (2009). Observaciones sobre las transferencias léxicas del inglés en español bonaerense. *Revista Digital Universitaria*, 10(3), 1-8. Retrieved from <http://www.revista.unam.mx/vol.10/num3/art14/int14.htm>.
- Hoenigswald, H. (1966). A proposal for the study of folk-linguistics. In W. Bright (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964* (pp. 16-26). The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hoffman, C. (2000). The spread of English and the growth of multilingualism with English in Europe. In J. Cenoz & U. Jessner (Eds.), *English in Europe: The Acquisition of a Third Language* (pp.1-21). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Hongladarom, K. (2007). “Don’t blame me for criticizing you...”: A study of metapragmatic comments in Thai. In W. Bublitz & A. Hübler (Eds.), *Metapragmatics in use* (pp. 29-48). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Hübler, A. & Bublitz, W. (2007). Introducing metapragmatics in use. In W. Bublitz & A. Hübler (Eds.), *Metapragmatics in use* (pp. 1-26). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Hyland, K. (2005). Stance and engagement: A model of interaction in academic discourse. *Discourse Studies*, 7(2): 173-192.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos de la República Argentina (INDEC) (2010). Censo 2010, Resultados provisionales: Cuadros y gráficos. Retrieved from http://www.censo2010.indec.gov.ar/index_cuadros.asp.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos de la República Argentina (INDEC) (2012). Superficie y cantidad de departamentos por provincia. Cuadros estadísticos: Unidades territoriales. Retrieved from http://www.indec.gob.ar/nivel4_default.asp?id_tema_1=1&id_tema_2=15&id_tema_3=25.
- Irvine, J. T., & Gal, S. (2009). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader* (pp. 402-433). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. (Original work published in 2000)
- Jaffe, A. (2009a). Introduction: The sociolinguistics of stance. In A. Jaffe (Ed.), *Stance. Sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 3-28). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Jaffe, A. (2009b). Stance in a Corsican school. Institutional and ideological orders and the production of bilingual subjects. In A. Jaffe (ed.), *Stance. Sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 119-145). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

- James, C. (1999). Language awareness: Implications for the language curriculum. *Language Culture and Curriculum*, 12(1), 94-115.
- Johnstone, B. (2004). Place, globalization, and linguistic variation. In C. Fought (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic variation. Critical reflections* (pp. 65-83). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Johnstone, B. (2006). A role for narrative in variationist sociolinguistics. *Narrative Inquiry*, 16(1), 46-55.
- Johnstone, B. (2007). Linking identity and dialect through stancetaking. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse. Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 49-68). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Johnstone, B. (2009). Pittsburghese shirts: commodification and the enregisterment of an urban dialect. *American Speech*, 84(2), 157-175.
- Johnstone, B. (2010). Locating language in identity. In C. Llamas & D. Watt (Eds.), *Language and identities* (pp. 29-36). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Johnstone, B., Andrus, J., & Danielson, A. E. (2006). Mobility, indexicality and the enregisterment of 'Pittsburghese'. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 34(2), 77-104.
- Johnstone, B., & Baumgardt, D. (2004). "Pittsburghese" online: Vernacular norming in conversation. *American Speech*, 79(2), 115-145.
- Johnstone, B., & Kiesling, S. F. (2008). Indexicality and experience: Exploring the meanings of /aw/ monophthongization in Pittsburgh. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(1), 5-33.
- Kay, G. (1995). English loanwords in Japanese. *World Englishes*, 14(1): 67-76.
- Kiesling, S. F. (2003). Prestige, cultural models, and other ways of talking about underlying norms and gender. In J. Holmes & M. Meyerhoff (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender* (pp. 509-527). Maiden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kiesling, S. F. (2004). Dude. *American Speech*, 79(3), 281-305.
- Kiesling, S. F. (2009). Style as stance: Stance as an explanation for patterns of sociolinguistic variation. In A. Jaffe (Ed.), *Stance. Sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 171-194). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- King, C. (2009). *Language attitudes toward devoicing among young adults in Buenos Aires* (unpublished senior honors thesis). The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
Retrieved from
<http://kb.osu.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/1811/37255/FinalHonorsThesisChristinaKing.pdf?sequence=1>.

- Kristiansen, T. (2004). Social meaning and norm-ideals for speech in a Danish community. In A. Jaworski, N. Coupland & D. Glasiński (Eds.), *Metalanguage: Social and ideological perspectives* (pp. 167-192). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Labov, W. (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Labov, W. (1970). The logic of nonstandard English. *Language and Poverty*, 153–189.
- Labov, W. (1995). Can reading failure be reversed? A linguistic approach to the question. In V. Gadsden & D. Wagner (Eds.), *Literacy among African-American Youth* (pp. 39-68). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press. Retrieved from ftp://babel.ling.upenn.edu/papers/faculty/bill_labov/RFR.html.
- Labov, W. (2001). Applying our knowledge of African American English to the problem of raising reading levels in inner-city schools. In S. L. Lanehart (Ed.), *Sociocultural and Historical Contexts of African American English* (pp. 299-317). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Labraña, L., & Sebastián, A. (2004). *Lengua y poder: El argentino metropolitano* (Temas de Patrimonio Cultural, 11). Buenos Aires, Argentina: Comisión para la Preservación del Patrimonio Histórico Cultural de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Retrieved from <http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/areas/cultura/patrimonio/comision/publicaciones.php>.
- Laihonen, P. (2008). Language ideologies in interviews: A conversation analysis approach. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(5), 668-693.
- Lambert, W. E., Giles, H., Gardner, R. G., & Fillerbaum, S. (1960). Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 60(1), 44-51.
- Lanehart, S. L. (Ed.) (2001). *Sociocultural and Historical Contexts of African American English*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Lipski, J. (2002a). *El español de América*. Madrid, Spain: Cátedra. (Original work published 1996)
- Lipski, J. (2002b). The role of the city in the formation of Spanish American dialect zones. *Arachne @ Rutgers*, 2(1). Retrieved from http://arachne.rutgers.edu/vol2_1lipski.htm.
- Long, P., & Preston, D. R. (2002, Eds.). *Handbook of perceptual dialectology* (Vol. II). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Lucy, J. A. (1993a). General introduction. In J. A. Lucy (Ed.), *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics* (pp. 1-4). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lucy, J. A. (1993b). Reflexive language and the human disciplines. In J. A. Lucy (Ed.), *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics* (pp. 9-32). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Lynch, A. (2009). A sociolinguistic analysis of final /s/ in Miami Cuban Spanish. *Language Sciences*, 31(6), 766-790.
- Margulis, M. (1997). Cultura y discriminación social en la época de la globalización. *Nueva Sociedad*, 152, 37-52.
- Massini-Cagliari, G. (2004). Language policy in Brazil: monolingualism and linguistic prejudice. *Language Policy*, 3(1), 3-23.
- McCarty, T. L. (2003). Revitalising indigenous languages in homogenising times. *Comparative education*, 39(2), 147-163.
- Mertz, E. (1993). Learning what to ask: Metapragmatic function and methodological reification. In J. A. Lucy (Ed.), *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics* (pp. 159-32). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Mertz, E., & Yovel, J. (2003). Metalinguistic awareness. In J. Östman, J. Verschueren, J. Blommaert & C. Bulcaen (Eds.), *The handbook of pragmatics*. Retrieved from http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=950741.
- Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la Nación (2004). *Censo Nacional de Docentes* (CND). Buenos Aires, Argentina: DINIECE. Retrieved from <http://repositorio.educacion.gov.ar/dspace/handle/123456789/109768>.
- Morrow, P. R. (1987). The users and uses of English in Japan. *World Englishes*, 6(1): 49-62.
- Neuhausser, S., & Simpson, A. P. (2007). Imitation or authentic? Listeners' judgments of foreign accents. In J. Trouvain & W. J. Barry (Eds.), *16th International congress of the Phonetic Science* (pp. 1805-1808), Saarbrücken, Germany. Retrieved from http://www.icphs2007.de/conference/book_of_abstracts.pdf.
- Niedzielski, N. A., & Preston, D. R. (2003). *Folk linguistics*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Niedzielski, N. A., & Preston, D. R. (2009). Folk pragmatics. In G. Senft, J. Östman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Culture and language use* (pp. 146-155). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Nielsen, P. M. (2003). English in Argentina: A sociolinguistic profile. *World Englishes*, 22(2), 199-209.
- O'Neill, P. (2010). Variación y cambio en las consonantes oclusivas del español de Andalucía. *Estudios de fonética experimental*, 19, 11-41. Retrieved from <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/EFE/issue/view/16399/showToc>.
- Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing gender. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon* (pp. 335-358). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Ohala, J. J. (1983). The origin of sound patterns in vocal tract constraints. In P. F. MacNeilage (Ed.), *The Production of Speech* (pp. 189-216). New York, NY: Springer.
- Ohala, J. J. (1995). The phonetics of phonology. In G. Bloothoof, V. Hazan, D. Huber & J. Listeri (Eds.), *European Studies in Phonetics and Speech Communication* (pp. 85-89). Utrecht, The Netherlands: OTS Publications.
- Pagano, M. (2013, January 19). "Las frases en inglés, un guiño de informalidad." *La Nación* [Buenos Aires, Argentina]. Retrieved from <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1547183-las-frases-en-ingles-un-guino-de-informalidad>.
- Paulston, C. B., & Tucker, G. R. (1997). *The Early Days of Sociolinguistics: Memories and Reflections*. Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Pavlou, P., & Papapavlou, A. (2004). Issues of dialect use in education from the Greek Cypriot perspective. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 14(2), 243-258.
- Piché, G. L., Rubin, D. L., Turner, L. J., & Michlin, M. L. (1978). Teachers' subjective evaluations of standard and black nonstandard English compositions: A study of written language and attitudes. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 12(2), 107-118.
- "Pilar: dos hermanas de 12 y 14 años fueron atacadas por sus compañeras al salir del colegio." *Clarín*, 1 November 2011. Retrieved from http://www.clarin.com/sociedad/violencia_escolar-bullying_en_Pilar-hermanas_atacadas_por_ser_chetas_0_1021698171.html.
- Pogré, P. (2004). *Situación de la formación docente inicial y en servicio en Argentina, Chile y Uruguay*. Lima, Peru: UNESCO/PROEDUCA-GTZ. Retrieved from http://www.oei.es/docentes/articulos/situacion_formacion_docente_chile_uruguay_argentina.pdf.
- Preston, D. R. (1986). Fifty some-odd categories of language variation. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 57, 9-47.
- Preston, D. R. (1989). *Perceptual dialectology: Non-linguists' views of areal linguistics*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications Holland.
- Preston, R. R. (1993). The uses of folk linguistics. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 3(2), 181-259.
- Preston, D. R. (1994). Content-oriented discourse analysis and folk linguistics. *Language Sciences*, 16(2), 285-331.
- Preston, D. R. (1999, Ed.). *Handbook of perceptual dialectology* (Vol. 1). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Preston, D. R. (2000). Some plain facts about Americans and their language. *American Speech*, 75(4), 398-401.

- Preston, D. R. (2002). Language with an attitude. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 40-66). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Preston, D. R. (2004). Folk metalanguage. In A. Jaworski, N. Coupland & D. Glasinski (Eds.), *Metalanguage: Social and ideological perspectives* (pp. 75-104). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pullum, G. (1999). African American Vernacular English is not standard English with mistakes. In R. S. Wheeler (Ed.), *The workings of language: From prescriptions to perspectives* (pp. 59-66). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Ramirez, A., & Carpenter, D. (2005). Challenging assumptions about the achievement gap. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 86(8), 599-603.
- Ramírez Gelbes, S., & Estrada, A. (2003). Vocativos *insultivos* vs. vocativos *insultativos*: Acerca del caso de *boludo*. *Anuario de Estudios Filológicos*, XXVI, 335-353. Retrieved from <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/revista?codigo=111>.
- Reaser, J., & Adger, C. (2007). Developing language awareness materials for nonlinguists: Lessons learned from the Do you speak American? curriculum development project. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 1(3), 155-167.
- Rickford, J. R. (1999). The Ebonics controversy in my backyard: A sociolinguist's experiences and reflections. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3(2), 267-75.
- Rickford, J. R. (2003). *Sociolinguistic approaches to working with vernacular varieties in schools*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL.
- Rickford, J. R. (2005). Using the vernacular to teach the standard. In D. Ramirez, T. Wiley, G. de Clerk, E. Lee & W. E. Wright (Eds.), *Ebonics in the Urban Education Debate* (pp. 18-40). Long Beach, CA: Center for Minority Language Education and Research, California State University.
- Rickford, J. R., & Rickford, A. E. (1995). Dialect readers revisited. *Linguistics and Education*, 7(2), 107-128.
- Rist, R. C. (1970). Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. *Harvard educational review*, 40(3), 411-451.
- Rodríguez-Louro, C. (2009). *Perfect evolution and change: A sociolinguistic study of perfect and present perfect usage in contemporary and earlier Argentina* (unpublished doctoral dissertation. The University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia. Retrieved from <http://dtl.unimelb.edu.au/researchfile114322.pdf>.

- Rohena-Madrazo, M. (2008). Buenos Aires Spanish in real time: The advancement of palatal fricative devoicing. Paper presented at NWAV 37, Rice University, Houston, TX, November 6-8.
- Rohena-Madrazo, M. (2010). Paradigm leveling in Buenos Aires Spanish sibilants. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 128(4), 2349.
- Rohena-Madrazo, M. (2011). *Sociophonetic variation in the production and perception of obstruent voicing in Buenos Aires Spanish* (unpublished doctoral dissertation). New York University, New York City, NY. Retrieved from https://files.nyu.edu/mrm359/public/Rohena-Madrazo_dissertation.pdf.
- Rosenberg, P. (1989). Dialect and education in West Germany. In J. Cheshire, V. Edwards, H. Müntermann & B. Weltens (Eds.), *Dialect and education: Some European perspectives* (pp. 62-93). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Russinovich Solé, Y. (1987). El porteño ante los acentos extranjeros en su medio. *Thesaurus*, XLII(2), 285-319.
- Sato, C. J. (1989). A nonstandard approach to standard English. *Tesol Quarterly*, 23(2), 259-282.
- Schieffelin, B. B., Woolard, K. A., & Kroskrity, P. A. (1998, Eds.). *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Schilling-Estes, N. (1995). Production, perception and patterning: "Performance" speech in an endangered dialect variety. *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics*, 2(2), 117-131.
- Schilling-Estes, N. (1998). Investigating "self-conscious" speech: The performance register in Ocracoke English. *Language in Society*, 27, 53-83.
- Schilling-Estes, N. (2004). Constructing ethnicity in interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 8(2), 163-195.
- Sclafani, J. (2008). Newt Gingrich, bilingualism, and "ghetto language": Online constructions of language ideology. *Texas Linguistics Forum*, 52, 131-142.
- Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Shuy, R. W. (2003). A brief history of American sociolinguistics 1949-1989. In C. B. Paulston & G. R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings* (pp. 4-16). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Siegel, J. (1999). Creoles and minority dialects in education: An overview. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 20(6), 508-531.

- Siegel, J. (2006). Language ideologies and the education of speakers of marginalized language varieties: Adopting a critical awareness approach. *Linguistics and Education*, 17(2), 157-174.
- Siegel, J. (2007). Creoles and minority dialects in education: An update. *Language and Education*, 21(1), 66-86.
- Silverstein, M. (1976). Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. In K. H. Basso & H. A. Selby (Eds.), *Meaning in anthropology* (pp. 11-55). Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Silverstein, M. (1979). Language structure and linguistic ideology. In P. R. Clyne, W. Hanks & C. L. Hofbauer (Eds.), *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels* (pp. 193-247). Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Silverstein, M. (1993). Metapragmatic discourse and metapragmatic function. In J. A. Lucy (Ed.), *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics* (pp. 33-58). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Silverstein, M. (2001). The limits of awareness. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Linguistic anthropology: A reader* (pp. 382-401). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication*, 23, 193-229.
- Silverstein, M. (2010). "Direct" and "indirect" communicative acts in semiotic perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42, 337-353.
- Solé, C. (1991). Actitudes lingüísticas del bonaerense culto. *Scripta philologica: in honorem Juan M. Lope Blanch*, 2, 773-822.
- Thompson, R. W. (1991). Spanish as a pluricentric language. In M. Clyne (Ed.), *Pluricentric languages: Differing norms in different nations* (pp. 45-70). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tollefson, J. W. (Ed.). (2012). *Language policies in education: Critical issues*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Tomlinson, S. (1978). West Indian children and ESN schooling. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 6(3), 235-242.
- Torreira, F. (2006). Coarticulation between aspirated-sand voiceless stops in Spanish: An interdialectal comparison (pp. 113-120). In N. Sagarra & A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 9th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Trudgill, P. (1975). *Accent, dialect and the school*. London, UK: Edward Arnold.

- Trudgill, P. (2003). *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Verschueren, J. (2000). Notes on the role of metapragmatic awareness in language use. *Pragmatics* 10(4), 439-456.
- Vezub, L. F. (2007). La formación y el desarrollo profesional docente frente a los nuevos desafíos de la escolaridad. *Profesorado*, 11(1). Retrieved from <http://www.ugr.es/~recfpro/>.
- Weinerman, C. (1976). *Sociolingüística de la forma pronominal*. México: Editorial Trillas.
- Wheeler, R. S. (2006). "What do we do about student grammar – all those missing –ed's and –s's?" Using comparison and contrast to teach Standard English in dialectally diverse classrooms. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique*, 5(1): 16-33.
- Wheeler, R. S. (2009). "Taylor cat is black": Code-switch to add Standard English to students' linguistic repertoires. In J. Cobb Scott, D. Y. Straker & L. Katz (Eds.), *Affirming Students' Rights to Their Own Language* (pp. 176-191). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wheeler, R. S., & Swords, R. (2006). *Code-Switching. Teaching Standard English in Urban Classrooms*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Wheeler, R. S., & Swords, R. (2010). *Code-Switching Lessons. Grammar Strategies for Linguistically Diverse Writers*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Wiley, T. G., & Wright, W. E. (2004). Against the undertow: Language-minority education policy and politics in the "age of accountability". *Educational Policy*, 18(1), 142-168.
- Williams, F., Whitehead, J. L., & Traupmann, J. (1971). Teachers' evaluations of children's speech. *Communication Education*, 20(4), 247-254.
- Williams, F., Whitehead, J. L., & Miller, L. (1972). Relations between language attitudes and teacher expectancy. *American Educational Research Journal*, 9(2), 263-277.
- Wolf, C. (1984). Tiempo real y tiempo aparente en el estudio de una variación lingüística: Ensordecimiento y sonorización del yeísmo porteño. In L. Schwar & I. Lerner (Eds.), *Homenaje a Ana María Barrenechea* (pp. 175-196). Madrid, Spain: Castalia.
- Wolf, C., & Jiménez, E. (1979). El ensordecimiento del yeísmo porteño: un cambio fonológico en marcha. In A. M. Barrenechea (Ed.), *Estudios lingüísticos y dialectológicos* (pp. 115-145). Buenos Aires, Argentina: Hachette.
- Wolfram, W. (1998). Language ideology and dialect. Understanding the Oakland Ebonics Controversy. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 26(2), 108-121.
- Wolfram, W. (2004). Dialect awareness in community perspective. In M. Bender (Ed.), *Linguistic diversity in the South: Changing codes, practices and ideologies* (pp. 15-36). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

- Wolfram, W. (2007). Sociolinguistic folklore in the study of African American English. *Language and Linguistic Compass*, 1(4): 292-313.
- Wolfram, W. (2008). Language diversity and the public interest. In K. King, N. Schilling-Estes, L. Fogle, J. J. Lou & B. Soukup (Eds.), *Sustaining Linguistic Diversity: Endangered and Minority Languages and Language Varieties* (pp. 187-204). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Wolfram, W. (2009). Dialect awareness, cultural literacy, and the public interest. In M. Farr, L. Seloni & J. Song (Eds.), *Ethnolinguistic Diversity and Education: Language, Literacy and Culture* (pp. 129-149). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wolfram, W., & Dannenberg, C. (1999). Dialect identity in a tri-ethnic context: The case of Lumbee American Indian English. *English World-Wide*, 20(2), 179-216.
- Woolard, K. A. (1998). Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In B. B. Schieffelin, K. A. Woolard & P. A. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory* (pp. 3-49). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Woolard, K.A. (2008). Why *dat* now?: Linguistic-anthropological contributions to the explanation of sociolinguistic icons and change. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 432-452.
- Woolard, K. A., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1994). Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23, 55-82.
- Zhang, Q. (2008). Rhotacization and the 'Beijing Smooth Operator': The social meaning of a linguistic variable. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(2): 201-222.