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**A SOCIOPHONETIC STUDY OF /S/ WEAKENING IN
ANDALUSIAN SPANISH**

by
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SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
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Abstract

The phenomenon of /s/ deletion is common among many varieties of Spanish, from Latin America to southern Spain (Lipski (2011), Samper Padilla (2011)). This project will focus specifically on coda /s/ weakening in Andalusian Spanish, the social factors that influence it, and the language ideologies surrounding the dialect. Previous research has found that social factors influencing /s/ weakening include social class, gender, and education level (Lipski (2011), Samper Padilla (2011), Holmquist (2008), Terrell (1981), Fontanella de Weinberg (1973)). Studies on /s/ weakening in Andalusian Spanish have mainly focused on the functional compensation for the loss of /s/, but little research has been found on the social factors conditioning /s/ weakening in Andalusian Spanish (Rincon-Perez (2015), Carlson (2006), Ranson (1993), and more). This study will examine how the social factors of gender and class influence the presence of /s/ weakening in participants from Granada. Traditionally in studies of /s/ weakening, the discussion of variation has been limited to the categories of retention, aspiration, or deletion. However, this approach does not fully encompass the entire possibility of variety for /s/ because not all tokens of /s/ are equal in strength. By using the acoustic measurements of center of gravity (COG) and duration as continuous variables, /s/ weakening can be analyzed more precisely and comprehensively (Erker (2010), File-Muriel & Brown (2011)). Data for this research project was gathered in person from ten university-aged Andalusian Spanish speakers (5 female, 5 male) in Granada, Spain. Participants completed a demographic survey, reading passage, and participated in a thirty-minute sociolinguistic interview which included questions about participants' language ideologies. Data was analyzed by measuring the duration and COG of all tokens

of coda /s/ in participants' speech using a Praat script. Statistical analysis was performed in RBrul to determine the relevant social and linguistic factors influencing /s/ weakening. Results showed that there was a significant correlation between duration and social class, as well as between duration and token position in word and phrase. No significant correlation between COG and any of the social or linguistic variables was found. The language ideologies of participants were also analyzed, and the results revealed that participants were generally aware of their distinctive dialect and its negative perceptions and that the majority of participants said that they had been judged for the way that they talked. These results are mostly consistent with the previous research, but the lack of correlation between COG and any of the variables was surprising.

1. Introduction

Andalusian Spanish is a dialect spoken in the southern region of the Spain, and there are approximately 8.5 million speakers of Andalusian Spanish (Instituto nacional de estadística). The dialect of Andalusia is very distinctive from that of the rest of Spain, where Castilian Spanish is primarily spoken. The dialect markers of Andalusian Spanish that distinguish it from Castilian Spanish include the weakening or deletion of /s/ and /d/, *seseo*, and *ceceo* (Samper Padilla (2011)). This project will focus specifically on coda /s/ weakening in Andalusian Spanish, the social and contextual factors that influence it, and the language ideologies surrounding the dialect.

/s/ weakening is a common feature of many dialects of Spanish including many Latin American and Caribbean varieties (Lipski (2011)). Unlike many Latin American countries where /s/ weakening occurs, in Spain /s/ weakening only occurs in the southern region of the country and in the Canary Islands (Samper Padilla (2011)). This dialect feature poses a functional question of plural and person marking because in Spanish the /s/ phoneme marks plural on nouns, adjectives, and articles, and it also marks the second person singular subject on verbs (Lipski (2011), Samper Padilla (2011)). The social factors found to influence the presence of /s/ weakening in other dialects of Spanish include social class, gender, rural vs. urban location, and education level (Lipski (2011), Samper Padilla (2011), Holmquist (2008), Terrell (1981), Fontanella de Weinberg (1973)). Studies on /s/ weakening in Andalusian Spanish have mainly focused on the functional compensation for the loss of /s/, but little research has been found on the social factors conditioning /s/ weakening in Andalusian Spanish (Rincon-Perez (2015), Carlson

(2006), Ranson (1993), and more). With respect to language ideologies, many studies have reported that the Andalusian dialect is a stigmatized variety, and that speakers of this dialect experience linguistic discrimination (Jaspal et al (2013), Narbona (2009), Snopenko (2007), Carbonero Cano (1985)).

This study will focus on coda /s/ weakening in Andalusian Spanish, and it will primarily examine how social factors such as gender and class influence the presence of /s/ weakening in participants from Granada, as well as the general attitudes of participants surrounding their dialect. This project aims to answer the following research questions:

- 1) How do gender, class, and linguistic context influence the occurrence of /s/ weakening in a person's speech?
- 2) What are the language ideologies of speakers of Andalusian Spanish?

For this study, ten university-aged students from Granada were selected to participate. The participants consisted of five females and five males who were either born in Granada or had lived there under the age of twelve and for the past three years. As a part of the study, participants filled out a demographic survey, read a reading passage, and completed a thirty-minute sociolinguistic interview. Using this data, a phonetic analysis using Praat and RBrul was performed to evaluate the correlation between /s/ weakening and the social factors of gender and class. The correlation between /s/ weakening and the contextual factors of word and phrase position was also evaluated. Lastly, the language ideologies of participants and the general ideologies surrounding the Granada dialect were assessed by asking participants questions about their personal linguistic experiences and ideologies at the end of the interview.

The variables used to measure /s/ weakening in this study are center of gravity (COG) and duration, following the methods of Erker (2010) and File-Muriel & Brown (2011). Traditionally, the discussion of /s/ weakening has used the categories of retention, aspiration, or deletion to classify patterns of /s/ variation. However, this approach is limited because it is a categorical method which fails to account for the fact that not all tokens of /s/ are equal in strength. Additionally, this system of classification has previously been done by hand, and often the differentiation between retention, aspiration, and elision are very subtle, leaving a high risk for human error. The present study uses the acoustic measurements of COG and duration as measured in Praat to provide a more precise and comprehensive analysis of /s/ weakening.

Results showed that there was a significant correlation between duration and social class, as well as between duration and token position in both word and phrase. No significant correlation between COG and any of the social or linguistic variables was found. Results from this study about participants' language ideologies revealed that participants were generally aware of their distinctive dialect and its negative perceptions but did not believe people from a certain place sound better or more intelligent than others.

2. Review of Literature/Reseña literaria

2.1 Introducción

Esta sección proveerá un resumen de la literatura relevante a los temas de la reducción de la /s/ y el dialecto de Andalucía. La primera sección tratará del fenómeno amplio de la elisión de la /s/ en los dialectos del español y dará un resumen de las teorías

actuales y la investigación presente sobre este fenómeno, terminando con una sección sobre la investigación específica sobre el fenómeno de la elisión de la /s/ en el dialecto de Andalucía. La segunda sección se enfocará en el dialecto específico de Andalucía: primero, dará un resumen general del dialecto y sus características, seguido por un resumen sobre la historia lingüística del dialecto de Andalucía, y luego una discusión sobre la estigmatización del dialecto y las ideologías lingüísticas con respecto al dialecto.

2.2 El fenómeno de la reducción de la /s/

La investigación anterior ha documentado que la reducción de la /s/ es un fenómeno extendido entre muchos dialectos del español, incluso muchas variedades latinoamericanas y caribeñas (Lipski (2011)). La reducción de la /s/ es menos común en España, pero es un aspecto importante del dialecto de Andalucía que lo distingue de las otras variedades regionales de España. Las formas más comunes de la reducción de la /s/ son la aspiración [h] y la elisión [Ø], y los contextos en que esas formas ocurren serán discutidos más tarde en esta sección. La reducción de la coda /s/ es un tema de interés en muchos estudios porque en español, el fonema /s/ tiene un propósito funcional: se lo usa para marcar la pluralidad en los artículos, los sustantivos, y los adjetivos, y además para marcar la conjugación de la segunda persona singular (tú) en los verbos. (Lipski (2011) (cap. 4 en Diaz-Campos (2011); Carlson (2006)). Por ejemplo, el sustantivo *la luna* se convierte en *las lunas* cuando está pluralizado, y el marcador plural -/s/ está añadido a ambos el artículo [*la*] y el sustantivo [*luna*]. Adicionalmente, la /s/ es necesaria para distinguir la segunda persona singular (tú) de la tercera persona singular (el/ella) como sujeto de un verbo cuando otro sujeto no está presente. Por ejemplo, con el verbo *hacer*, las conjugaciones *hace* y *haces* solo están diferenciadas por la /s/ que está presente en la

segunda persona singular [*haces*]. Entonces si la /s/ está reducida o elidida, parece que existiría una ambigüedad sobre cómo se distinga la pluralidad y el sujeto en español.

Mucho de la investigación sobre la reducción de la /s/ se enfoca en esa ambigüedad, y se basa en la hipótesis funcional de Kiparsky que dice que “semantically relevant information [would] be retained in surface structure.” [la información que es relevante semánticamente sería retenida en forma superficial] (Kiparsky 1982, traducida por yo). Esta hipótesis implica que la /s/ sería retenida en ambientes donde marca la pluralidad o la segunda persona singular. Muchos estudios han refutado esta hipótesis porque encontraron que la /s/ todavía está elidida en los ambientes en que tiene un propósito funcional, pero que existen procesos de compensación funcional en estos ambientes que indican la pluralidad o el sujeto (Rincon-Perez (2015), Carlson (2006), Hernandez-Campoy (2002), Ranson (1993)). Mucho de la investigación ahora sobre la elisión de la /s/ (y específicamente en Andalucía), se enfoca en los procesos compensatorios que ocurren como resultado de la elisión de la /s/, en los que ahondaré con más detalle en la sección 2.5. Aunque la mayoría de la literatura sobre el dialecto andaluz se enfoca en esos procesos compensatorios, todavía existe literatura sobre la reducción de /s/ y los factores lingüísticos y extralingüísticos que condicionan este proceso.

2.3 Factores lingüísticos que influyen la reducción de la /s/

Como dicho previamente, la reducción de la /s/ es un fenómeno que ocurre mayormente en los dialectos de Latinoamérica y el Caribe (Lipski (2011)). A diferencia de esas regiones, la reducción de /s/ solo ocurre en el sur de España (y en las islas canarias) (Samper Padilla (2011)). Como resultado, mucha de la literatura sobre la

reducción de /s/ se enfoca en los dialectos latinoamericanos en vez del dialecto andaluz. La investigación que se enfoca específicamente en la /s/ ha encontrado que hay muchos factores que influyen la reducción de la /s/, incluso factores lingüísticos y sociales. Primero, los factores lingüísticos serán discutidos, seguidos por los factores sociales en la siguiente sección. Muchos estudios han encontrado que los factores lingüísticos que influyen la reducción de la /s/ incluyen la posición de /s/ en la palabra y en la frase, el estrés de la sílaba, la longitud de la palabra en que la /s/ ocurre, el contexto fonológico en que la palabra ocurre.

La posición de la /s/ en la palabra-- interna o externa, también es una variable notable. Dentro de la literatura, hay resultados mixtos sobre el efecto de la posición de la /s/ en la palabra. Brown (2008) encontró que cuando la /s/ ocurre al final de una palabra, es mucho más probable que esté reducida que si ocurra dentro de una palabra (Brown (2008)). También, Hammond (1980) encontró que, en las participantes de Cuba, la aspiración de la /s/ es más común cuando ocurre al final de una sílaba (y dentro de una palabra) pero que la elisión de la /s/ es más común cuando ocurre al final de una palabra o al final de una frase. Pero, Erker (2010), encontró que la /s/ tiene una duración más larga y un centro de gravedad más alto—dos factores que indican una /s/ más fuerte, al final de una palabra y al final de una frase.

También, hay otros factores relevantes más que la posición de la /s/ en la palabra. El factor de la longitud de la palabra se refiere al número de sílabas, y los estudios han encontrado que es más probable ver la elisión o reducción de /s/ en las palabras polisílabas que las palabras monosílabas (Samper Padilla (2011), Brown (2008)). Terrell (1981) encontró que, en el español dominicano, es más probable que la /s/ sea elidida

cuando viene antes de una sílaba estresada. Con respecto al contexto fonológico, los estudios han encontrado que es más común que la /s/ sea reducida antes de una consonante que antes de una vocal (Brown (2008), Samper Padilla (2011)).

Finalmente, unas investigaciones más recientes han encontrado que la frecuencia léxica de una palabra es un factor clave en la elisión de la /s/, y tal vez lo más influyente (File Muriel (2009), Brown (2008)). Los estudios encontraron que, si una palabra ocurre más frecuentemente en el habla, es más probable que la /s/, interna o externa, sea elidida que, en una palabra menos común, un resultado que es consistente con el modelo de fonología basada en el uso (“the Usage-based model of phonology”), sugerido por Bybee (2001) ((Bybee (2001) en Brown (2008)). En resumen, los factores de la frecuencia léxica, el contexto fonológico, la longitud de la palabra, el estrés de la palabra siguiente, y la posición de la /s/ en la palabra juntos contribuyen a la probabilidad de la reducción de la /s/.

2.4 Factores sociales: La clase social y el género

Miremos, a continuación, los factores sociales que condicionan la reducción de la /s/. Los factores sociales más prevalentes incluyen la clase social y el género, pero es necesario notar que estos factores siempre están vinculados, y que no se puede considerar ningún factor social sin el otro. Cuando hablamos de la clase social, es necesario reconocer que es un concepto muy complejo, y hay muchos factores que determinan la clase social de una persona. Unos de los factores más relevantes incluyen la educación, el ingreso, la ocupación y la asociación de una persona con algún grupo. También hay muchos otros factores relevantes como el barrio y el tipo de casa que la persona tiene (Ash (2004)).

Muchos de los estudios sobre la variación lingüística usan la educación como variable social, o requieren que todos los participantes tengan el mismo nivel de educación para asegurar que vienen de la misma clase social. Por ejemplo, Terrell (1981) encontró que los hablantes más educados suelen retener la /s/ más que los hablantes con menos educación en el contexto de la República Dominicana. Muchos otros estudios han replicado estos resultados en otros dialectos del español (Lipski (2011), Samper Padilla (2011)). Aunque la educación es uno de los determinantes más importantes de la clase social, este método puede simplificar la variable más compleja de la clase social. Sin embargo, estos resultados sobre la educación son relevantes. Algunos de los estudios anteriores que miraron la educación y la reducción de /s/ encontraron resultados que corresponden con los patrones entre las clases sociales.

En muchos dialectos del español, hay una tendencia de retener la /s/ entre los hablantes de la clase socioeconómica alta, y de elidirlo o aspirarlo entre los hablantes de las clases socioeconómicas más bajas (Lipski (2011), Samper Padilla (2011), Terrell (1981)). Lafford (1986) investigó este fenómeno en Columbia y explicó los resultados: “La variante [s], siendo más común en estilos más formales, es una variante prestigiosa asociada con alta posición social. . . La variante [ø], siendo más prevalente en los estilos informales, es una variante estigmatizada asociada con baja posición social” (Lafford (1986); 58, qtd in Chappell (2013)).

Esta distribución de las variantes de /s/ es lógico porque la forma del prestigio lingüístico en el español está basada en el castellano, un dialecto que incluye la

realización de /s/ (Hernández Campoy & Villena Ponsoda (2009)).¹ Ash (2004) discute como las formas lingüísticas del prestigio corresponden a la clase social, diciendo que los hablantes de la clase social más alta suelen usar las formas del prestigio lingüístico más que los hablantes de las clases más bajas. Por eso, la retención de la /s/ se considera como una señal del prestigio lingüístico que corresponde a una alta clase social en muchos dialectos del español.

Un factor igualmente importante y relacionado con la clase social es el género. Holmquist (2008) habla del efecto del género, pero enfatiza que no se puede considerarlo sin pensar en los otros factores sociales como la clase social. Los estudios previos encontraron que las mujeres retienen la /s/ más que los hombres cuando la reducción de la /s/ está estigmatizada (Samper Padilla (2011), Holmquist (2008), Terrell (1981), Fontanella de Weinberg (1973)). Labov (2001) explica porque existe esta tendencia general entre los géneros, diciendo que las mujeres suelen notar y cambiar las formas estigmatizadas más rápidamente que los hombres en su manera de hablar. Por eso, es lógico que las mujeres suelen retener la /s/ (la forma del prestigio) más que los hombres. En España como país entero, los estudios previos han encontrado que el dialecto de Andalucía está estigmatizado, y la reducción de la /s/ es un rasgo muy característico del dialecto andaluz; sin embargo, es importante notar que dentro de Andalucía los rasgos dialectales como la reducción de la /s/ no son necesariamente estigmatizados (Jaspal et al (2013), Narbona (2009), Villena Ponsosa (2008), Snopenko (2007), Carbonero (1985, 2008)).

¹ Una discusión más completa de los dialectos y el prestigio en España ocurrirá en las siguientes secciones.

El primer estudio notable sobre el género fue el de Fonatanela de Weinberg (1973), que encontró que en los hablantes de Bahía Blanca, Argentina, “el mayor uso de [s/] por todas las mujeres en todos los estratos sociales y en todos estilos indica que el predominio de una articulación más cuidada de esa variable es una característica general de los hablantes femeninos (Fontanella de Weinberg (1973), p.56). Estos resultados han estado replicados en muchos otros estudios sobre dialectos distintos del español. Por ejemplo, Terrell (1981) replicó estos resultados en la República Dominicana tomando en consideración el nivel de educación de los hablantes. También, Holmquist (2008) estudió el efecto del género en la elisión de /s/ en el contexto de la /s/ como marca del plural en el español del Castañar, Puerto Rico. En general, Holmquist encontró que los hombres usan más deleción de la /s/ en su habla que las mujeres, pero tenía que considerar muchos otros factores extralingüísticos cuando analizó el efecto del género.

Otros factores extralingüísticos relevantes incluyen la edad y la zona en que el hablante vive (rural vs. urbana). Holmquist (2008) encontró que la gente joven usa más deleción de la /s/ que la gente mayor. Este factor de la edad ha sido investigado en otros estudios, pero con resultados contradictorios sobre la influencia de la edad en la reducción de la /s/ (Rincón Pérez (2015), Samper Padilla (2011), Brown (2009)). También, algunos estudios han encontrado que las personas de las zonas más rurales suelen reducir la /s/ más que las personas de las zonas urbanas (Samper Padilla (2011), Narbona (2009), Penny (2000)). En general, estos ejemplos sirven para reforzar la idea de que no se puede considerar ningún factor social individualmente. También, es importante evitar las generalizaciones sobre el género sin considerar los otros factores como la posición socioeconómica del hablante.

2.5 El caso de la reducción de la /s/ en Andalucía

Con respecto al dialecto de Andalucía, la elisión de la /s/ es un fenómeno documentado, pero la mayoría de los estudios recientes se han enfocado en los mecanismos funcionales para la compensación de la pérdida del propósito funcional de la /s/ como marcador plural y de la segunda persona singular (Herrero de Haro (2016) Samper Padilla (2011)). Ranson (1993) miró los marcadores contextuales y lingüísticos en los ambientes donde la /s/ se elide, y encontró que no hay bastante compensación en los marcos contextuales ni lingüísticos para distinguir los sustantivos plurales de los sustantivos singulares cuando se pierde el fonema /s/.

Navarro (1939) primero propuso el concepto de “desdoblamiento vocálico,” que sugiere que las vocales antes de una /s/ elidida muestran una alternación entre vocales tensas y vocales laxas para corresponder con la singularidad/pluralidad de un artículo o el sujeto segundo/tercero singular de la palabra. Esto implica que el desdoblamiento vocálico sirve un propósito funcional para distinguir la pluralidad y el sujeto, y también que la alternación vocálica sirve un propósito funcional. Carlson (2006) y Rincón Pérez (2015) investigaron este fenómeno en el dialecto de Granada y ambos encontraron que el fenómeno de la alternación vocálica existe en el dialecto. Ambos investigadores hicieron un examen de percepción con sus participantes para ver si sería posible determinar si una /s/ fue elidida de una palabra solo escuchando la palabra, y encontraron resultados diferentes. Rincón Pérez (2015) encontró que los participantes no pudieron distinguir esto, y Carlson (2006) encontró que los participantes sí pudieron distinguir la elisión de la /s/, pero que esto dependió en la duración de la vocal antes en vez de la alternación

vocálica. Estos resultados refutan la idea de que el desdoblamiento vocálico sirve un propósito fonémico en el español de Granada.

Hasta ahora, estas secciones de reseña literaria se han enfocado en el fenómeno general de la reducción de la /s/ en varios dialectos del español. Los factores lingüísticos de la frecuencia léxica, el contexto fonológico, la longitud de la palabra, el estrés de la palabra siguiente, y la posición de la /s/ en la palabra juntos contribuyen a la probabilidad de la reducción de la /s/. Los factores extralingüísticos influyentes incluyen el género, la clase social, y el nivel de educación. Finalmente, esta sección concluyó con un resumen de la literatura relacionada con el dialecto de Andalucía y la concentración de los estudios recientes. Ahora que el fenómeno de la reducción de la /s/ ha sido explicado, el énfasis se pondrá en el dialecto de Andalucía con una discusión de la historia y las ideologías lingüísticas alrededor del dialecto y del marcador dialectal de la reducción de la /s/.

2.6 El dialecto de Andalucía

El español de Andalucía es una variedad que está hablada por aproximadamente 8.5 millones de personas en la región de Andalucía, que se encuentra en el sur de la península ibérica (Instituto nacional de estadística). Esta región está compuesta de ocho provincias distintas: Almería, Cádiz, Córdoba, Granada, Huelva, Jaén, Málaga, y Sevilla. El estudio presente se enfoca específicamente en la región de Granada. El dialecto de Andalucía contrasta con el dialecto más común en España, el castellano. El español de Andalucía es considerado como una variedad estigmatizada dentro de España, una idea que será explicada más en las tres secciones siguientes. También es importante notar que, aunque frecuentemente se refiere al dialecto de Andalucía, dentro de la región de

Andalucía, hay variedad lingüística entre las provincias y también entre las zonas rurales y las zonas urbanas (Samper Padilla (2011), Narbona (2009), Penny (2000)).

Hay algunas características que ocurren en la mayoría de las zonas de Andalucía que distinguen el dialecto andaluz del castellano. Estos incluyen el seseo, el ceceo, y la reducción de la /s/ y la /d/. El seseo es la realización de los fonemas /s/ y /θ/ como /s/. En el español castellano, estos fonemas son distintos, y existe una diferencia entre las palabras *casa* [ka.sa] y *caza* [ka.θa], por ejemplo. En el español de Andalucía y en la mayoría de los países latinoamericanos, es común que estas dos palabras se pronuncien de la misma manera, como [ka.sa] (Penny (2000)). Otra característica que distingue el español andaluz es el ceceo. El ceceo se define como la realización de la /s/ y la /θ/ como /θ/. Mientras el seseo está aceptado como una característica común dentro de Andalucía, el ceceo lleva un estigma dentro de la región, y ahora es menos común en la mayoría de los hablantes. La reducción de la /s/ y de la /d/ en la posición coda es probablemente la característica diferencial más notable de Andalucía. Como discutido previamente, la /s/ se reduce o está aspirada al final de una sílaba dentro o al final de una palabra. Aunque no está aspirada, la /d/ también está elidida en la misma posición. El dialecto de Granada específicamente usa todos estos marcadores del dialecto andaluz, y el uso del ceceo es más alto en esta provincia que en las demás. Aunque el ceceo y el seseo sean más comunes, la distinción (o la separación de los fonemas) está convirtiéndose en un fenómeno más común dentro de los hablantes en zonas urbanas y dentro de los hablantes más educados (como los participantes en el estudio presente) (Rincon Perez (2015), Samper Padilla (2011), Narbona (2009), Penny (2000)).

2.7 Un resumen histórico de la lengua en España

Ahora que el dialecto de Andalucía y de Granada han sido discutidos, es preciso dar un resumen breve de la historia lingüística de España para entender el contexto en que el español de Andalucía se desarrolló al dialecto presente. Empezando en 711 con la conquista de los moros, y hasta 1492, los cristianos y los musulmanes lucharon por el control de España. Por el siglo XIII, los cristianos tenían el control de la mayoría de la península ibérica, excepto el sur de la península, que fue el territorio islámico de Al-Andaluz. Durante este periodo de conflicto entre 711-1492, el reino de Castilla fue establecido en el norte de España, y el castellano se desarrolló del latín en el siglo XIII en esa región. En el mismo siglo, Alfonso X, el rey de Castilla, declaró que el castellano fue una lengua oficial (separada del latín), y que era la lengua oficial de su territorio que se utilizaría en todos los documentos oficiales (Snopenko (2007), Penny (2002)).

Con las conquistas cristianas, el castellano se extendió a otras regiones de la península, pero no fue integrada en la región de Granada hasta 1492, cuando los reyes católicos tomaron control del último territorio del reino islámico, y expulsaron a los musulmanes (y su lengua) de la península ibérica. Cuando el uso del castellano se extendió al sur del país, se desarrollaron dialectos distintos en regiones distintas por todas partes del sur de la península. El castellano tuvo contacto con la lengua mozárabe del reino islámico hasta 1492. Cuando Al-Andaluz (que incluye Granada hoy en día) fue conquistado, ya existía un dialecto distinto en Andalucía.² En el norte de España donde

² También fue en este mismo año (1492) que los españoles “descubrieron” Latinoamérica, y los barcos de la conquista española salieron de la ciudad andaluza Sevilla. Una teoría histórico-lingüístico común dice que los españoles trajeron el dialecto andaluz a Latinoamérica, y por esa razón los dialectos de Latinoamérica y los de Andalucía comparten muchas características similares como la reducción de la /s/. Otras teorías refutan esta idea, diciendo que es una idea colonialista, y dicen que las dos regiones

estaban todas las instituciones del poder (el reino, la administración, y la iglesia), el castellano todavía fue utilizado como lengua oficial, y el dialecto de Andalucía seguía desarrollándose.

En el siglo XIII, la Real Academia Española (la RAE) fue establecida, y la estandarización del castellano continuó. La RAE es una institución nacional que publica diccionarios y convenciones para la gramática prescriptiva, empezando con *El diccionario de autoridades (1726)* (Penny 2002). La creación de un estándar lingüístico es perjudicial para muchos grupos lingüísticos porque facilita la estigmatización de cualquier variedad que no se conforme a ese estándar (Hernandez-Campoy & Villena-Ponsoda (2009)). Además, este estándar suele relacionarse con los sistemas del poder extralingüísticos en una sociedad. Snopenko (2007) sugiere que el castellano hoy en día lleva el estatus de lengua de prestigio porque la estandarización de la lengua del país ocurrió al mismo tiempo y en el mismo lugar que la unificación política. En el siglo XV, las personas y las instituciones con el control—el rey, el gobierno, el tribunal, y la iglesia, todos estaban colocados en Castilla, y en este mismo siglo, Alfonso X declaró el castellano como lengua oficial. Después de esto, el establecimiento de la RAE solo perpetuó este sistema de poder lingüístico relacionado con el poder político, social, y económico. Hoy en día, aunque el poder político se haya transferido a Madrid, el castellano sigue siendo la lengua estándar, y de ahí, la del prestigio. Esto es el caso con el

experimentaron periodos paralelos de desarrollo lingüístico, pero que ambos dialectos se desarrollaron independientemente (Snopenko (2007)).

dialecto de Andalucía; como no conforme al estándar, el dialecto está estigmatizado y usado como una forma de discriminación (Narbona (2009), Snopenko (2007)).

2.8 Las ideologías lingüísticas sobre el dialecto de Andalucía

Como dicho previamente, muchos estudios han encontrado que el dialecto de Andalucía es un dialecto estigmatizado (Jaspal et al (2013), Narbona (2009), Villena Ponsosa (2008), Snopenko (2007), Carbonero (1985, 2008), y más). Esta sección exploraría más esta idea de estigmatización y resumirá los resultados de la literatura sobre las ideologías lingüísticas hacia el dialecto andaluz. Snopenko (2007) explora el concepto de la estigmatización de un dialecto, diciendo:

“Standard [linguistic] norms are associated with the hierarchical dimension of social structure, and they are usually felt to be institutional: they are thought of as being prescribed by authority through the writing system, the educational system and other agencies (Milroy, *Linguistic Variation* 81). The notion of stigma could not be understood without reference to the social hierarchy and social agreement” (Snopenko (2007); 21).

La sección anterior discutió la construcción del estándar lingüístico del castellano, que primero fue establecido por el rey de Castilla, Alfonso X. Después de esto, el concepto del estándar ha sido mantenido por las instituciones del gobierno, la iglesia, y la RAE. Como resultado de la creación de un estándar lingüístico en España, la gente de Andalucía ha experimentado discriminación lingüística. Esta citación por Snopenko enfatiza la idea de que la discriminación lingüística se relaciona con factores sociales fuera de la lengua. Es decir que, la discriminación lingüística y la estigmatización lingüística no ocurren independientemente; se relaciona con los sistemas jerárquicos del

poder dentro de una sociedad, y la discriminación lingüística solo es una manera de perpetuar esta estructura de poder.

Carbonero Cano (1985) sugiere que la estigmatización del habla andaluza se relaciona con un estereotipo más grande sobre la región de Andalucía. Andalucía es una región con una diversidad cultural: hay una presencia de los gitanos, inmigrantes de África, y también históricamente Andalucía era la región con una gran presencia árabe. Snopenko (2007) argumenta que la razón por la estigmatización del dialecto andaluz fue el miedo de lo árabe, y que la gente del norte de España pensó que los del sur hablaron un español “contaminado” (Snopenko (2007)). También, existe una asociación de la cultura andaluza con el flamenco, la cultura gitana, y una cultura de fiesta (Jaspal et al (2013), Carbonero Cano (1985)).

La estigmatización lingüística del dialecto andaluz empezó históricamente, y Snopenko (2007) argumentó que empezó en el siglo XV:

“The negative attitudes towards the language of Andalusia have been documented since the fifteenth century. Juan de Valdes in *Dialogo de la lengua* (1935) criticized Nebrija for his “descuidos” y “errores” in *Gramatica de la lengua castellana* (1492) and attributed Nebrija’s mistakes to his origin and language: “era de Andaluzia, donde la lengua no sta muy pura” (45)” (Snopenko (2007); 1).

Esta referencia a Andalucía como región donde “la lengua no sta muy pura” es un ejemplo temprano de la discriminación lingüística, pero no es el único. Más recientemente, en el siglo XX, un profesor español de fonética escribió titulado *El polémico dialecto Andaluz* (1986) en que el autor describe todos los “errores” del

dialecto, o las maneras en que se distingue del estándar (Narbona (2009)). Estos dos solo son algunos de los ejemplos de la discriminación lingüística histórica. Pero, esta estigmatización no es algo del pasado, es algo que sigue ocurriendo hoy en día.

Las investigaciones por Jaspal et al (2013), Narbona (2009), y Villena-Ponsosa (2008) han encontrado que todavía existe un estigma lingüístico alrededor del dialecto andaluz, y que los individuos de Andalucía reportaron que experimentan la discriminación lingüística. Jaspal et al. (2013) investigaron esta idea más y encontraron que los individuos de Andalucía eran conscientes de un estigma alrededor de su lengua, y que habían internalizado este estigma. Por ejemplo, un chico dijo que la gente se ríe de alguien que habla el dialecto andaluz en las instituciones grandes y universitarias del país, y otro dijo que la discriminación lingüística existe en el sector laboral del país (Jaspal et al (2013)). Muchos de los participantes dijeron que no les importaba lo que dijeron los demás sobre su dialecto, pero Jaspal et al (2013) plantean que esta actitud es el resultado de la internalización de este estigma por los participantes del estudio. Además, algunos participantes dijeron que su propio dialecto era “ugly [feo]” en comparación con el castellano (Jaspal et al (2013)). En general, estos resultados confirman la idea del dialecto andaluz estigmatizado, propuesta en muchos de los otros estudios.

2.9 Conclusión

En conclusión, esta sección resumió la literatura relevante sobre la reducción de la /s/ y el dialecto andaluz. La primera parte se dedicó al fenómeno de la reducción de la /s/ en varios dialectos del español, terminando con una porción sobre los estudios específicos al dialecto andaluz. La literatura previa ha encontrado que los factores lingüísticos relevantes incluyen la frecuencia léxica, el contexto fonológico, la longitud

de la palabra, el estrés de la palabra siguiente, y la posición de la /s/ en la palabra. Los factores extralingüísticos influyentes incluyen el género, la clase social, y el nivel de educación. El estudio presente se divide en dos en cuanto al análisis; una porción del estudio se dedica a investigar el fenómeno de la reducción de la /s/ y la correlación con los factores contextuales y sociales, y la otra enfoca en las ideologías lingüísticas de los participantes hacía su dialecto.

3. Methodology

The participants in this study were all students at the University of Granada from Granada, Spain. Five females and five males ages 20-28 were selected to participate. In order to ensure that participants spoke the dialect of Granada, they were required to be native Spanish speakers, to have lived there before the age of twelve, and also to have lived there consistently for the past three years. Data for this research was gathered in person in Granada over an eight-week period in the summer of 2017, and participants were recruited by in-person and word of mouth recruitment techniques. Before beginning the study, IRB approval for this project was obtained in order to work with human participants, and amendments were made to the proposal as changes were made in the research methods³.

The data collection process consisted of three main parts: a demographic survey, reading passage, and sociolinguistic interview. First, participants were asked to fill out a demographic survey, which asked about place of birth, gender, age, level of education, parents' occupations, and time spent living in Granada. Next, participants were asked to

³ All procedures of this project adhered to the IRB guidelines; this project received approval in January 2017, and amendments were made in May and June of 2017.

read a reading passage replicated from Carlson (2006) that contained word final coda /s/ in different contexts. (See appendix for text of reading passage). The study concluded with a 30-minute sociolinguistic interview, which asked participants questions about their life which are designed to elicit as close to natural speech as possible⁴ (Rincon-Perez 2015). The interview began with thirteen questions about participants lives, such as “Do you have a favorite childhood memory?” and “What advice would you give to a college student today?” (See appendix for the complete list of interview questions) During the last five minutes of each interview, participants were asked the following questions about language ideologies and personal experiences, listed below:

1) Do you think that the people from Andalusia speak differently from other Spanish speakers? Do you think that people from a certain place sound better or more intelligent than people from another place?

2) When you were a child, did anyone ever teach you about a “correct” way of speaking? What did this way of speaking consist of?

3) Have you ever had an experience in which your manner of speaking influenced the way someone perceived you?

These questions were asked at the end of each interview in order to ensure that participants were speaking as naturally as possible during the rest of the interview. Both the reading passage and sociolinguistic interview were recorded using a Zoom H4N Handy Portable Digital Recorder and 2 Movo LV8-D Omni-Directional Microphones. For the purposes of the present study, only the reading passage will be analyzed, and the

⁴ The questions used in this study were based off of questions used in Rincon-Perez (2015) and Chappell (2013).

information from the demographic survey will be used to provide information about participants' gender and social class. In addition, the information gathered in the last three questions of the interview will be used in the sociolinguistic analysis in order to assess the participants' personal language ideologies and experiences, which will be discussed in the following two sections.

The methods of analysis for this study were based off of the methods used by Erker (2010) and File-Muriel & Brown (2011), who used duration and center of gravity as a measurement of /s/ weakening in Dominican Spanish and Caleño Spanish⁵. Traditionally in studies of /s/ weakening, the discussion of variation has been limited to the categories of retention, aspiration, or deletion. However, this approach does not fully encompass the entire possibility of variety for /s/ because not all tokens of /s/ are equal in strength. Because of this, two new acoustic measurements have been proposed—duration and center of gravity (COG) (Erker (2010) and File-Muriel & Brown (2011)).

COG is a measurement of the mean frequency of the spectra over a duration of time, and it is “a way of identifying the frequency at which sonic energy is maximally concentrated” (Erker (2010)). This measure is a means of calculating the strength of fricatives because they are characterized by high frequency noise (File-Muriel & Brown (2011)). Additionally, COG can be used to distinguish fricatives, because sounds that are articulated in the front of the mouth have a higher COG than sounds that are articulated farther back (Gordon et al. (2002)). This is relevant because it accounts for aspiration, a common form of /s/ weakening. Since /s/ is an alveolar fricative and /h/ is a glottal

⁵ File-Muriel & Brown (2011) used a ‘centroid’ measurement instead, but this appears to be the same measurement as ‘center of gravity.’

fricative, it makes sense that /s/ has a higher COG than /h/. Tokens of /s/ that are fully realized have the highest COG and duration, while tokens of /s/ that are deleted have the lowest COG and duration and tokens of /s/ that are aspirated have COG and duration measurements in the middle (Erker (2010), File-Muriel & Brown (2011)). By using two continuous variables as a measurement for /s/ weakening, a more in-depth and comprehensive analysis is possible. Following the methods of Erker (2010) and File-Muriel & Brown (2011), the present study also uses COG and duration as measurements for /s/ weakening.

Analysis for this study focused specifically on duration and COG of coda /s/ in participants' reading passages. First, the reading passage for each participant was transcribed at the phrase level into a textgrid in Praat, and then this textgrid and the sound file were run through FASE, an auto alignment software, which segmented and labeled each word and phoneme. The results of this auto alignment were hand checked to ensure that no errors were made. *Figure 1* shows the wave, spectrogram, and textgrid in Praat for a reduced /s/ at the end of the word "tenis," with a duration of 130 ms. and a mean COG of 1560 Hz:

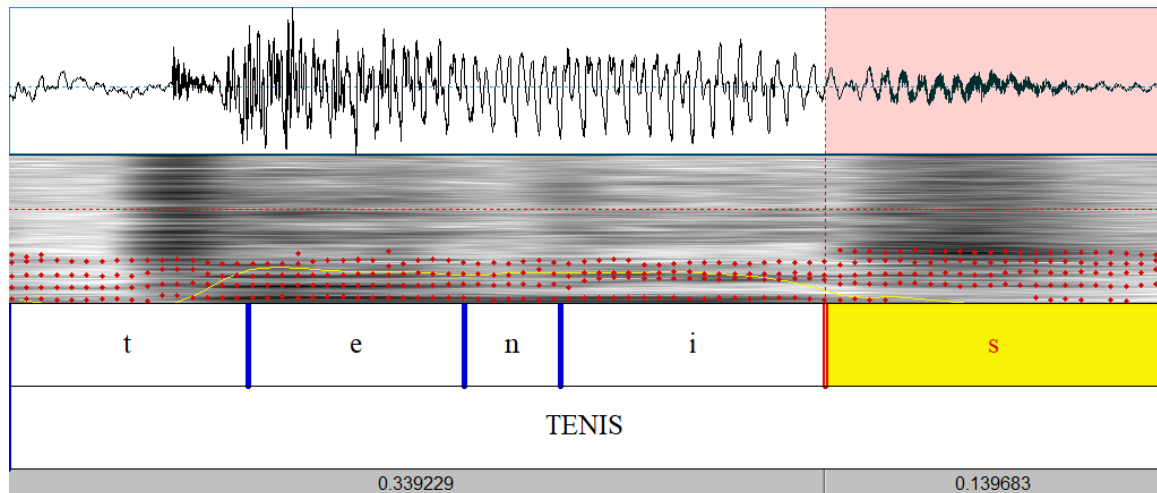


Figure 1: Coda /s/ reduction in “tenis” illustrated in Praat

After the data were transcribed and auto aligned, a Praat script was used to calculate the duration and center of gravity for each occurrence of coda /s/. The COG measurement for each token was based off of the average of the COG measurements at the beginning, midpoint, and end of each segment. The script outputted these measurements for all occurrences of /s/, so this data was hand sorted to ensure that only the tokens of coda /s/ that occurred in the reading passage were included in the data. Often in casual speech, word final coda /s/ is resyllabified as an onset if the following word begins with a vowel (as in ‘¿quieres acompañarme?’). For the purposes of this study, any token of coda /s/ that was present in the phonological representation of the reading passage was counted, following the methods of Erker (2010). Any tokens of word final /s/ that were preceded by a word beginning in /s/ were not included. Additionally, one token of /s/ that proceeded a labiodental fricative was left out, because the auto alignment software erroneously labeled the labiodental fricative as /s/ for all participants.

Once all of the data was sorted, each token was coded as word-internal or word-external and phrase internal or phrase external. There was a total of 74 tokens of coda /s/ for each participant, or 740 tokens total. For each participant, there were 21 word-internal and 53 word-final tokens, and 58 phrase-internal and 16 phrase-final tokens of coda /s/. In addition, participants were assigned pseudonyms, and each token of /s/ was coded by participant (pseudonym), gender, and class. There were five female and five male participants, and five middle class participants, two upper class participants, and three lower middle-class participants.

The social class of participants was determined qualitatively through both interview and observational techniques. Ash (2004) discusses the variable of social class in linguistic research, and she specifically discusses the MFY (Mobilization for Youth) approach to determining social class. This is the model that Labov used in his 1966 study on the Lower East Side of New York City (Ash 2004). This model uses the factors of occupation, education, and income as the key determining factors in determining social class (Ash 2004). She also suggests that neighborhood, type of house, and group association are determinants of social class. All of the participants in my study were students at the local university, which removed the variable of education level from this study. All participants still lived at home because they were attending school locally. While living at home may be less common in the US, this is the norm for students attending local university in Spain. Because participants were students living at home, I asked them the occupation of their parents as a part of the demographic survey as a way of assessing their relative social classes. In addition, I knew many of these participants

personally, so I was able to gain information about their social class through clues like where they lived and who they associated with.

The two social variables in this study are gender and social class, while the linguistic variables are location of /s/ both in the word and in the phrase. Using the data that was coded for these variables, a statistical analysis of /s/ deletion as it correlates to these variables was done using RBrul. The results of these calculations will be discussed in the following section.

4. Results

4.1 Statistical analysis of /s/ weakening

Statistical analysis for this study was done using Rburl, a program designed for linguistic data analysis. Using this program, a multiple logistic linear regression model was created to test each potential correlation. In this model, “the probability of one outcome is modeled as a function of the linear combination of multiple explanatory variables” (Daleszynska 1). The dependent variables (the outcomes) in this study were COG and duration, and the independent variables (the explanatory variables) were gender, class, word internal/final position, and phrase internal/final position. The models used in this study also used mixed effects to account for random variation by speaker and word.

4.2 Duration by Class

The first model tested duration with social class as a main effect, and the model also contained the fixed effect of gender and the random effects of word and speaker. The results of this model are given here:

Table 1: Regression Results for Duration as Predicted by Class

Variable	Estimate	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
Class.H*	0.57605	0.25745	2.238	0.0472
Class.Mi	-0.15247	0.12691	-1.201	0.2485
Class.L	-0.12644	0.13876	-0.911	0.3815

The data in *Table 1* reveal a significant relationship between duration and upper-class participants ($p = 0.0472$). As expected, the upper-class participants had longer durations for tokens of /s/ than the middle and lower-class speakers. The mean duration for each class is illustrated in the following chart:

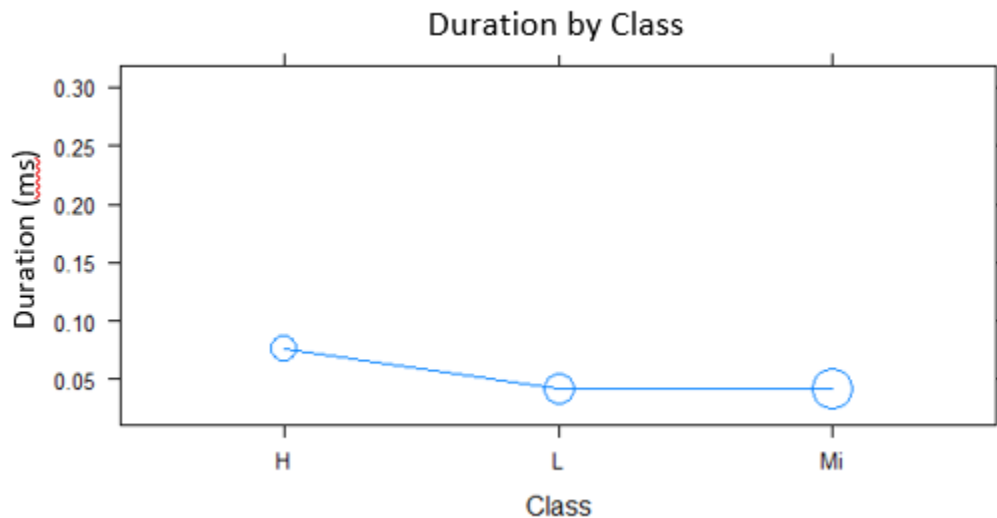


Figure 2: Duration by Class

The interaction between class and gender was modeled, but the model failed to converge. This occurred because there were only two upper-class speakers, and both were male, so the model could not control for gender. This limitation is important when considering the correlation found between class and duration, which will be further addressed in the discussion.

4.3 Duration by Position

Two models were also created to test the correlation between duration and word position, as well as duration and phrase position. For the first model, duration was tested with word internal/final position as a main effect, gender and class as fixed effects, and speaker and word as random effects. The second model tested duration with phrase internal/final position as a main effect, gender and class as fixed effects, and speaker and word as random effects.

Table 2: Regression Results for Duration and as Predicted by Token Position

Variable	Estimate	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
Word Internal/Final*	-0.06040	0.02682	-2.252	0.0258
Phrase Internal/Final***	0.16867	0.02587	6.519	5.71 e-09

The data in *Table 2* show that there was a significant correlation between duration and word internal/word final position ($T = -2.252$, $df = 147.47$, $p = 0.0258$). Tokens of /s/ in the word final position had a longer duration than the tokens in the word internal position. There was also a significant correlation between duration and phrase internal/final position, with tokens of /s/ in the phrase final position having a longer duration than tokens in the phrase internal position ($T = 6.519$, $df = 80.62$, $p = 5.71 \text{ e-}09$).

The following chart shows the mean values for duration by phrase position:

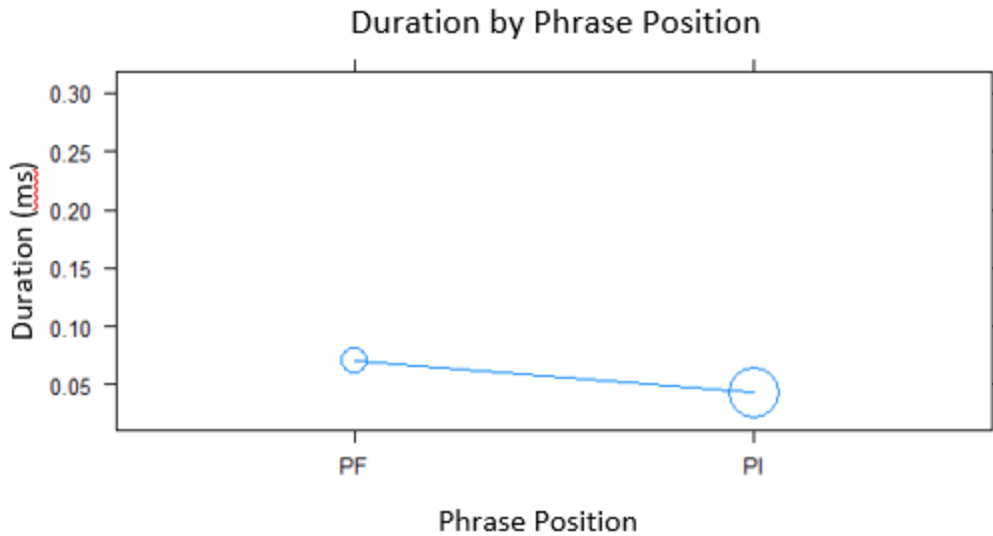


Figure 3: Duration by Phrase Position

This figure illustrates that the mean values were significantly higher for phrase final than phrase internal tokens of /s/. It also shows that there were much more tokens of phrase internal /s/ than phrase final /s/ in the data (580 phrase internal tokens, 160 phrase final tokens). Given that there are only 16 tokens of phrase final /s/ per participant, these preliminary findings will need to be supported with more data.

4.4 COG results

Previous research showed that COG of coda /s/ tokens is higher for female and upper-class speakers, but there have been conflicting results regarding the effect of /s/ position (Erker (2010) & File Muriel & Brown (2011)). It was expected that the current study would replicate these results for gender and class, however no significant correlations were found. COG measurements were taken at 25%, 50%, and 75% of each /s/ segment, and separate models were created to test for COG correlations with each of the independent variables. The first models tested COG at all three points with class as a main effect, gender as a fixed effect, and speaker and word as random effects. No

significant correlations were found for class at any of the COG times. The results of the mean COG values at midpoint by class are given in *Figure 4*:

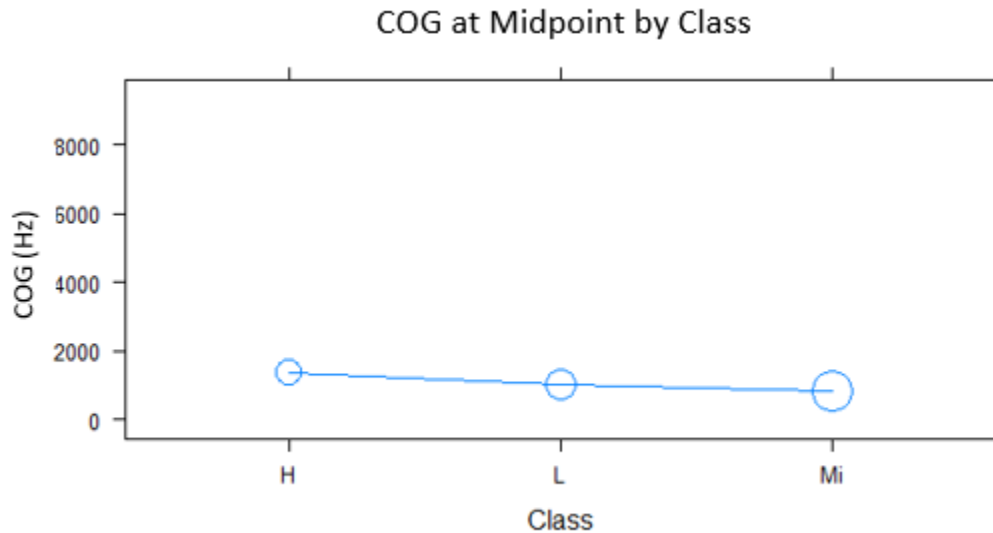


Figure 4: COG at midpoint by class

This chart shows that the mean measurements for COG are very similar across all classes, which makes sense given that there were no significant correlations found. In general, these averages are very low, suggesting that most realizations of coda /s/ tokens are not fully realized. A strong /s/ usually has a COG around 6000-7500Hz, a weakened but still audible /s/ is usually around 4,000 Hz, and anything under 750Hz is considered full deletion (File-Muriel & Brown (2011)). *Figure 4* shows that all of these means are under 2,000Hz, meaning that most of the /s/ tokens are not fully realized by the speakers. Additionally, *Figure 4* shows that the sample size was smallest for upper class speakers ($n = 2$), largest for middle class speakers ($n = 5$), and in the middle for lower class speakers ($n = 3$).

The next models tested COG at 25%, 50%, and 75% with gender as a main effect, class as a fixed effect, and speaker and word as random effects. There were also no significant results for any of these models. The mean COG for each gender is shown in the chart below:

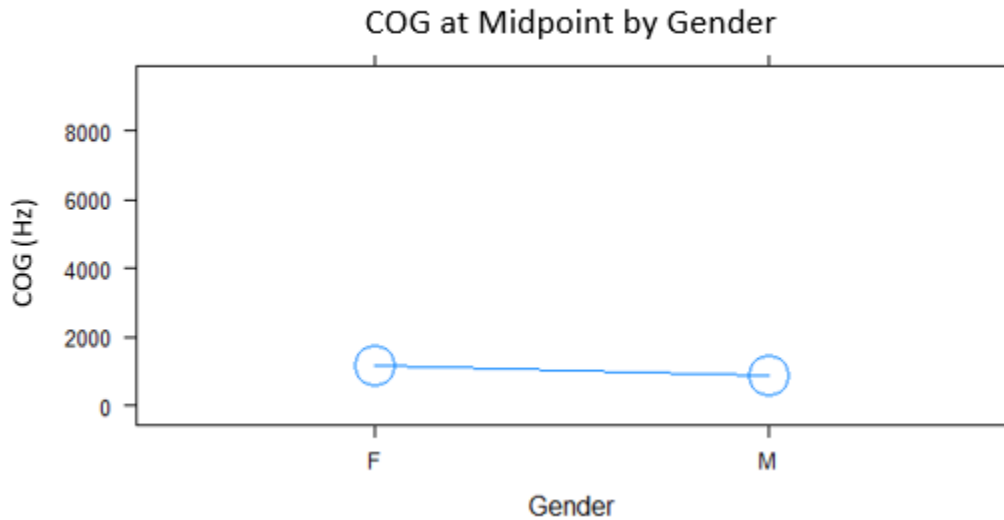


Figure 5: COG at Midpoint by Gender

Lastly, models were created to test COG by position. The first set of models created looked at all three points of COG by word position, with speaker and word as random effects, while the second set of models looked at COG by phrase position using the same random effects. No significant correlation was found for either word or phrase position. Given that COG and duration usually pattern together as measurements of strength, it is surprising that there was not a significant correlation found between COG and upper-class speakers as there was with duration. As previously mentioned, past studies (Fontanella de Weinberg (1973), Holmquist (2008), and many more) have consistently found that women are more likely to retain /s/, so it is surprising that there

was no correlation found between gender and COG. A more in-depth discussion of these results in the context of the previous literature will be provided in section 5.

4.5 Qualitative analysis of participants' language ideologies

This section will give an overall summary of the results found from the sociolinguistic interviews. A chart with the complete results is given in the appendix. In general, all participants agree that Andalusians speak differently than other Spanish speakers. This suggests that people from Andalusia are generally very aware that they speak a different dialect of Spanish. All participants also agreed that people from a certain place *do not* sound more intelligent or better than people from another place. However, Andalusians are well aware of the stereotypes about their dialect and many participants mentioned that people from the north of Spain are thought to sound better and may look down on their dialect. For example, Alejandro⁶ said that “the people from the north think that we speak badly. It’s ignorant to think that we speak badly. It’s just the dialect.”

While participants reject the negative stigma/stereotype surrounding their dialect, they are very aware of how it is perceived and some mentioned that they drop their accents in certain circumstances. For example, José said, “I can speak well pronouncing all of the /s/ because I taught English abroad, but I don’t do that here.” In general, many participants mentioned /s/ deletion as a feature of the dialect in Granada and recognized that pronouncing /s/ is viewed as a sign of prestige, some noting that it was “correct” or “very fine/elegant” (José). Another participant, Pablo, told me that he has never been

⁶ All participant names have been changed to preserve confidentiality.

judged negatively for his accent because he knows how to change his accent when speaking with northerners, foreigners, or potential employers. This suggests that Andalusians believe they may be perceived negatively if they speak naturally with certain people.

The results also show that 40% of participants said that when they were younger, they were taught that there is a correct way to speak. When asked to elaborate, they gave examples like “I was told not to use *ceceo*,” (Maria) which is a southern dialect feature in which /s/ is pronounced as /θ/. Additionally, many participants said that speaking correctly means pronouncing all of the sounds. Paula, whose parents were from northern Spain said that her dad often corrects her sister’s Granada dialect, saying that she needs to articulate every word properly, instead of slurring them together. This alludes to the Castilian variety of Spanish, which contrasts from the Andalusian variety, which often weakens /s/ and /d/.

Some participants may not have been taught that there was a certain way to speak as a child, but instead experienced this in college from professors. For example, José, who studies translation said that he was told that he should drop his Andalusian accent for his clients when he works as a translator. Marta, who was also a translation student said that she needed to use a neutral Spanish accent in her translation class and be sure to pronounce all of the /s/. This evidence suggests that within the academic and professional worlds, the Andalusian dialect is not accepted or well respected.

Lastly, 60% of participants said that they have had an experience in which they were judged for the way that they speak. For example, Paula said “I was on a trip to northern Spain and everybody couldn’t stop laughing at me. It’s normal that this

happens.” This wasn’t the only example of participants being laughed at for their accents. Another girl, Sara, said that she had been laughed at by people from other regions of Spain when she was calling people on the phone as a part of an internship she had.

It should be noted that 3 of the 4 participants who said that they hadn’t been judged for the way they spoke said that they had been made fun of by others but didn’t take offense at this or view it as judgement. Pablo said that he didn’t feel like he was judged, because even though he had been laughed at for the way he talked, “they laugh, but not at me with me.” This could be the result of a cultural difference—from my experience in Spain, it is much more socially acceptable to be blunt than in the U.S. In addition, humor is often more direct, so something that Americans may take offense at may just be considered a sign of affection or friendship in Spain. Pablo also provided another interesting example; He said he got made fun of from his Andalusian friends for speaking Spanish that was more Castilian after he had spent a lot of time teaching Spanish to foreigners. He said that although he didn’t feel judged, his friends made fun of him, asking him what happened to his mouth and asking if he was mentally ill. This example is significant because it suggests that the Andalusian dialect is a part of the Andalusian identity and that it is used by locals as a form of communicating a shared identity.

In many interviews, the idea of a larger stigma and stereotype about Andalusian culture arose frequently. Multiple people mentioned that Andalusians are thought to be lazy and not hard-working, but participants were clear to reject this stereotype. When I asked Sara specifically more about the stereotype she said that northerners say that “we are lazy, always taking naps, dancing flamenco, you know. But that isn’t true, we work

jobs in the countryside and we work hard and those are some of the hardest jobs.” While these findings are preliminary and not enough to make large conclusions on, it is significant that the dialect of Andalusia may be a part of a greater phenomenon of the stigmatization of the culture. Overall, these results reflect that participants are aware of the negative ideologies around their dialect (and culture), but that they reject this and the stereotypes that come with it. Participants do not view their dialect as inferior, and all agreed that there is no superior dialect. However, many participants had negative experiences as a result of the way they speak, which suggests that there is still a bias surrounding the Andalusian dialect within Spain. These findings about language ideologies surrounding the Andalusian dialect will be used to help contextualize the results on the occurrence of /s/ deletion in the following section.

5. Discussion

Overall, the results of this study are somewhat consistent with previous literature, but the lack of correlation between COG and any of the independent variables was surprising. When considering the results on /s/ weakening, the correlation between duration and class was expected, and the relationship between duration and linguistic context were somewhat expected. The results about participants’ language ideologies are generally congruent with the existing literature as well. First, the regression results on /s/ weakening and language ideologies will be addressed in this section. This will be preceded by a discussion of the qualitative results, and a discussion of possible reasons why the results were not as expected.

Previous literature on /s/ weakening and social class found that upper class speakers tended more towards retention of /s/ than lower and middle-class speakers (Lipski (2011), Samper Padilla (2011), Terrell (1981)). Results from this study on duration and social class supported these findings, with upper class speakers showing a significantly longer duration than the lower and middle-class speakers. Ash (2004) discusses the correlation between linguistic prestige forms and social class, summarizing that upper-class speakers usually tend toward the prestige form. As mentioned in the literature review, the prestige form in Spain is based off of the northern varieties of Spanish, which does not weaken the /s/ like the Andalusian dialect. File Muriel and Brown (2010) report that “Aspiration and deletion are generally considered markers of social class, with upper-class and more-educated speakers tending towards less weakening, while lower-socioeconomic class and less-educated speakers favor more lenition” (File-Muriel and Brown 2010). Overall, the results from the present study on duration and upper-class speakers support these findings in the previous literature.

When considering these preliminary conclusions, it is important to note that both duration and COG work together as a measurement of /s/ weakening, so results on duration alone need to be backed up with further research. In this study there was no significant correlation found between duration and lower or middle-class speakers. In fact, the lower-class speakers actually displayed a slightly longer mean duration than the lower-class speakers. One possible explanation for this finding is that the stratification of social class in this study was not necessarily representative of a general population. Because the participants were all university students, and education is a relevant factor in determining social class, there may not have been a significant separation between the

lower middle class and the middle-class participants. One major limitation of this study was that both upper class speakers were male, which doesn't provide a very accurate sample of upper class speakers. This also made it impossible to accurately look at the interaction between gender and class, which is a very important one.

The correlation between duration and linguistic context was also somewhat expected, but there are mixed results within the literature surrounding this. Tokens of /s/ were significantly longer in duration when found at the end of a word and at the end of a phrase. These findings are congruent with Erkert (2010), who found that tokens of /s/ had a longer duration and higher COG both word finally and phrase finally. However, Hammond (1980) and Brown (2008) found that /s/ is more likely to be weakened word internally. In general, there is not a common consensus in the literature about word final vs. word internal constraints, and instead studies have proposed that there may be other contextual factors that are more relevant in determining whether /s/ will be weakened (Terrell (1981), File Muriel (2009), Brown (2008)). Some of these factors include lexical frequency, phonological context, and word stress. This study was unable to account for all of these factors, but it is important to recognize that linguistic variables beyond word internal/final and phrase internal/final position play a role in /s/ weakening.

The lack of correlation of gender with either COG or duration was surprising, because this is a pattern that has been consistently documented in the previous literature (Fontanella de Weinberg (1973), Holmquist (2008)). Labov explains that women are less likely to pronounce a stigmatized dialect feature, saying: "In adopting new prestige features more rapidly than men, and in reacting more rapidly against the use of stigmatized forms, women are the chief agents of differentiation" (Labov (2001) p.196,

qtd in Holmquist (2008)). This explains why previous research found that women are less likely to reduce their tokens of /s/, but it does not why there were no correlations with gender found in this study. While the models in this study were able to account for class, there was a very strong correlation between class and gender inherent in the model given that both upper class participants are male. This correlation may have influenced the results of the study, which could explain why no correlations were found for gender. A more thorough discussion on why these unexpected results may have been found will be given in the upcoming paragraphs.

The results on language ideologies from this study are generally consistent with those of similar studies. Jaspal et al. (2013) conducted a study on language stigma and identity in Andalusia and they interviewed 15 participants (average age 24 yrs) from 3 different cities in Andalusia. The study reported that participants were generally aware of the stigma of their language but considered it central to their identity (Jaspal et al 2013). These results are consistent with those found in my study. However, Jaspal et al. (2013) reported more negative perceptions of the Andalusian dialect, one participant saying that Andalusian is “ugly” in comparison to Castilian Spanish (113). While participants in my study were aware of the negative perceptions of their dialect, they only said that others (like people from Northern Spain) considered it to be low prestige, while the participants themselves rejected these ideologies. Narbona (2009), reported results similar to Jaspal et al (2013), saying that Andalusians view their own dialect as inferior, which was not found in the present study.

In general, the results from this study, Narbona (2009), and Jaspal et al (2013) all support the idea that there is a larger stigma surrounding the Andalusian dialect and

culture that Andalusians are very aware of. Snopenko (2007) proposes an explanation for this stigmatization of Andalusian language. She argues that because the language, culture, and politics of Andalusia were distinct from those of the rest of Spain when the country was unified in 1492, Andalusians began to be looked down upon (Snopenko 2007).

While the present study does not provide the necessary information to support or disprove this theory, Snopenko's hypothesis provides a logical explanation to account for the present language ideologies regarding the Andalusian dialect.

The results in participants' language ideologies may help explain the lack of findings with respect to COG and any of the social factors in this study. The lack of significant results for COG and the lack of correlation between gender to either COG or duration was not expected. As discussed in the results section, multiple participants told me that they change the way that they talk when speaking to people who are not from Andalusia or when speaking in a formal setting. Additionally, every participant was aware that Andalusians speak differently, and most of them reported that they had been made fun of because of their accent. These results show that participants are generally well-aware of their accent, and often manipulate it to avoid being judged for the way that they speak. As a foreign researcher only living there for six months, there is a strong chance that participants changed the way that they spoke to me, whether they were conscious of it or not. Although I knew most of the participants personally, there is still a formality to reading a reading passage while being recorded, which also may have influenced participants' speech.

However, the results of participants' COG levels suggest that they may not have been hyper correcting. The mean COG values were relatively low for all participants (all

around 1000Hz), which means that on average, participants were producing to a very reduced /s/. As mentioned in the literature review, many of the previous findings, especially about gender, are contingent upon the notion that /s/ weakening is a stigmatized dialect feature. While the qualitative results for this study supported this idea, the quantitative results revealed that /s/ weakening is very widespread across all classes and genders in the study, with the averages for all classes being under 2,000 Hz (a fully realized /s/ is usually between 6,000-7500Hz). Information from the sociolinguistic interviews supported the idea that there exists a stigma associated with the Andalusian dialect and identity within Spain. However, participants all strongly rejected this stigma. By frequently using reduced forms of /s/, participants are resisting the prestige form used in northern Spain. In doing this, it may be possible that participants are using their language to express their Andalusian identity and reject the stigma. This idea would need further investigation to be supported, but the lack of results in this study open up an interesting discussion about the usage of stigmatized dialect features.

There are also a few limitations of this study that could have contributed to the results that were found. Given the purpose and time constraints of this study, the sample size was relatively small in comparison with other similar studies. As discussed previously, there were only two upper class participants, and both were male. Because of this, there was a strong correlation between gender and class inherent in the models. This correlation limited the possible analysis on the interaction between gender and class and also may have influenced the results. Due to this limitation and the small sample size, the correlation found between class and duration requires further research. Additionally,

although the use of a reading passage is a relatively common practice in linguistic research, participants' speech may have been less naturalistic as a result.

Moving forward, the more naturalistic data from the sociolinguistic interviews should be analyzed quantitatively to see whether these results reveal any more correlations between duration, COG, gender, and class. In addition, this study could be expanded and improved with a larger sample size. The results and implications of this study are still relevant though, because they draw attention to the Andalusian dialect and separate it from Latin American varieties, which is not often done in linguistic research. By studying this dialect through both a sociolinguistic and phonetic lens, preliminary insights into both the dialect features and language ideologies can be made, which lay the groundwork for further investigation.

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7. Appendix

Appendix A: Reading Passage

Reading Passage (from Carlson 2012 Test Sentences-Form A)

1. Me lo dijo ayer.
2. El tren sale a las ocho.
3. ¿No te gusta jugar al tenis?
4. Ayer pintaron la casa.
5. Es cierto que lo busca.
6. Juan trabaja mucho en la universidad.
7. Roberto es el hombre con barba y patillas.
8. No creo que salga.
9. Pablo mira tus fotos.
10. Estaba muy contento.
11. Es posible que lo haga.
12. No conozco esa metrópoli.
13. El ideal de esta gente no consiste en gobernar, sino en ser gobernados.
14. Puedes escribir con bolígrafo o con lápiz.
15. Tengo que estudiar ahora.

16. No he pasado nunca por esas calles.
17. Esta es la lección que no entiende.
18. Tengo el libro que buscas.
19. Aunque me gusta cantar, prefiero bailar.
20. En este barrio buscábamos las casas.
21. ¿A qué hora llega el buque?
22. Es importante que salgas.
23. Fuiste a la fiesta, ¿verdad?
24. ¿Dónde están esos pueblos?
25. No dejes de escribirme.
26. Una es para mi tía y la otra es para mis padres.
27. Cuando vaya a mi pueblo no deje de avisarme.
28. No me gusta comer el arroz.
29. Las cosas pequeñas las meteré en la maleta.
30. Voy a la escuela mañana.
31. Obtuve el pasaporte y nos fuimos para París.
32. No has terminado el trabajo todavía.
33. Juan es muy alto.

34. Alicia sabe más que sus padres.
35. El matar es un gran pecado.
36. Dudo que lo hagas.
37. Esos hombres se fueron en taxis.
38. Los camiones no pasan por esa calle.
39. ¿Quieres acompañarme a hablar con mi sastre?
40. Favor de prestarme tu libro.
41. Las niñas del colegio se pusieron a cantar.
42. Sus padres se fueron para ese pueblo.
43. Los señores viven en estas casas bonitas.
44. Hay varios problemas que no comprendes.
45. ¿Dónde está la casa de su prima?
46. Favor de repetirme la frase otra vez.
47. Creo que la ve.
48. Creo que la ves.

Reading Passage (English Translation)

1. He told me it yesterday.

2. The train leaves at 8.
3. You don't like playing tennis?
4. Yesterday, they painted the house.
5. It's certain that she's looking for it.
6. Juan works a lot in the university.
7. Roberto is the man with a beard and sideburns.
8. I don't think that he left.
9. Pablo looks at your photos.
10. I was very happy.
11. It's possible that she does it.
12. I don't know this metropolis.
13. The ideal of these people isn't to be governors, it is to be governed.
14. You can write with pen or pencil.
15. I have to study now.
16. I have never passed through these streets.
17. This is the lesson she doesn't understand.
18. I have the book you're looking for.
19. Even though I like to sing, I prefer to dance.

20. In this neighborhood, we looked for the houses.
21. What time does the ship arrive?
22. It's important that you leave.
23. You went to the party, right?
24. Where are those towns?
25. Don't stop writing me.
26. One is for my aunt and the other is for my parents.
27. When you go to my town, don't forget to tell me.
28. I don't like eating rice.
29. I will put the small things in my bag.
30. I am going to school tomorrow.
31. I got the passport and we went to Paris.
32. You still haven't finished the work.
33. Juan is very tall.
34. Alicia knows more than her parents.
35. Killing is a big sin.
36. I doubt that you'll do it.
37. These men left in taxis.

38. The busses don't run on these streets.
39. Do you want to come with me and talk to my tailor?
40. Please lend me your book.
41. The girls from high school stopped singing.
42. Her parents left for that town.
43. The women live in these beautiful houses.
44. There are various problems that you don't understand.
45. Where is your cousin's house?
46. Please repeat that phrase for me again.
47. I think he sees it.
48. I think you see it.

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Interview Questions

- 1) ¿Cuáles son los lugares en que vivías cuando eras niño? ¿Cuánto tiempo vivías en cada lugar? ¿Te gustaba esos lugares y por qué/por qué no? ¿Por qué te mudaste a Granada?
- 2) ¿Tienes una memoria favorita de tu niñez?
- 3) ¿Tienes un trabajo aparte de tus estudios? ¿Qué haces en el trabajo? ¿Qué es lo mejor y lo peor de ese trabajo?
- 4) ¿Cuál sería tu profesión ideal y por qué?

- 5) ¿Cómo es un día normal para tí? ¿Cuáles son las actividades que haces todos los días?
- 6) ¿Qué te gusta hacer en el tiempo libre?
- 7) ¿Cuáles son tus pasatiempos y pasiones? ¿Por qué te llamaron la atención esos?
- 8) ¿Cuándo sales de Granada, que te gusta hacer?
- 9) ¿Cuáles actividades recomendarías a alguien visitando a Granada?
- 10) ¿Qué estudias en la universidad? ¿Tienes una memoria favorita de tu tiempo en la universidad?
- 11) ¿Cuáles consejos darías a un estudiante que asiste la universidad hoy en día?
- 12) ¿Cómo es tu familia? ¿Tienes hermanos? ¿Mascotas?
- 13) ¿Qué te gusta hacer con tu familia?
- 14) ¿Piensas que la gente de Andalucía habla en una manera diferente que los otros hispanohablantes? ¿Piensas que la gente de algún lugar suena mejor o más inteligente que la gente del otro lugar?
- 15) ¿Cuándo eras niño, a alguien te enseñó que hay una manera “correcta” de hablar? ¿Y en qué consiste esta manera “correcta”?
- 16) ¿Has tenido alguna experiencia en que tu manera de hablar influyó la manera en que alguien te percibió?

Interview Questions (English)

- 1) In which places did you live when you were a child? How much time did you live in each place? Did you like them and why or why not? Why did you move to Granada?

- 2) Do you have a favorite childhood memory?
- 3) Do you have a job in addition to your studies? What do you do at your job? What are the best and worst things about this job?
- 4) What is your ideal profession and why?
- 5) What does a normal day look like for you? What are the activities that you do every day?
- 6) What do you like to do in your free time?
- 7) What are your hobbies and passions? Why did this draw your attention?
- 8) When you leave Granada, what do you like to do?
- 9) Which activities would you recommend to someone visiting Granada?
- 10) What do you study in college? Do you have a favorite memory from your time in college?
- 11) What advice would you give to a college student today?
- 12) How is your family? Do you have siblings? Pets?
- 13) What do you like to do with your family?
- 14) Do you think that the people from Andalusia speak differently from other Spanish speakers?
- 15) When you were a child, did anyone ever teach you about a “correct” way of speaking? What did this way of speaking consist of?

16) Have you ever had an experience in which your manner of speaking influenced the way someone perceived you?

Note: These interview questions were based off the questions used in Rincon Perez (2015) and Chappel (2013).

Appendix C: Qualitative Results on Participants' Language Ideologies

Table 3

Participant	Do you think that the people from Andalusia speak differently from other Spanish speakers? (14a)	Do you think that people from a certain place sound better or more intelligent than people from another place? (14b)	When you were a child, did anyone ever teach you about a "correct" way of speaking? (15)	Have you ever had an experience in which your manner of speaking influenced the way someone perceived you? (16)	<i>Notes</i>
1	Yes	No	Yes	No*	*They didn't judge me, but they made jokes
2	Yes	No	No	Yes	
3	Yes	No	No	Yes	
4	Yes	No	No	Yes	
5	Yes	No	No	Yes	
6	Yes	No	Yes	No	
7	Yes	No	No*	Yes	* "Sometimes in university, as I study translation, [my professors]

					told me that I should lose my Andalusian accent for my clients”
8	Yes	No	No*	Yes	* In my interpretation class, I had to use a neutral accent for Spanish, pronouncing all of the /s/”
9	Yes	No	Yes	No*	*“They laugh, but not at me, with me”
10	Yes	No	Yes	No*	* “My friends [from Granada] laugh at me when I speak to them after having spoken with a lot of foreigners and they judge me for speaking correctly, they tell me that I’m mentally ill”
Total	Yes: 10 No: 0	Yes: 0 No: 10	Yes: 4/10 No: 6/10	Yes: 6/10 No: 4/10	