

**UNDERSTANDING THE *TONADA CORDOBESA* FROM AN ACOUSTIC,  
PERCEPTUAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE**

by

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University of Pittsburgh, 2017

The goal of this dissertation is to gain a better understanding of a non-standard form of pretonic vowel lengthening or the *tonada cordobesa*, in Cordobese Spanish, an understudied dialect in Argentina. This phenomenon is analyzed in two different but complementary studies and perspectives, each of which contributes to a better understanding of the sociolinguistic factors that constrain its variation, as well as the social meanings of this feature in Argentina.

Study 1 investigates whether position in the intonational phrase (IP), vowel concordance, and social class and gender condition pretonic vowel lengthening from informal conversations with native speakers (n=20). The results reveal that both linguistic and social factors affect the pretonic to tonic vowel duration ratio. That is, prenuclear position, vowel concordance, and lower social class favor a higher ratio, the nonstandard form.

Study 2 examines language attitudes, ideologies, and perceptions towards the *tonada cordobesa* using an online adaptation of a matched-guise test and a questionnaire on ideologies about Spanish in Argentina. The results show that judges (n=263) most accurately recognize the Cordobese speakers, followed by the Buenos Aires (BA) speakers. This points to the saliency of the *tonada*. In addition, the matched-guise uncovers some stigmatization of Cordobese Spanish as these guises received lower ratings on status and even on solidarity than those from Buenos Aires as found in de los Heros (1999). An analysis of manifestations of popular culture shows that the *tonada* is also used to portray local pride, or what Woolard (2008, 2009) calls authenticity. Furthermore, some judges hold contradictory ideologies with regards to the

standard language in Argentina and BA Spanish was not always positively valued, as shown in other research (Lull & Pinaridi, 2014; Rodríguez Louro, 2013). This provides insight in how BA Spanish and Cordobese Spanish are valued in Argentina.

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## PREFACE

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Language is a marker of identity and it can be an important resource employed to signal group membership (Agha, 2005, p.38). Thus, in this way language use is related to perception. Some language forms are more salient and can be associated with a social group or community (Labov, 1966). These associations can be negative and affect the way people are perceived.

Although many acoustic and perceptual studies in Argentina focus on the variety of Spanish spoken in Buenos Aires, hereafter BA Spanish (Lang, 2011; Rohena-Madrado, 2011, 2013), more recently there has been an interest in *Cordobese* Spanish (Berry, 2015; Lang-Rigal, 2014, 2015). Córdoba is the second largest city in the country situated in central Argentina, and is often considered a transition zone linguistically and culturally (Vidal de Battini, 1964). It also is a bustling tourism region and cultural center known for its rich history and its popular music *el cuarteto cordobés* (Bischoff, 1985; Toniolo & Zurita, 2012).

*Cordobeses*, the people of Córdoba, Argentina, are known for their particular vowel lengthening called the *tonada cordobesa*.<sup>1</sup> This is the most noticeable characteristic of this variety of Spanish in which there is lengthening of pretonic vowels in certain words (Catinelli, 1985; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971, 1980; Vidal de Battini, 1964; Yorio, 1973). This feature is

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<sup>1</sup> Even though *tonada* is not a technical term, I have decided to use it following other scholars of Cordobese Spanish (Berry, 2015; Lang-Rigal, 2014). I employ it to refer specifically to the pretonic vowel lengthening in this dialect of Spanish.

so perceptible that it is even used in ads, jokes, and songs, reinforcing its association with Cordobese localness. It has become indexical.

In this study, I focus on a unique feature of Cordobese Spanish<sup>2</sup>, namely, pretonic vowel lengthening or *the tonada cordobesa* that is frequently found in this variety (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971; Yorio, 1973). For example, in Córdoba the word *pantalla* ‘screen’ in example (1) can be realized as [p:anˈtaja], with pretonic lengthening, or as [panˈtaja] like in other regions of Argentina and other varieties of Spanish.

(1) *Es como una pantalla* [p:anˈtaja]. It’s like a screen.

While researchers agree on this feature’s saliency, there is disagreement on several issues. One point is where pretonic lengthening occurs in the intonational phrase (IP). While Fontanella de Weinberg claims that pretonic lengthening is mainly in nuclear position in the IP, Yorio (1973) and Berry (2015) have found that the *tonada* is present in both prenuclear and nuclear positions. In example (2), *tenía* ‘I had’ is in prenuclear position while *vivir* ‘to live’ is in nuclear position as that is where the last pitch accent in the IP falls.

(2) *No tenía* [t:eˈnia] *dónde vivir* [β:iˈβir]. ‘I did not have anywhere to live.’

There is also disagreement on whether rising or falling pitch accompanies pretonic vowel lengthening (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971; Yorio, 1973). Finally, there is lack of consensus on whether this lengthening is present in words that begin with a stressed syllable in final position in the IP. Fontanella de Weinberg claims this does occur as in *noche* ‘night’ in example (3) (1971). However, Yorio (1973) disagrees.

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<sup>2</sup> Throughout this dissertation, I refer to *Cordobese Spanish* as the language spoken in Córdoba, Argentina.

(3) *Eran las diez menos cuarto de la noche* [‘no:tʃe]. ‘It was a quarter to ten in the evening.’

In addition, the earlier studies are impressionistic and most of them do not consider social factors (i.e., gender and socioeconomic status) in the analysis as in Berry (2015).

There are few recent perceptual studies about Cordobese Spanish using the matched-guise as the data collection instrument (Lang-Rigal, 2014, 2015). This research has yielded interesting results about the *tonada* such as the stereotype that Cordobese speakers are funny, uneducated, and solidary (Lang-Rigal, 2015, p.111). The matched-guise test provides information on some of the social meanings associated with a dialect. However, there are other ideologies associated with the use of specific linguistic features of a dialect. Thus, in this study, I examine both language attitudes and ideologies associated with the *tonada*, not considered in previous research. To do so, I use several instruments to collect data and provide triangulation.

In sum, in this dissertation, I study the *tonada cordobesa* from two different perspectives, each of which contributes to a better understanding of the linguistic and social uses of this particular feature. This dissertation addresses the following research questions:

1. Do linguistic and social factors condition pretonic vowel lengthening?
2. How is the lengthening in the *tonada* socially perceived within the *Cordobese* community and in other regions of Argentina?
3. What attitudes and ideologies are associated with this dialect of Spanish?

To that end, I have divided this dissertation into five chapters. Chapter 1 serves as a general introduction. Chapter 2 presents a succinct sociolinguistic history of Córdoba and a description of the most relevant linguistic features that characterize the *Cordobese* dialect. In chapter 3, I acoustically examine the distinctive pretonic vowel lengthening patterns and their

associations with social class, gender, position in the IP, and vowel concordance in order to determine which factors affect the *tonada*. To achieve this, I analyze approximately 30 tokens containing pretonic vowels per participant from sociolinguistic interviews of 20 native speakers of *Cordobese* Spanish from the city of Córdoba. In chapter 4, I explore language identification, attitudes, and ideologies towards the *tonada cordobesa* employing primarily an adaptation of a matched-guise test and a language ideology questionnaire. The matched-guise test is intended to corroborate to what extent the *tonada* is a salient feature that is perceived as distinct from the perspectives both of *Cordobeses* and of other groups in Argentina. I also utilize a questionnaire to examine language ideologies towards Cordobese Spanish. I complement this section with an analysis of blog posts containing metalinguistic comments about Spanish in Argentina and popular culture texts that use Cordobese Spanish. In chapter 5, I conclude with a final commentary and future research directions.

This dissertation contributes to the existing literature in several ways. The acoustic analysis includes two factors not fully considered in previous research. These are social class (i.e., lower middle class and middle class) and vowel concordance. That is, tokens with the same vowel in pretonic and tonic position, as in *trabajar* ‘to work’ [traβa‘xar] and those with different vowels, as in *comida* ‘food’ [ko‘miða] in these positions. Additionally, there is a larger pool of participants in this sample than in other acoustic studies that consider spontaneous conversation data. In the perceptual study, I employ prenuclear position in the IP, not taken into account in recent studies (cf. Lang-Rigal, 2014, 2015). I also consider whole utterances as prompts for the listeners, not just short phrases. Furthermore, my matched-guise test includes prompts from Mendoza, Argentina’s fourth largest city and there are listener raters from that area, not previously considered in other research studies on this topic. Therefore, in my matched-guise

test, four out of the five dialect zones in Argentina are represented not only in the audio prompts, but also in the pool of participants. In addition, there is a section on language ideologies, not included in similar studies, to supplement the perception experiment. Last, the pool of participants is much larger (n=263) than that of previous studies on perception (c.f. Lang-Rigal, 2014, 2015a).

## **2.0 CÓRDOBA, THE TONADA CORDOBESA AND ITS SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY**

There are several varieties of Spanish that coexist in Argentina. Cordobese Spanish, spoken in the province of Córdoba, is among one of the most salient varieties. This chapter serves as a succinct sociolinguistic history of Cordobese Spanish. I begin by commenting on important sociohistorical facts about the city of Córdoba in order to understand the context in which this dialect has evolved. Then, I provide a brief description of the most relevant linguistic features that characterize the dialect in contrast to others.

### **2.1 THE CITY OF CÓRDOBA**

The city of Córdoba was founded by a Spanish Conquistador don Jerónimo Luis de Cabrera on July 6, 1573, 81 years after the discovery of America (Segreti, 1973, p. 8). It is the second largest city in Argentina with its current population estimated to be 1.3 million inhabitants (*Censo nacional de población, hogares y viviendas*, 2010). This city is the capital of the province bearing the same name. The province of Córdoba's population is the second largest in the country (3.3 million) following the province of Buenos Aires, where Argentina's capital is located (*Censo nacional de población, hogares y viviendas*, 2010).

Strategically located in the center of Argentina, the city of Córdoba is 430 miles northwest of the city of Buenos Aires, at the foothills of a semi-mountainous region called *las sierras cordobesas* (Bischoff, 1985). Due to its location, this province is considered a transition zone, and its language displays linguistic features that result from contact with other dialects, such as the *Buenos Aires* (BA) and *Norteño* or Northwest Spanish (Lipski, 2011; Rojas, 2004).<sup>3</sup> Figure 1 shows a map of Argentina (white), the province of Córdoba (in red), and the city of Córdoba (dot). As can be seen, the city of Córdoba is centrally located in relation to most provinces (Vidal de Battini, 1964).

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<sup>3</sup> This dialect is spoken in the provinces of Santiago del Estero, Tucumán, Catamarca, La Rioja, Salta, and Jujuy (Lipski, 2011; Rojas, 2004; Vidal de Battini, 1964).



**Figure 1.** Map of Argentina and the province of Córdoba (in red) adapted from the Instituto Geográfico Nacional de la República Argentina (2016)

Since its foundation in 1573, and due to its central location and accessibility, Córdoba has been an important intellectual center in Argentina. For example, in 1610, the Jesuits or the *Compañía de Jesús* created the *Colegio Máximo*, an educational institution, which later developed into the *Universidad Nacional de Córdoba* (UNC),<sup>4,5</sup> the fourth oldest university in South America (Bischoff, 1985). Furthermore, the UNC was the only university in Argentina for two centuries. For that reason, Córdoba was known as *La Docta*, ‘the scholarly one’<sup>6</sup> (Bischoff, 1985). In addition, intellectuals from Córdoba played a role in several historical events in the 20<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The *Universidad Nacional de Córdoba* is still a leading university in Argentina.

<sup>5</sup> In the year 2000, UNESCO declared one of the Jesuit blocks where parts of the university stand, *La Manzana Jesuítica*, a cultural heritage site (UNESCO, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> My translation.

century. Among them was the *Reforma Universitaria*, or the university reform of 1918, which marked a milestone in Argentina's history and subsequently became a model for other Latin American countries (Levene, 1963). This reform established a set of guidelines for universities that are still the norm today.

Nowadays, Córdoba's economy relies on service and industry (Ciudad de Córdoba, 2013). Financial firms such as *Bancor* and *Tarjeta Naranja* are among the most influential. The car manufacturers Renault, Volkswagen, and Fiat have manufacturing plants in the city. There is also the production of equipment for agriculture as the province is the home to many farms that produce large amounts of agricultural products.

Córdoba is a main cultural center in Argentina (Bischoff, 1985). It was the birthplace of one of Argentina's first poets, Luis de Tejeda, one of Latin American modernism's best exponents' Leopoldo Lugones, and writer Arturo Capdevilla (Segreti, 1973). The city is known for the popular music genre originating in its neighborhoods called *cuarteto*, also popular in different regions of Argentina (Ciudad de Córdoba, 2013). There are many *cuarteto* bands including *La Mona Jiménez*, *Rodrigo Bueno*,<sup>7</sup> *La Barra*, and *Chébere*, among others. This music is so popular that it was recognized as part of Córdoba's Cultural Heritage in 2014 (Cuarteto, 2014). Additionally, Córdoba is home to some of the most prominent stand-up comedians in Argentina including *El Negro Álvarez*, *Cacho Buenaventura*, *Flaco Pailos*, and *Chichilo Viale*.

The province hosts a number of popular cultural events every year. In the province, the city of Carlos Paz is home to many comedy theaters (e.g., *Teatro Coral* and *Teatro del Lago*), which hold numerous showings daily ("Villa Carlos Paz," 2017). The *Rally Dakar*, an international off-road car-racing event, often starts in this city and goes through parts of the

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<sup>7</sup> Even though Rodrigo Bueno was born in Buenos Aires, he has been an icon of *cuarteto* in Córdoba since 2000.

province (Dakar 2018, n.d.). Furthermore, the city of Jesús María is home to the popular *Festival de Doma y Folklore*, ‘festival of bronco riding and folklore music’<sup>8</sup> celebrated every year in January (“Festival de Doma y Folclore,” 2016). Also, the city of Cosquín organizes *Cosquín Rock*, another important music event that attracts many people (“Cosquín Rock 2017,” n.d.).

The province of Córdoba is a popular tourism area. Many visitors from other regions of Argentina, including Buenos Aires vacation in Córdoba. Some points of interest are Jesuit constructions such as the *Universidad Nacional de Córdoba’s* Jesuit block and the farms or *estancias* including *Estancia Santa Catalina* and *Estancia de Caroya*, among others (Bischoff, 1985). Tourists also enjoy cities such as Nono, Mina Clavero, La Cumbrecita, La Falda, Alta Gracias and Santa Rosa de Calamuchita to name a few, in the semi mountainous region of the province called *las sierras cordobesas* (Legnazzi, 1993). The *sierras* and its many rivers, streams and lakes are used for recreation, especially in the summer.

## 2.2 THE CORDOBESE DIALECT

*Cordobese* Spanish shares many linguistic features with BA Spanish. Among these features is the *yeísmo* or the merger of the lateral approximant /ʎ/ and the voiced palatal fricative /j/ into /j/ (Silva Corvalán, 2001, p. 260). These are orthographically represented by <y> as in *ayer* ‘yesterday’ and <ll> as *llama* ‘llama.’ In addition, these sounds have undergone *rehilamiento* through which the voiced palatal fricative [j] becomes the post-alveolar voiced fricative [ʝ]. There are differences in the frequencies of the realization of this phoneme among social classes

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<sup>8</sup> My translation.

(i.e., [j], [ʒ], [ʃ], [dʒ]). The variation of this *yeísmo* is also affected by gender. In the port city of Bahía Blanca, near Buenos Aires, Wolf and Jiménez (1979) found that there is a sound innovation that consists of devoicing of the post-alveolar voiced fricative [ʒ]. Young women in the community are the ones who favor the devoiced variant. In Cordobese Spanish, *rehilamiento* in the *yeísmo* is common in the middle and upper classes (Viramonte de Ávalos, 2004). Less educated speakers from lower classes employ the stigmatized variant [j] more frequently and often elide it between vowels and after a stressed /i/ (Toniolo, 2007). For example, *yo* ‘I’ is realized as [jo] and *cuchillo* ‘knife’ as [kuˈtʃio]. This phenomenon of deletion has also been documented in the coastal region of Ecuador, Perú, and in other parts of Argentina (Rosenblat, 2002).

Another feature of Cordobese Spanish, which is also shared with other Spanish varieties, is the elision of the /d/ in word-final position and between vowels (Supisiche, 1994). There are three realizations of the /d/: the fricative [ð], the relaxed, and the elided variants [∅]. While the relaxed variant is common among all social classes, omission is more frequent in the lower socio-economic group. In the case of the trill /r/, which in this dialect has an assibilated variant, it is associated with regionalism and identity rather than social class (Supisiche, 1994; Vidal de Battini, 1964).

Social class correlates with some language variants. As Labov (1972) has noted, when variants are associated with the lower classes, these tend to be stigmatized. When perceived as features of the upper classes, they usually enjoy prestige. In the case of the /s/, its elision is usually stigmatized in most of the Hispanic World (Silva Corvalán, 2001). In Cordobese Spanish, as in most Spanish-speaking communities, aspiration is frequently found in the speakers of the upper and middle class, while deletion, which is negatively viewed, is more recurrent in

the speech of the lower class (Supisiche, 1994; Vidal de Battini, 1964) as expected. Gender can also impact the variation of /s/. As Fontanella de Weinberg (1974) observed in Bahía Blanca (Argentina), males elided and aspirated the /s/ more frequently in final position than women. This gender pattern is similar to that of other studies where women often favor the use of more prestigious forms (Blas Arroyo, 2008; Risell, 1989; Salvador, 1952; Silva Corvalán, 2001). Nonetheless, women can be innovators as well.<sup>9</sup> In the case of *yeísmo* in Bahía Blanca, it was observed that women promoted the devoiced variant, which was an innovation (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1978).

Toniolo and Zurita (2012) point out that in Cordobese Spanish there are frequent reduction of consonant clusters (e.g., [a'luno] for *alumno* 'student'), omission of the first syllable in a word (e.g., ['tas] for *estás* 'you are'), elision of the intervocalic /d/ often accompanied by vowel raising (cansau [kan'sau] for *cansado* 'tired-masculine-singular'), and metathesis of the nasal alveolar consonant and stress displacement as in *llevelón* realized as [jeβe'lon] instead of *llévenlo* ['jeβenlo] 'you-plural take it-masculine.' These processes are more frequent in the speech of lower classes. While the last process is more prevalent in Cordobese Spanish, the others are used in many other dialects. For example, consonant cluster reduction is also a common feature of the Spanish varieties spoken in Málaga and Andalucía (Spain) (González, 1989; Hualde, 2013). In addition, the elision of /d/ between vowels occurs in other Spanish varieties in Argentina as well as in Chile, Perú, the Caribbean and in Andalucía (Spain) (Hualde, 2013; Lipski, 2011).

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<sup>9</sup> Women's linguistic behavior has been explained by different models. See Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), Labov (1991), Nichols (1983) for a better explanation. See de los Heros (2001, 2012) for a discussion of gender in Spanish.

In her seminal work, Vidal de Battini (1964) provides a descriptive account of different phonological and intonation patterns in Argentina that she calls regional intonation or *tonada*.<sup>10</sup> Among the patterns she describes is pretonic vowel lengthening in the Córdoba region. Vidal de Battini further explains that: “the musical stress is marked on the pretonic,” and “its intensity and duration are so evident that it gives the impression [...] of vowel gemination”<sup>11</sup> (1964, p. 148).<sup>12</sup>

This contrasts with other varieties of Spanish where the stressed syllable exhibits longer vowel duration (Hualde, 2005; Navarro Tomás, 1948). Thus, *Cordobese* Spanish deviates from BA Spanish and is very distinct. This variety is also slightly stigmatized (Berry, 2015). For instance, Lang-Rigal (2015b) indicates that some people associate the *tonada* with the characteristics of lazy, uneducated, and humorous people. Considered together, these features of the language distinguish Cordobese from other varieties of Spanish in Argentina, and along with pretonic vowel lengthening, they also serve as markers of Cordobese identity (Toniolo, 2007). Table 1 summarizes the main features of Cordobese Spanish, more frequently found in the lower social classes (Supisiche, 1994; Toniolo, 2007; Toniolo & Zurita, 2012; Viramonte de Ávalos, 2004).

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<sup>10</sup> In this dissertation, I use the word *tonada cordobesa* to refer to pretonic vowel lengthening in Cordobese Spanish not in reference to intonation.

<sup>11</sup> My translation.

<sup>12</sup> In another linguistic description of Cordobese Spanish, *El habla de la provincia de Córdoba*, Catinelli also mentions that the pretonic syllable has more intensity than expected (1985, p. 20).

**Table 1.** Features of Cordobese Spanish

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Features of Cordobese Spanish
1. Use of the voiced palatal fricative [j] instead of the post-alveolar voiced fricative [ʒ] (e.g., <i>talleres</i> ‘name of local soccer team’ is realized as [ta‘jeres]).
2. Deletion of /s/ in word final position (e.g., <i>vos</i> ‘you-singular’ is realized as [bo]).
3. Reduction of consonant clusters (e.g., <i>alumno</i> ‘student’ is realized as [a‘luno]).
4. Omission of the first syllable in a word (e.g., <i>estás</i> ‘you are’ is realized as [‘tas]).
5. Elision of the intervocalic /d/ and vowel raising (e.g., <i>cansado</i> ‘tired-masculine singular’ is realized as [kan‘sau]).
6. Metathesis of the /n/ (e.g., <i>llévenlo</i> ‘take him’ is realized as [jeβe‘lon] instead of [‘jeβenlo]).
7. Pretonic vowel lengthening that very frequently exceeds the duration of the tonic vowel (e.g., <i>comida</i> is realized as [k:o‘miða] not as [ko‘miða]).

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### 2.3 THE TONADA AND ITS ORIGINS

It has often been assumed that the *tonada* derives from indigenous language of the Córdoba region because Spaniards cohabited with Native South American groups during colonial times. In its very beginnings, the present-day city of Córdoba consisted of a small fort, its founder, 100 settlers, and approximately 30,000 indigenous natives in the surrounding areas (Segreti, 1973). During this time, two indigenous groups inhabited the province, the *Comechingones*<sup>13</sup> and the *Sanavirones* (Berberían & Bixio, 1987).

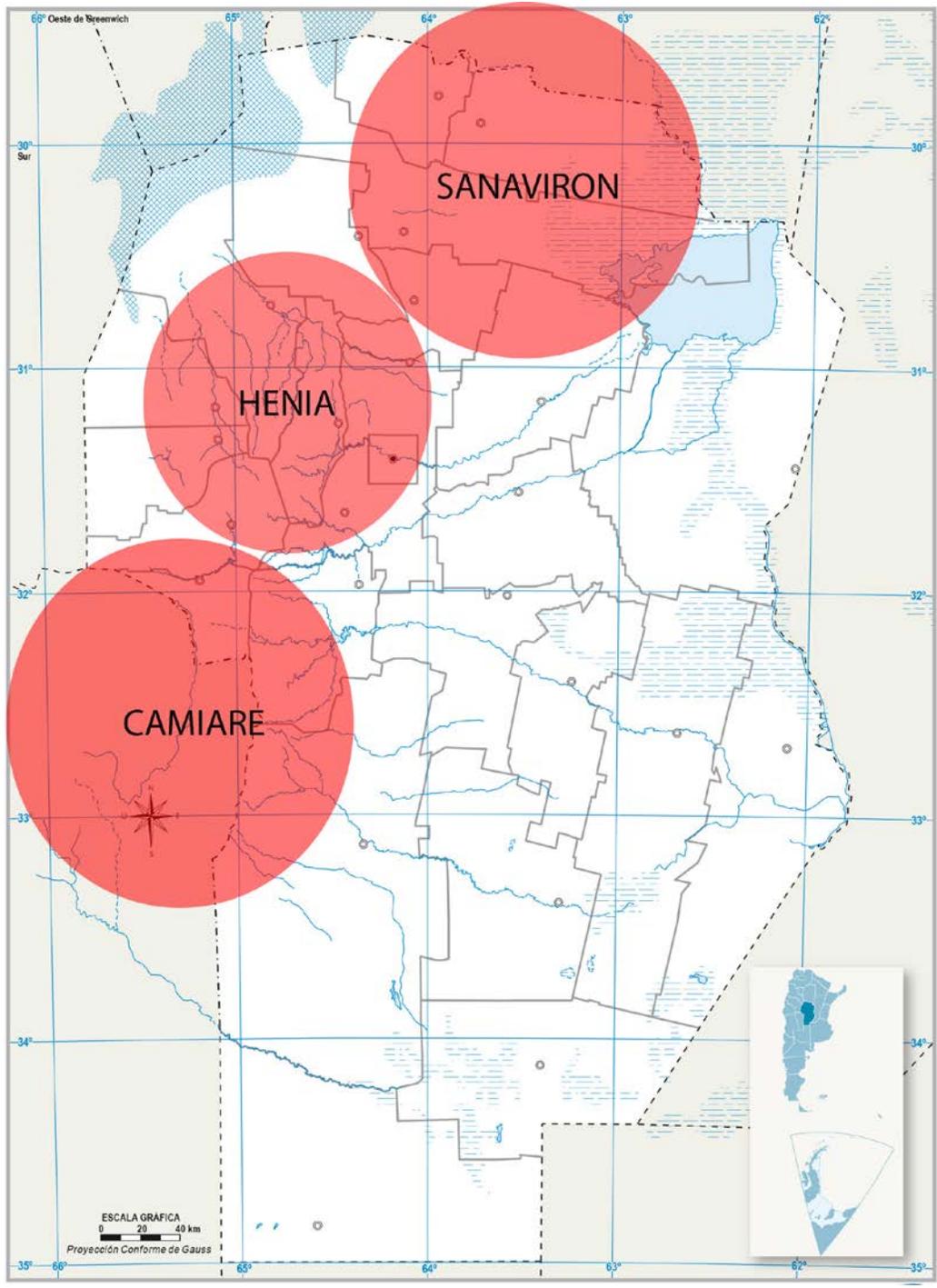
In chronicles from 1582, the Spanish conquistador, Sotelo de Narváez, pointed out that "the people of this land [spoke] a language called comechingona and another sanavirona"<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Chaulot considers certain traits of the *Comechingones* including their race, language, religion, and writing system as very different from that of other Native American Indians (Luna, 1977, p. 11).

<sup>14</sup> My translation.

(Segreti, p.22). The *Comechingón* language was divided into two dialects, *Henia* spoken in northern and *Camiare* in southern Córdoba (Berberían and Bixio, 1987). Interestingly, this group differed from other groups in that they had a writing system as evidenced in the pictographies found in the Cerro Colorado Archaeological Reserve (Luna, 1977). Parts of the Córdoba region were also inhabited by the *Sanavirones* (Serrano, 1945). Since there was great exchange of language and customs among these indigenous communities, there are doubts as to whether they were independent languages or different dialects of the same language, as the lack of complete language records has made it difficult to trace their origin (Dillón, 2004; Ibarra Grasso, 1967; Serrano, 1945). Figure 2 shows the approximate geographical distribution of the indigenous languages spoken in the province of Córdoba according to Serrano's map (1945, p. 317).



**Figure 2.** Map of the geographic distribution of indigenous languages in the province of Córdoba adapted from the Instituto Geográfico Nacional de la República Argentina (2016) and from Serrano’s Map (1945, p. 317)

During early colonial times, Spaniards began to organize the colony, its territories, and also install a system of forced labor known as *encomienda* (Berberían & Bixio, 1987). By 1582, the city had a total of 40 inhabitants who were known *encomenderos* and had control of 18,000 indigenous inhabitants (Segreti, 1973). In each household, there were approximately 30 to 40 indigenous girls in charge of household duties and childcare (Segreti, 1973). At this time, the *Comechingones* played a pivotal role in communication between the Spanish and other indigenous groups (Bixio, Berberían & Pastor, 2010). Although most vanished early on due to disease, the Jesuit missions, and the *encomienda* system, these natives and other diverse groups (e.g., Spanish, South American indians, and Africans<sup>15</sup>) were ancestors of many thousands of Cordobese creole inhabitants (Ibarra Grasso, 1967, p. 453).

Even though there is some consensus among linguists and historians that this unique vowel lengthening has its roots in South American indigenous languages, no one has been able to determine which group or groups this feature originates from, as there are very scarce records available (Toniolo, 2007; Viramonte de Ávalos, 2004). However, it can be speculated that the indigenous groups of the region, particularly the *Comechingones*, influenced this variety of Spanish. This is due to their overwhelming numbers per Spaniard and the close contact between Spanish families, specifically children and indigenous caregivers, since Córdoba's foundation (Segreti, 1973). Furthermore, widespread *mestizaje*<sup>16</sup> may also have been a contributing factor (Montes, 2008).

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<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that Córdoba had a black population as a result of the slave trade with Brazil (Vidal de Battini, 1964). In fact, a census carried out in 1778 by Juan José de Vértiz y Salcedo showed that in the province of Córdoba, 44% of the population was of black origin as cited by Massone and Muñiz (2017). However, it is not possible to evaluate the extent of their contribution to the language.

<sup>16</sup> *Mestizaje* is the process of interracial breeding particularly among Europeans and Native American Indians (Coronado, 2015). *Mestizo* is an individual whose parents are European and indigenous (Coronado, 2015).

Nonetheless, it is important to note that in this literature review of the historical archives *Córdoba Ciudad y Provincia* dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, there were no connections between the *tonada* and the *Comechingones* except for a few references from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Segreti, 1973). In 1816, Graaner, an English traveler in Argentina, describes Cordobese Spanish as *arrastrado* “with a drawl”<sup>17, 18</sup> (Segreti, 1973, p. 248). Another traveler, Peyret, noticed in 1887 that fruit and vegetable vendors spoke with “that peculiar tune of the *arribeños* [i.e., inhabitants from the highlands] that must have been inherited from the primitive inhabitants of the South American continent”<sup>19</sup> (Segreti, 1973, p. 532). Interestingly, in the 1870 Argentine general and writer from Buenos Aires, Lucio Mansilla, provided very accurate, detailed instructions on how to speak like a Cordobese person in the following excerpt (Mansilla, 2006, p. 67).

“Para ser cordobés basta con estirar la sílaba anterior a la tónica [...] prolongar lo más posible la vocal o primera sílaba.”

To be Cordobese, just stretch the syllable before the stressed one [...] extend as much as possible the vowel or the first syllable.<sup>20</sup>

## 2.4 GEOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF THE *TONADA*

The *tonada* or pretonic vowel lengthening is a feature present in Cordobese Spanish but it does not occur at the same rate throughout the province; there are social and linguistic factors that

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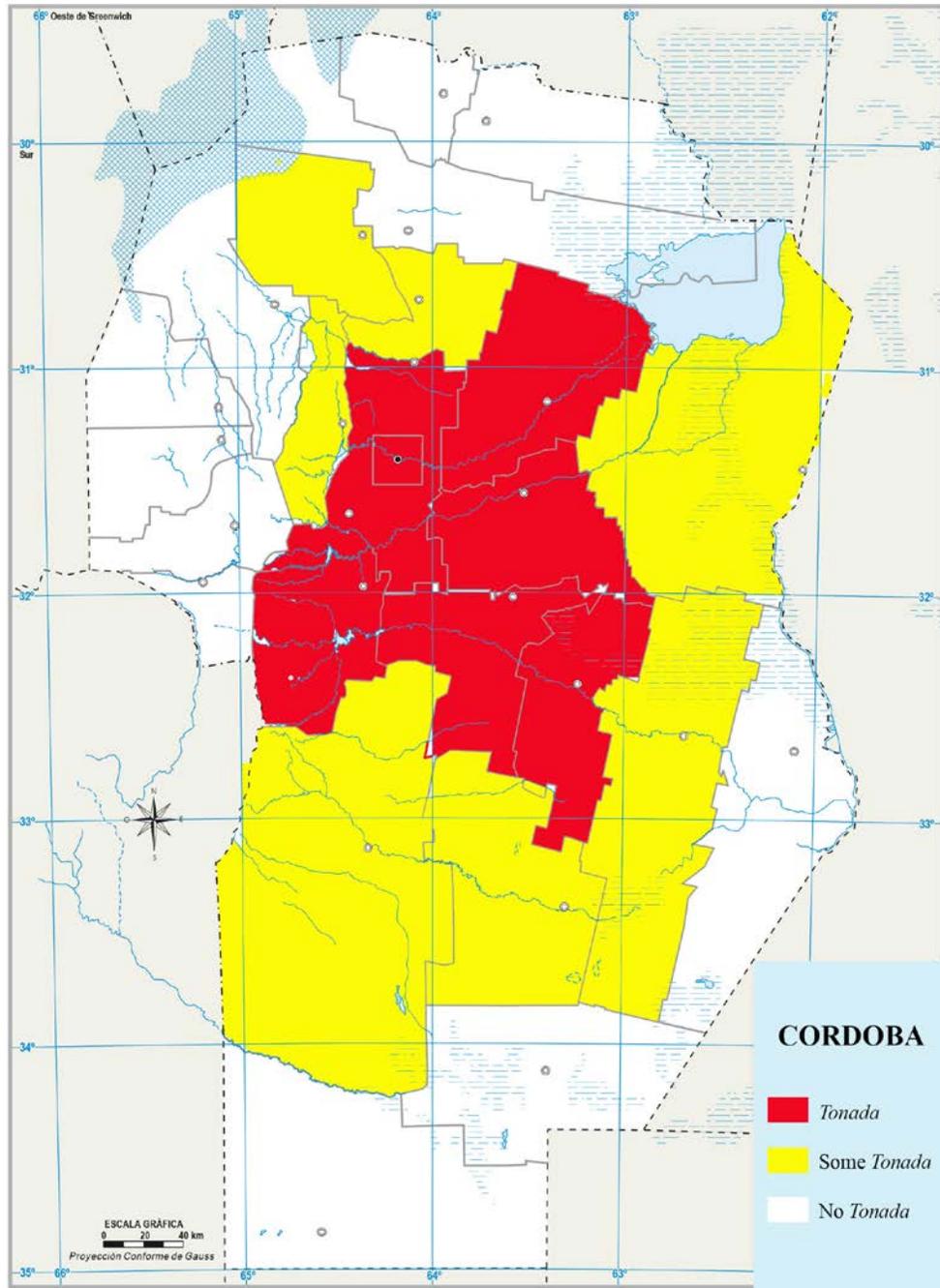
<sup>17</sup> My translation.

<sup>18</sup> This adjective is also used informally today to describe this dialect of Argentine Spanish.

<sup>19</sup> My translation.

<sup>20</sup> My translation.

may impact its manifestation. A recent publication from the local newspaper *La mañana de Córdoba* (2014) shows the preliminary geographic distribution of this phenomenon within the province of Córdoba; it is not based on empirical data. However, as a native speaker and researcher of this variety, this map seems very accurate. In Figure 3 there is a map of the province of Córdoba and its division into *departamentos* or counties. The region where this vowel lengthening is most prominent is shown in red. The area marked in yellow is where the *tonada* is present but less prominent, and where it is nearly nonexistent, it is white. This distinction is key as many people including linguists often associate this feature of the language with the whole province. However, Catinelli (1985) notes that this phenomenon mainly affects the city of Córdoba, enclosed by a square, and its surroundings, as shown in the map below (p. 20).



**Figure 3.** Distribution of the *tonada cordobesa* within the Province of Córdoba adapted from *La Mañana de Córdoba* (2014) and from the Instituto Geográfico Nacional de la República Argentina (2016)

## 2.5 THE TONADA IN CORDOBESE HUMOR

Cordobese people believe they are more humorous in nature than other Argentinians, and that Córdoba is the capital of humor in the country (Bravo Tedín, 2001; Dunayevich, 2008; Pérez & Miguel, 2008). This ideology is prevalent in Argentina probably due to the fact that there are many sources of local Cordobese humor, not only comics, and political cartoons (i.e., *La Revista Hortensia*) but also stand-up comedians such as *El Negro Álvarez*, *Chichilo Viale*, *El Flaco Pailos* and *Cacho Buenaventura*. In fact, these comedians have gained widespread popularity and attention in the Buenos Aires region and in other parts of Argentina (Pérez & Miguel, 2008). These performers have exposed other Argentinean communities to the *tonada cordobesa*, which has become synonymous of Cordobese origin (Schilling, 2017).<sup>21</sup> With regards to this unique feature the comedian *Chichilo Viale* asserts that “it [i]s a funny intonation and it’s different”<sup>22</sup> (“Los políticos,” 2001). That is, the *tonada* can be the source of humor in itself as it can be used to mock the accent of local Cordobese people. This points to Cordobese Spanish’s stigmatization as suggested by Berry (2015).

According to historian Bustos Argañaráz (2005), Cordobese humor uses sarcasm, and can be rebellious in nature. Furthermore, some forms of Cordobese humor have denounced social injustice and given a voice to those who are humble (Bustos Argañaráz, 2005; Rodríguez, 2010). Additionally, humor results from a contrast of contemporary life to that of the Cordobese customs, which are generally thought of as backwards and old-fashioned (Bravo Tedin, 2001).

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<sup>21</sup> My translation.

<sup>22</sup> My translation.

At the center of many ethnic jokes about Cordobese identity is the stereotypical protagonist, *el negro cordobés* ‘the black<sup>23, 24</sup> Cordobese male.’ He is usually characterized as a lazy, occasional drunk who enjoys watching soccer<sup>25</sup> and playing pranks (Pérez & Miguel, 2008, p. 6). In (4), I analyze an ethnic joke, which revolves around *el negro cordobés* who is speaking with someone while sitting in a tree (“Humor Cordobés”). The interlocutor asks him “What are you doing?” (line 1) and he responds “I’m eating tangerines.” (line 2) even though he is sitting on top of a fig tree. The incongruence of what is expected and what actually happens makes this a humorous event (Attardo & Raskin, 1991). As can be observed *el negro cordobés* is depicted as being backwards and lacking common sense as he is eating the tangerines he brought, instead of eating figs from the tree he is sitting on.

*El negro*’s dialect is also a source of humor. As can be seen, this character employs many non-standard forms indexical of Cordobese Spanish,<sup>26</sup> which are associated with a lack of education (refer to section 2.1 for description of all the features of Cordobese) (Lang-Rigal, 2014). These features include consonant cluster reduction of *negro* realized as [‘nero], vowel raising in *no* ‘no,’ realized as [nu], and elision of the intervocalic Cordobese [j] as in *bolsillo* ‘pocket’ realized as [βol‘sio]. *El negro* also uses the *tonada*, which is orthographically represented by repeating the pretonic vowel in the words *mandarina*, and *bolsillo*. In addition,

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<sup>23</sup> ‘Black’ means dark-skinned in this context used to refer to a Cordobese man.

<sup>24</sup> The term *negro* can be traced back in Argentina’s history. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Córdoba had a significant black population resulting from the slave trade (Vidal de Batini, 1964). Even though there are no exact numbers, in 1816, Granner made the observation that “the color of the inhabitants has begun to darken” as there were more mulattos and mestizos (Segreti, 1973, p. 248).

<sup>25</sup> There are four major soccer teams in Córdoba (i.e., *Belgrano*, *Talleres*, *Instituto* and *Racing*).

<sup>26</sup> Linguistic features can be the source of humor in themselves as they can be used to mock the accent of people (González-Cruz, 2014).

the verb *hacés*<sup>27</sup> (you do) has taken on its Cordobese form *así* [a'si]. All these non-standard forms used to index Cordobeseness enhance the humor in the joke.

(4) 1 *Che Nero que así ai arriba*

2 *Estoy comiendo maaandarina*

3 *Pero estás en una higuera*

4 *Nuimporta las tengo en el bolsío*

“Hey guy what are you doing up there

I’m eating tangarines

But you are on top of a fig tree

It doesn’t matter I have them in my pocket”

In sum, as it has been shown, the city of Córdoba has had a significant sociocultural role in Argentina’s past and present. Its dialect is associated with this city’s legacy and has diverse meanings. For instance, as Córdoba historically has had an important role in education and the arts, it enjoys some prestige in Argentina. Due to its location, its dialect shares features with others, but it has a distinctive vowel lengthening called the *tonada*. This feature is somewhat stigmatized as it is associated with non-standard forms, and can be used to mock people of Cordobese origin. In chapter 3, I analyze the linguistic and social factors that condition the *tonada* and in chapter 4, I examine attitudes and ideologies towards this feature of Cordobese Spanish in Córdoba and in Buenos Aires. In chapter 5, I provide a final commentary and future research directions.

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<sup>27</sup> The second person *vos* singular form.

### 3.0 THE *TONADA CORDOBESA*: AN ACOUSTIC ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I seek to gain a better understanding of some of the most salient factors affecting the *tonada cordobesa* and the effect of linguistic and social factors on variation. To this end, I first discuss vowel duration in Spanish, particularly in Cordobese Spanish. Then, I review existing literature and compare results on these phenomena. Finally, I begin my analysis by acoustically measuring pretonic and tonic vowel lengths with Praat<sup>28</sup> (Boersma & Weenink, 2017). In what follows, I examine the patterns of vowel lengthening to determine which linguistic and social factors affect the unique *tonada* in Cordobese Spanish.<sup>29</sup>

#### 3.1 VOWEL DURATION IN CORDOBESE SPANISH

Here I study pretonic lengthening or the *tonada cordobesa*, a distinctive phenomenon that occurs in Cordobese Spanish. In order to understand pretonic vowel lengthening, it is important to first review the prosodic features of stress, duration, and pitch. This unique vowel lengthening is best explained in relation to stress, which is the prominence or salience of one syllable in relation to

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<sup>28</sup> Praat is a software program used to conduct acoustic analysis of speech (Boersma & Weenink, 2017).

<sup>29</sup> Preliminary findings of this study were presented at the Hispanic Linguistic Symposium (Dabkowski, Lenardon, & Ortega-Llebaria, 2010). However, the data for this current chapter has been reanalyzed.

contiguous syllables<sup>30</sup> (*Nueva gramática de la lengua española*, 2011, p. 355). In this chapter, I use the terms "tonic"<sup>31</sup> to refer to the stressed syllable in a word and "pretonic" to refer to the immediately preceding unstressed syllable (*Nueva gramática de la lengua española*, 2011, p. 355-6). For example, in the word *amigo* 'friend' [a:'miyo], the pretonic syllable is /a/ and the tonic one is /'mi/. Furthermore, in Spanish, stress "is phonologically contrastive" (Hualde, 2005, p. 220); its position determines the meaning of homophones (i.e., *papá* [pa'pa] 'dad' versus *papa* ['papa] 'potato' or 'pope' depending on the context).

Additionally, in Spanish and other syllable-timed languages, the differences in duration between stressed and unstressed syllables are not as pronounced as in a stress-timed language such as English, in which there is vowel reduction in unstressed syllables (Delattre, 1966; Quilis & Esgueva, 1983, p. 243). In languages like Spanish, "stressed and unstressed syllables tend to occur at regular intervals" (Reetz & Jongman, 2009, p. 213). Stressed syllables also function as anchors for pitch movements (Hualde, 2005).

In most varieties of Spanish, syllables containing stressed vowels are consistently longer than their unstressed counterparts (Hualde, 2005). In fact, when comparing stressed to unstressed syllables, Delattre (1966, p. 189) found a ratio of 1.3 for Spanish, the lowest of four languages being compared (i.e., English had a ratio of 1.6, French, 1.78, and German, 1.44). The results of another study reveal that in Peninsular Spanish vowels have different durations in different contexts in this variety (Marín Gálvez, 1994-1995).<sup>32</sup> Vowels in stressed syllables, in open syllables before a pause, preceding voiced consonants, and before a pause were significantly

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<sup>30</sup> My translation.

<sup>31</sup> This term is also used to refer to "the syllable of a phrase receiving primary stress" (Reetz & Jongman, 2009, p. 221). Ladefoged also refers to the tonic syllable as "a single syllable that stands out because it carries the major pitch accent" (2006, p. 117).

<sup>32</sup> Hualde also observes intrinsic differences in Spanish vowels (2005, p. 273).

longer (Marín Gálvez, 1994-1995, p. 224). With regards to intrinsic duration, this author proposes the following scale from longest to shortest as follows [a] > [e]/[o] > [i]/[u] (p. 224). This scale is in line with Lehiste's findings that low vowels (i.e., /a/) are longer than high vowels (i.e., /u/ or /i/) (1970). Differences in length and in fundamental frequency of vowels in Peninsular and Peruvian Spanish have been reported (Morrison & Escudero, 2007). Vowels in stressed syllables also have higher pitch and greater intensity than vowels in unstressed syllables (Hualde, 2005; *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*, 2011). Traditionally pitch has been correlated to stress in Spanish (Hualde, 2005; Lehiste, 1970), but vowel duration has also been found to be a cue to stress in both production and perception (Ortega-Llebaria & Prieto, 2007, 2010).

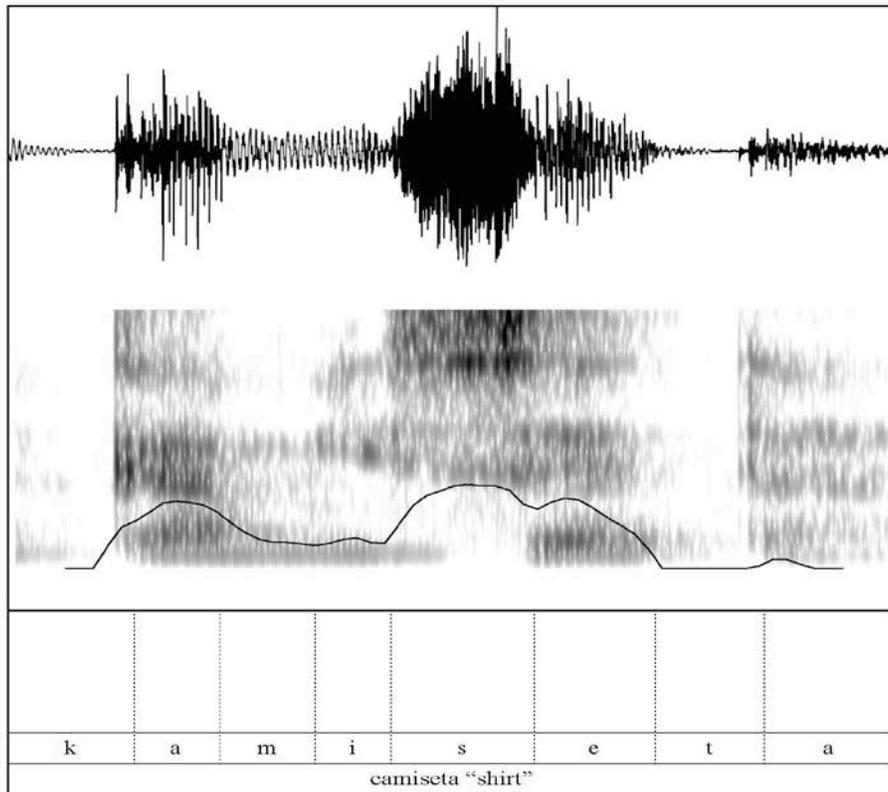
In Cordobese Spanish, the lengthening pattern is sometimes different. The most distinctive feature of this variety of Spanish that occurs with some frequency is pretonic vowel lengthening or the *tonada* where the vowel in the pretonic syllable exceeds the duration of the vowel in tonic position (Berry, 2015; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971, 1980; Yorio, 1973). In other words, in this variety, vowels in pretonic syllables resemble those in tonic ones in that they share some of their identifying features including similar duration and intensity (Lang, 2010 as cited in Lang-Rigal, 2014). This can be seen by contrasting the waveforms and spectrograms with labeling and segmentation of the same word *camiseta* 'shirt' [kami'seta], in nuclear position in two dialects of Spanish in figures 4 and 5. In Figure 4, the spectrogram from the Ecuadorian speaker, the /e/ is stressed, therefore, as expected this vowel is longer (81 ms<sup>33</sup>) than the preceding vowel (52 ms). In addition, the stressed syllable also has the highest intensity, as shown by the intensity contour. In contrast, in the waveform and spectrogram for the Cordobese

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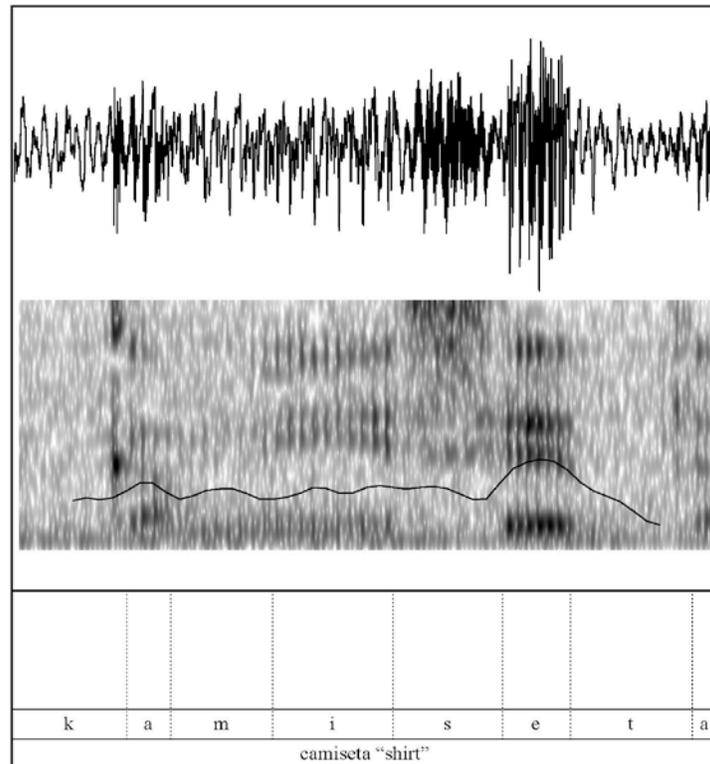
<sup>33</sup> Milliseconds.

speaker (Figure 5), the vowel exhibiting the longest duration (102 ms) is the one in pretonic position, the /i/, and not its stressed counterpart (54 ms). Furthermore, it should be noted that the pretonic vowel in this example is almost twice as long as its tonic counterpart. However, the stressed vowel has greater intensity than the unstressed vowel, as can be seen by the darker bands representing its formants and also its intensity contour.

In sum, in Cordobese Spanish, pretonic vowel lengthening or the *tonada* is very common phenomenon. It is very salient since it has not been attested in other varieties of Spanish. In fact, Lang-Rigal (2014) compared pretonic vowel lengths from different varieties in Argentina including Cordobese, Tucumán, and Buenos Aires Spanish. She found that pretonic vowels were the longest for Córdoba on average (i.e., 109 ms, n=24) and the shortest for Buenos Aires (i.e., 59 ms, n=8) (p. 111-112).



**Figure 4.** Waveform and spectrogram of the word *camiseta* 'shirt' by an Ecuadorian male speaker



**Figure 5.** Waveform and spectrogram of the word *camiseta* ‘shirt’ by a Cordobese male speaker. Pretonic vowel lengthening can be seen in the pretonic [e]

### 3.2 VOWEL LENGTHENING IN CORDOBESE SPANISH: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In Argentina, there have been some significant studies that point to the saliency of the Cordobese variety. While researchers agree on its distinctiveness, they disagree on: (a) where pretonic lengthening occurs within the IP (e.g. in prenuclear, nuclear position, or both), (b) whether rising or falling pitch accompanies this unique lengthening, and (c) whether lengthening could occur in words lacking a pretonic syllable (e.g., words that start with a tonic syllable) (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971; Yorio, 1973).

In a seminal study, Fontanella de Weinberg sought to describe the most salient features of Cordobese intonation (1971). For this purpose, she developed a very complex system of notation that allowed her to describe the patterns of intonation in Cordobese Spanish based on impressionistic analysis. First, she distinguishes between weak and strong stress, which represent stressed and unstressed syllables. Fontanella de Weinberg also proposes four positions for tonal contrast; namely (a) the first unstressed syllable, (b) the first stressed syllable, (c) the last stressed syllable, and (d) the end of the macrosegment or intonational phrase.<sup>34</sup> In these positions, she differentiates between four syllable heights: /<sup>1</sup>/ low, /<sup>2</sup>/ medium, /<sup>3</sup>/ high, and /<sup>4</sup>/ extra high, which is rarely used. In regards to terminal intonation contours, or final inflections, she lists three: (a) low, (b) high, and (c) a pause without a change in height.

Fontanella de Weinberg describes the *tonada* as a phenomenon where “the syllable preceding the stressed syllable [...] has a clear lengthening of the vowel and a pitch rise or fall in its second part” (1980, p. 122). As a result of this lengthening, the pretonic vowel may be perceived as geminated and it may have a change in pitch. An example of Fontanella de Weinberg’s notation system is provided in the phrase: <sup>1</sup>Ni <sup>2</sup>qué <sup>2-3</sup>ha:<sup>2</sup>blár, ‘do not even talk about it.’ The colon is used to denote pretonic lengthening in *hablar* ‘talk’ (1971, p. 17). The pitch rise in that same syllable is shown by the 2-3 values (before the syllable) that also represent syllable height.

Fontanella de Weinberg claims that in Cordobese Spanish, when the last word of the IP starts with a stressed syllable, the vowel in tonic position can be lengthened (1980, p. 122). She provides the example in (5) to show this point. In this case, the last word in the IP, *noche* ‘night,’ begins with a stressed syllable whose vowel is lengthened.

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<sup>34</sup> As suggested by Lang-Rigal (2014).

(5) <sup>2</sup>Éran las diéz ménos cuárto de la <sup>2-3</sup>nó:che

‘It was a quarter till ten pm.’

Furthermore, Fontanella de Weinberg points out that pretonic vowel lengthening may occur in words in prenuclear position within the IP; however, this is not very frequent and may be used in this dialect mainly for emphatic purposes (1971, 1980). It is important to indicate that this is the first study that provides a comprehensive description of phenomenon of the *tonada*. However, Fontanella de Weinberg’s analyses are not sociolinguistic in nature, therefore it does not consider any factors affecting language variation in relation to the *tonada* (1971).

A more sociolinguistic approach is provided by Yorio (1973), who considers differences in frequency in conversational and reading style using Labov’s framework. This author confirms Fontanella de Weinberg’s findings (1971) that pretonic vowels may be lengthened and have a rise in pitch, but this is constrained to word boundaries. In contrast to Fontanella de Weinberg’s description, Yorio observed that besides nuclear position, vowels are lengthened in other positions within an IP. With regards to linguistic factors, he also notes that style plays a role in the variation. For example, pretonic vowel lengthening is more frequent in conversations (93.42%) than in reading (75.3%) at the end of the breath group or IP. To describe this variation, Yorio proposes the following rule governing pretonic vowel lengthening to apply within word boundaries:  $v \rightarrow v: / \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } c_o \ v' \ c_o\#$  which is almost obligatory in some contexts such as conversational style (1973, p. 77). He concludes that the vowel lengthening and pitch rise seems “... to affect the rhythm of the language in a very peculiar way” (1973, p. 71). This statement makes reference to the saliency of this feature. In sum, this study has helped understand stylistic variation of the *tonada*. Nonetheless, the analysis is impressionistic, as vowels are not measured acoustically and his observations are not supported by statistical analyses.

In more recent studies, Lang-Rigal (2014) and Berry (2015) acoustically analyze vowel length, pitch, and intensity in Cordobese Spanish. Lang (2010, cited in Lang-Rigal, 2014) used Praat to measure vowels' length, pitch, and intensity in pretonic and tonic syllables. Her results reveal that (a) even though vowels in pretonic position were longer than their tonic counterparts, these differences were not statistically significant, (b) as expected tonic vowels had statistically significantly higher pitch than pretonic ones, and (c) both pretonic and tonic vowels' intensity was very similar (p. 35).

Berry (2015) investigates pitch and vowel duration (i.e., pretonic to tonic ratio) of the *tonada cordobesa* considering position in the IP, speech style, gender, and socioeconomic status. This author finds that there is an increase in pitch range and relative lengthening of the pretonic syllable in this dialect of Spanish. Furthermore, the pretonic-to-tonic ratio is significantly higher in prenuclear position because the “tonic syllable is dramatically shorter” in this position (Berry, 2015, p. 1). The results also reveal an effect for gender. Women are less likely to lengthen the pretonic syllable than men in conversations. In relation to social class, this study (Berry, 2015) shows no differences in the frequencies of uses among individuals of different social groups. However, Viramonte de Ávalos (2004, p. 201) observes that lower class individuals employ the nonstandard variant more often than those of the upper classes. Nonetheless, this author's statement is based on personal observations without any acoustic data to support her claim. With regards to the speech style, Berry does not find any effect. This last finding about style contrasts with Yorío's data, which showed differences in style.<sup>35</sup> Berry concludes that the “combination of pitch excursion and phrasal lengthening inherent to the *tonada* is not confined to the nuclear accent alone” (2015, p. 23). This recent study has shed light on how important linguistic (i.e.,

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<sup>35</sup> Berry (2015) explains that this may be due to methodological differences as Yorío used impressionist coding in his study (p. 22).

position in the IP) and social (i.e., gender) factors are in this context. Nonetheless, the pool of participants for the conversational style was very small (n=8).

The perception of the *tonada cordobesa* has been studied in detail by Lang-Rigal (2014) in her dissertation. This author used an online adaptation of a matched-guise test to determine whether pretonic vowel duration alone served as an indicator of the speakers' Cordobese origin. She included guises and judges from Córdoba, Tucumán, and Buenos Aires. In some guises, the length of pretonic vowels was manipulated to shorten them, while in others it was not. The results reveal that the manipulated guises (shortened pretonic vowels) posed problems for listeners in identifying the Cordobese dialect. Longer pretonic vowel durations were the most salient cue in identifying speakers from Córdoba irrespective of the participants' origin. These findings led her to conclude that a judge's place of origin plays a role in correct dialect identification.

As we have discussed above, the aforementioned studies have provided a solid starting point to understand the *tonada*, but they have some limitations. In previous research, while some studies do not consider social factors that affect variation (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971, 1980), others are descriptive in nature and lack acoustic and statistical analyses (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971, 1980; Toniolo, 2007; Yorio, 1973). As for the more recent studies, one has a small pool of participants (n=8) in conversational style (Berry, 2015), while the other one focuses more on the acoustic and perceptual analysis rather than in the sociolinguistic aspect (Lang-Rigal, 2014).

Considering the issues, I have planned my study accordingly. For instance, I acoustically measure vowels with Praat and use statistical analyses to report and discuss my findings. I also

include gender and social class for my analysis in a good size pool of participants (n=20) as in most cells there are 5 respondents.<sup>36</sup> I provide more details in the section below.

### 3.3 METHODOLOGY

#### 3.3.1 The Variable

The main goals of this study are (a) to acoustically analyze one of the most salient features in Cordobese Spanish, pretonic vowel lengthening or the *tonada cordobesa* and (b) to determine whether linguistic and social factors affect the variation observed. The variable for this study is pretonic vowel lengthening, a phenomenon found exclusively in Cordobese Spanish. For this study, I distinguish between two variants of this variable: a longer [V:] and a shorter [V] realization in relation to the length of the subsequent tonic vowel. For example, *papá* ‘dad’ can be realized either as [paˈp:a] or as [pa:ˈpa]. The first realization is common to all varieties of Spanish, while the second one is the regional form in Cordobese Spanish.

The most influential linguistic factor that affects variation of this variable as stated in the literature is position in the IP. For example, Yorio (1973) found that this vowel lengthening unique to Cordobese Spanish is frequent both in prenuclear and nuclear positions in the intonational phrase<sup>37</sup> (cf. Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971, 1980). Furthermore, he also posits that this vowel lengthening can only occur in words containing a pretonic syllable and it is confined to word boundaries (Yorio, 1973).

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<sup>36</sup> Some statisticians indicate that 5 participants per cell is a sufficient number (Tagliamonte, 2007).

<sup>37</sup> These findings were recently confirmed by Berry (2015).

As for social factors, some studies on pretonic vowel lengthening show that it can be affected by speakers' gender and social class. Berry (2015) found that women tend to use the more standard variant, [V]. These findings are in line with many sociolinguistic studies which show that women more frequently employ the most prestigious forms of (r) and (s) (Blas Arroyo, 2008; Silva Corvalán, 2001).

### 3.3.2 Linguistic and Social Factors

For this study, I consider the effect of linguistic and social factors on the variation of the *tonada*. These include (a) position in the IP, (b) vowel concordance (i.e., whether the vowel in pretonic and tonic position in a word is the same or different), (c) gender, and (d) social class. I do not examine single words in isolation, instead I analyze tokens within IPs in broad focus declarative sentences. IPs are “the largest phonological chunk into which utterances are divided” (Ladd, 1986, p. 311). More specifically, Selkirk defines IPs as the “spans of the utterance which are delimited by boundary tones” (1995, p. 566). They “have a specifiable intonational structure [...which] includ[es] a single most prominent point (primary stress, tonic, nucleus)” (Ladd, 1986, p. 311).

As for the linguistic factors, I consider position in the IP and also vowel concordance. In order to understand my linguistic analysis, it is important to define prenuclear and nuclear positions in the IP. The last pitch accent in the IP, normally the most prominent one, is referred to as the nuclear accent (Hualde, 2005, p. 256). Tokens in this position are considered to be in nuclear position in the IP. Prenuclear accents are the pitch accents preceding the nuclear accents (Hualde, 2005) and thus, tokens receiving prenuclear accents are in prenuclear position. The example below shows the two different positions (i.e., prenuclear and nuclear) in the IP. These

positions are crucial to our understanding of vowel lengthening in Cordobese Spanish. As can be observed in example (6), the word *novela* [no'βela], 'soap opera,' occurs in prenuclear position while *mañana* [ma'jana], 'morning,' is in nuclear position. Both tokens have a pretonic syllable which is shown in bold.

(6) Una **novela** que dan a las once de la **mañana**.

"A soap opera shown at 11 in the morning"

As I have mentioned before, the vowel in the syllable where the pitch accent falls (i.e., nuclear position) is longer than any preceding stressed vowel within the IP (Hualde, 2005). In Cordobese Spanish, pretonic vowels in nuclear position are often lengthened to exceed their tonic counterparts, which are the longest in the IP typically (Hualde, 2005). In addition, pretonic and tonic vowels in prenuclear position are expected to be shorter than those in nuclear position, as in this position there is phrase-final lengthening (Reetz & Jongman, 2009).

The other linguistic factor considered was vowel concordance. For example, whether the pretonic and tonic vowels were the same vowel in a token as in *mamá* [ma'ma] 'mother' or different ones as in *comida* 'food' [ko'miða]. One limitation of this study was that I did not control for intrinsic vowel duration differences (Lehiste, 1970).<sup>38</sup>

It is important to note that other factors at the segmental and sentence level may affect vowel duration (Reetz & Jongman, 2009). Some of these include phonetic environment, number of syllables and segments, and speech rate. Vowels tend to be longer in open syllables or before a voiced consonant. Another factor affecting vowel length is the number of syllables and segments in the utterance. Duration decreases as the number of syllables or segments increases. These factors were not considered in this study.

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<sup>38</sup> This author found that low vowels (i.e., /a/) are longer than high vowels (i.e., /u/ or /i/) (Lehiste, 1970).

With regards to social factors, I included social class and gender, which have been found to be two of the most relevant factors influencing sociolinguistic variation in the Spanish-speaking world and in other languages (Blas Arroyo, 2008; Risell, 1989; Salvador, 1952; Silva-Corvalán, 2001; Trudgill, 1974). The most widely used definition ‘social class’ in classic variation analysis includes a composite of an individual’s education, income, and profession (Labov, 1972). More recently, Labov (2001) devised a sociolinguistic index including occupation, education, and residence value and evaluated the importance each of these components as indicators of social class. He found that occupation was the most important indicator while the combination of the three factors was the most reliable.

In the Spanish-speaking world, some studies consider only one indicator of social class. For example, Guillén (1992) and Navarro (1990) employ level of education, Fontanella de Weinberg (1979) uses employment, and Poplack considers participants from the same block of a Puerto Rican neighborhood in Philadelphia (1979). Other studies use a combination of indicators (Bentivoglio & Sedano, 1993; Broce & Torres Cacoullous, 2002; López Morales, 1983). These studies, as Silva-Corvalán (2001) points out, employ a combination of any of the factors including education, income, profession, and residence value as well as neighborhood and/or type of residence, to determine social class in Latin America.

In addition to these indicators, the PRESEEA<sup>39</sup> proposes a new factor *modo de vida* ‘way of life’ which is related to an individual’s social networks and also relationships within the social structure (Díaz-Campos, 2014; Milroy & Milroy, 1978). Furthermore, González-Cruz (2012, p. 219) suggests that even established family sagas (i.e., in New England the Kennedys and in Argentina the Kirchners) may be also used for such purpose.

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<sup>39</sup> This is a project for the sociolinguistic study of Spanish from Spain and the Americas (PRESEEA, 2014).

As a native of Córdoba, instead of Labov's social class definition, which does not reflect the constitution of this community, I use speakers' level of education, their type of employment, and the neighborhood where they live as indicators of social class, as in Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1968). In terms of education, I consider three different levels: (a) elementary, (b) high school, and (c) higher education. I distinguish between three different groups of professions: (a) blue-collar workers (i.e., *cartoneros*,<sup>40</sup> cooks, and construction workers), (b) semi-professional (i.e., students, sales associates etc.), and (c) professionals (i.e., architects, teachers, doctors etc.). Last, I use two types of neighborhoods: (a) an area of town near the outskirts of the city which is low-income, and (b) the residential neighborhood of *San Vicente*.

To obtain speakers' social class, for each of the categories I used a point system, consisting of the numeric values of 1 through 3 as shown in Table 2. For example, if a speaker had a blue-collar job, s/he received a 1. If this person completed high school, s/he got a 2. If this individual lived in outskirts, s/he was given a 1. All these scores were added. Participants that received less than five points were considered in the lower-middle class and those with more than 5 were situated in the middle-class.

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<sup>40</sup> People who sell cardboard collected from dumpsters.

**Table 2.** Point-value system used to determine social class

Number of points/ Indicators	Professions	Education	Neighborhood
1	Blue-collar job	Elementary school	Others
2	Semi-professional job	High school	San Vicente
3	Professional job	Higher education	-----

### 3.3.3 Research Questions

The primary goal of this chapter is to study one of the most salient features in Cordobese Spanish, pretonic vowel lengthening or the *tonada cordobesa*. Additionally, I explore the effect that both linguistic (i.e., IP position and whether the pretonic and tonic syllable have the same vowel) and social factors (i.e., gender and social class) have in its variation. The following research questions guide this section of my dissertation:

1. Is there a difference in duration in pretonic and tonic vowels in Cordobese Spanish?
2. Do linguistic factors such as position in the IP and vowel concordance favor pretonic vowel lengthening or the pretonic to tonic ratio?
3. Do the social factors of gender and social class favor pretonic vowel lengthening or a greater PT/T ratio?

Based on these questions I have developed the following working hypotheses:

1. Pretonic vowels are expected to be longer than tonic vowels (Berry, 2015; Lang-Rigal, 2014, 2015a; Yorio, 1973).
2. Pretonic lengthening will be affected by the position in the IP, and by whether the word contains the same or different vowels in pretonic and tonic positions (Berry, 2015; Marín Gálvez 1994-1995, Yorio, 1973).
  - (2.1) Pretonic lengthening will occur in prenuclear as well as in nuclear positions within the IP (Berry, 2015; Yorio, 1973) (cf. Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971, 1980).
3. Pretonic lengthening will also be affected by social factors:
  - (3.2) Lower-class speakers of Cordobese Spanish will lengthen pretonic vowels more than middle class speakers (Viramontes de Ávalos, 2004).
  - (3.3) Male Speakers of Cordobese Spanish will lengthen pretonic vowels more than female speakers, as females tend to use more standard forms than males (Blas Arroyo, 2008; Risell, 1989; Salvador, 1952; Silva Corvalán, 2001).

### 3.3.4 Participants

Twenty native speakers of Cordobese Spanish participated in this study ( $M= 24.8$ , age range: 18–35 years, Males=10, Females=10). They were stratified by gender and social class. Table 3 shows the distribution of participants in the sample.

**Table 3.** Participant demographics

Gender/Social Class	Middle Class	Lower-middle Class
Females	6	4
Males	5	5

They lived in two locations in the city of Córdoba, San Vicente and the outskirts of the city. San Vicente, a neighborhood in the east of the city, was one of the first to be established in Córdoba at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Rettaroli, Eguiguren, Álvarez, Cohen, & Rubioli, 1997). During its beginnings, it was known for its fruit and vegetable farms and its summer homes for many upper-class citizens (Corti, 2009). With the passing of time and driven by changes in different industries and by immigration, the neighborhood's population became more diverse. Blue-collar workers started to populate the outskirts of this neighborhood as they began to work in the industries. As these industries suffered economic losses during times of crisis, they slowly disappeared. Currently family-owned shops and businesses populate this neighborhood's center, which is San Vicente, seen as middle class neighborhood.

All of the participants were recruited in San Vicente and surrounding neighborhoods through snowball sampling and word of mouth as researchers walked in its main street. To take part in the study, participants had to (a) be adult, native speakers of Cordobese Spanish, (b) have lived in Córdoba all their lives, and (c) give verbal consent to the study. There was no compensation for participating.

### **3.3.5 Materials and Procedures**

Two instruments were utilized to collect data: a demographic questionnaire and a sociolinguistic interview adapted from Tagliamonte (2007) and Labov (1972) (see Appendixes A, B & C). The questionnaire consisted of basic questions eliciting demographic information about the participants such as age, gender, employment, educational level, or neighborhood where they live, etc. Figure 6 contains a sample demographic question to obtain participants' highest level of education.

9. The highest level of education you have completed is
- \_\_\_ a. elementary school
  - \_\_\_ b. high school
  - \_\_\_ c. tertiary education / post-secondary education;  
specialization: \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_ d. university  
major: \_\_\_\_\_

**Figure 6.** Sample demographic question

The sociolinguistic interview was intended to elicit spontaneous, natural, and vernacular speech. The final version of this instrument was translated into this dialect of Spanish adapting common activities for this community, and checked for cultural appropriateness. It included modules on the family, neighborhood, friends, free-time activities, holidays, and current events (i.e., 2010 world cup soccer and Argentina's bicentennial celebration). Figure 7 shows the set of questions from the module of friends. It is important to note that this interview did not contain the reading of passages or word lists.<sup>41</sup>

### **FRIENDS**

1. Are there people around here you spend a lot of time with outside your family?
2. Do they live nearby? Whereabouts? Where did you meet?
3. What do you do together?
4. Where do you go?
5. Do you have a best friend? What is he/she like?
6. Tell me how you met him or her.

**Figure 7.** Module *Los Amigos* 'Friends' from the sociolinguistic interview

Two native speakers of Cordobese Spanish, an assistant and myself, collected the data. The assistant had training in anthropology and has lived in Córdoba most of his life. Data collection procedures consisted of face-to-face informal interviews with participants recorded

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<sup>41</sup> Some of the critics of the interview as an instrument claim it may be unnatural (Wolfson, 1976).

using a Marantz digital recorder. The interviews lasted anywhere between 5 to 25 minutes. These took place at various quiet public venues in the heart of San Vicente's main street, San Jerónimo, during July of 2010.<sup>42</sup>

### **3.3.6 The Analyses**

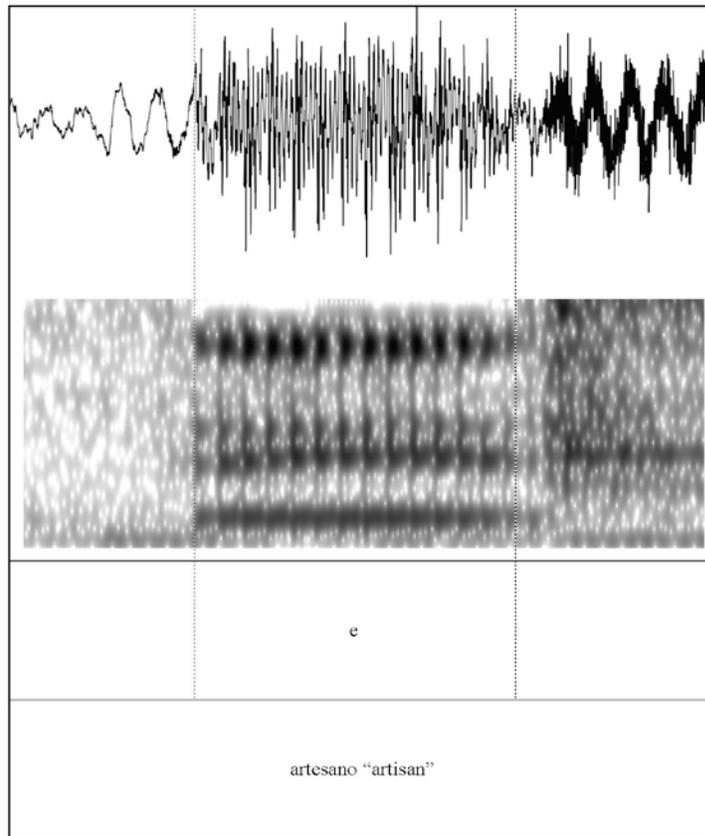
Six hundred thirty-five lexical words (i.e., an average of 32 lexical words per participant) were considered for this study. These tokens were taken from broad focus declarative sentences that contained pretonic and tonic vowels within the same word found in prenuclear or nuclear position within the IP. There were oxytones (i.e., stressed on the last syllable), paroxytones (i.e., stressed in the second to last syllable), and proparoxytones, (i.e., stressed in the antepenultimate syllable) with a pretonic syllable (Hualde, 2005). Tokens had the same or different vowels in the pretonic and tonic syllables (i.e., vowel concordance). All the tokens that did not contain these features were discarded.

For the acoustic analysis, vowel duration in both the pretonic and tonic syllables of each of these words was measured in milliseconds (ms) using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2017). The duration of these vowels was the time elapsed between their onset and offset (Thomas, 2011). The onsets and offsets were identified manually using both visual cues in the spectrogram and waveform displays from Praat textgrids and auditory cues. Following Di Paolo & Yaeger-Dror (2011, p. 91), vowel onset boundaries were marked at the zero crossing when the first cycle of a regular pattern that repeats itself was observed in the sine-wave function after the release of closure of a preceding consonant. This can be seen in a spectrogram where the formant structure

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<sup>42</sup>The University of Pittsburgh IRB for this study is PRO09090346.

is visible. Vowel offsets were considered “at the end of the last complete sinusoidal pattern” (p. 91). To ensure reliability, all vowels were measured by a second rater who was also a linguist. Figure 8 displays the waveform and spectrogram showing the physical duration of the vowel [e] in *artesano* [arte:‘sano] ‘artisan’ taken from the phrase *Soy artesano* ‘I’m an artisan.’ The vertical lines represent the onset and offset of the vowel [e], respectively. The duration of this vowel is 109 milliseconds. After the onset and offset boundaries were established, the vowels were labeled, and vowel durations were extracted using a Praat script.



**Figure 8.** Waveform and spectrogram of the vowel [e] in the word *artesano* ‘artisan’

It was decided not to carry out vowel normalization, a technique that “factor[s] out [...] physical (i.e., acoustic) differences in vowel production resulting from anatomical differences between speakers” (Watt, Fabricius & Kendall, 2011, p. 111). In the context of sociolinguistics, normalization is generally employed to remove any variation that is caused by the “physiological differences among speakers (i.e., differences in vocal tract lengths)” (Thomas, 2011, p. 161).<sup>43</sup> Considering that preliminary analyses showed no significant differences between the durations

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<sup>43</sup> Other goals of vowel normalization include: (a) “to preserved sociolinguistic/dialectal/cross-linguistic differences in vowel quality,” (b) “to preserve phonological distinctions among vowels” and (c) “to model the cognitive processes that allow human listeners to normalize vowels uttered by different speakers” (Watt, Fabricius & Kendall, 2011, p. 112).

of men's and women's vowels, it was not necessary.<sup>44</sup> Additionally, to establish comparisons of vowel lengths in different positions, the pretonic to tonic vowel length ratio (P/T) was calculated for each of the tokens following Berry (2015) and Delattre<sup>45</sup> (1966). This was done by dividing pretonic by tonic vowel durations. Ratios greater than one indicate that the pretonic vowel was longer than its tonic counterpart. Finally, the data were coded for linguistic position within the IP, vowel concordance, social class, and gender.

In sum, I compare pretonic and tonic vowel lengths measured acoustically using Praat analyzing not only the word in which the nuclear accent falls, but the whole utterance. Then, I examine how linguistic factors of position in the IP and also vowel concordance condition this pretonic lengthening. Finally, in this phase, I study whether social class and gender affect the *tonada*. Thus, a mixed linear model computed with R was used to examine the relationship between the dependent variable (i.e., pretonic to tonic ratio) and possible social and linguistic predictors. This model included the fixed effects of vowel concordance, IP position and speaker's gender, and social class as well as any interactions among these factors. In addition, subjects were considered a random effect to model a possible correlation among the answers from the same speaker. Lexical items were also included as a random effect.<sup>46</sup> This model was fit for restricted maximum likelihood through the `lme` function (Pinheiro, Bates, DebRoy, Sarkar, & R Core Team, 2015) from the `nlme` package of R (R Core Team, 2015). For the pretonic to tonic ratio, there was asymmetry in the distribution of residuals, thus the logarithm of the ratio was

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<sup>44</sup> Refer to Table 4.

<sup>45</sup> In his study, Delattre's (1966) used the ratio stressed to unstressed syllable.

<sup>46</sup> This model was computed with and without lexical items as random effect. To compare both statistical models, the Akaike information criterion (AIC) and Bayesian information criterion (BIC) scores were used (Kuha, 2004). Since the model with lexical item as random effect has lower score on both of these criteria, it has been included in this section as it is considered a better model for this data set (Kuha, 2004).

calculated.<sup>47</sup> After adjusting the model, Wald F<sup>48</sup> tests were carried out to detect the effects of the interactions between factors and, if possible, the main effects. When significant interactions were found, one of the factors from such interaction was selected. This meant that the model was fit for each level of that factor separately.

### 3.4 RESULTS

Table 4 presents the descriptive statistics of the social and linguistic factors affecting pretonic vowel lengthening, except for vowel concordance.<sup>49</sup> As for the linguistic factors, even though pretonic vowels in prenuclear position are shorter than those in nuclear position, the pretonic to tonic ratio in this position is greater. These findings are in line with those of Berry (2015). In fact, he suggests that in prenuclear position, the tonic vowel is much shorter causing the ratio to be higher. Furthermore, Yorio's observation about the widespread presence of pretonic lengthening in prenuclear position is confirmed (1973). In addition, since tonic vowels in nuclear position have the longest durations of any other vowel in the IP, the preceding pretonic vowel has to lengthen the most in this position in order to exceed the corresponding tonic vowel in duration (Hualde, 2005; Navarro Tomás, 1948).

With regards to gender, women and men behave similarly within each social class as indicated by comparable means. As for social class, there seem to be some differences.

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<sup>47</sup> The results for the logarithm of the ratio were obtained using the following model: `m1t <- lme(log(ratio)~ Same.vowel.*NIP.t*gend*dial, random=~1|speaker +1|word, data=dat, na.action=na.omit)na.action=na.omit)`

<sup>48</sup> "Wald  $\chi^2$  statistics are used to test the significance of individual coefficients in the model" (Bewick, Cheek & Ball, 2005, p.114)

<sup>49</sup> To obtain an average of 32 tokens per participant, the tokens for prenuclear and nuclear positions have to be added for each participant group (i.e., middle class females, middle class males etc.).

Participants from the lower middle class have a higher ratio, which indicates a more pronounced difference between pretonic and tonic vowel lengths than those from the middle class as observed by Viramonte de Ávalos (2004). In addition, women from the middle class are the ones who lengthen the vowels the least. That is to say, these women are adopting the standard or more prestigious form more frequently than men.

**Table 4.** Descriptive statistics of linguistic and social factors affecting the PT/T ratio

Social Class	Gender	Position in the IP	Duration	Average number of words per participant	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Middle class	Female (n=6)	Prenuclear	PT dur	17	97.13	13.67	74.12	108.90
			T dur		89.97	22.77	63.71	123.20
			Ratio		1.12	0.24	0.88	1.59
			Dif dur		7.16	17.04	-14.30	37.43
	Nuclear	PT dur	16	119.31	15.65	97.40	136.56	
		T dur		123.67	28.43	95.82	170.15	
		Ratio		0.99	0.19	0.78	1.20	
		Dif dur		-4.36	24.33	-37.90	20.06	
Male (n=5)	Prenuclear	PT dur	17	97.38	10.24	83.17	108.25	
		T dur		82.19	7.83	70.40	90.00	
		Ratio		1.19	0.16	0.97	1.36	
		Dif dur		15.19	12.37	-2.56	28.12	
Nuclear	PT dur	14	120.36	17.12	106.38	149.14		
	T dur		121.07	23.25	82.00	144.00		
	Ratio		1.03	0.28	0.75	1.47		
	Dif dur		-0.71	29.59	-35.46	38.40		
Lower middle-class	Female (n=4)	Prenuclear	PT dur	16	107.32	20.19	82.15	126.41
			T dur		74.12	22.39	52.60	94.13
			Ratio		1.50	0.28	1.28	1.90
			Dif dur		33.20	10.31	25.15	47.60
	Nuclear	PT dur	19	117.69	13.07	100.30	131.48	
		T dur		99.88	7.87	89.15	107.24	
		Ratio		1.18	0.04	1.13	1.23	
		Dif dur		17.82	5.35	11.15	24.24	
Male (n=5)	Prenuclear	PT dur	18	98.77	6.71	89.47	107.50	
		T dur		79.34	13.34	58.81	90.46	
		Ratio		1.29	0.33	1.06	1.83	
		Dif dur		19.43	18.46	5.15	48.69	
Nuclear	PT dur	14	119.01	14.50	100.06	134.13		
	T dur		88.37	16.45	69.28	111.54		
	Ratio		1.36	0.13	1.18	1.47		
	Dif dur		30.63	8.54	19.85	43.07		

Table 5 shows the descriptive statistics of the linguistic factors, including vowel concordance and position in the IP. Overall, the P/T ratios are higher in prenuclear position, even though the vowels are longer in nuclear position. Also in prenuclear position, the ratio is much greater in tokens with vowel concordance or same vowel in pretonic and tonic positions than those with different vowels. In nuclear position, the ratios are similar in tokens with vowel concordance in pretonic and tonic positions as well as those with different vowels.

**Table 5.** Descriptive statistics of linguistic factors affecting the PT/T ratio

Position in the IP	Vowel Concordance	Duration	Number of words (mean)	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Prenuclear	No (n=20)	PTdur	13	102.10	13.36	77.14	136.73
		Tdur		87.42	21.12	51.00	123.20
		ratio		1.39	0.33	1.02	2.30
		dif		14.68	18.90	-14.30	55.43
Nuclear	Yes (n=19)	PTdur	4	89.51	20.99	49.00	123.00
		Tdur		65.49	16.08	28.00	99.50
		ratio		1.59	0.43	0.92	2.33
		dif		24.02	18.27	-6.00	56.57
Nuclear	No (n=19)	PTdur	13	121.74	14.52	99.83	149.46
		Tdur		110.66	22.37	69.28	156.94
		ratio		1.27	0.23	0.84	1.66
	Yes (n=17)	dif	3	11.08	22.48	-29.60	48.10
		PTdur		111.40	23.85	71.67	158.00
		Tdur		105.08	42.70	65.25	223.00
		ratio	1.24	0.37	0.70	2.09	
		dif	6.32	41.14	-92.50	74.00	

### 3.4.1 Vowel Lengths in Cordobese Spanish

My first research question concerns vowel length differences in pretonic and tonic syllables within the same word. I hypothesized that most speakers in most contexts will lengthen pretonic syllables to surpass their tonic counterparts with high frequency. This hypothesis was confirmed. The measurements for the pretonic vowel ranged from 85.03 ms to 125.74 ms and the mean was 108.88 ms. For the tonic vowel, the minimum measurement was 73.08 ms, the maximum was

154.50 ms, and the mean was 95.78 ms. A paired-samples t-test was conducted to compare the means of pretonic and tonic vowels. There was a significant difference in the means of pretonic vowel duration ( $M=108.88$ ,  $SD=11.93$ ) and in tonic vowel duration ( $M=95.78$ ,  $SD=3.94$ ); ( $t(19)=3.255$ ,  $p < .01$ ). These results suggest, as I hypothesized, that overall pretonic and tonic vowels differ in duration in Cordobese Spanish.

### 3.4.2 Statistical Model

Table 6 shows the results of the first mixed linear model calculated considering the logarithm of the pretonic to tonic ratio as the dependent variable. All four factors affect the logarithm of the ratio, however, as they interact, their effects are complex and need to be explained in detail. For example, there is a significant three-way interaction between IP position, gender and social class ( $F(1, 87)=5.15$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). This means that the interaction between gender, and social class depends on the position in the IP. Different results will be obtained in prenuclear and nuclear positions. Similarly, the interaction between both of the linguistic factors (i.e., vowel concordance and position in the IP) was also significant ( $F(1, 87)=5.10$ ,  $p<0.05$ ); the main effect of vowel concordance is different in prenuclear and nuclear positions. In addition, the interaction between gender and IP position was marginally significant ( $F(1, 87)=3.25$ ,  $p>0.05$ ).

**Table 6.** Mixed linear model for logarithm of ratio

	numDF	denDF	F-value	p-value
(Intercept)	1	515	49.7	<0.0001
Vowel Concordance	1	515	5.54	0.019
IP Position	1	87	9.27	0.0031
Gender	1	16	1.06	0.3192
Social Class	1	16	14.57	0.0015
Vowel Concordance:IP Position	1	87	5.1	0.0265
Vowel Concordance:Gender	1	515	0.03	0.8615
Vowel Concordance:Social Class	1	515	0.05	0.8287
IP Position: Gender	1	87	3.25	0.0748
IP Position: Social Class	1	87	0.48	0.4893
Gender:Social Class	1	16	0.06	0.8131
Vowel Concordance:IP Position:Gender	1	87	0.26	0.6103
Vowel Concordance:IP Position:Social Class	1	87	0.08	0.7784
Vowel Concordance:Gender:Social Class	1	515	0.29	0.5916
IP Position:Gender:Social Class	1	87	5.15	0.0257
Vowel Concordance:IP Position:Gender:Social Class	1	87	0.55	0.4613

To gain a better understanding of these complex effects, a separate model for each IP position was employed. Table 7 shows the results for prenuclear position. There were no interactions between vowel concordance, gender, and social class. Furthermore, there was not a difference in the logarithm of the ratio between genders. There were only significant main effects for vowel concordance ( $F(1, 280)=8.55, p<0.01$ ) and social class ( $F(1, 16)=5.54, p<0.05$ ).

**Table 7.** Mixed linear model for logarithm of ratio in prenuclear position

	numDF	denDF	F-value	p-value
(Intercept)	1	280	49.96	<0.0001
Vowel Concordance	1	280	8.55	0.0037
Gender	1	16	5.80E-06	0.9981
Social Class	1	16	5.54	0.0317
Vowel Concordance:Gender	1	280	0.3	0.5844
Vowel Concordance:Social Class	1	280	0.23	0.6324
Gender:Social Class	1	16	1.76	0.2038
Vowel Concordance:Gender:Social Class	1	280	0.57	0.4493

To interpret the data, the model was reduced to main effects. Table 8 shows the results that were obtained. In prenuclear position, significant main effects were found for vowel concordance ( $M=0.08$ ;  $SE=0.03$ ;  $t=3.03$ ) and middle class speakers ( $M=-0.07$ ;  $SE=0.03$ ;  $t=-2.38$ ). Thus, the logarithm of the ratio is significantly higher (8 ms) for tokens with vowel concordance than for those with different vowels. It is significantly lower (7 ms) for the middle class than for lower-middle class speakers. However, the logarithm was not affected by gender as both men and women have similar frequencies of pretonic vowel lengthening.

**Table 8.** Estimates for fixed effects in logarithm of ratio in prenuclear position

	Value	S.E.	DF	t-value	p-value
(Intercept)	0.13	0.03	283	4.61	<0.0001
Vowel Concordance-Y	0.08	0.03	283	3.03	0.0026
Gender-Male	-0.01	0.03	17	-0.27	0.7892
Social Class-Middle Class	-0.07	0.03	17	-2.38	0.0294

In nuclear position, there are no significant interactions between any of the factors as can be seen in Table 9. However, there is a main effect for social class ( $F(1, 15)=17.09$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) and no significant main effects for gender nor for vowel concordance. That is to say, vowel concordance and gender do not affect the logarithm of the ratio in this position.

**Table 9.** Mixed linear model for logarithm of ratio in nuclear position

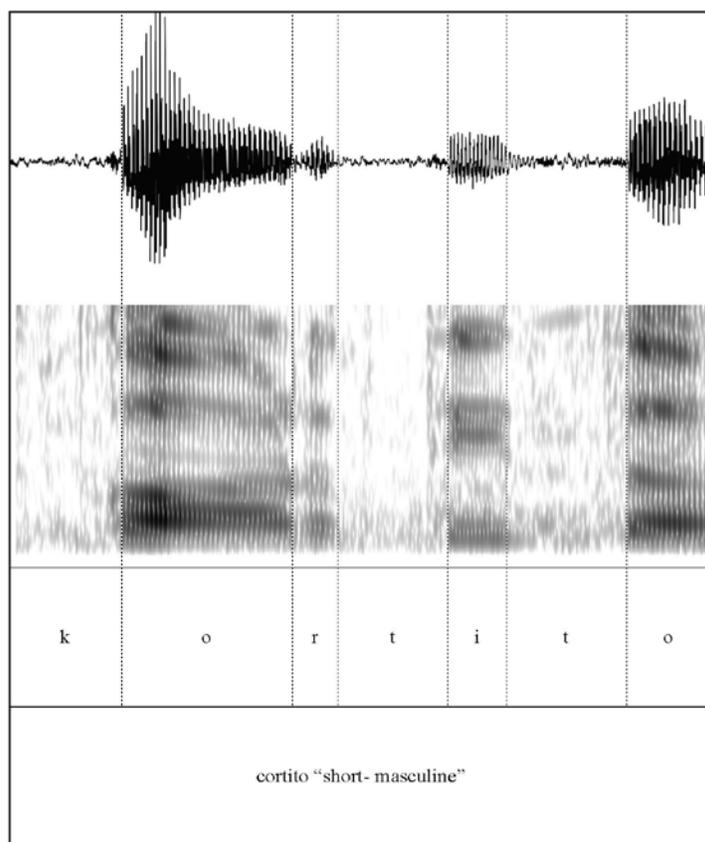
	numDF	denDF	F-value	p-value
(Intercept)	1	251	21.97	<0.0001
Vowel Concordance	1	251	0.34	0.558
Gender	1	15	2.19	0.1596
Social Class	1	15	17.09	0.0009
Vowel Concordance:Gender	1	251	0.03	0.8615
Vowel Concordance:Social Class	1	251	0.1	0.7511
Gender: Social Class	1	15	1.43	0.2503
Vowel Concordance: Gender: Social Class	1	251	0.15	0.7008

To interpret these results the model was reduced to main effects in Table 10. In this model, there were significant main effects for social class. In this position, the logarithm of the ratio was similar for both genders and when there was vowel concordance or when vowels were different in pretonic and tonic position. Nonetheless, the ratio of the logarithm is significantly lower (11 ms) for the middle class ( $M=-0.11$ ;  $SE=0.03$ ;  $t=-4.02$ ) than for the lower-middle class participants.

**Table 10.** Estimates of fixed effects for the logarithm of the ratio in nuclear position

	Value	S.E.	DF	t-value	p-value
(Intercept)	0.1	0.02	254	4.19	<0.0001
Vowel Concordance-Y	-0.02	0.03	254	-0.57	0.5695
Gender-Male	0.04	0.03	16	1.32	0.2039
Social Class-Middle Class	-0.11	0.03	16	-4.02	0.001

An example of pretonic lengthening can be seen in Figure 9 which shows a spectrogram of the word *cortito* ‘short-masculine’ [ko:r‘tito] uttered by a lower-middle class female speaker from Córdoba. As can be seen, the pretonic vowel’s length (i.e., the /o/= 138 ms) exceeds the length of the tonic one (i.e., the /i/=58 ms) 2.38 times.



**Figure 9.** Waveform and spectrogram of *cortito* ‘short (male)’ by a Cordobese lower middle-class speaker

In this section, I examine the complex relationship between position in the IP and vowel concordance to try to explain why there is a higher ratio in tokens with the same vowel in pretonic and tonic syllables in prenuclear position. I first compare tokens with the same vowel in pretonic and tonic position and then those with different vowels.

Different results are obtained in prenuclear and nuclear positions. In prenuclear position, tokens with vowel concordance as opposed to those with different vowels, favor a higher ratio. When comparing words with the same vowel such as the /a/ in *mamá* ‘mother,’ the pretonic to tonic ratio is higher and pretonic lengthening is more noticeable. Paired-samples t-tests were carried out to see whether there is a difference in pretonic and tonic vowel duration in words with the same vowel, /a/, in prenuclear and also nuclear position. In prenuclear position, there

was a significant difference in the means of pretonic duration ( $M=97.83$ ,  $SD=31.02$ ) and of tonic vowel duration ( $M=75.19$ ,  $SD=40.00$ );  $t(35)=p<.001$ . Thus, the difference in duration between pretonic and tonic vowels in prenuclear position is probably not due to intrinsic vowel difference as the vowels are the same, but possibly to a shorter tonic vowel in this position in the IP, as Berry (2015) suggested. In nuclear position, the results were not significant for this linguistic factor.

When comparing tokens with different vowels in pretonic and tonic positions, it is important to recall Marín Gálvez's (1994-1995) scale for intrinsic vowel duration from longest to shortest, the [a] > [e]/[o] > [i]/[u] (p. 224). Thus, the intrinsic duration of some vowels may be similar (e.g., /e/ and /o/ or /i/ and /u/) or different (e.g., /a/ and /i/). Accordingly, the combination of vowels (i.e., /i/ and /a/ or /e/ and /o/) and the order in which the vowels are in (i.e., whether in pretonic or tonic position) may play a role in how high the ratio will be.

Paired samples t-tests were done to see if there are any differences among different vowel combinations in pretonic and tonic positions in prenuclear position. The first t-test compares the mean duration of a pretonic /a/ with a tonic /i/ within the same word (e.g., *tranquila* 'calm-feminine' [traŋ'kila]). A significant difference is expected as the /a/ is longer than the /i/ and there is pretonic lengthening of the /a/. As hypothesized, there is a significant difference in the duration of the /a/ in pretonic position ( $M=117.65$ ,  $SD=42.24$ ) and /i/ in tonic position ( $M=75.97$ ,  $SD=39.66$ );  $t(34)=p<.001$ . This results in a higher pretonic to tonic ratio. The second t-test compares the duration of the /e/ in pretonic position and the /o/ in tonic position (e.g., *deporte* 'sport' [de'porte]). Considering that the intrinsic duration is similar in these vowels, I do not expect any differences. This observation is confirmed. Since the duration of these vowels does not differ, the pretonic to tonic ratio is probably lower for these tokens. Intrinsic vowel

duration differences and shortened tonic vowels may help explain why the ratio is lower for tokens with different vowels in prenuclear position. However, the results of this part should be taken with caution as the number of tokens with vowel concordance was much lower than those with different vowels.<sup>50</sup>

In conclusion, both linguistic factors and social class affect the ratios of vowel lengthening employed, but the relationship among these factors is multiplex. The ratio was significantly greater in tokens in prenuclear position and in tokens with vowel concordance as opposed to tokens with different vowels. Additionally, the ratio was higher for the speakers of the lower-middle social class in both positions of the IP. Even though gender appears significant at different stages of the analysis, its interaction with the other factors does not allow us to study its main effect on vowel lengthening in Cordobese Spanish.

### 3.5 DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current study was to acoustically examine the frequency of use of pretonic vowel lengthening in order to determine whether the linguistic variables (i.e., position in the IP and vowel concordance) and social variables (i.e., gender and social class) favor/disfavor this phenomenon. The data were taken from spontaneous speech (i.e., informal interviews) from 20 native speakers of Cordobese. My research questions were as follows:

1. Are there any differences in the lengths of pretonic and tonic vowels in Cordobese Spanish?

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<sup>50</sup> There were 3 or 4 tokens per participant containing the same vowel in pretonic and tonic syllable in each of the positions in the IP.

2. Do the linguistic factors of position in the IP and vowel concordance affect the pretonic to tonic ratio?
3. Do the social factors of gender and social class affect the P/T ratio?

The first research question was about whether there was a significant difference between pretonic and tonic vowel duration in Cordobese Spanish in the *tonada* frequencies. As predicted, the results of t-tests reveal pretonic vowels are significantly longer than their tonic counterparts in this variety of Spanish when the phenomenon occurs. This confirms previous findings (Catinelli, 1985; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971, 1980; Toniolo, 2007; Vidal de Battini, 1964; Yorio, 1973).

However, there are some studies that do not align with these observations. In Lang-Rigal's pilot study (2010, cited in Lang-Rigal, 2014), the means for pretonic (131 ms) and for tonic vowels (128 ms) in nuclear position in Cordobese Spanish were compared, but differences were not significant (2014, p. 35). This inconsistency with previous research may be due to the fact that Lang (2010, cited in Lang-Rigal, 2014) only included pretonic and tonic duration in nuclear position, while in other studies, including this one, the measurements were taken in prenuclear and nuclear positions. In fact, Berry (2015) reported that the difference between pretonic and tonic vowel duration is not as pronounced in nuclear position as it is in prenuclear position; this difference is much greater as "the tonic syllable is dramatically shorter" in this position (Berry, 2015, p.1).

The current study also confirms previous findings about the *tonada cordobesa*. My data aligns with Yorio's (1973) and Berry's (2015) that pretonic lengthening in Cordobese Spanish can manifest itself both in prenuclear and nuclear positions in the IP (cf. Fontanella de Weinberg,

1971, 1980). Furthermore, it was found that the ratio is usually greater in prenuclear position, not in nuclear position as Berry (2015) noted.

A mixed linear model was computed considering the logarithm of the ratio as the dependent variable to find the linguistic and social factors that affect the frequency of pretonic lengthening in Cordobese Spanish both in prenuclear and nuclear positions in the IP. The results reveal that position in the IP, vowel concordance, and social class influence the pretonic to tonic ratio, but the relationship among these factors is complex.

Different results are obtained for prenuclear and nuclear positions. In prenuclear position, tokens with vowel concordance favor a higher ratio, while those that have different vowels do not. The results of a series of t-tests reveals that this inconsistency may be due to the effects of intrinsic vowel differences and shortened tonic vowels in this position (Berry, 2015) as in nuclear position the results were not significant. However, this needs to be further investigated, as there were few tokens per participant containing vowel concordance.

As for social factors, lower-middle class speakers favor a significantly greater use of the *tonada*. That is, the pretonic to tonic ratio is higher and more frequent in lower class speakers than in the middle class in both positions in the IP. These results also support Viramonte de Aválos's (2004) observation that the *tonada* is more noticeable in individuals of lower social classes. The fact that pretonic vowel lengthening is more often found in lower class speakers' speech could mean that it is slightly stigmatized, as Berry indicated (2015).

In fact, lower class speakers of Cordobese Spanish also favor the use of other stigmatized forms including the [j] instead of the [ʒ] (e.g., *yo* 'I' [jo]), elision of /d/ in word-final position and between vowels (e.g., *cansado* 'tired' [kan'sao]), deletion of /s/ in word final position (e.g., *vos* 'you' [bo], *vamos* 'let's go' ['bamo]), and consonant cluster reduction (e.g., *exacto* 'exact'

[eˈsato]), among others (Supisiche, 1994; Toniolo, 2007; Toniolo & Zurita, 2012; Vidal de Battini, 1964). Overall, results confirm that individuals from lower social classes tend to more frequently employ the non-standard, regional form (i.e., longer pretonic vowels) than the individuals from the middle class.

### 3.6 CONCLUSION

The main goal of this chapter was to gain an understanding of pretonic vowel lengthening in Cordobese Spanish, a phenomenon usually referred to as the *tonada*. To this end, I analyzed the effects of linguistic and social factors on the pretonic to tonic vowel duration ratio in Cordobese Spanish using a mixed linear model in a corpus of 20 native speakers from the city of Córdoba and its frequency of use. Approximately 30 tokens were analyzed per speaker.

The results reveal that the pretonic to tonic vowel ratio is affected by linguistic and social factors, more specifically position in the IP, vowel concordance, and speaker's social class, but the relationship between these factors is complex. In prenuclear position, tokens with the same vowel in pretonic and tonic positions (e.g., *mamá*) favor a higher pretonic to tonic ratio than tokens with different vowels in this position. This discrepancy may be due to the effects of intrinsic vowel differences and also tonic vowel shortening in this position (Berry, 2015). With regards to social factors, speakers from the lower-middle class favor a higher pretonic to tonic ratio in both positions in the IP. This group of speakers uses the non-standard variant more frequently than middle class speakers, as was also observed by Viramonte de Ávalos (2004).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> There is no acoustic data provided in this text to support this author's observation.

These results also confirm previous research findings about the *tonada*, namely that pretonic vowel lengthening manifests in both prenuclear and nuclear positions in the IP (Yorio, 1973; Berry, 2015). In addition, the pretonic to tonic vowel ratio is higher in prenuclear position possibly due to a shorter tonic vowel as suggested by Berry (2015). However, the results of this study should be taken with caution, as the size of the sample population is small (n=20).

In sum, this chapter has contributed to the existing body of literature dealing with Cordobese Spanish and (a) confirmed previous findings, (b) proposed a new linguistic factor to be considered in the analysis (i.e., vowel concordance), and (c) provided more robust evidence of social class as an influential social factor in language variation with a larger sample population (n=20) than Berry (n=8) for conversational style (2015).

Some of the limitations of this study were that factors affecting vowel duration such as the phonetic environment and intrinsic vowel duration differences were not controlled for. Considering that gender and social class were the only social factors included, in future research about the *tonada*, a range of age groups and social classes should be taken into account.

#### 4.0 THE PERCEPTUAL PHASE

Language can be employed by individuals to display identity and to classify others into social categories (Agha, 2005). Salient linguistic forms, usually stigmatized structures which may be undergoing change (Trudgill, 1986), become indexical (Silverstein, 2003). The evaluation and characterization of these salient language features are never uniform because “[i]t is people’s lived experiences that create indexicality,” and each person has different life stories and associations with language (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008, p.29). At the same time, some social meanings reach a third-indexical order (Silverstein, 2003) where the “metapragmatic attention [...] serve[s] to stabilize the indexical meanings of the forms for speakers throughout the community” (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008, p. 29). Metapragmatic talk is ideological, as it provides cultural interpretations of reality.

It is important to examine the evaluation of languages and language varieties as its users are affected by how others perceive them. This area of study has been undertaken from the perspectives of two disciplines that conceptualize the language perceptual phenomenon differently. Language attitudes have been considered in social psychology, while language ideologies have been the focus of study in linguistic anthropology. Some believe that language attitudes and ideologies are incompatible as they come from different traditions (Zavala, 2016), but others see a relationship between them (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008). Combining both

perspectives can provide different types of information to gain a better understanding of this phenomenon.

In this chapter, I analyze the perceptions and attitudes toward the *tonada cordobesa*. In order to do that, I begin with a review of my methods. Following Bucholz and Hall's (2008) call for more interdisciplinary work in sociolinguistics, I combine perceptual dialectology, attitudinal (matched-guise test), and ideological analyses. I also examine the most relevant studies in the Spanish-speaking world in reference to language attitudes and ideologies about Spanish and other languages or Spanish language varieties present in the area. This provides a framework for the collection and interpretation of my data. I discuss, in a separate section, language perceptual studies about the Southern Cone with a focus in Argentina and Uruguay. Then, I begin the analysis of the dialect identification and the kinds of social meanings associated with the *tonada cordobesa*, both in the local and the global Argentine realm. I also examine speakers' beliefs about language because all these affect, among other things, language variation, change, and social inequalities.

In what follows, I argue that the *tonada cordobesa* has reached a third-indexical order as it is widely recognized by most Argentinians from different regions, and it has been the focus of explicit commentary. However, as I will discuss later, there are different meanings associated with this phenomenon that can be contradictory. On the one hand, the *tonada* shows some level of stigmatization as some of its speakers express a desire to change their intonation pattern to avoid mocking in an effort to be perceived as more "correct." On the other hand, many find the *tonada* is pleasant, representative of their regional dialect, and they are proud to use it. These ideas relate to my literature review on attitudes towards local Spanish varieties in that stigmatized varieties can be positively valued in the solidarity dimension. Additionally, the

stigmatization of the *tonada* stems from the Standard language ideology (Milroy & Milroy, 2012) and the ideology of anonymity that will be discussed in relation to the *tonada* (Woolard, 2008, 2009). In order to describe these phenomena, I begin my literature review with definitions of attitudes and ideologies and methodologies employed to study these concepts. Then, I examine some of the most relevant studies comparing standard and non-standard varieties in the Spanish-speaking world. Next, I discuss different types of ideologies including the standard language ideology, monoglossia, competing ideologies, and related concepts. Finally, I provide the methodology section followed by the analysis of the data and my concluding remarks.

#### **4.1 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES**

A key concept in social psychology used since the 1930s to explain human behavior is attitudes. Although attitudes are defined in different ways, most would agree with Sarnoff's description of "disposition[s] to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" (1970, p. 279). Language attitudes then are understood as a set of beliefs and ideas about language. A commonly used attitudinal model within psychology that also applies for attitudes toward language proposes three components: a cognitive (i.e. a person's belief structure), an affective (i.e. related to emotional reactions), and a behavioral one (i.e., related to one's behavior) (Gardner, 1985). The different components help to gain a better understanding of why people often have contradictory attitudes. For example, minority language speakers may show a positive attitude towards the language but do not want their children to speak it.

Different methods to measure attitudes have been developed including questionnaires, direct observation, and the matched-guise test (Fasold, 1991). A matched-guise test is one of the

most commonly employed techniques to test listener's attitudes or evaluations towards a specific language or dialect. This technique was first employed by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1960) to study attitudes about French and English speakers in Quebec. It differs from attitudinal questionnaires in that it gathers the information indirectly to prevent respondents' answers from being influenced by other factors (e.g., what respondents think researchers want their responses to be, what they think it is appropriate to say, etc.). In this procedure, participants or judges listen to a set of voices, usually reading the same text. Two of the guises are from the same speaker who uses different languages or dialects and judges are not aware of this fact. The judges are then asked to characterize the different voices they hear based on the dimensions of morality, solidarity, intelligence, and status. As judges respond to the questions about the traits of the voices heard, they reveal their attitudes about the languages or dialects in question. Researchers have used this technique in monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual settings around the world (Lambert et al., 1960; Lang-Rigal, 2014; Loureiro-Rodríguez, Boggess, & Wiley, 2013; Schüppert, Haug Hilton, & Gooskens, 2015).

While attitudinal data obtained from matched-guise tests provide useful sociolinguistic information about the value of varieties in society, they do not explain the process in which some languages or varieties of languages end up possessing more linguistic capital than others (Bourdieu, 1991[1999]).<sup>52</sup> Thus, it becomes essential not only to examine language attitudes but also how language perceptions are constructed and portrayed within society.

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<sup>52</sup> Bourdieu uses this metaphor to explain why varieties or languages can have more symbolic value than others in a linguistic market (1991). In his words, "the probable value objectively assigned to the linguistic productions of different speakers and therefore the relation which each of them can have to the language and hence to his own production, is defined within the system of practically competing variants which is actually established whenever the extra-linguistic conditions of a linguistic market are fulfilled" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 53).

The concept of language ideologies, undertaken by anthropologists and other humanistic disciplines, considers social and structural components of language evaluations and beliefs, and therefore complements attitudinal analysis. In this sense, the study of language ideologies provides a more integrative model of the dynamic relationship that exists between language and society. In general terms, ideologies are “the shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members” (van Dijk, 1998, p. 8). This definition assumes that in a community, members have shared ideologies. Another accepted definition of language ideologies refers to them as “ingrained, unquestioned beliefs about the way the world is, the way it has to be with respect to language” (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 9). These beliefs are shared and accepted views, and are taken as a natural version of reality and not as an interpretation of it. Furthermore, Irvine (1989) considers language ideologies as “the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships together with their loading of moral and political interests” (p. 255). This latter reference points to the fact that languages or language varieties employed by the upper class possess more value than others (e.g., Spanish vs. Quechua in Perú) as they are associated with the more powerful or dominant groups in these societies (Wölck, 1973). This relationship is key because language policies are affected by language ideologies (Hornberger, 2002; Johnson & Ricento, 2013). In fact, Kroskrity points to the fact that these beliefs “represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a special social or cultural group” (2000, p. 9). In other words, language ideologies non-forcefully preserve the power and interests of dominant groups in society and provide prestige to languages associated with the elite (Dyers & Abongdia, 2010). Thus, language ideologies are not only about language (Woolard, 1998).

Others argue that there are different kinds of ideologies, and in some cases, counter-ideologies (de los Heros, 2012). In the discussion about language attitudes and ideologies in the Spanish-speaking world, I show how these concepts can be integrated in explaining the evaluation of the *tonada cordobesa* in Argentina.

#### 4.1.1 Language Attitudes and Ideologies in the Spanish-speaking World

Research about speakers' attitudes toward Spanish varieties reveal what has been found elsewhere in English and French speaking communities. National standard varieties tend to be valued more positively on the intelligence and status dimension, while minority languages and non-standard dialects are valued more in the solidarity dimension<sup>53</sup> but are also stigmatized. However, each particular case is different and evaluations can evolve. A case in point is Rojas's (2012) study in Chile. This author reveals that speakers from the Chilean capital Santiago have positive attitudes towards their own variety, the standard, in terms of quality (i.e., best variety), and in relation to its pleasant appeal. These favorable ratings are explained in terms of the importance of the city of Santiago as Chile's most influential political, cultural, and business center. However, some participants, mostly those from the middle and lower-middle class, also showed favorable attitudes in the solidarity dimension towards the variety spoken in southern Chile. A somewhat similar pattern is observed in Garrido (2007). *Cachacos*,<sup>54</sup> or people from Bogotá, rated their variety higher on the status dimension considering it as the standard and the most pleasant in the country. However, *costeños*<sup>55</sup> rated their own variety as more prestigious

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<sup>53</sup> Covert prestige, a term coined by Trudgill (1974), refers to prestige of a variety for solidarity purposes.

<sup>54</sup> Colombia's capital, Bogotá, is situated in the Andean region.

<sup>55</sup> These are speakers from the Coastal regions of the Colombian Caribbean (Garrido, 2007).

than Bogotá Spanish, showing local loyalty. Garrido indicates that there are socio-political forces, such as the church and a few prominent elite grammarians<sup>56</sup> that may have influenced people's ideas about language. Apparently, due to this, *Costeño* Spanish has gained prestige in the public domain that it did not have before. Also in Perú, de los Heros (1999) examined attitudes in the city of Cuzco toward *Limeño* Spanish,<sup>57</sup> the standard variety in the country and *Cusqueño* Spanish,<sup>58</sup> a variety of Andean Spanish. This author found that the Spanish spoken in Lima was valued more positively than the *Cusqueño* variety, not only on the intelligence and status dimensions, but contrary to her expectations, also on the morality and solidarity dimensions. This researcher points out that *Cusqueños* may not positively value Andean Spanish varieties in the solidarity dimension. This is surprising because generally regional varieties have some kind of solidarity value. Therefore, she concludes that there may be different forms by which people express regional linguistic pride in this community. Comparable results are presented in Calvo Shadid's (2014) research on the attitudes towards the different varieties of Spanish in Costa Rica. In fact, this researcher finds that participants show positive attitudes in terms of prestige and correctness towards the country's standard language which is the variety spoken in San José, the capital city.<sup>59</sup> In this community, and similar to what happens in Perú, variation is considered negative and deviations from the standard are linked to two groups (i.e., Costa Ricans of African and of indigenous descent) (p. 155). As can be seen in these last two studies, language attitudes unveil a history of discrimination against minority groups and their varieties.

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<sup>56</sup>Gabriel García Márquez, 1982 literature Nobel Prize winner, was from the coastal areas of Colombia ("The Nobel Prize in Literature 1982").

<sup>57</sup> Spanish spoken in Peru's Capital, Lima.

<sup>58</sup> Spanish spoken in Cuzco, Peru's touristic capital.

<sup>59</sup> San José is considered the cultural, educational, and linguistic center of the country (Calvo Shadid, 2014 p. 155).

In other contexts, the variety of the capital may not be deemed as the most prestigious. For example, Castro (2015) found that Venezuelans from the capital, Caracas, attributed negative characteristics to their own variety of Spanish, the standard language in this country. Bentivoglio and Sedano (1997), and Malaver (2002) obtained similar results. Furthermore, Castro (2015) indicates that the Andean dialect spoken to the west of the country (not in Caracas) was considered the most correct and most valued as it was associated with good pronunciation and the use of a more formal register (Castro, 2015, p. 54). Castro affirms that the low esteem of the Spanish of Caracas is associated with linguistic insecurity,<sup>60</sup> but she does not really explain why. It is possible that the negative evaluation of the dialect of Caracas may be related to the political unrest that Venezuela was undergoing at the time of her research, which casts a negative view on government and new elites. Indeed, Chinellato (2013) finds that university students in Mérida value *Malandra*—the vernacular variety often used by criminals—and the Spanish from Caracas low on professional competence and socioeconomic status, and high on personal integrity and social attractiveness. As Chinellato (2013) comments, these linguistic judgments are closely linked to the *merideños'* identities as a result of historical and ideological forces including religion, location, and ethnic factors among others. These conclusions are not isolated. Another study about Spanish from Mérida revealed similar results. Álvarez, Hoffman, and Valeri (2002) found that *merideños* valued their own variety more positively in status and solidarity than the variety spoken in Caracas.

In Spain, there have been many studies regarding the attitudes toward standard and non-standard varieties of Spanish (Cestero, Molina, & Paredes, 2008; Hernández-Campoy & Villena-Ponsoda, 2009; Molina, 2008). It has been shown that the dialects spoken in the South of Spain

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<sup>60</sup> Holmes (2017) defines linguistic insecurity as “anxiety or lack of confidence about ‘correct’ or standard linguistic usage, specially in formal situations” (p. 321).

where there is *seseo* (i.e., no distinction between the phonemes /s/ and /z/ and lenition or aspiration of consonants /d/, /s/, and /r/) are highly stigmatized (Villena-Ponsoda, 2008). Furthermore, the use of *ceceo*<sup>61</sup> is devalued even more. However, recent studies show that there may be some changes in the value system. Even though Castilian Spanish speakers from the central regions, including Madrid, highly value their own variety, which is also the national standard, more than any regional dialect, they also rate non-standard varieties, such as the regional dialect in Andalusia in a positive light (Gallego & Rodríguez, 2012).

To sum up, when examining attitudes towards standard and non-standard varieties, the variety spoken in the capital is usually associated with prestige, power, social mobility, education, and upper sectors of society. Other varieties, including regional dialects and vernaculars, are often stigmatized in communities, although in some cases they are more positively valued in the solidarity domain. However, there are cases that reveal intricacies such as that of Venezuela and Perú.

As shown by these studies, different sociopolitical forces need to be considered in the analysis in order to gain a better understanding of language attitudes. This suggests that a more comprehensive framework, such as that of language ideologies should be employed. These findings also imply that the standard language ideology is socially ingrained in these communities. As Lippi-Green defines the standard language ideology, it is:

a bias toward an abstract, idealized homogeneous language, which is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions and which has as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class (1997, p. 64).

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<sup>61</sup> The use of the [θ] instead of the [s] in Peninsular Spanish (i.e., Andalucía) (Schwegler, Kempff, & Ameal-Guerra, 2010).

Furthermore, the standard variety is in reality an “idealized” form (Crowley, 2003). In a community, it is usually the dialect used in formal writing, for education, and by the media (Hughes & Trudgill, 1979). In fact, the notion of language correctness is usually associated with educated individuals. Additionally, it is believed that a standard variety imposed on speakers will allow for language uniformity, which is a desirable quality for many. This practice assumes the standard’s superiority and, at the same time, is presumed to facilitate communication and unity. These ideas emerged in Latin America after most countries achieved independence from Spain in the nineteenth century.<sup>62</sup> There was much debate around the question of what institution or entity had the authority to prescribe normative uses of Spanish in the Americas. The governing class of the emerging nations sought to determine what entities would control their national language, Spanish.

There were two contrasting views on this issue, which Rama (1982) called the Language Battle, *La batalla del idioma*. On the one hand, there were proponents of letting the Peninsula continue to exert control over the Spanish language spoken in America. This group believed that in order to preserve linguistic unity, the *Real Academia Española*<sup>63</sup> (RAE) should continue to regulate language use in the newly independent countries. The Venezuelan philologist Andrés Bello was the main advocate of this most hegemonic view, endorsed by many elite groups including nationals of Spain. These elites supported Bello's view, claiming that it would prevent fragmentation of the language. For that purpose, Bello published the reference grammar for Latin Americans. On the other hand, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, an Argentinean, supported a more progressive view. He thought that Latin America should have control of its own Spanish and be

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<sup>62</sup> Cuba and Puerto Rico gained their independence much later.

<sup>63</sup> *La Real Academia Española* (RAE) is known as the Royal Academy of Spanish. From Madrid, Spain, this academy is in charge of regulating the Spanish language (“Real Academia Española,” 2017).

free to develop distinct literary practices in the New World. He believed that the language in the former colonies should function independently from Spain and amongst the newly established nations. He proposed the idea of adapting or changing the language as needed to suit the needs of the New World.<sup>64</sup> However, he also believed that education was a key pillar in nation building. While these two ideologies contrast, they can sometimes be integrated in discourse due to the fact that they are not realities, but ideologies (de los Heros, 2012). While in Latin America there seems to be freedom in determining what is considered prestigious and standard Spanish in the case of each particular country, today there is a consortium of academies of Spanish, all with links to the RAE in Spain.<sup>65</sup> Even though these academies supposedly respect linguistic diversity, they assume the standard ideology. That is, the standard variety is portrayed as grammatically correct and superior to other varieties. The aforementioned contradictory ideologies currently exist, as we will see in the analysis of my data in contemporary Argentina. Thus, regional varieties such as Cordobese are often considered substandard and are stigmatized.

The standard ideology is also connected to the concept of monoglossia or ‘one nation equals one language,’ which emerged in discourses of European nation building in the nineteenth century (as documented by Mar-Molinero, 2000; Paffey, 2012; and del Valle and Villa, 2012). The standard ideology assumed that a nation needed to have only one public language to maintain unity and control. The selection process for the best language to be considered was always contested in Europe. In Spain, there were competing languages, but Spanish became hegemonic (Mar-Molinero, 2000).

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<sup>64</sup> His orthographic reforms were applied mainly in Chile for a short period of time.

<sup>65</sup> The *Academia Argentina de Letras*, founded in 1931, did not join the RAE until 1999 (de los Heros, 2012; Guitarte & Torres-Quintero, 1974).

Since the 1970s, numerous studies have been carried out on attitudes and ideologies towards different languages that coexist with Spanish or Castilian<sup>66</sup> in Spain.<sup>67</sup> It has been found that while Spanish continues to be positively valued as the national language, other regional varieties such as Catalan and Basque are also considered by their native speakers as markers of ethnic identity, thus positively rated in the solidarity scale (Echeverría, 2003; Urrutia Cárdenas, 2000; Woolard & Gahng, 1990). Furthermore, over the years, regional languages have gained prestige in their respective autonomous regions.<sup>68</sup> For example, Gal and Woolard (2001) and Woolard (2008, 2009) identified two opposing constructs for language ideologies, anonymity and authenticity, to explain different types of prestige associated with the use of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia. Anonymity refers to “the tenets of dominant ideologies in the modern public sphere [that] appear not to belong to any identifiable individuals but rather seem to be socially neutral, universally available, natural and objective truths” (Woolard, 2008, p. 4). Prestige is given to a dominant language that has neutral value, avoiding a regional or personal reference and thus becoming anonymous. In this context, the people that use the dominant language of Spanish are not necessarily associated with the region of Catalonia. In other words, Spanish in this situation has neutral value. In contrast, the value given to a language within the authenticity ideology is directly related to the speech that is recognized as a regional variety because it is “deeply rooted in [the] social and geographic territory” (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Woolard, 2008, 2009). While these ideologies here are used to describe different languages,

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<sup>66</sup> Spanish is another name given to Castilian that emerged in Castile, Spain.

<sup>67</sup> In particular, Spanish coexists with Basque, Catalan/Valencian, and Galician as official languages in autonomous communities (Mar-Molinero, 2000).

<sup>68</sup> Under the dictatorship regime of Franco (1939-1975), these languages were repressed and undervalued. After his death, and with the ratifications of the constitution in 1978 granting them official status, these language varieties have been gradually gaining more value in the local public sphere (Mar-Molinero, 2000). Thus, the status of these language varieties has evolved along with historical and social forces (Niño-Murcia, Godenzi, & Rothman, 2008).

these constructs can also be applied to characterize different dialects that coexist in a given country.

In Latin America, the situation differs in that Spanish cohabits with indigenous languages, which have substantially less prestige than minority languages in Spain. During the colonial period, multiple indigenous languages coexisted with Spanish, the dominant language brought and imposed by the conquistadors.<sup>69</sup> Since that time, indigenous languages have been devalued while Spanish has gained prestige in the political domain and the public sphere. In more recent years, research about the status of indigenous languages in relation to Spanish indicates this unequal situation still exists. For example, Zavala (2016) examines underlying ideologies about Quechua—the most important minority language in Perú—in textual representations. She discovers that Quechua is portrayed negatively. Additionally, a careful analysis of these texts manifests that this language is still devalued and its disappearance is portrayed as natural and inevitable. Using similar methodology Merino and Quilaqueo (2003) explore racists' ideologies towards the Native American Mapudungun<sup>70</sup> in the southern Chilean community of Temuco. These authors find negative stereotypes and prejudices which are manifested more overtly in the lower classes and less so in the upper classes. Likewise, in an ethnographic study, Lagos, Espinoza, and Rojas (2013) conclude that scholars' perspectives on *Mapuche* are greatly influenced by the ideology of the linguistic standard. This assumes that languages that do not have a standard can disappear; meaning that most scholars do not believe this indigenous language can be revitalized. Conversely, the focus of England (2003) is reconsidering linguistic ideologies to revitalize the Mayan language and avoid language loss in

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<sup>69</sup> This resulted in Castilianisation through which Castilian Spanish became the dominant language of the colonies while minority indigenous were abandoned (Mar-Molinero, 2000). Several factors facilitated this process including political, cultural-religious, and linguistic pressure (Cerrón Palomino, 1989).

<sup>70</sup> The most important indigenous language in Chile, also spoken in Argentina.

México. In Argentina, there are also minority languages, such as Quechua, Guaraní, Mapuche, that coexist with Spanish. As in other countries, these languages do not have much prestige. There are few speakers of these minority languages, as most of the indigenous inhabitants of Argentina were exterminated during colonization and nation building. It is important to note that Spanish contact varieties in Latin America associated with indigenous groups can carry the same low prestige as the indigenous language. In my research area, Córdoba, there is only Spanish. In the case of the *tonada*, I envision a complex scenario. On the one hand, there is some stigmatization; on the other hand, it serves as a marker of regional identity, pride, and prestige, associated with authenticity in Woolard's terms (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Woolard, 2008, 2009).

## 4.2 DIALECT IDENTIFICATION

Attitudes and ideologies towards language are related to the perception of certain features within dialects and varieties. Perceptual dialectology has been developed to evaluate how non-linguists perceive language varieties, how they map these varieties, and for what reasons (for an outline of the subfield, see Preston, 1999). Preston (1999) explains that research shows that saliency, geographical proximity, and greater contact, among other things, affect the ability to identify and locate a variety of dialects from one's own language. In this trend, Díaz-Campos and Navarro-Galisteo (2009) examined how well Spanish speakers from Venezuela and Spain identified different dialects of Spanish from Spain, Chile, Argentina, México, Colombia, and Costa Rica. Although both groups were most successful in identifying their own dialects in addition to the peninsular variety, neither group was accurate (33% to 35%) in detecting dialects of other varieties of Spanish. However, Venezuelan listeners were able to recognize with more precision

certain dialects from Latin America than Spaniards, probably due to their physical proximity to these countries and to their exposure to these dialects. In this case, the idea of a dialect continuum<sup>71</sup> is reinforced. That is, people perceive similarities between their speech and that of neighboring countries.

In a more ambitious study about the Spanish-speaking communities as a whole, Quesada Pacheco (2014) confirms what Díaz-Campos and Navarro-Galisteo (2009) observed: people are more often able to identify their own variety and those varieties geographically closer to them (i.e., Argentine speakers were able to accurately identify speakers from Uruguay) or closely connected to them by media or technology.

Perception towards specific features of a language, such as intonation can also be assessed using techniques such as the matched-guise test. Holguín-Mendoza (2011) examined the social meaning of three different intonation patterns in the city of Juárez, México with recordings representing different cities and socioeconomic statuses. Participants successfully identified their own intonation patterns (76%). While the working-class intonation was identified as regional (76%) and as working class (32%), the upper-class intonation was not recognized; thus, it was not associated with any particular place or social class. Taken together, these results indicate that the linguistic imaginary of the people in Juárez includes a regional intonation, which differs from the intonation of México City. Furthermore, there is no particular intonation pattern indexical of the upper class in this case. This is interesting because the intonation of the capital's upper class does not seem to project its expected prestige. Nonetheless, it is also important to note that an invisible standard embodies some form of prestige.

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<sup>71</sup> Trudgill defines a dialect continuum as “a very common situation in which geographically neighboring dialects, particularly traditional rural dialects differ from one another minimally but in which the further one travels from any starting point the more different dialects become” (2003, p. 35)

### 4.3 ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES IN THE SOUTHERN CONE: ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY

Attitudes towards morphosyntactic variation have also been examined using the matched-guise test in the Southern Cone. Hoff and Píqueres Gilabert (2017) examined Buenos Aires speakers' attitudes towards *dequeísmo*<sup>72</sup>, differential object marking of inanimates, and the use of the present subjunctive for the imperfect subjunctive. The results point to the fact that in this community, not all of these variables were salient<sup>73</sup> or noticeable. For instance, participants only distinguished between standard and non-standard variants in relation to differential object marking of inanimates (DOMI).<sup>74</sup> Interestingly, phrases containing non-standard marking (DOMI) were rated higher in personal integrity, personal competence, and socioeconomic status. These results suggest that this feature is perceived as a characteristic of their dialect of Spanish. In a similar vein, Lydevik (2014) found that women in Buenos Aires react more positively towards the use of the second-person pronoun *vos*<sup>75</sup> than to the use of *tú*. As in the previous study, these results “confirm that [these women] have a positive view of their linguistic identity” in this community since *vos* is utilized in Buenos Aires (Lydevik 2014, p. 4). Similarly, Moyna and Loureiro-Rodríguez (2016) study Montevidean women's attitudes towards *tú*, *vos*, or a hybrid between *vos* and *tú* in Uruguayan Spanish, a variety that is very similar to the dialect of

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<sup>72</sup> Bentivoglio (1980-81, p. 705) defines *dequeísmo* as the presence of the preposition *de* ‘of’ before a subordinate clause headed by the complementizer *que* ‘that’ (my translation).

<sup>73</sup> Ráczy (2013) defines linguistic variants as “those that are easily picked up by the listeners, and these stand in opposition to ‘invisible’ variants, which are, even if they also show complex social stratification, completely ignored.”

<sup>74</sup> The presence of the accusative ‘a’ with inanimate direct objects was considered non-standard in this study.

<sup>75</sup> *Voseo* refers to the use of the second person pronoun *vos* ‘you’ with its corresponding verb forms. The *vos* pronoun often alternates with the pronoun *tú* ‘you’ in this variety of Spanish.

Buenos Aires. Here, the *vos* was identified as the variant associated with Uruguay as in Lydevik's study (2014). Also, women using *voseo* were rated higher than men in several evaluative dimensions. As for the hybrid form, it received positive ratings particularly in personal appeal and it was considered politer if used by males. Moyna and Loureiro-Rodríguez conclude that these variants have different value suggesting that “the hybrid has overt prestige and the *voseo* has covert prestige” in this community (2016, p. 30).

There are additional recent perceptual studies about Argentina (Rodríguez Louro, 2013; Llull & Pinardi, 2014; Lang-Rigal, 2014, 2015a). Rodríguez Louro (2013) studies<sup>76</sup> Buenos Aires speakers' attitudes towards Argentine Spanish. Despite the fact that the local variety, *Rioplatense* Spanish,<sup>77</sup> is considered the standard dialect of Argentina, some participants also point out negative attributes. In fact, some of them claim Peninsular Spanish as the standard language and the most prestigious variety in the region, thus rejecting *Rioplatense* as their standard. Furthermore, this author indicates that the local variety is “a deviation from the peninsular variety” (2013, p. 465). Rodríguez Louro concludes that these contradictions in the attitudes of Buenos Aires speakers show there is a double standard (2013).

Llull and Pinardi's (2014) research about attitudes towards BA Spanish reveals interesting results, some of which are similar to Rodríguez Louro's (2013). Even though participants notice that their Spanish is different from that of other regions in Argentina (e.g., Córdoba, northern provinces), they identify similarities with the variety used in neighboring

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<sup>76</sup>The chapter I comment on is part of a larger project in which language attitudes of speakers from the capitals of 20 Latin American countries are examined using a similar methodology. A language questionnaire was administered to 400 participants from Buenos Aires in order to find how speakers value their own variety, Peninsular Spanish, and other varieties of Spanish (Llull & Pinardi, 2014).

<sup>77</sup>Spanish spoken around the Río de la Plata basin in Argentina and Uruguay and in most of Southern Argentina. This dialect is spoken in all the metropolises of this region including the capital of Argentina, Buenos Aires, Rosario, Santa Fe, La Plata, Mar del Plata, and Montevideo, Uruguay.

cities from the same dialectal region (e.g., the Patagonia region, Rosario, Santa Fe, and also neighboring Uruguay). When asked to evaluate this dialect, there are some contradictions. While only 21.5% of the participants select BA Spanish as the best variety, approximately 33% name other regions within Argentina.<sup>78</sup> Their reasons for disliking a variety include its ‘incorrect’ or incomprehensible pronunciation, ungrammatical usage, different intonation patterns, and influence from indigenous languages.

Interestingly when asked about their favorite variety, participants indicated a clear preference for the one spoken in Córdoba mainly for reasons related to solidarity (e.g., politeness, friendliness, and good sense of humor).<sup>79</sup> With regards to the BA Spanish and its relationship to Peninsular Spanish, older and less educated participants showed a more conservative approach, as in Louro Rodríguez’s study (2013). That is, these participants considered the peninsular variety as the mother language, representing linguistic correctness. In contrast, younger and more educated participants rejected these peninsular-centric claims, instead supporting and valuing linguistic diversity. These results provide clear evidence that attitudes are changing. Additionally, participants also showed positive attitudes towards their own variety and the Uruguayan variety. These results reveal some inconsistencies in people’s perceptions regarding dialects in Argentina. While some respondents mentioned they dislike BA Spanish, these same participants also indicated that it is the most prestigious variety, and that the standard variety is from the Buenos Aires region. These inconsistencies may be due to competing ideologies, as I will explore in my research here.

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<sup>78</sup> Participants’ selection of the best Spanish was based on the following reasons: (1) grammatical correctness (25.3%), (2) speakers’ high level of education and cultural knowledge (15%), and a “neutral” language intonation (Lull & Pinaridi, 2014).

<sup>79</sup> As Kiesling pointed out, this portrayal is similar to how Southerners are viewed in the U.S (personal communication, April 15, 2017).

Lang-Rigal's (2015b) work focuses on the *tonada cordobesa* and its perception in Argentina. Judges from Buenos Aires, Córdoba, and Tucumán were presented with short phrases spoken by speakers from these same varieties. The results indicate that the Buenos Aires variety was the one most recognized, followed by the Cordobese and Tucumán Spanish. When asked to describe speakers of Cordobese Spanish, the two most-commonly used adjectives were lazy and funny. Taken together, these findings indicate that the stereotype of a Cordobese speaker is often associated with humor and jokes, as well as people who do not possess a good work ethic (Lang-Rigal, 2015b, p. 111). That is, Cordobese speakers were rated higher in the solidarity dimension. As for BA speakers, they received higher ratings in personal competence. These findings provide insight into how standard and non-standard dialects such as Cordobese are valued in Argentina.

To summarize, these studies provide a good starting point to better understand language attitudes and ideologies in the context of Argentina. Not all features of Argentine Spanish are equally perceived as pointed out by Hoff and Píqueres Gilabert (2017). In addition, social factors such as gender may play a role in the evaluation of certain forms. Also, with regards to Argentina's standard variety, there are some contradictions. For instance, while some claim that BA Spanish is the most prestigious and suitable for mainstream media, others have negative evaluations of this dialect and make negative references towards its pronunciation and grammar correctness. Furthermore, some of these individuals actually identify Peninsular Spanish as the standard. Taken together, these findings reveal the complexity of language attitudes and ideologies.

## 4.4 METHODOLOGY

In this section, I describe the methods and procedures including research design, research questions, and sample population for the perceptual study. As discussed in the introduction, the purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of language attitudes and ideologies towards pretonic vowel lengthening or the *tonada cordobesa* in Cordobese Spanish by examining its perception among speakers of different varieties of Argentine Spanish.

### 4.4.1 Research Questions

To this end, this study addresses the following research questions:

1. Are judges from Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Mendoza, and Tucumán able to identify different Argentinian dialects? Which ones?
2. Is pretonic vowel lengthening in prenuclear position more salient than in nuclear position as a cue to Cordobese Spanish?
3. How are Cordobese speakers characterized by their own community and by speakers from other regions of Argentina? Are there major differences in how they are characterized in comparison to speakers from other dialects (i.e., Buenos Aires) in the dimensions of morality, solidarity, status, and intelligence?
4. What ideologies are associated with this dialect of Spanish? Are there any conflicting ideologies?

My hypotheses are as follows:

1. In general terms, Argentine speakers will be able to identify speakers from different dialects of Argentine Spanish to a certain extent. Accuracy will depend

on geographic location of the dialect zone (i.e., dialects closer to a speaker will be more easily identified as indicated by Quesada Pacheco (2014)) and exposure of the dialect through the media or acquaintances. The BA dialect will be widely recognized, as it is the standard in Argentina and the one used in the Argentinean media. Other dialects will not be as easily identified (Lang-Rigal, 2014).

2. I hypothesize that pretonic vowel lengthening will be a very salient cue for the recognition of the Cordobese dialect. That means that listeners will be able to accurately identify the Cordobese Spanish similarly when the guise has one token containing pretonic vowel lengthening in prenuclear or nuclear positions.
3. I predict that listeners are going to rate the Cordobese speakers high in the solidarity dimension and lower on the intelligence dimension as found in other studies where the dominant or standard language was rated higher (Calvo Shadid, 2014; de los Heros, 1999; Garrido, 2007; Lang-Rigal, 2015b; Rojas, 2012).
4. I anticipate that there are going to be intricate underlying ideologies, representing the complexity of this phenomenon of Cordobese Spanish similar to the findings for BA Spanish (Louro Rodríguez, 2013; Llull & Pinardi, 2014). For example, the *tonada* will be associated with a nonstandard accent and some speakers may think it is not appropriate in a formal occasion, while some may think it is pleasant.

This study contributes to the existing literature and expands on our knowledge about pretonic vowel lengthening as an indexical feature of the *tonada cordobesa*. (1) It considers a linguistic factor not included in previous perceptual studies, and that is prenuclear position in the IP; (2) it takes into account whole utterances in the form of spontaneous speech as prompts for the listeners, not just short phrases; (3) it includes participants from the city of Río Cuarto, the

second-largest city in the province of Córdoba and also from the city of Mendoza;<sup>80</sup> and (4) it has a section on language ideologies to supplement the perception experiment.

#### **4.4.2 The Instrument**

This experiment was conducted using a demographic survey, an adaptation of a matched-guise test, and a questionnaire about language attitudes and ideologies (refer to Appendixes D & E for complete instruments and translations). This was an anonymous web-based survey posted on qualtrics.com. It was submitted for Institutional Review Board Approval<sup>81</sup> and the university's research protocol was strictly followed. In addition, all consent forms, instructions, and instruments were translated into Argentine Spanish and posted on the university's Qualtrics site.

The demographic section included a set of eight multiple-choice questions eliciting information about respondents' gender, age, employment, education, city of birth, and place of residence. Figure 10 contains the questions included in this section of the survey.

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<sup>80</sup> Taken together, all the cities in the study represent four out of the five dialect zones in Argentina.

<sup>81</sup> The University of Pittsburgh IRB for this study is PRO16050634.

- Q1 Are you at least 18 years old?
- Yes (1)
  - No (2)
- Q2 Have you lived most of your life in Argentina?
- Yes (1)
  - No (2)
- Q3 City where you were born:
- Buenos Aires (1)
  - Córdoba (2)
  - Mendoza (3)
  - Río Cuarto (4)
  - Other: (5) \_\_\_\_\_
- Q4 City where you have lived most of your life:
- Buenos Aires (1)
  - Córdoba (2)
  - Mendoza (3)
  - Río Cuarto (4)
  - I have moved frequently (5)
  - Other: (6) \_\_\_\_\_
- Q5 Age:
- 18-30 years old (1)
  - 31-49 years old (2)
  - 50-70 years old (3)
  - Over 70 years old (4)
- Q6 Sex:
- Feminine (1)
  - Masculine (2)
- Q7 Do you work?
- Yes (1)
  - No (2)
- Q8 What is your profession? (If you don't work, say what is your parents' profession).
- doctor (1)
  - lawyer (2)
  - police (3)
  - professor / teacher(4)
  - secretary (5)
  - business man/ woman (6)
  - plumber (7)
  - construction worker (8)
  - sales associate (9)
  - manager (10)
  - taxi driver / chauffeur (11)
  - house wife (12)
  - student (13)
  - janitor (14)
  - retired (15)
  - Other: (16) \_\_\_\_\_

**Figure 10.** Demographic questionnaire

The matched-guise test followed. This test is advantageous for researchers as it is an indirect way to measure language attitudes (Lambert et al, 1960). It is useful for “exploring what participants actually do, rather than what they believe to be true about their language” (Clopper, 2014, p. 154). For this test, natural, spontaneous speech taken from sociolinguistic interviews from a previous study was used (see Chapter 3). According to Drager (2014), this is the best type of stimuli when exploring “subjective reactions to a cluster of variables found in the utterance, which together form the accent, dialect, or language” (p. 63). This also makes evaluation of utterances more natural (Campbell-Kibler, 2014).

After listening to each of the stimuli utterances, respondents identified their level of agreement on 15 personal characteristics for each speaker on a five-point Likert scale expressed through the following responses: (a) I completely agree, (b) I agree, (c) I’m neutral, (d) I disagree, (e) I completely disagree. This format was adapted from Risdal’s matched-guise test used for her project “Language attitudes and speaker impressions” (2012). According to Schlee (2014), this rating scale is appropriate for collecting data about a participant’s subjective feelings and emotions (p. 46). The list of adjectives for the test was selected based on some of the attributes employed in a previous matched-guise test done in Córdoba (Lang-Rigal, 2014). I also decided to include other adjectives that some of my Argentinian friends thought described people from Córdoba and Buenos Aires. Figure 11 contains the adjective description section of the matched-guise test.

**A1.** Press the button to listen to the recording. Then select your answers based on your opinion of the speaker and his/ her way of speaking. You can listen to these recordings as many times as needed.

**RECORDING**

The person speaking is	I completely agree (1)	I agree (2)	I'm neutral (3)	I don't agree (4)	I completely disagree (5)
successful. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
shy. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
intelligent. (3)*	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
dumb. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
funny. (5)*	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
serious. (6)*	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
aggressive. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
lazy. (8)*	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
nice. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
trustworthy. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
From the country (not from the capital). (11)*	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
dishonest. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
sophisticated. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
sarcastic. (14)*	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
eloquent (S/he expresses her/himself well). (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**Figure 11.** Adjective descriptor task for matched-guise test

In addition, listeners had to identify each speaker's city of origin and profession. Judges also had to indicate whether the speakers' dialect was similar to their own and rate the stimulus as pleasant, normal, or unpleasant.

This instrument in this study differs from Lang-Rigal's (2014) matched-guise test in the following main points: (a) the choice of adjectives, (b) stimuli type, and (c) participants' background. Even though six of the adjectives are the same (see adjectives with an asterisk in Figure 11), nine are different and attempt to describe the stereotypes of Argentine people from the capital (i.e., successful, aggressive, sophisticated, arrogant, extroverted, and eloquent) and those from the other regions of Argentina (i.e., shy, dumb, nice, trustworthy, dishonest). In the

current study, the stimuli are intonational phrases (IPs). There are utterances from the same cities included in Lang-Rigal's study but there are also some from the city of Mendoza, Argentina's fourth largest city. In terms of the listeners, this study includes judges from the city of Río Cuarto, providing another viewpoint within the province of Córdoba and also judges from Mendoza, representing another dialectal zone.

Data from the matched-guise test were supplemented with a questionnaire about language ideologies. This section contained general language ideology questions, which require listeners to evaluate their own dialect (i.e., Cordobese Spanish, Tucumán Spanish, and Buenos Aires Spanish). Figure 12 contains the questions pertaining to language ideologies.

1. Do you think you have an accent when you speak?
2. What do you like or dislike about your way of speaking?
3.
  - a. Do you think there is a better accent in Argentina?
  - b. Explain why or why not.
  - c. What region has this better accent?
  - d. Is it different from yours?
4. When you travel outside your home state, is there anything in particular people notice about your speech? Explain.
5. Is there anything else about the Argentinean accent you would like to mention?
6. What did you think of this survey?

**Figure 12.** Questionnaire on language ideologies

The online format proved to be adequate for the perception survey since the stimuli were uploaded with ease, and I was able to distribute it to a large number of individuals, and collect the data remotely. However, one limitation of this instrument is that it reduces the population to individuals of a certain socioeconomic status or those who are computer literate, have the technology, and Internet access to complete survey (Schleef, 2014).

### 4.4.3 Context of the Study

Data was collected in the cities of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Mendoza, Río Cuarto, and Tucumán. These cities were chosen for both the stimuli and listeners for the matched-guise test based on the fact that (1) they include four of the five largest cities in Argentina (i.e., Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Mendoza, and Tucumán<sup>82</sup>) and (2) they represent four out of the five distinct dialectal regions in Argentina as classified by Vidal de Battini (1964). These include the *Rioplatense*<sup>83</sup> Region represented in this study by Buenos Aires, the Central or Cordobese Region (i.e., Córdoba), the Northwest or Andean Region (i.e., Tucumán), and *Cuyo* Region (i.e., Mendoza). Figure 13 contains a map showing the distinct dialectal regions of Argentina. To compare and contrast judges' attitudes toward Cordobese Spanish in the city of Córdoba and outside, Río Cuarto was also selected, as it is the second largest city in the province with a population of 160,000 inhabitants.

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<sup>82</sup> The third-largest city in Argentina, Rosario, was not included as the variety of spoken there is similar to that of Buenos Aires.

<sup>83</sup> *Rioplatense* Spanish has 3 subvarieties that include *Bonaerense* Spanish (i.e., encompassing the province of Buenos Aires and surroundings), *Litoraleño* Spanish (i.e., spoken in the province of Santa Fe and surroundings) and *Patagonian* Spanish (i.e., spoken in the Patagonia Region) (See Figure 13) (Vidal de Battini, 1964).



**Figure 13.** Map showing dialect regions of Argentina adapted from the Instituto Geográfico Nacional de la República Argentina

Table 11 contains a summary of the most important features of Northwest or Andean Spanish (Rojas, 2004) and Cuyo Spanish (Cubo de Severino, 2004), the two varieties not previously discussed in the literature review.

**Table 11.** Characteristics of Northwest or Andean Spanish and *Cuyo* Spanish

Dialectal Region	Location	Characteristics
Northwest or Andean Spanish	-Provinces of Salta, Tucumán, Jujuy and surroundings (Lipski, 2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Vowel raising of unstressed /e/ and /o/ in word medial (i.e., podemos ‘we can’ is realized as [pu‘ðemos] and final positions (i.e., coche ‘car’ is realized as [‘kofti].</li> <li>-Aspiration of the /s/ in final position</li> <li>-Assibilation of /r/ not associated with differences in social class.</li> <li>-<i>yeísmo</i> associated to social class (i.e., [j] is employed by the lower classes while [ʒ], by the middle and upper classes.</li> <li>-It is known as <i>tonada nortena</i> with lengthening of tonic vowels.</li> <li>-It is influenced by Quechua.</li> </ul>
Cuyo Spanish	Provinces of Mendoza and San Juan (Lipski, 2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-<i>yeísmo</i> without <i>rehilamiento</i> or <i>ensordecimiento</i> as in BA Spanish; 3 variants alternating in the upper classes: the voiced palatal fricative [j], the voiced palatal affricate [tʃ], and the semivowel [j].</li> <li>-the /s/ has 3 variants, the [s] in reading style and formal situations, [h] or [Ø] in conversations.</li> <li>-It is influenced by Chilean Spanish.</li> </ul>

#### 4.4.4 The Speakers and the Guises

In the present study, the original format of the matched-guise test was modified. There were 10 recordings made by a total of eight native speakers of Argentine Spanish, including one male and one female from each of the cities of Córdoba, Buenos Aires, Mendoza, and Tucumán. Their ages ranged from 18 to 40.

The stimuli utterances were taken from informal sociolinguistic interviews that varied in content (i.e., about each of the speaker's family, friends, pastimes, current events, and neighborhood). In addition to the speakers, there were two Cordobese Spanish guises. These were recorded by two speakers from the Buenos Aires region who had a Cordobese relative and friends and had spent time in Córdoba; therefore, they were very familiar with the *tonada cordobesa*.<sup>84, 85</sup> For the imitations, these speakers were given six phrases in written form with instructions that showed which vowels had to be lengthened to make sure they sounded Cordobese. One out of these six phrases, only the best imitation phrase from each participant, was included in the matched-guise test as Cordobese guises.

The stimuli utterances of Cordobese Spanish included in the matched-guise test contained one or more tokens with pretonic syllables in different positions within the IP, either in prenuclear or nuclear positions. Also, the vowels in the pretonic syllables of these words were longer than the tonic ones when measured using Praat. The tokens containing the *tonada* or pretonic vowel lengthening were all paroxytones, words stressed in the second to last syllable.

The rest of the stimuli were utterances representative of each region of Argentina including *Rioplatense*, Northwest, and *Cuyo* Region. In all, the matched-guise test contained a total of 10 utterances that were randomly presented to participants to ensure that “the effects of order vary randomly across items and participants” (Clopper, 2014, p. 158). In addition, the content of the stimuli was carefully reviewed so as to not sway respondents to answer in any particular way (Campbell-Kibler, 2014). Table 12 contains the speakers of the guises' origin and

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<sup>84</sup> Several speakers from Castilian Spanish attempted to imitate the *tonada cordobesa* for the Cordobese guises. However, due to their lack of familiarity with the dialect, they were not able to produce Cordobese-sounding utterances. As a result, after many attempts, it was decided that two BA speakers with contacts and family in Córdoba would be the best participants for these guises.

<sup>85</sup> Several BA actors and actresses have received much criticism due to their inability to imitate the *tonada* in the Argentine *telenovela* ‘soap opera’ *Educando a Nina* ‘Educating Nina’ (Schilling, 2017).

gender, the actual utterances employed and their translations into English. Tokens with pretonic vowel lengthening from the utterances produced by Cordobese speakers and also the guises are shown in bold.

**Table 12.** Phrases and translations for the matched-guise test

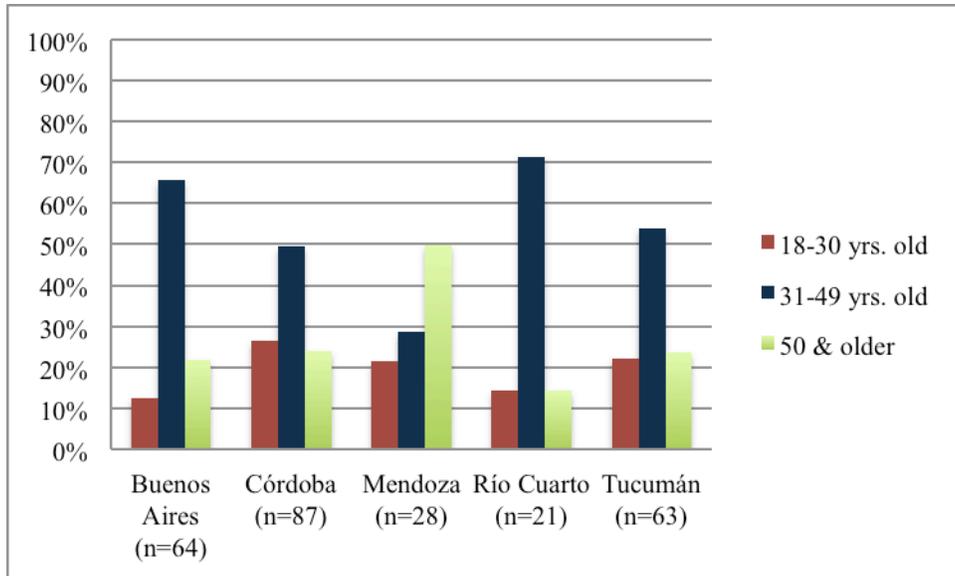
Speaker	Phrase	Translation
CBA female	Llega justo la hora de la <b>comida</b> [ko'miða].	(He) arrives just in time for eating.
CBA male	Soy <b>casado</b> [ka'saðo] y tengo dos hijos.	I'm married and have two children.
BA female	Tenemos una gata que se llama Juana.	We have a cat whose name is Jane.
BA male	Vamos caminando a todos estos lugares lindos.	We go walking to all those nice places.
CBA female guise	Tengo muchos <b>amigos</b> [a'miyos].	I have many friends.
CBA Male guise	Es un barrio <b>bonito</b> [bo'nito] y <b>agradable</b> [aɣraðaβle].	It's a nice and pleasant neighborhood.
Tucumán female	No puede llegar a entablar una relación.	One is not able to be involved in a relationship.
Tucumán male	Cuando escucho a otras personas, me parece normal.	When I listen to other people, it seems normal.
Mendoza female	Ya que está todo muy verde.	Since everything is all very green.
Mendoza male	Yo vengo de una familia que somos 5 hermanos.	I come from a family of 5 siblings.

When comparing the natural prompts from speakers and the Cordobese guises, there are some differences. The pretonic vowels in the guises exceeded 235 ms in duration whereas for the natural tokens, these vowels measured less than 200 ms. Furthermore, the pretonic to tonic ratio for the guises was greater than 2 while the ratio of the natural prompts was less than or equal to 1.4.

#### 4.4.5 Participants

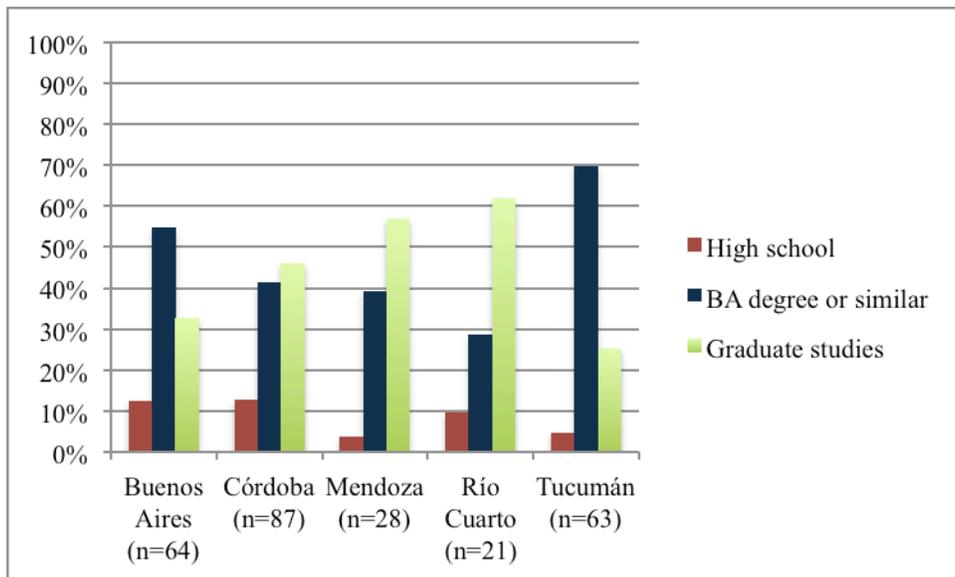
The participants, listeners, or judges were recruited through email via snowball sampling from the researcher's family, and also acquaintances also by contacting various institutions including public and private universities, educational centers, and research institutions in each of these cities. This was done via email and phone in July and August of 2016. The researcher also asked all contacts to forward the email with information about the study to any prospective participants.

There were 1104 participants who accessed the survey; however, only a total of 494 fully answered all the questions. The respondents were from various regions in Argentina and other parts of the world. Out of this total number, only participants who were born and had lived all their lives in the cities of interest were considered for the study. This resulted in a total of 263 adult, native speakers from the cities of Río Cuarto (n=21), Córdoba (n=87), Mendoza (n=28), Tucumán (n=63), and Buenos Aires (n=64). In this sample, there were females (n=190) and males (n=73) over the age of 18. Figure 14 shows the participants stratified by age. 54% were between 31-49 years old; the remainder was evenly distributed between the other two age groups.



**Figure 14.** Participants (n=263) stratified by age

With regards to education, over 90% of them (n=238) had either completed a college degree or advanced graduate degrees as shown in Figure 15.



**Figure 15.** Participants (n=263) stratified by level of education

#### **4.4.6 Procedure**

Once respondents entered the survey, they were presented with the informed consent. If they accepted, they were granted full access. They first answered the demographic questions. Then, after listening to each of the 10 guises, they responded to the questions of the matched-guise test. Last, they answered the open-ended questions about language ideologies.

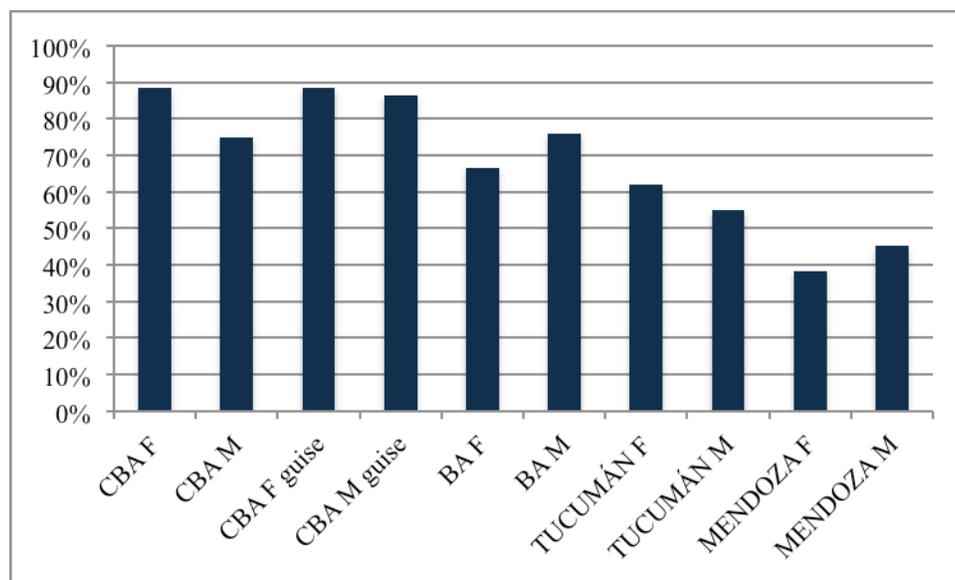
### **4.5 RESULTS**

In this section, I present a combined quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data collected through the online survey and guided by my research questions. The quantitative data was collected from the multiple choice and yes / no questions included in the matched-guise test, while qualitative data is drawn from the last eight open-ended questions referring to language ideologies. Regarding my findings on the judges' evaluations of dialects, I discuss the more general first, then particular groups. For the purposes of this chapter, I only compare responses from Buenos Aires and Córdoba.

#### **4.5.1 Dialect Identification**

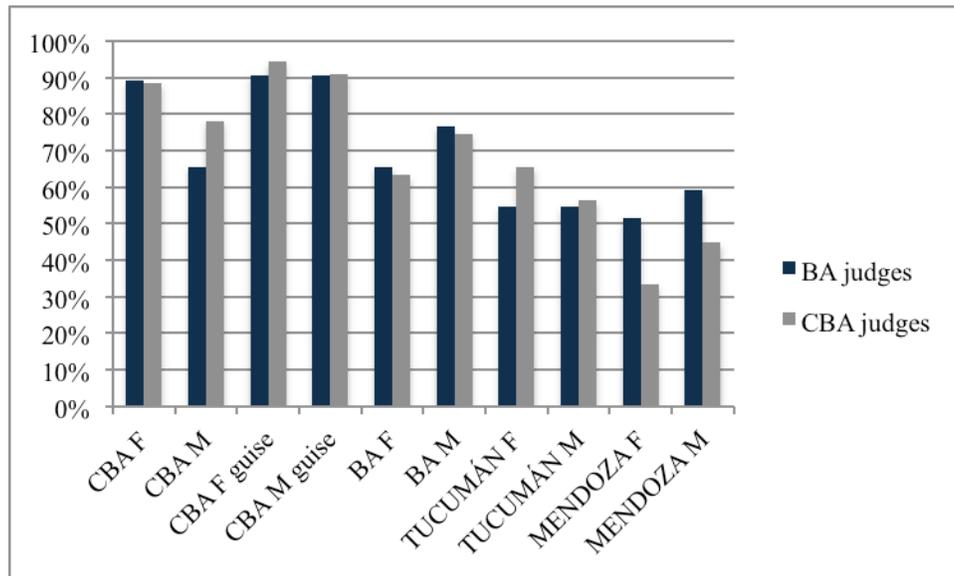
To answer my first research question about what dialects Argentine judges are able to identify, for each guise cross tabulations in percentages and chi-square tests ( $\chi^2$ ) were made for all participants' correct and incorrect responses regardless of their origin. With the exception of Tucumán and Mendoza male speakers, there was a significant difference between the

percentages of correct and incorrect identification. This means that not all dialects are as easily identified. As can be seen in Figure 16, the Cordobese dialect (CBA) was the most accurately identified (above 85%), not BA Spanish as in Lang-Rigal (2014, 2015a). Furthermore, the Cordobese imitations were also identified as Cordobese as accurately as the female natural speaker. Buenos Aires Spanish was the second most recognized dialect with results ranging between 66% and 76%. As expected, the speakers from Tucumán and Mendoza were the least recognized. In other words, the Cordobese dialect seems to be more salient than the dialect spoken in Argentina's capital, BA Spanish. This was something I did not expect. These results may point to the fact that some dialects are less visible (e.g., Mendoza and Tucumán) than others and since BA Spanish is most widely used in the media, it may be considered by some as the neutral, standard variety.



**Figure 16.** Overall dialect identification

To find out whether there are differences between Córdoba and Buenos Aires judges in identifying the different Argentinean dialects,  $X^2$  comparisons were used. For all guises, there is a significant difference between accurate and inaccurate rates for Cordobese judges. That is, accurate responses are higher than inaccurate ones except for Tucumán and Mendoza male guises where the percentage of correct responses is similar to that of incorrect responses.<sup>86</sup> As Figure 17 shows Cordobese and BA judges' pattern of responses are very similar to those of the general population in Figure 16. Thus, once again the Cordobese dialect is the most salient, followed by BA Spanish. However, there is a difference. While BA judges least accurately identified Mendoza and Tucumán with similar percentages, Córdoba judges identify Tucumán more accurately than Mendoza.

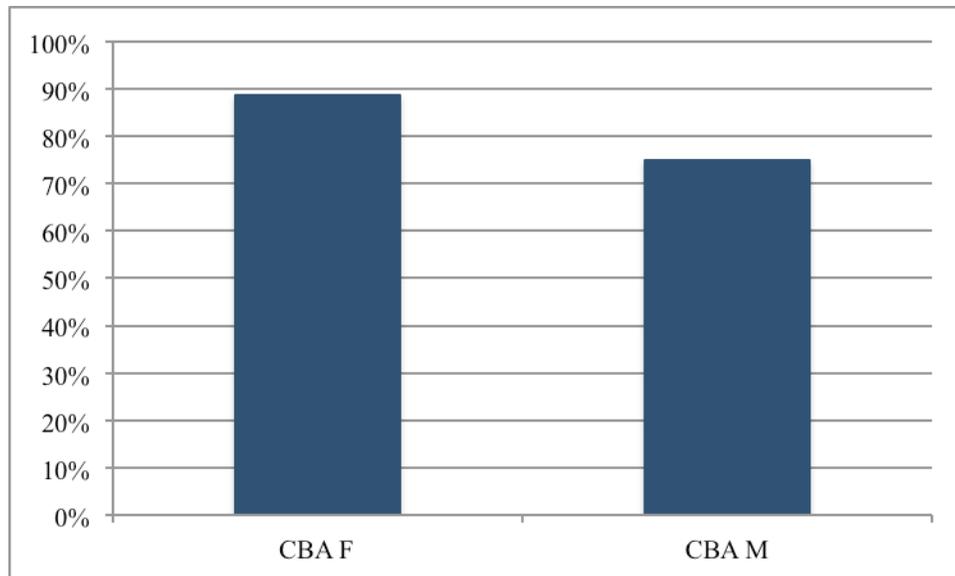


**Figure 17.** Dialect identification for Buenos Aires (BA) and Córdoba (CBA) judges

<sup>86</sup> For the Mendoza female, the  $X^2$  are also significant. In this case, there are more inaccurate identifications than accurate ones.

One of the main objectives of this chapter is to find out whether pretonic vowel lengthening in prenuclear position is more salient than in nuclear position as a cue to the *tonada cordobesa*. To answer this question, I devised two guises, which differ by the position where pretonic lengthening is (i.e., prenuclear and nuclear position). In the male's phrase pretonic lengthening was in prenuclear position, while in the female's phrase it was in nuclear position. Figure 18 shows the accurate responses from all participants (n=263) for both Córdoba guises. A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing accurate and inaccurate identification of the recordings from these two guises. The relationship between these recordings and their identification is significant ( $\chi^2 (1, N=261)=15.76, p<.000$ ). While in both cases the number of accurate identifications was higher than the number of incorrect identifications, the difference was greater for the Cordobese female guise (77%) than for the male one (50.2%). Pretonic vowel lengthening is more salient in nuclear than in prenuclear position. However, pretonic vowel lengthening in prenuclear position is still a good cue (75.1%) to this dialect's identification. Therefore, these results are pointing to the fact that the *tonada* is well recognized, thus, salient, as I will expand on later. However, these findings should be taken with caution as this matched-guise test uses original natural, spontaneous speech and the content was different for both guises.

To determine if there were any significant differences in accuracy considering judges' origin, the responses to the dialect identification from Buenos Aires and Córdoba judges were compared.  $\chi^2$  results are significant only for the Mendoza female. There is a relationship between judges' origin and this dialect's identification ( $p<.03$ ). Buenos Aires judges responded more accurately in identifying this guise than Córdoba judges. For all other guises, there were no differences as both Córdoba and Buenos Aires judges responded similarly.



**Figure 18.** Dialect identification for Córdoba guises

In sum, these results reveal that the Cordobese speakers and guises were the most accurately identified, followed by BA speakers. Córdoba’s geographical proximity to the capital and to other regions may play a role in this dialect’s identification, as this city is centrally located in Argentina.<sup>87</sup> With regards to the recognition of BA Spanish, exposure and greater contact are key. Buenos Aires is Argentina’s most important city and business center. People from other provinces often travel to this city for different reasons (i.e., business, medical, bureaucratic). In addition, even though different provinces have their own local TV channels, mainstream media, including news, popular shows, and soap operas, is generally produced in Buenos Aires employing BA Spanish.

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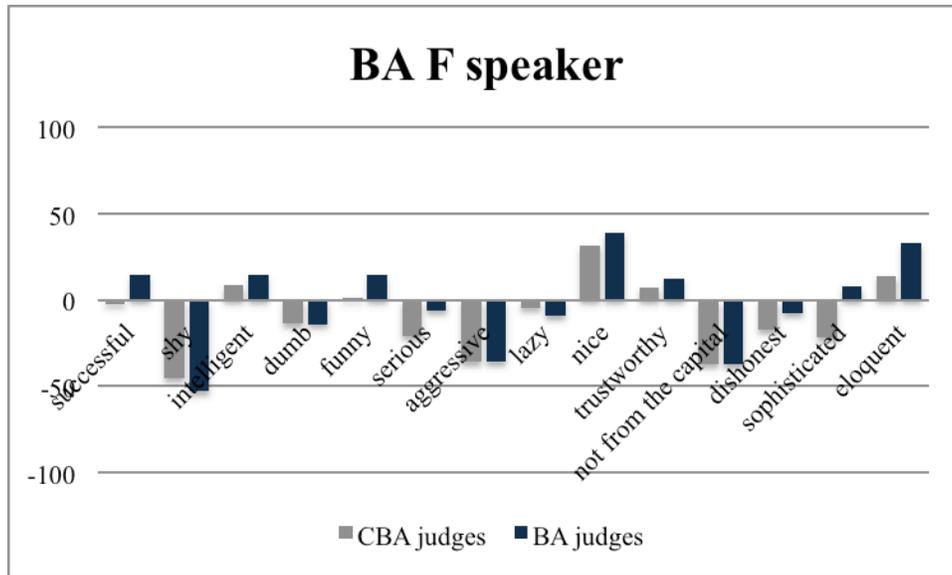
<sup>87</sup> Please refer to the map on page 8 in chapter 2.

## **4.5.2 Dialect Stereotypes**

### **4.5.2.1 Speakers' Characterizations**

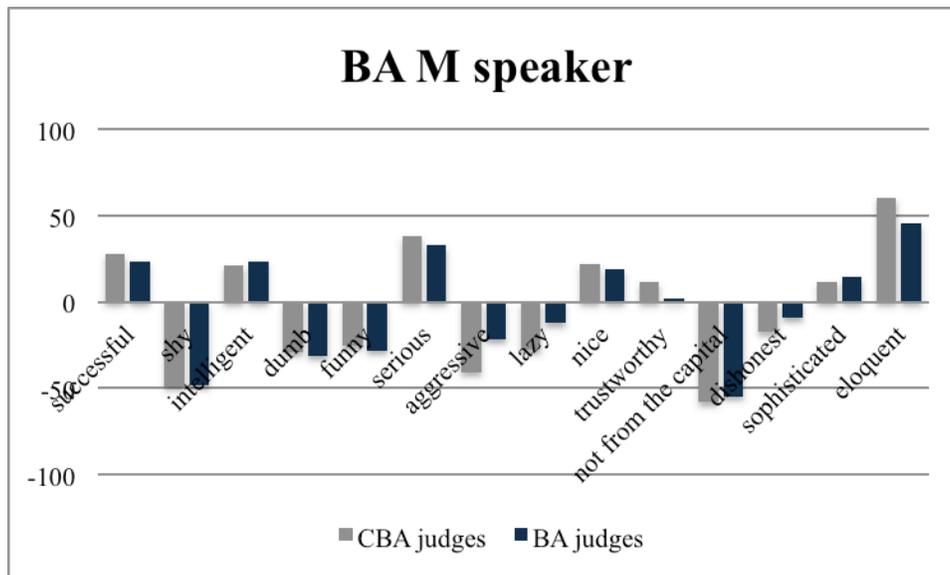
In this section I examine, compare, and contrast people's characterizations of the Buenos Aires and Córdoba dialects in the data from the matched-guise test. For that particular purpose, I analyze the descriptors associated with the guises. These included adjectives such as successful, shy, intelligent, dumb, funny, serious, aggressive, lazy, nice, trustworthy, dishonest, sophisticated, eloquent, and not from the capital. In order to simplify the analysis, the options I strongly agree and I agree, and I strongly disagree and I disagree were grouped into two categories. The percentages were computed on agreement, disagreement, or no opinion for each of these adjectives associated with the speakers and guises from Córdoba and Buenos Aires. To establish comparisons among participants' responses, the percentages of agreement were subtracted by the percentages of disagreement. These results are presented in Figures 19 to 24 in this section.

As shown in Figure 19, both Córdoba and BA judges agree that the BA female speaker is nice, eloquent, not shy, not aggressive, and many recognize that she is from the Argentina's capital. In addition, there is a tendency for BA judges to more positively describe this speaker as intelligent, successful, funny, and trustworthy than Córdoba judges.



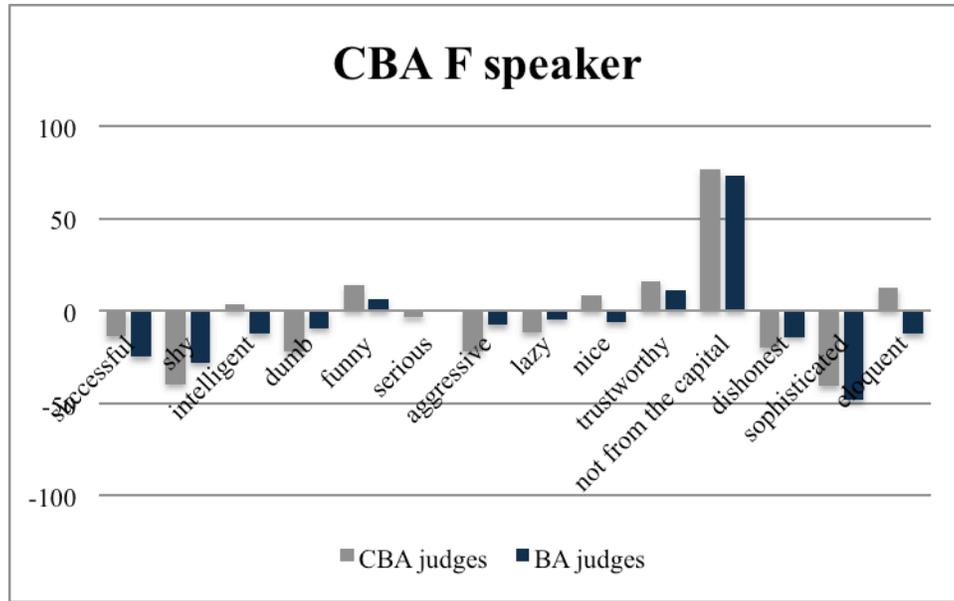
**Figure 19.** Attributes associated to Buenos Aires female speaker

Very similar responses for the BA male speaker were obtained from Córdoba and Buenos Aires judges as shown in Figure 20. However, he is characterized more positively than the female in the status dimension mainly in success, eloquence, and intelligence. Judges also know that he is from the capital. He is considered nice, serious, and not funny. It is interesting to see that Córdoba judges rate this speaker slightly higher on positive attributes than BA judges.



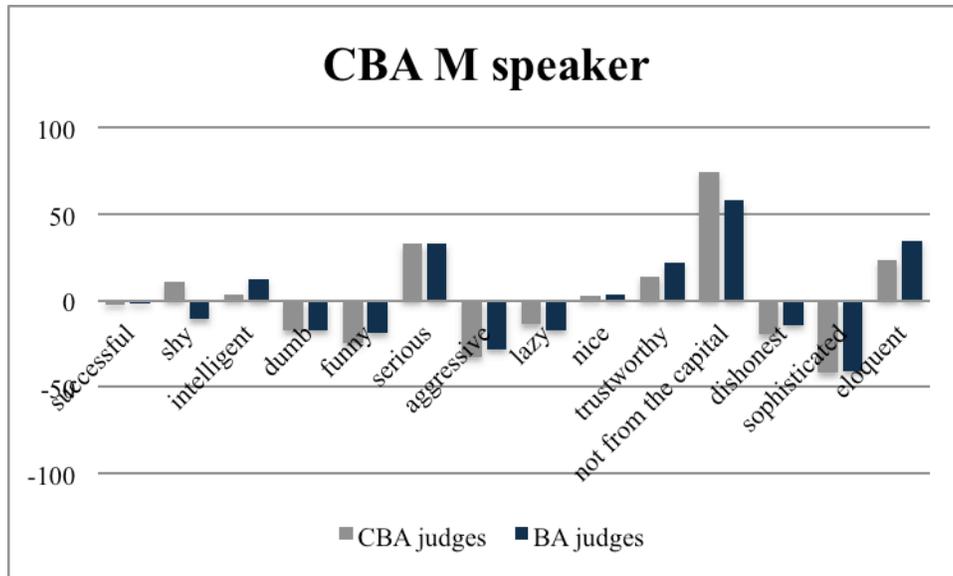
**Figure 20.** Attributes associated to the Buenos Aires male speaker

The results for the Cordobese female speaker are presented in Figure 21. This speaker is characterized as not being from the capital, not sophisticated, and not shy. In addition, some rate her as not successful. There is also a tendency for Cordobese judges to find her funny, trustworthy, and eloquent. Nonetheless, Buenos Aires judges seem to evaluate her lower on status, such as success, intelligence, and eloquence than Cordobese judges.



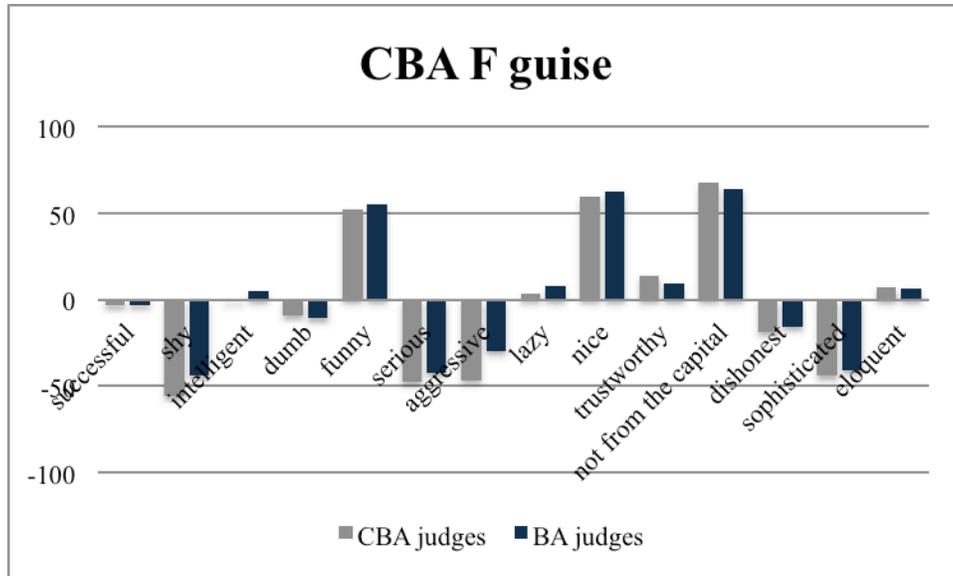
**Figure 21.** Attributes associated with Córdoba female speaker

As seen in Figure 22, the Cordobese male speaker is characterized as not being from the capital and as not sophisticated like the female speaker. In contrast, he is found to be eloquent, serious, and not aggressive. There is a tendency for him to be trustworthy, not funny, not dishonest, and not dumb. It should be noted that while BA judges rated the Cordobese female speaker as not intelligent, some find the male counterpart smarter.



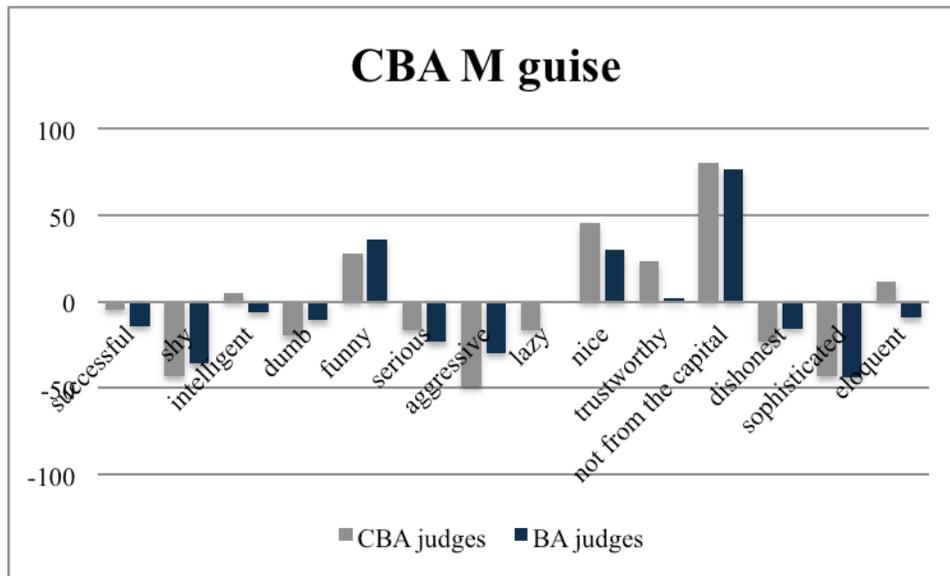
**Figure 22.** Attributes associated with the Córdoba male speaker

In Figure 23, the female Cordobese guise is mainly described as a funny, nice person not from the capital. She is also depicted as not shy, not serious, not aggressive, and not sophisticated.



**Figure 23.** Attributes associated with the Córdoba female guise

Similarly, the Cordobese male guise is characterized as not from the capital, funny, and nice as displayed in Figure 24. He is also described as not shy, not aggressive, and not sophisticated. Some Cordobese judges seem to think he is trustworthy, not dumb or lazy, and not dishonest.



**Figure 24.** Attributes associated with the Córdoba male guise

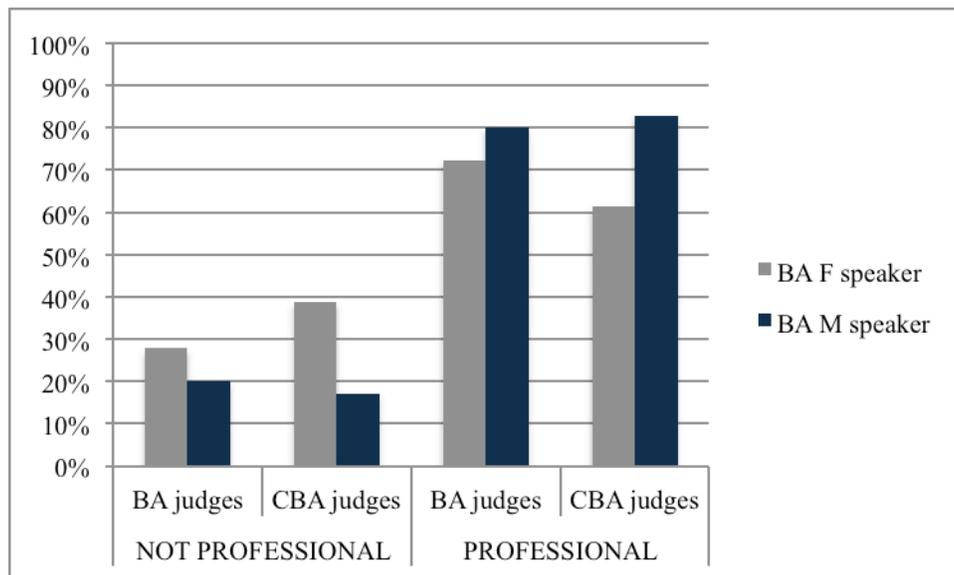
These results present a complex scenario. On the one hand, as expected the BA guises are more positively valued on the status dimension than the Córdoba guises as observed by Lang-Rigal (2015b). However, the BA male speaker was rated as the most successful, eloquent, and intelligent of all. Therefore, gender also plays a role. With regards to morality as measured by the adjectives dishonest and trustworthy, both Buenos Aires and Córdoba guises show similar patterns. There is a tendency for judges to define the speakers of these guises as trustworthy and also not dishonest. In terms of personal attractiveness, the Buenos Aires speakers and the Córdoba guises receive higher ratings than the Córdoba speakers, which could be pointing to less solidarity for the regional dialect.

#### 4.5.2.2 Professions Associated with Speakers and Guises

In what follows, I present the professions associated to the different guises by Córdoba and Buenos Aires judges, which are related directly to the status dimension. In order to simplify the analysis, the professions were grouped into two categories. Those that require a bachelor's

degree or at least some college coursework were considered semi/professional and those that did not were considered not professional.

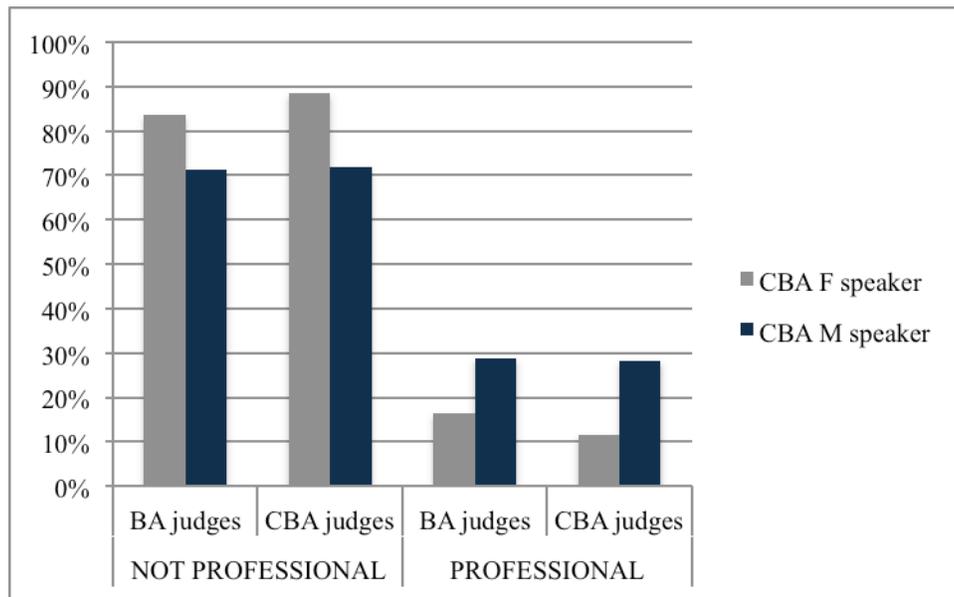
In Figure 25, I compare job assignments for the Buenos Aires speakers by the judges' place of origin: Córdoba and Buenos Aires.  $\chi^2$  results are not significant for Buenos Aires as BA judges consider both BA speakers as professional with similar ratings ( $\chi^2(1, N=64)=0.91, p>.05$ ). However, these results are significant for judges from Córdoba ( $\chi^2(1, N=87)=9.48, p<.01$ ). This means that there is a greater difference in percentages for the BA male speaker than for the female. Cordobese judges agree with BA judges in that the speakers from BA are considered professional. However, there are differences in how they rate the male and female speaker; the male is rated more frequently as a professional than the female.



**Figure 25.** Professions associated with the Buenos Aires speakers

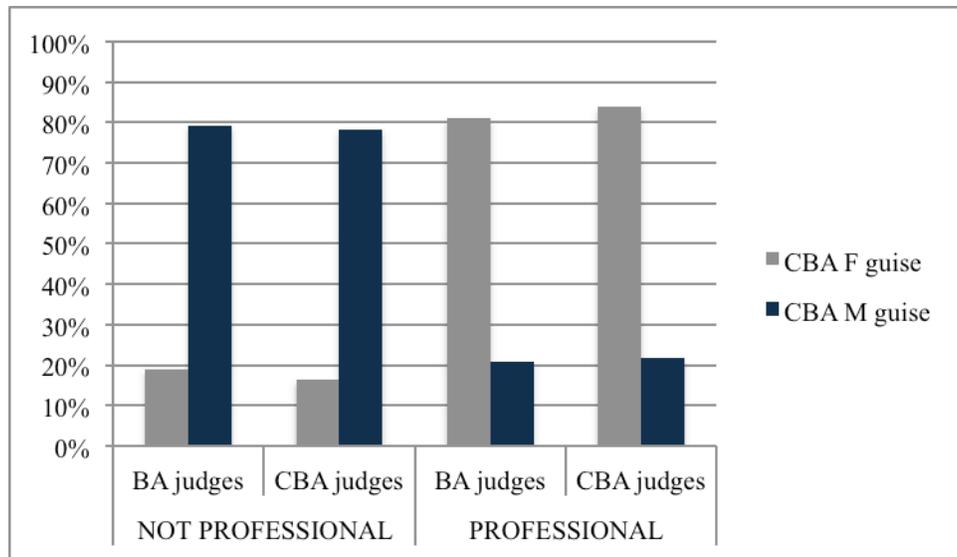
The results for the Córdoba speakers are presented in Figure 26.  $\chi^2$  are not significant ( $\chi^2(1, N=64)=2.39, p>.05$ ) for Buenos Aires judges. That is, these judges treated the Cordobese male and female similarly as both were assigned a non-professional career. For Córdoba, the

situation is a bit different.  $\chi^2$  results show that even though both are rated a bit higher as non-professionals than in Buenos Aires, there is a difference in how the male and female speakers are rated in Córdoba ( $\chi^2(1, N=87)=6.80, p<.01$ ); the female is placed more frequently in the non-professional category than the male. Using Bourdieu's terms (1991), these results show as expected, that BA Spanish has more linguistic capital than Cordobese Spanish.



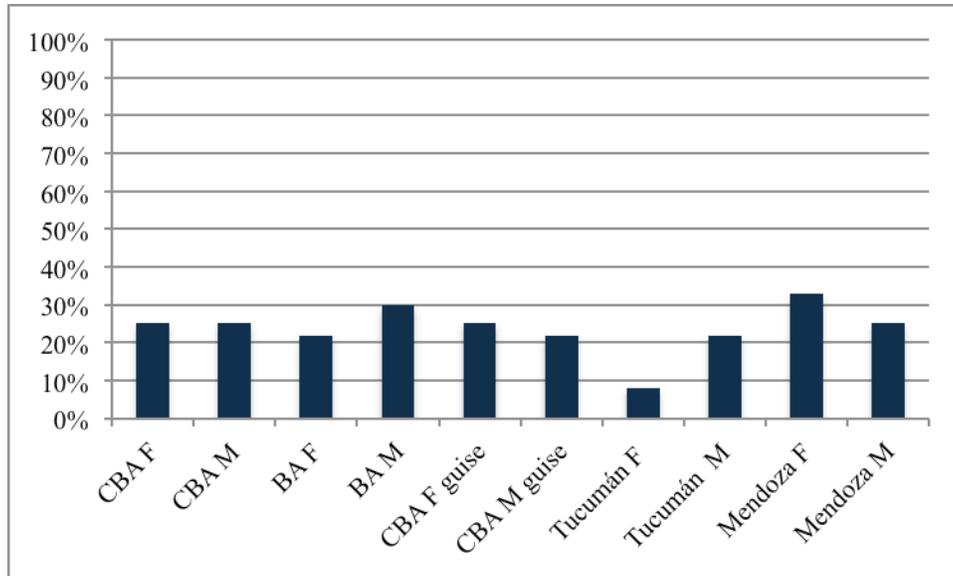
**Figure 26.** Professions associated with the Cordobese speakers

Both Buenos Aires and Córdoba judges treat the Cordobese imitations similarly as can be seen in Figure 27. In both cases,  $\chi^2$  are significant ( $\chi^2(1, N=64)=40.33, p<.001$ ), ( $\chi^2(1, N=87)=60.88, p<.001$ ). However, the male and female are rated very differently. While approximately 79% of participants considered the male non-professional, over 80% consider the female professional. Apparently, gender may be playing a role.



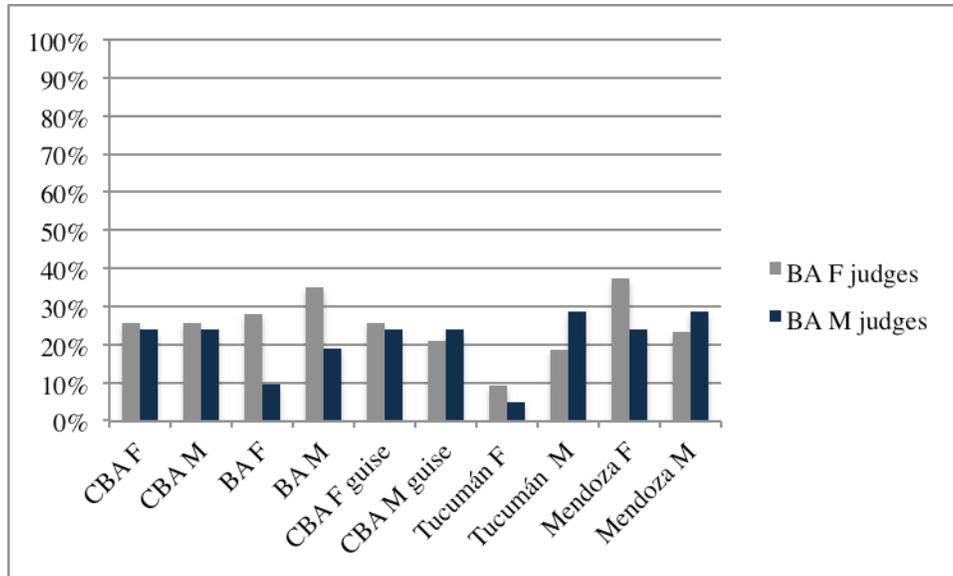
**Figure 27.** Professions associated with the Cordobese guises

The second to last question in this section aimed at finding out whether participants identified themselves with the speakers of different dialects through the question “Does the speaker sound like you?” The following results were obtained for Buenos Aires judges in Figure 28. It shows the percentages of positive answers for each recording. For these judges, there seems to be a pattern; the higher rates of “sound like you” for speakers of other dialects might be due to the fact that as BA speakers are in the capital, they interact more frequently with people from other parts of Argentina. But this may also show that there are some features of BA Spanish in every variety in Argentina (Kanwit, personal communication, April 21, 2017).



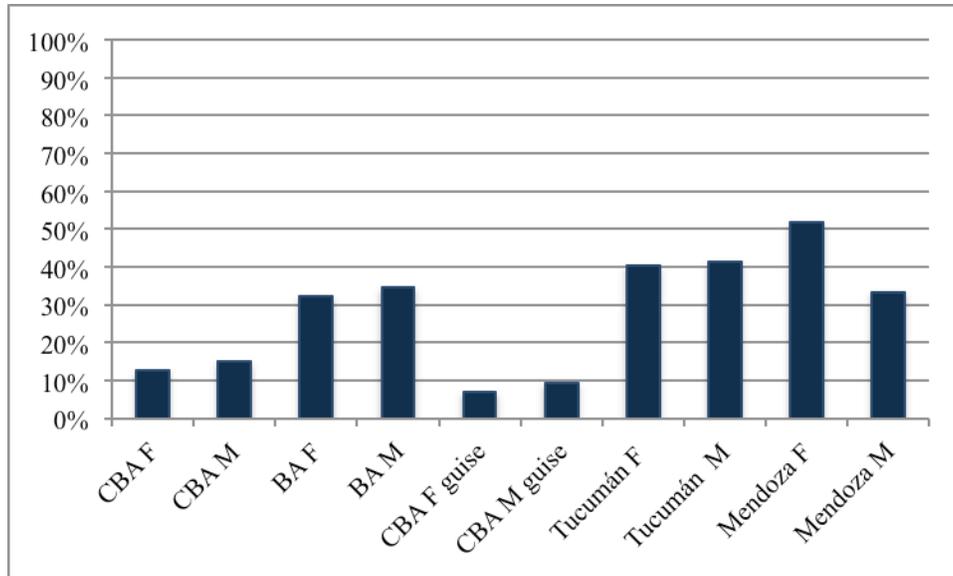
**Figure 28.** BA judges' positive responses to the question "Does the speaker sound like you?"

Figure 29 shows responses to this same question based on the respondents' gender. Z-tests were used to determine whether the means for men and women were similar for the BA judges (Osborn, 2006). Results are not significant for any of the dialects; the responses for men and women are similar.



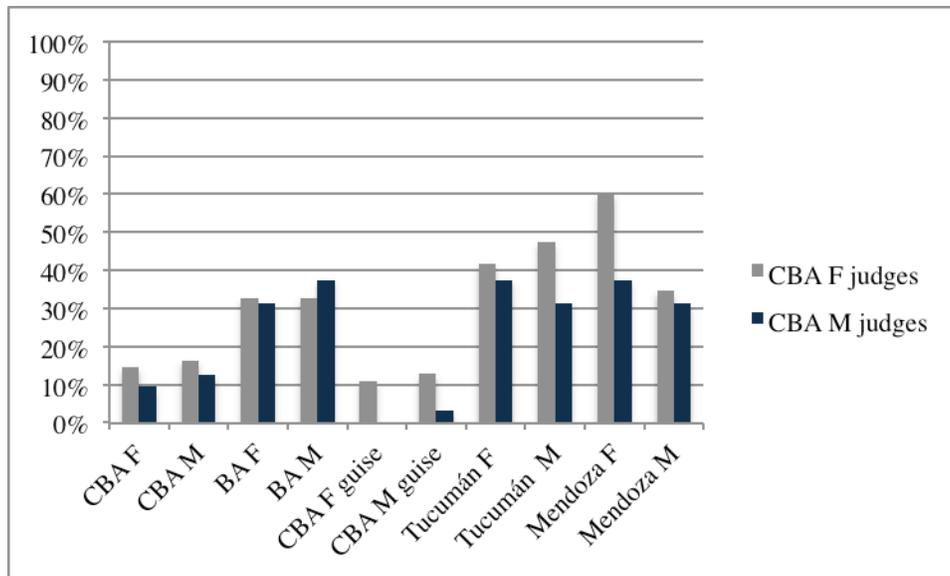
**Figure 29.** BA judges' positive responses to the question "Does the speaker sound like you?" based on the respondents' gender

Figure 30 shows the responses of Córdoba judges to "Does the speaker sound like you?" These judges associate their way of speaking with that of speakers from other regions (e.g. Mendoza, Tucumán, and Buenos Aires). However, most of them were able to accurately recognize the *tonada* from the Córdoba speakers and guises as seen in Figure 17. Cordobese judges' association with other dialects may show lack of empathy towards their own regional variety in sharp contrast with Buenos Aires (refer to Figure 28).



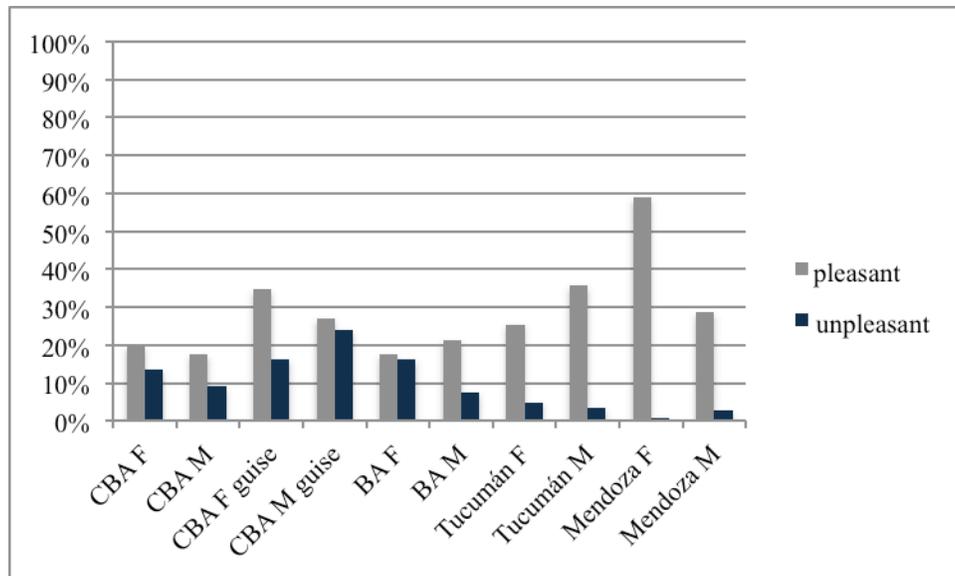
**Figure 30.** Córdoba judges' positive responses to the question "Does the speaker sound like you?"

When examining these results for Córdoba judges based on the respondents' gender (Figure 31), z-test results show significant results for men and women for the Córdoba female guise and the female Mendoza speaker. In both cases, women identified themselves with the speakers more often than men.



**Figure 31.** CBA judges' positive responses to the question "Does the speaker sound like you?" based on the gender of the respondent

In response to the last question in this section, is the person's way of speaking pleasant, normal, or unpleasant, the following results were obtained for the whole population regardless of origin. Overall, all participants rated the Mendoza female as the most pleasant as can be seen in Figure 32. Both speakers from Córdoba and Buenos Aires received nearly the lowest ratings in pleasantness in contrast with the Córdoba guises, which received much higher ratings. With regards to unpleasantness, the guises also received the most votes, followed by Buenos Aires and Córdoba speakers. For Buenos Aires, these results reveal contradictions in the evaluations, which may show the presence of competing ideologies. While it is expected that the dialect in a country's capital will be considered as most prestigious as reflected in the matched-guise results on status, in this case, that does not hold. In this particular question, other tendencies are uncovered confirming what Rodríguez-Louro (2013) and Lull and Pinardi (2014) found. BA Spanish is a variety that is often disliked by Argentinians. For Cordobese Spanish, these findings point to the fact that this dialect is slightly stigmatized as suggested by Berry (2015).



**Figure 32.** Overall percentages of pleasantness/ unpleasantness

#### 4.5.2.3 Language Ideologies

In this next section, I analyze the results that stem from the open-ended questions and deal with language ideologies about the different dialects in Argentina. I focus on the responses from the judges from Córdoba and Buenos Aires in relation to Cordobese Spanish and also to the standard variety in Argentina, BA Spanish. As in other parts of the Hispanic world, there are competing ideologies regarding the value of different dialects or varieties of language. Some of these are related to what Milroy and Milroy call the standard language ideology (2012). Others are related to what Woolard refers to as anonymity and authenticity (2008, 2009). What follows is a discussion of this complex situation guided by the following research questions. These are interrelated and refer to the existence of a standard variety in Argentina:

1. Do you think there is a dialect that is better than others in Argentina?
2. Explain why or why not.

Which one/s?

3. Is it different from yours?

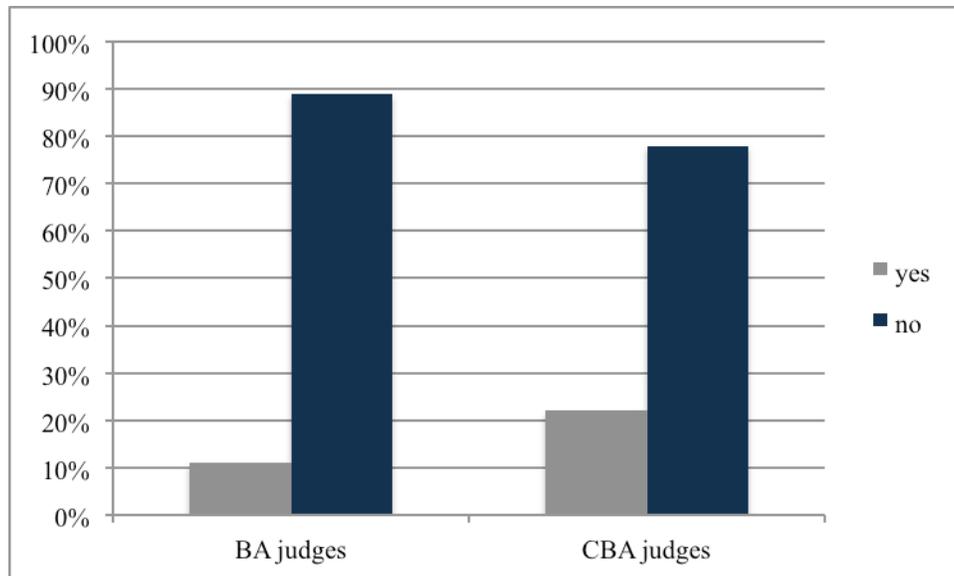
In relation to the belief about the existence of a standard form of Spanish, as Figure 33 shows regardless of their origin, most participants indicate that in Argentina no dialect is better than others. The results for BA participants (89%) are slightly higher than for Córdoba participants (78%). However, those judges who ascertain the existence of a better variety in Argentina base it on its correctness, which in fact points to the standard language ideology. For example, some Cordobese judges suggest that some dialects “sound more correct,” and “are better understood.”<sup>88</sup> Others state that a superior dialect is more neutral and is less innovative.<sup>89</sup> It should be noted that some judges do not want to label a dialect as better; instead they suggest a more or less pleasant sounding dialect. Dialects are simply different, they “show our cultural roots”<sup>90</sup> including its history and local identity. These comments make reference to Argentina’s diversity of regional languages and thus to the construct of authenticity.

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<sup>88</sup> My translation.

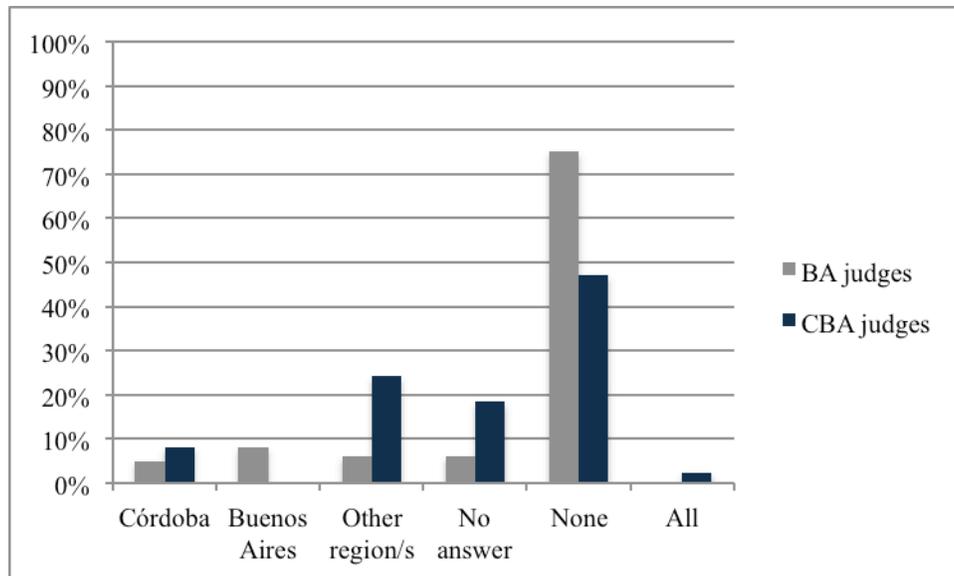
<sup>89</sup> Participant 34 claims that such dialect “preserves the Spanish language.”

<sup>90</sup> My translation.



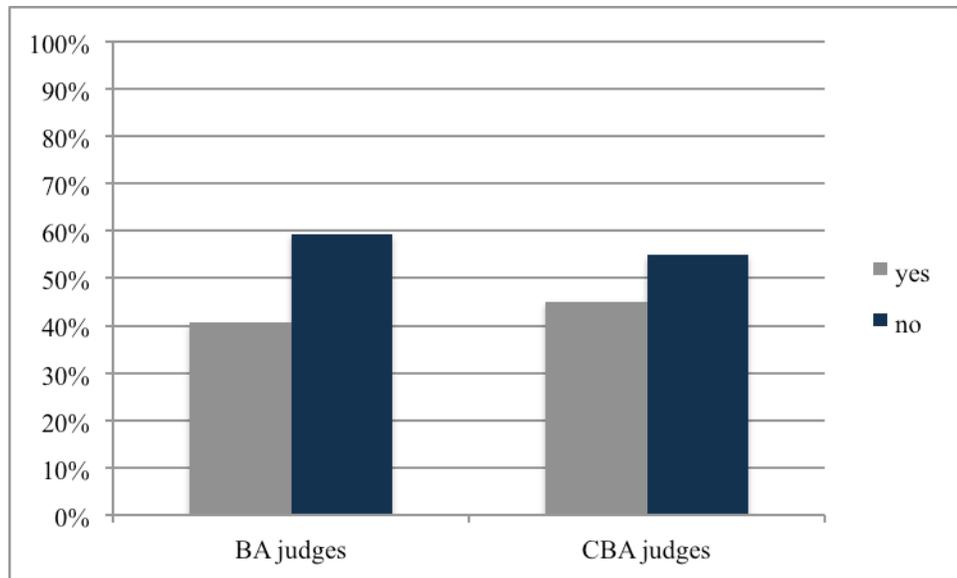
**Figure 33.** Is there a dialect that is better in Argentina?

When asked to identify the best dialect, over 75% of participants from BA and 47% from Córdoba answered that there is not one as shown in Figure 34. Approximately 8% of Córdoba and Buenos Aires judges pointed to their own dialect. BA judges rated BA Spanish as their top choice for best dialect, however, it should be noted that this only constituted less than 10% of the responses. For Cordobese judges, other regions received the most votes while BA Spanish was not identified by this group as best dialect. This could be pointing to the fact that in Argentina, there are contradictory ideologies with regards to the standard, as some BA judges and many (25%) Córdoba judges selected other dialects in Argentina. Furthermore, there seems to be some discrepancy in some judges' answer to this and to the previous question. For example, in the first question 78% of Córdoba judges claim there is not a better dialect, 47% indicate the same on this current question, and 20% did not answer. Therefore, for a few of them (11%), there seems to be contradictory ideologies on whether a standard exists.



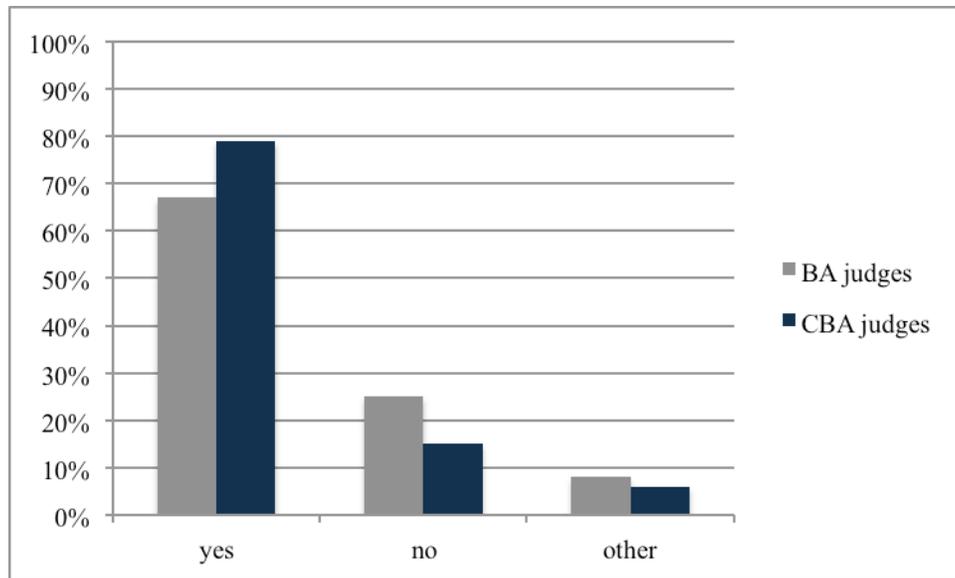
**Figure 34.** Place where the best dialect is spoken in Argentina

In this next section, I examine whether judges believe the best dialect is different from their own dialect. As displayed in Figure 35, approximately 60% of the judges from Buenos Aires and Córdoba indicate that this is not the case. The BA judges are saying that they speak the ‘better’ dialect, which is Argentina’s standard. In other words, these participants do not overtly say that there is a standard, but by their answer to this question, it can be assumed that the standard is their own dialect. Again, there are contradictions with how they answered the question. Córdoba speakers respond similarly; they also identify themselves with their own dialect.



**Figure 35.** Is this (better) dialect different from yours?

When asked about whether they had a particular accent, approximately 79% of Cordobese and 67% of BA participants responded positively as shown in Figure 36. This means that BA judges perhaps recognize their dialect as more neutral like the ‘standard’ while Cordobese judges identify themselves more with their regional *tonada*.



**Figure 36.** Do you have a particular accent?

## 4.6 DISCUSSION

In this section, I discuss the key findings of the perceptual study and their relation to existing research principally in Argentina. The main purpose here is to examine linguistic perception, attitudes, and ideologies towards Cordobese Spanish within Córdoba and in other regions of Argentina (i.e., Buenos Aires, Tucumán, Mendoza). The following research questions guide this section of my study:

1. Are judges from different regions (i.e., Córdoba, Buenos Aires, Mendoza, and Tucumán) able to identify different dialects in Argentina? Which ones?
2. Is pretonic vowel lengthening, or the *tonada cordobesa*, more salient in prenuclear position than in nuclear position as a cue to Cordobese Spanish?
3. How are Cordobese speakers described by their own community and by judges from other regions of Argentina?

4. What ideologies are associated with Cordobese Spanish? Are there any conflicting ideologies?

The first research question considers which dialects (i.e., Northwest or Andean Spanish, *Cuyo* Spanish, *Cordobese* Spanish, or BA Spanish) of Argentine Spanish are best identified by judges from different cities in Argentina. The results show that not all dialects are equally recognized in Argentina. Contrary to what Lang-Rigal (2014, 2015a) found, the most commonly recognized dialect was Cordobese Spanish, followed by BA Spanish by all participant groups (i.e., judges from Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Mendoza, and Tucumán) regardless of their place of origin. Northwest Spanish<sup>91</sup> and *Cuyo* Spanish were the least familiar for listener judges.

As Preston (1999) suggests, these results show that the saliency of the *tonada*, the geographic proximity of Córdoba to all the other cities, and greater contact affects individuals' ability to identify dialects of their own language. The importance of physical proximity, exposure, and diffusion by the media / technology to dialect identification is also supported by Díaz-Campos, Navarro-Galisteo (2009), and Quesada Pacheco (2014). With regards to physical proximity, the city of Córdoba is centrally located within Argentina and almost the same distance to Buenos Aires, Tucumán, and Mendoza. As for diffusion by the media, stereotypical Cordobese artists including comedians and *cuarteto* musicians (e.g., *La Barra*, *La Mona Jiménez*, *Rodrigo Bueno*, *El Chichilo Viale*, *El Negro Álvarez*, among others) have gained much popularity in the mainstream media in Buenos Aires in recent years. This has exposed people nationwide to the *tonada* (Schilling, 2017). Beside the media, there are many local events in Córdoba that attract tourists from other regions of Argentina and beyond. These include the *Rally Dakar*, *Cosquín Rock*, *Festival de Doma y Folklore*, etc. (“Cosquín Rock 2017;” “Dakar 2018;”

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<sup>91</sup> Similar results for Tucumán were reported by Lang-Rigal (2014).

“Festival de Doma y Folclore”). Furthermore, tourists from different cities in Argentina vacation in the *sierras cordobesas* and also enjoy the comedy clubs in Villa Carlos Paz (“Villa Carlos Paz”). With regards to my second question, pretonic vowel lengthening in prenuclear and nuclear position provided salient cues to identifying a Cordobese speaker. As opposed to what I hypothesized, chi square tests show that the latter is a better predictor. However, this should be taken with caution as these observations are based on the comparison of two prompts.

My third research question investigates how Cordobese speakers are characterized as compared to Buenos Aires speakers. The results of the matched-guise reveal some stigmatization as Berry (2015) predicted. For instance, the Cordobese speakers were rated less positively on status and even on solidarity than the Buenos Aires guises. These findings contrast with those in Lang-Rigal (2015b) in which Cordobese speakers are rated more positively in solidarity. In addition, the Cordobese guises were associated with non-professional jobs more often than speakers from Buenos Aires. This reveals that the standard variety has more linguistic capital than the regional one (Bourdieu, 1991). These findings are also in line with research in Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, and Perú where the standard language variety is valued more positively than other varieties (Calvo Shadid, 2014; de los Heros, 1999; Garrido, 2007; Rojas, 2012). That is, the variety spoken in a country’s capital (i.e., BA Spanish) is often associated with prestige, power, mobility, education, and the upper sectors of society while regional varieties such as *Cordobese* Spanish have some degree of stigmatization.

In this section, I discuss my findings to my last research question about language ideologies associated with the *tonada*. By exploring some of the discourses about the *tonada* on a Yahoo blog *¿La tonada cordobesa (Argentina) no me gusta...?* ‘I don’t like the *tonada cordobesa*,’ I found that there are some negative meanings associated with the *tonada* (*¿La*

tonada cordobesa (Argentina) no me gusta...?, n.d.). As can be seen in example (7), a female blogger commented on her desire to avoid “stretching the letters,” a way of referring to the lengthening of the vowels “to sound more educated.” She also tries not to speak Cordobese Spanish. These comments are pointing to the standard language ideology whereby people who speak with a regional accent are perceived as less educated.

Example (7)

*“Me gusta hablar bien, pronunciar bien y respetar los signos de puntuación, soy educada y no estiro las letras... trato de no hablar cordobés.”*

Translation: ‘I like to speak well, pronounce well and respect punctuation marks. I am well educated and I don’t stretch the letters... I try not to speak Cordobese Spanish.’

Similarly, in example (8), also by a female, we can see some kind of stigmatization of the *tonada*. The blogger not only mentions that people mock the *tonada* but she also concurs with those who make fun of it.

Example (8):

*“Soy Cordobesa y muchos se burlan de nuestra tonada, y a mí tampoco me gusta”*

Translation: ‘I’m Cordobese and many people make fun of our *tonada* and I don’t like it either.’

The above comments on these blogs are pointing to the standard language ideology whereby regional accents are not valued and the speakers are perceived as less educated. Interestingly, another Argentinean speaker in this same blog attributes certain prestige to the *tonada* in his / her response as shown in example (9).

Example (9):

“*Quienes [sic] se burlan? Por favor, es el acento más ‘querido’ de Argentina. [sic] de qué hablás flaca?*”

Translation: ‘Who makes fun of it? Please it’s the most loved accent in Argentina. What are you talking about, girl?’

As examples (8) and (9) show, there are contradictory ideologies with regards to the *tonada*. While the first exchange values the standard language, the other is a counter ideology, which values the regional variety.<sup>92</sup> Woolard’s concepts of anonymity and authenticity can be used to explain these contradictory ideologies (2008, 2009).

This slightly stigmatized feature has become a stereotypical representation of Cordobese identity and therefore used in songs and other manifestations of popular culture. For instance, example (10) shows a verse of a very popular *cuarteto* song by Rodrigo Bueno entitled *Soy cordobés* ‘I’m Cordobese’ (Bueno, 2000). The lyrics of this song describe the main aspects of being Cordobese. In fact, there is a reference to the fact that this person does not need an ID because through his / her *tonada* or *acento* people know who this individual is. The *tonada* has become an identifying feature of this person, emblematic of Cordobeseness. Also, as can be seen in line two, pretonic vowel lengthening in the word *capital* ‘capital’ is represented by a geminate vowel portraying this dialectal feature, prompting singers to exaggerate this lengthening. Thus, this feature is used to embody the identity of a Cordobese person.

Example (10)

1 *Soy cordobés, y ando sin documentos*

2 *Porque llevo el acento de córdoba capiitaal.*

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<sup>92</sup> While I do not have enough data to support this claim, it seems like female speakers have more linguistic insecurity than their male counterparts as seen in these blogs.

Translation : I'm Cordobese and I don't carry an ID

because I have the accent from the capital of Córdoba.

Another representation of the *tonada* for commercial purposes is found in the ad for the most traditional Argentine cookies with a Cordobese kick, *alfajores cordobeses* from *La Quinta* in Figure 37 (“La Quinta”). In this case, the *tonada* or pretonic vowel lengthening is also represented by a geminate vowel in pretonic position of the word *cordobés* ‘Cordobese.’ This representation of the *tonada* is used as an innovative sales pitch to genuinely market a regional product from Córdoba.



**Figure 37.** Advertisement for *alfajores cordobeses* ‘Cordobese cookies’

These examples above show there are competing and contradictory ideologies circulating with regards to the *tonada* within Argentine society. On one hand, this feature can be used to portray local pride, which is similar to what Woolard (2008, 2009) calls authenticity. In other words, a language or in this case Cordobese Spanish, gains positive value as it represents regional and authentic ethnic identity. It is interesting that this is linked to Catalan in Spain and to Cordobese in Argentina, as in both cases the regions have a solid economy (Woolard, 2008, 2009). Argentina is a centralized country with Buenos Aires as its cultural, economic, touristic, and business center. Despite this, the city of Córdoba has always enjoyed certain national

prestige and this economic growth has increased this region's value and therefore its dialect's, as I have explained in chapter 2.

On the other hand, the analyzed blog contains references to language correctness (i.e., speaking well, respecting punctuation signs, and not 'stretching' the letters refer to the *tonada*) and to education (i.e., that the speaker wants to sound more educated). These point to the standard language ideology in considering a country's standard, BA Spanish, as "its model written language," in associating correctness to educated speakers and in assuming that it is superior to the regional language (Lippi-Green, 1997; Milroy & Milroy, 2012). These entries can also be explained by Woolard's ideology of anonymity (2008, 2009), as prestige is associated with the dominant or standard language, which has neutral value because it is not linked to any particular region and, therefore, is anonymous.

In my data, there are contradictory ideologies as well. While BA participants (90%) did not believe that there was a better variety of Spanish in Argentina, in subsequent questions some of these judges selected other varieties, including their own, when they had to choose one. Their selection implied that they had assumed the existence of a standard. This in fact is a sign that there is a variety considered neutral implicitly, suggesting that there is an invisible standard. In addition, BA Spanish is not always positively valued as has been found in other research results (Llull & Pinardi, 2014; Rodríguez Louro, 2013). Negative evaluations of this dialect may stem from the fact that there are many subvarieties, some of which are marginalized like the *lunfardo*.<sup>93</sup>

As I have discussed here, dialect perception and evaluation are very complex tasks in Argentina, as everywhere. While the hegemonic standard language ideology is present in other

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<sup>93</sup> Dialect used first by criminals and then by the lower classes in the Buenos Aires region (Conde, 2011).

parts of the Spanish-speaking world, counter hegemonic ideologies are manifested as the ideology of authenticity in the case of Cordobese.

#### 4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter's main objective is to gain a better understanding of the attitudes, ideologies, and perceptions towards the *tonada cordobesa* through an online matched-guised test and language ideologies questionnaire. Two hundred and sixty-three native speakers from different cities in Argentina (i.e., Córdoba, Buenos Aires, Tucumán, and Mendoza) participated in this study. The results show that Cordobese dialect is the most accurately identified by all participants regardless of their origin, followed by BA Spanish. In addition, Cordobese Spanish is more accurately identified when tokens containing pretonic vowel lengthening are in nuclear position than in prenuclear position in the IP. It seems that the *tonada's* saliency, Córdoba's geographical proximity to the other linguistic regions, and diffusion by the mass media may affect this accurate recognition of the dialect (Díaz Campos & Navarro-Galisteo, 2009; Preston, 1999; Quesada Pacheco, 2014). With regards to how judges describe speakers, the results indicate that Cordobese speakers are rated lower on the status and even on solidarity dimensions, and are also associated with non-professional employment. These findings are in line with results from other studies in the Spanish-speaking world where the standard variety is more positively valued than regional varieties (Calvo Shadid, 2014; de los Heros, 1999; Garrido, 2007; Lang-Rigal, 2015b; Rojas, 2012). This points to the fact that Cordobese Spanish is stigmatized to some degree, as suggested by Berry (2015). With regards to language ideologies, an analysis of my data, online blogs, and texts from the popular culture reveals a complicated scenario: there are contradictory

or competing ideologies toward Cordobese Spanish and BA Spanish. On the one hand, the Cordobese regional dialect is stigmatized and this dialect is devalued due to its association with incorrectness, lack of prestige, and speakers perceived as less educated. These ideologies point to the standard language ideology (Milroy & Milroy, 2012) and also to the ideology of anonymity (Woolard, 2008, 2009). However, BA Spanish is not always as positively valued (Llull & Pinardi, 2014; Rodríguez Louro, 2013) probably due to the fact that there are many varieties within BA Spanish, including *lunfardo*. On the other hand, Cordobese Spanish, the local variety, can also be associated with regional pride, as there are many positive references to the *tonada* in various texts in popular culture including songs, commercials, and ads. These findings are in line with Woolard's authenticity ideology in which regional varieties are highly valued in their own community (Woolard, 2008; 2009).

## 5.0 CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation was designed to gain a better understanding of the pretonic vowel lengthening or *tonada cordobesa* by (1) describing the phenomenon from an acoustic perspective and considering how social and linguistic factors affect it, and by (2) analyzing its perceptions and value in Córdoba and in the Argentine realm. In order to accomplish that, I devised two separate but complementary studies. Thus, the major findings from the acoustic (Chapter 3) and perceptual (Chapter 4) studies are discussed in this section. In addition, I will provide limitations of both of the studies and future research directions.

### 5.1 SUMMARY

The aim of the acoustic experiment was to investigate whether pretonic vowel lengthening was conditioned by social (i.e., gender and social class) and linguistic factors (i.e., position in the IP and concordance). Data was collected using an adaptation of Tagliamonte's (2007) and Labov's (1972) sociolinguistic questionnaires in San Vicente, a neighborhood in the city of Córdoba and its surrounding neighborhoods. Twenty participants from Córdoba took part in the study, 10 males and 10 females, who were then stratified into two social classes (i.e., lower middle class and middle class).

To study the relationship between vowel lengths, the pretonic to tonic vowel ratio was calculated and considered the dependent variable. A mixed linear model was used to determine what linguistic and social factors affect this ratio. The analysis revealed a complex scenario. The ratio was conditioned by the position in the IP and vowel concordance. In prenuclear position, the ratio was significantly higher in tokens containing the same vowels (e.g., *mamá* [ma:'ma] 'mother') as opposed to different vowels (e.g., *hermosa* [he:r'mosa] 'beautiful') in pretonic and tonic positions. This discrepancy may be due to the combined effects of intrinsic vowel differences and tonic vowel shortening in this position (Berry, 2015). In nuclear position, these factors did not affect the ratio. In addition, the pretonic to tonic vowel ratio was also greater for the speakers of the lower social class in both positions of the IP. That is, lower class speakers more frequently lengthened the pretonic vowel and had a more noticeable *tonada*. However, these results should be taken with caution as vowel duration may be affected by other factors such as the phonetic context in which this lengthening occurs among other things. For example, vowels are frequently shorter before voiceless consonants (Himmelman & Ladd, 2008).

This is one of the few studies that analyzes the role of gender and social class in the variation of the *tonada* in Córdoba. In contrast with Berry (2015), social class was found to have an effect on the variation of the *tonada*. Speakers from lower social class more frequently used pretonic vowel lengthening. If a more exaggerated *tonada* is considered stigmatized (Berry, 2015), then this pattern is in accordance with data from other studies in Spanish-speaking countries (Cepeda & Poblete, 1992; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1973; López Morales, 1983; Navarro, 1991) where participants from the lower social class employ a non-standard, less prestigious form than participants from upper social classes. While I expected gender to be an important factor to affect the *tonada*, in my data this was not the case. It should be noted that my

pool of participants was small (n=20) but 635 tokens were analyzed. This is also the first study to include a new factor, vowel concordance, which significantly affected the ratio in prenuclear position.

In the second study, I used a matched-guise test along with questionnaire to examine dialect identification, and language attitudes and ideologies towards the *tonada cordobesa*. With regards to the dialect identification, it was clear that judges were not always accurate with all of the Argentinian Spanish dialects presented. In fact, Cordobese Spanish was the dialect most correctly identified, followed by BA Spanish. Córdoba's proximity to other dialect zones, exposure to this dialect by the mass media, and tourism may have played a role. This is contrary to Lang-Rigal findings (2014, 2015a) where BA Spanish was found to be most accurately recognized. Cordobese Spanish was better recognized when the lengthening was in nuclear position than when it was in prenuclear position. In this last position, the lengthening was a good cue to identifying the *tonada* as over 75% of the participants were able to associate it with this dialect.

While the *tonada* can represent local pride when used in advertisements, songs, and other manifestations in pop culture, the matched-guise reveals that it is stigmatized as Berry (2015) suggested. Cordobese speakers received lower ratings on status and even on solidarity than the Buenos Aires speakers. Also, while non-professional jobs were associated with Cordobese speakers, BA speakers were more often assumed to have professional jobs. This fact reveals that these two dialects are valued differently in Argentina as also noted by Lang-Rigal (2015b). The Spanish regional variety in Córdoba does not possess as much linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) as the standard variety or BA Spanish. Similar findings about standard languages were presented

in the research on Spanish varieties spoken in Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, and Peru (Calvo Shadid, 2014; de los Heros, 1999; Garrido, 2007; Lang-Rigal, 2015b; Rojas, 2012).

The data also reveals that some judges hold contradictory ideologies with regards to the standard language in Argentina. For instance, when participants responded to a series of questions related to standard Spanish their responses contained different and contradicting judgments (e.g., *in Argentina there is no standard vs. but my dialect is the standard*). These inconsistencies show that these judges assumed the presence of a standard, as in some answers they acknowledge that this variety exists. This, in fact, is a sign that there is a variety considered neutral in an implicit way. Contradictory judgments about language are not unusual, since ideologies are just interpretations of reality. In other words, perhaps there is an invisible standard. Also, BA Spanish was not always positively valued as has been found in other research results (Llull & Pinardi, 2014; Rodríguez Louro, 2013). These negative evaluations of this dialect may be a result from the association of BA Spanish with other subvarieties within the Buenos Aires region, some of which are marginalized like *lunfardo*.

As I have discussed here, dialect recognition, perception, and evaluation are very complex tasks in Argentina, as everywhere else. While the hegemonic standard language ideology is present in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world, counter hegemonic ideologies have manifested as the ideology of authenticity in the case of Cordobese (Woolard, 2008, 2009). This is shown by the fact that the *tonada* is used in advertisements to sell products such as regional *alfajores*, in songs, and in commercials to promote tourism. Thus, the *tonada* has undergone a process of enregisterment associated to Cordobese identity (Agha, 2003).<sup>94</sup> The use of the *tonada* in these popular culture texts points to the fact that this feature has reached third-

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<sup>94</sup> *Enregisterment* are “processes and practices whereby performable signs become recognized as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population” (Agha, 2007, p. 81)

order indexicality “in the context of widely circulating discourse about the connection between local identity and local speech” (Johnstone and Kiesling, 2008, p. 11).

## 5.2 LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In this section, the limitations to both of my studies are presented and discussed. For the acoustic and descriptive analysis of the *tonada*, some limitations are related to the sample size, token types, instruments, and other possible factors to be considered in the future. Even though the pool of participants was larger (n=20) than of other studies using spontaneous conversations, it could have included participants from other age groups (e.g., 35-to 50-year-olds and 50-to 70-year-olds) and other social classes (i.e., in the current study only two are represented, lower middle class and middle class). Therefore, the findings could not be generalizable to the whole population.

In addition, even though vowel concordance is considered, there are few tokens (e.g., n=3 per participant) with the same vowel in pretonic and tonic positions as most contained different vowels, so these results should be taken with caution. Furthermore, there were several factors affecting a vowel’s duration that were not included in the study. These are phonetic environment, number of syllables and segments, and speech rate (Reetz & Jongman, 2009). Apart from that, different styles could have been considered, particularly the reading of passages or words for the analysis of vowels as suggested by Di Paolo and Yaeger-Dror (2011).

For the perception study, the online format proved to be an adequate way of collecting data. However, the pool of listener / judges was not representative of genders, different educational levels, social classes, and age groups. Many judges were highly educated women

who had access to the Internet. Also some regions had lower response rates (i.e., Mendoza). Therefore, more participants could have been recruited. Furthermore, since there were only 2 speakers per dialect in the matched-guise test and 2 Cordobese imitations, more robust statistical tests were not possible. Thus, future studies should include more speakers per dialect, perhaps stratified by age, gender, and social class. Also speakers from all dialects of Argentine Spanish should be considered, as in this study there were no speakers or listeners from the Guaraní Region to the northeast of Argentina. With regards to the data collection instrument, the list of adjectives as well as the format of the task could be revised in future studies, as it was difficult to analyze these results. In addition, the questionnaire on language ideologies could have been supplemented by a true / false set of statements as a way to triangulate the data. Finally, there are very few studies on the nature of vowels, the intonation patterns of these dialects, and language attitudes and ideologies in Argentine Spanish so future research should focus on addressing these gaps.

### 5.3 CONTRIBUTIONS

This dissertation has contributed to the existing body of research about the *tonada cordobesa* in comparison with previous sociolinguistic studies on the factors that affect the variation of the *tonada cordobesa* and/or its perception. Here I have provided a more thorough sociolinguistic background of the city Córdoba, its history, and Cordobese Spanish. I also employed two different but complementary studies to study the *tonada* or pretonic vowel lengthening. Study 1 expands on our knowledge of pretonic vowel lengthening as it also considers a linguistic factor not included in previous perceptual studies, vowel concordance. In this section, I was able to

replicate some of the findings in Berry (2015), in which the pretonic to tonic ratio is affected by the position in the IP. My results also revealed that vowel concordance, a factor never considered before, promoted pretonic vowel lengthening. In contrast to Berry (2015) social class was found to be a significant factor for the *tonada*. This discrepancy may be explained by the fact that my sample of participants was larger than Berry's. My second study combined a language ideologies' questionnaire with a perception experiment on the *tonada* with 263 participants, which offers clearer insights on how BA Spanish and Cordobese Spanish are valued in Argentine society.

## APPENDIX A

### Descripción del estudio (PRO09090346)

El propósito de este trabajo de investigación es estudiar el uso del lenguaje en el castellano de la ciudad de Córdoba, Argentina. Por esta razón, se realizarán entrevistas a hablantes nativos adultos de castellano de Córdoba. Para participar, los interesados responderán en forma oral algunas preguntas sobre sus datos demográficos generales (edad, lugar de nacimiento, nivel de educación). Luego, describirán una serie de fotografías. Después, leerán unas tiras cómicas y una serie de pasajes de tiras cómicas. Por último, responderán preguntas generales sobre su vida. Esta entrevista se realizará en un encuentro, será grabada y tendrá una duración de aproximadamente una hora. No se prevé ninguna consecuencia ni riesgos relacionados con este estudio para los participantes, ni tampoco habrá ningún beneficio directo. Los participantes no recibirán ningún tipo de compensación por tomar parte en este estudio. Toda la información recogida durante las entrevistas será anónima y las respuestas no podrán ser identificadas de manera alguna. Toda la información obtenida será confidencial y los resultados se guardarán bajo estricta seguridad. La participación es voluntaria y los interesados se pueden retirar del estudio en cualquier momento. Este trabajo de investigación estará a cargo de María Laura Lenardón. Ante cualquier duda, los participantes pueden comunicarse con la investigadora llamando al 0358-4630685 o enviando un mensaje a [mll32@pitt.edu](mailto:mll32@pitt.edu).

Exempt Script (**PRO09090346**)

The purpose of this research study is to study language use in the Spanish from Córdoba, Argentina. For that reason, I will be interviewing native adult speakers of Spanish from Córdoba. If you are willing to participate, you will need to orally answer some questions about your background (age, place of birth, years of education). Following that, I will ask you to describe a set of pictures. Then, I will ask you to read comic strips and some passages from comic strips. Lastly, I will ask you some questions about your life. This one-time interview will be audio recorded and will last approximately one hour. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this study nor are there direct benefits to you. Participants will not be compensated for their participation in this study. All the information collected will be anonymous and your responses will not be identifiable in any way. All the information provided by you is confidential and results will be kept under lock and key. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from this study at anytime. This study is conducted by María Laura Lenardón, who can be reached at 0358-4630685 or [mll32@pitt.edu](mailto:mll32@pitt.edu) , if you have any questions.

## APPENDIX B

### CUESTIONARIO DEMOGRÁFICO

(PRO10060266) Número de participante: \_\_\_\_\_  
CUESTIONARIO DEMOGRÁFICO (adaptada del apéndice B del libro de Tagliamonte  
Analysing Sociolinguistic Variation, del apéndice B del libro de Haboud Quichua y Castellano  
en los Andes Ecuatorianos y también del Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Vivienda).

#### Información demográfica del participante

1. Edad (especifique) \_\_\_\_\_ años
2. Sexo f \_\_\_\_\_ femenino m \_\_\_\_\_ masculino
3. Lugar de nacimiento: ciudad: \_\_\_\_\_ provincia: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Número de años que ha vivido en Argentina: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Número de años que ha vivido en la ciudad de Córdoba: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Número de años que ha vivido afuera de la ciudad de Córdoba: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Otros lugares dónde ha vivido
  - a. Ciudad y provincia \_\_\_\_\_ Número de meses/años \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Ciudad y provincia \_\_\_\_\_ Número de meses/años \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Ciudad y provincia \_\_\_\_\_ Número de meses/años \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Observaciones:

#### Educación

8. ¿Actualmente asiste a alguna institución educativa? Sí \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
Si respondió sí, siga con la siguiente información:  
Nombre de la institución: \_\_\_\_\_  
Ubicación: \_\_\_\_\_  
Nivel: primario                      secundario      terciario      universitario  
Año/grado que asiste: \_\_\_\_\_  
Tipo de institución: pública \_\_\_\_\_ privada \_\_\_\_\_
9. El nivel más alto de educación que ha completado es
  - \_\_\_\_ a. primario
  - \_\_\_\_ b. secundario
  - \_\_\_\_ c. terciario  
especialización: \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_ d. universitario  
carrera: \_\_\_\_\_
10. El último año/grado de escolaridad que ha completado y aprobado es \_\_\_\_\_

## Empleo

11. ¿Trabaja? Sí \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
Si respondió sí, complete la siguiente información:
- Nombre del lugar dónde trabaja: \_\_\_\_\_
  - Ubicación del lugar de trabajo: \_\_\_\_\_
  - Nombre de su ocupación: \_\_\_\_\_
  - Describa lo que hace en su trabajo  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - Número de días a la semana que trabaja: \_\_\_\_\_
  - Número de horas que trabaja por día: \_\_\_\_\_
  - ¿Tiene un contrato diario/mensual/anual? Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
Especifique: \_\_\_\_\_

## Vivienda

12. Nombre del barrio donde vive: \_\_\_\_\_

## Bibliography

- American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages. 1983. *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines*. Revised 1985. Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: ACTFL Materials Center.
- Censo nacional de población, hogares y viviendas*. (2001). Ministerio de Economía. Secretaría de Política Económica. Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos.
- Haboud, M. (1998). *Quichua y castellano en los andes ecuatorianos: Los efectos de un contacto prolongado*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Tagliamonte, S. (2007). *Analyzing Sociolinguistic Variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

(PRO10060266)

Participant number: \_\_\_\_\_

- I. **DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE** (adapted from Appendix B of Tagliamonte's textbook *Analyzing Sociolinguistic Variation*, from Appendix B of Haboud's text *Quichua y Castellano en los Andes Ecuatorianos* and also from the *Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Vivienda*).

### Participant Demographic information

- Age (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ years old
- Sex f \_\_\_\_\_ female m \_\_\_\_\_ male
- Place of birth: city: \_\_\_\_\_ province: \_\_\_\_\_
- Number of years you have lived in Argentina: \_\_\_\_\_
- Number of years you have lived in the city of Córdoba: \_\_\_\_\_
- Number of years you have lived outside the city of Córdoba: \_\_\_\_\_
- Other places where you have lived
  - City & province \_\_\_\_\_ Number of months/years \_\_\_\_\_
  - City & province \_\_\_\_\_ Number of months/years \_\_\_\_\_
  - City & province \_\_\_\_\_ Number of months/years \_\_\_\_\_
  - Notes:

**Education**

8. Are you currently attending school? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If you responded yes, answer the following:

Name of school: \_\_\_\_\_

Location of School: \_\_\_\_\_

Level: elementary high school tertiary school university

Year/grade you attend: \_\_\_\_\_

Type of school: public \_\_\_\_\_ private \_\_\_\_\_

9. The highest level of education you have completed is

\_\_\_ a. elementary

\_\_\_ b. high school

\_\_\_ c. tertiary education / post-secondary education;

specialization: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_ d. university

major: \_\_\_\_\_

10. The last grade/ year of school you completed and passed is \_\_\_\_\_

**Employment**

11. Do you work? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If you responded yes, answer the following

a. Name of place where you work: \_\_\_\_\_

b. Location of place where you work: \_\_\_\_\_

c. Name of your occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

d. Describe what you do at your job:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

e. Number of days a week you work: \_\_\_\_\_

f. Number of hours you work per day: \_\_\_\_\_

g. Do you have a daily/monthly/yearly contract? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**Housing**

12. Name of neighborhood where you live: \_\_\_\_\_

**Bibliography**

American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages. 1983. *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines*.

Revised 1985. Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: ACTFL Materials Center.

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## APPENDIX C

### CUESTIONARIO SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICO

**PRO10060266**

(adaptado del apéndice B del libro de Tagliamonte *Analysing Sociolinguistic Variation*)

#### A. LA FAMILIA

1. Cuénteme cómo es su familia.
2. ¿Con quién(es) vivía cuando era niño/a?
3. ¿Qué tipo de actividades hacía cuando era niño/a? ¿Participaba de estas actividades con algún otro miembro de su familia? ¿Con quién(es)?
4. ¿Con qué familiar se llevaba mejor cuando era niño/a?
5. Cuénteme sobre un evento gracioso de su niñez. ¿Qué le ocurrió? ¿Cómo reaccionó?

#### B. EL BARRIO

1. ¿Por cuánto tiempo ha vivido aquí?
2. ¿Cómo son sus vecinos? ¿Se reúne con ellos en algunas ocasiones?
3. Describa su barrio. ¿Se parece a lo que era en el pasado?
4. ¿Qué opina sobre la inseguridad en su barrio? ¿En Córdoba? ¿Cómo lo vive usted? ¿Siempre fue así?
5. ¿Dónde va cuando quiere tomar un té, un café o una gaseosa por la tarde? ¿Por la noche?
6. ¿Hay alrededor algún pub, bar o boliche al que va con frecuencia? ¿Cómo es? ¿Dónde está?
7. ¿Podría contarme sobre algún acontecimiento que haya ocurrido en su barrio recientemente?

#### C. LOS AMIGOS

1. ¿Fuera de su familia hay personas aquí con quién(es) pasa bastante tiempo?
2. ¿Esta(s) persona(s) vive(n) cerca? ¿Dónde? ¿Dónde lo/la/los/las conoció?
3. ¿Qué actividades realizan juntos?
4. ¿Dónde van?

5. ¿Tiene un mejor amigo/a? ¿Cómo es él/ella?
6. Cuénteme cómo lo/la conoció.

**D. LAS ACTIVIDADES EN EL TIEMPO LIBRE**

1. ¿Qué actividad(es) hace en su tiempo libre?
2. ¿Con quién(es) hace(n) esta(s) actividad(es)?
3. ¿Dónde practica/hace esta(s) actividad(es)?
4. ¿Por qué le gusta(n)?

**E. LOS CUMPLEAÑOS**

1. ¿Cuándo es su cumpleaños?
2. ¿Generalmente qué hace para su cumpleaños?
3. ¿Cuál fue el mejor cumpleaños que tuvo?
4. ¿Alguien le ha preparado una fiesta de cumpleaños sorpresa? ¿Quién(es)? ¿Estaba sorprendido o simuló sorprenderse?
5. ¿Alguien se olvidó de su cumpleaños alguna vez? Explique.

**F. MISCELÁNEAS**

1. ¿Tiene algún sueño? ¿Cuál es?
2. ¿Alguna vez presenció un accidente o evento trágico? ¿Qué pasó? ¿Trató de hacer algo para ayudar?
3. ¿Recuerda de algún momento en el pasado en el que tuvo mucho miedo? ¿Cuándo fue? ¿Qué sucedió? ¿Cómo se sintió después?
4. ¿Tuvo alguna vez un día en el que se sintió dichoso (con mucha suerte)? ¿Me podría contar sobre ese día?

**G. EL LENGUAJE**

1. ¿Nota algún rasgo característico sobre la forma de hablar de la gente aquí?
2. ¿Ha notado cambios en la manera en que la gente habla y pronuncia las palabras aquí?
3. ¿Puede darse cuenta por la forma de hablar de una persona si es de aquí?
4. ¿Las personas de este barrio hablan diferente o tienen una pronunciación diferente a las de otros barrios en la ciudad de Córdoba?
5. Ahora enfoquémonos en la diferencia entre los jóvenes y ancianos. ¿Hay diferencias en la manera en que hablan? ¿Usted habla/pronuncia las palabras igual que sus padres? ¿Sus padres hablan / pronuncian las palabras como usted? ¿Y sus hijos?
6. ¿Usted habla como sus amigos? ¿Qué diferencias nota entre su forma de hablar y la de sus amigos?
7. ¿Nota diferencias entre su forma de hablar y la de sus padres? ¿Por qué cree que es así?
8. ¿Alguna vez ha tratado de cambiar la forma en que habla? ¿Por qué lo hizo? ¿Qué hizo?
9. ¿Alguien lo increpó alguna vez por su forma de hablar? ¿Qué le dijeron? ¿Qué pensó? ¿Qué hizo al respecto?

## Bibliografía

Tagliamonte, S. (2007). *Analyzing Sociolinguistic Variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

### **II. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (adapted from Appendix B of Tagliamonte's textbook *Analyzing Sociolinguistic Variation*)**

#### **A. FAMILY**

1. Tell me about your family.
2. With whom did you live when you were a child?
3. What types of activities did you use to do as a child? Did you do these activities with any family members? With whom?
4. With what family member do you get along the best when you were a child?
5. Tell me about a funny event from your childhood. What happened? How did you react?

#### **B. NEIGHBORHOOD**

1. How long have you lived here?
2. What are your neighbors like? Do you get together with them at times?
3. Describe your neighborhood. Is it similar to what it was like in the past?
4. Do you think your neighborhood is safe? What about the city of Córdoba? How do you cope with safety? Has it always been like this?
5. Where do you go when you want to have a tea, coffee or soda in the afternoon? In the evening?
6. Is there a local pub, bar or club where you go frequently? What is it like? Where is it?
7. Could you tell me about an important event that has taken place in your neighborhood recently?

#### **C. FRIENDS**

7. Are there people around here you spend a lot of time with outside your family?
8. Do they live nearby? Whereabouts? Where did you meet?
9. What do you do together?
10. Where do you go?
11. Do you have a best friend? What is he/she like?
12. Tell me how you met him or her.

#### **D. HOBBIES/FUN ACTIVITIES**

1. What do you do in your free time?
2. Who do you do this (these) activity (activities) with?
3. Where do you practice this activity (these activities)?

4. Why do you enjoy it (them)?

**E. HOLIDAYS/PARTIES**

6. When is your birthday?
7. What do you usually do for your birthday?
8. What is the best birthday party you ever had?
9. Has anyone ever held a surprise birthday party for you?  
Who did it? Were you really surprised or did you pretend?
10. Has anyone ever forgotten your birthday? Explain.

**F. MISCELLANEOUS**

1. Do you have a dream? What is it?
2. Have you ever witnessed a terrible accident or tragic event? What happened?  
Did you try to help?
3. Do you ever remember a time that you were really afraid? When was that? What happened? How did you feel about it afterwards?
4. Have you ever had a day when you felt very lucky? Could you tell me about it?

**G. CURRENT EVENTS**

1. How do you think Argentina's Team is playing the World Cup? Who do you think is going to win? Who do you think is playing well / not so well? What do you plan to do when Argentina plays the next game?
2. How are you going to celebrate Argentina's 200 years? Are you going to do anything special? Do you think the city is going to have a big event? Are you going to go?

**F. LANGUAGE**

1. Have noticed any interesting things about the way people pronounce the y and ll around here?
2. Do people from Córdoba pronounce the y and ll as people do in Buenos Aires?
3. If yes, then. Who does? Men or women? Children, adolescents, adults in their twenties -forties? Older adults? People who have attended university? People that haven't attended university? Can you describe a person who speaks that way?
4. Do people from a working class background, a middle class background or a upper class background say the y and ll as in Buenos Aires?
5. Do you think people who pronounce the y and ll like people from Buenos Aires live in a city, a suburb or in the country?
6. Do you think it is correct to pronounce the y and ll like people do in Buenos Aires?

**Bibliography**

Tagliamonte, S. (2007). *Analyzing Sociolinguistic Variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## **APPENDIX D**

### **Descripción del estudio (PRO16050634)**

El propósito de este trabajo de investigación es estudiar el uso del lenguaje en Argentina. Por esta razón, se les pedirá a hablantes nativos adultos de de las ciudades de Rio Cuarto, Córdoba, Mendoza y Buenos Aires que completen una encuesta online. Para participar, los interesados responderán online a algunas preguntas sobre sus datos demográficos generales (edad, lugar de nacimiento, nivel de educación) y también una encuesta sobre el lenguaje. Esta encuesta se realizará online, y tendrá una duración de aproximadamente media hora. No se prevé ninguna consecuencia ni riesgos relacionados con este estudio para los participantes, ni tampoco habrá ningún beneficio directo. Los participantes no recibirán ningún tipo de compensación por tomar parte en este estudio. Toda la información recogida será anónima y las respuestas no podrán ser identificadas de manera alguna. Toda la información obtenida será confidencial y los resultados se guardarán bajo estricta seguridad. La participación es voluntaria y los interesados se pueden retirar del estudio en cualquier momento. Este trabajo de investigación estará a cargo de María Laura Lenardón. Ante cualquier duda, los participantes pueden comunicarse con la investigadora llamando al 0358-4630685 o enviando un mensaje a [mll32@pitt.edu](mailto:mll32@pitt.edu).

Exempt Script (**PRO16050634**)

The purpose of this research study is to study language use in the different dialects of Spanish from Córdoba, Argentina. For that reason, I will ask native adult speakers of Spanish from the cities of Rio Cuarto, Córdoba, Mendoza and Buenos Aires to complete a this online survey. If you are willing to participate, I will ask you some questions about your background (age, place of birth, years of education) and some questions about language. This one-time survey will be completed online and will last approximately half an hour. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this study nor are there direct benefits to you. Participants will not be compensated for their participation in this study. All the information collected will be anonymous and your responses will not be identifiable in any way. All the information provided by you is confidential and results will be kept under lock and key. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from this study at anytime. This study is conducted by María Laura Lenardón, who can be reached at 0358-4630685 or mll32@pitt.edu, if you have any questions.

## APPENDIX E

### CUESTIONARIO DEMOGRÁFICO, PRUEBA DE PARES OCULTOS Y CUESTIONARIO DE IDEOLOGÍAS

Q74 El propósito de este trabajo de investigación es estudiar el uso del lenguaje en Argentina. Por esta razón, se les pedirá a hablantes nativos adultos de de las ciudades de Río Cuarto, Córdoba, Mendoza, Buenos Aires y otras ciudades en Argentina que completen una encuesta en línea (online). Para participar, los interesados responderán online a algunas preguntas sobre sus datos demográficos generales (edad, lugar de nacimiento, nivel de educación) y también una encuesta sobre el lenguaje. Esta encuesta se realizará online, y tendrá una duración de aproximadamente media hora. No hay ninguna consecuencia ni riesgos relacionados con este estudio para los participantes, ni tampoco habrá ningún beneficio directo. Los participantes no recibirán ningún tipo de compensación por tomar parte en este estudio. Toda la información recogida será anónima y las respuestas no podrán ser identificadas de manera alguna. Toda la información obtenida será confidencial y los resultados se guardarán bajo estricta seguridad. La participación es voluntaria y los interesados se pueden retirar del estudio en cualquier momento. Este trabajo de investigación estará a cargo de María Laura Lenardón. Ante cualquier duda, los participantes pueden comunicarse con la investigadora llamando al 0358-4630685 o enviando un mensaje a mll32@pitt.edu. ¿Desea participar? (Pulse la opción que desee)

- Sí (1)
- No (2)

Q1 ¿Tiene por lo menos 18 años? (Pulse la opción que desee)

- Sí (1)
- No (2)

Q2 ¿Ha vivido la mayor parte de su vida en Argentina?

- Sí (1)
- No (2)

Q3 Ciudad donde nació:

- Buenos Aires (1)
- Córdoba (2)
- Mendoza (3)
- Río Cuarto (4)
- Otra: (5) \_\_\_\_\_

Q4 Ciudad donde ha vivido la mayor parte de su vida:

- Buenos Aires (1)
- Córdoba (2)
- Mendoza (3)
- Río Cuarto (4)
- Me he mudado mucho (5)
- Otra: (6) \_\_\_\_\_

Q5 Edad:

- 18-30 años (1)
- 31-49 años (2)
- 50-70 años (3)
- Más de 70 años (4)

Q6 Sexo:

- Femenino (1)
- Masculino (2)

Q7 ¿Trabaja?

- Sí (1)
- No (2)

Q8 Indique su profesión. (Si no trabaja, indique la profesión de sus padres).

- médico/a (1)
- abogado/a (2)
- policía (3)
- profesor/a o maestro/a (4)
- secretario/a (5)
- empresario/a (6)
- plomero (7)
- albañil (8)
- vendedor/a (9)
- gerente (10)
- taxista/ chofer (11)
- empleado de comercio (12)
- ama de casa (13)
- estudiante (14)
- portero (15)
- jubilado/a (16)
- Otra: (17) \_\_\_\_\_

Q9 Indique el último nivel educativo que ha completado:

- escuela primaria (1)
- escuela secundaria (2)
- universidad o terciario (3)
- posgrado (4)

A1 Presione el botón rojo para escuchar la grabación y luego seleccione sus respuestas basadas en su opinión sobre el hablante y su manera de hablar. Puede escuchar las grabaciones cuantas veces considere necesarias. La persona que habla:

	Estoy completamente de acuerdo (1)	Estoy de acuerdo (2)	No tengo opinión (3)	Estoy en desacuerdo (4)	Estoy en completamente en desacuerdo (5)
Es exitosa. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es tímida. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es inteligente. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es tonta. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es graciosa. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es seria. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es agresiva. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es vaga. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es buena onda. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es confiable. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es del interior o pueblerina. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es deshonesto. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es sofisticada. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es burlona. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Es elocuente (se expresa bien). (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**Figure 38.** Matched-guise test-attributes

A1 Probablemente esta persona es (elija una):

- médico/a (1)
- abogado/a (2)
- policía (3)
- profesor/a o maestro/a (4)
- secretario/a (5)
- empresario/a (6)
- plomero (7)
- albañil (8)
- vendedor/a (9)
- gerente (10)
- taxista/ chofer (11)
- empleado de comercio (12)
- ama de casa (13)
- estudiante (14)
- portero (15)
- Otra: (16) \_\_\_\_\_

A1 Esta persona probablemente es de (elija una):

- Buenos Aires (1)
- Córdoba (2)
- Mendoza (3)
- Tucumán (4)
- Otra: (5) \_\_\_\_\_
- No sé (6)

A1 Esta persona habla como usted.

- Sí (1)
- No (2)

A1 La forma de hablar de esta persona es:

- agradable (1)
- normal (2)
- desagradable (3)

Cuestionario sobre ideologías.

Q63 1. ¿Considera que tiene un acento particular cuando habla?

Q64 2. ¿Qué le gusta o disgusta sobre su forma de hablar?

Q65 3. a. ¿Cree que haya algún acento que sea mejor en Argentina?

- Sí (1)
- No (2)

Q66 3. b. Explique por qué sí o por qué no.

Q67 3. c. ¿Cuál es?

Q70 3. d. ¿Es distinto al suyo?

- Sí (1)
- No (2)

Q71 4. ¿Cuando va a otra provincia, ¿hay algo particular que la gente nota sobre su manera de hablar? Explique.

Q72 5. ¿Quiere agregar algo más sobre las distintas formas de hablar en Argentina?

Q73 6. ¿Identifica alguna tonada de argentina con fuerte connotación humorística? ¿Qué le pareció la encuesta?

**DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY, MATCHED-GUISE TEST & LANGUAGE**  
**IDEOLOGIES QUESTIONNAIRE**

1) Are you at least 18 years old?

Yes  
 No

2) Have you lived most of your life in Argentina?

Yes  
 No

3) City where you were born:

- a. Buenos Aires
- b. Córdoba
- c. Mendoza
- d. I have moved frequently
- e. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

4) City where you live:

- a. Buenos Aires
- b. Córdoba
- c. Mendoza
- d. I have moved frequently
- e. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

5) I'm  18-30  31-49  50-70  71 or more years old

6) Sex:  F  M

7) Do you work?

Yes  No

8) State your profession. If you don't work, state the profession of your parents

doctor   lawyer   police officer   accountant   professor/ teacher   secretary   business man/woman  
plumber   construction worker   salesman   manager   taxi driver   student   house wife   janitor  
store clerk   Other:

9) Indicate your highest level of education you have obtained:

completed elementary school  
 high school  
 university or vocational school  
 graduate degree

10) Press the button to listen to the recording. Then select your answers based on your opinion of the speaker and his/her way of speaking. You can listen to these recordings as many times as you need.

**RECORDING**

The person speaking is:	I completely agree	I agree	I'm neutral	I don't agree	I completely disagree
Successful.					
Shy.					
Intelligent.					
Dumb.					
Funny.					
Serious.					
Aggressive.					
Lazy.					
Nice.					
Trustworthy.					
From the country.					
Dishonest.					
Sophisticated.					
Sarcastic.					
Arrogant.					
Extroverted.					
Eloquent (he/she expresses himself well).					

**Figure 39.** Matched-guise test, descriptors (translation)

**11. This person is probably (choose one):**

A blue-collar worker

A maid

A carpenter

A sales person

A secretary

A manager

A professor

A lawyer

A doctor

a student

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**12. This person is probably from (choose one):**

-Buenos Aires

-Córdoba

-Mendoza

-Santa Fe

-La Rioja

-Other:

-I don't know

13. Does this person speak like you?

Yes  No

14. Do you think this person's accent sounds \_\_\_\_\_?

a. pleasant    b. normal    c. unpleasant

15. Questions for you.

1. Do you think you have an accent when you speak?

2. What do you like or dislike about your way of speaking?

3. a. Do you think there is a better accent in Argentina?

b. Explain why or why not.

c. What region has this better accent?

d. Is it different from yours?

4. When you travel outside your home state, is there anything in particular people notice about your speech? Explain.

7. Is there anything else about the Argentinean accent you would like to mention?

8. What did you think of this survey?

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