"Gracia. Gracias."The pronunciation of the /s/ in the speech of Jaime

Bayly

by

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ABSTRACT

There have been various studies on the pronunciation of the /s/ in Latin American Spanish. Most studies have shown three variants of the /s/ in syllable-final context: [s] (sibilant), [h] (aspiration) and [ø] (deletion). Most studies focused on Caribbean Spanish, i.e. the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and the coasts of Colombia and Venezuela. In Caribbean Spanish, maintaining the /s/ is considered prestigious, aspiration is considered neutral, and deletion of the /s/ is stigmatized (Lafford 1982, 1989). Most people who maintain the /s/ are highly educated people, while people who received little to no education are more likely to delete the /s/ (Lafford 1982, 1989). Besides Caravedo (1990), there have been very few studies on the pronunciation of the /s/ in Peruvian Spanish. To find out more, I analyzed television interviews with Jaime Bayly, a well-known writer and journalist from Lima, Peru to determine when the /s/ is maintained and when it is aspirated or deleted. While watching eight interviews with people of different backgrounds, I recorded what Bayly said, focusing on how he pronounced final-syllable (s). After recording the occurrences of the /s/ and classifying and coding the variables, I used Goldvarb X to establish the probabilistic strength of the proposed factors. The results showed that the most significant linguistic factor was the position of the (s) and the most significant social factors were the gender and acquaintance of the interviewee.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One common topic studied in Spanish sociolinguistics is the pronunciation of the

/s/ in syllable-final contexts. The literature (Lafford 1982, 1989, Hochberg 1986,

Terrell 1979, Caravedo 1990, Ranson 1991) suggests that there are three variants

of this variable in syllable-final contexts: maintenance [s], aspiration[h], and

deletion[ø] (1-3 respectively). The following examples are samples from this

study:

(1) ¿A qué parte de **Australia** te **fuiste** dónde en **Australia** concretamente **vivías**?

'What part of Australia did you leave to where in Australia did you live

concretely?'

(2) Así **eh** cómo se consiguen **loh** contratos en Hollywood.

'That is how you get contracts in Hollywood'.

(3) **Muchaø graciaø.**

'Thank you very much'.

Most of these studies focused on the Spanish spoken in the Caribbean, which

includes Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and the Caribbean coasts of

Colombia and Venezuela. However, there have been few studies on the

pronunciation of the /s/ in other varieties of Spanish, including Peruvian Spanish.

One way to study the pronunciation of /s/ in Peruvian Spanish is to use

real, natural conversations between native speakers of Peruvian Spanish. Another

easier way is to watch talk shows from Peru. One popular talk show in Peru, that I

chose, is "El Francotirador". The host is Jaime Bayly, a famous writer and

journalist who is a native of Lima, the capital of Peru. Bayly interviews well known people in Peru coming from different backgrounds. By watching his interviews, I was able to study and analyze the pronunciation of /s/ in Peruvian Spanish, particularly the variety spoken in Lima, where Bayly and the majority of his guests are from. I noticed that Bayly often used the other variants of the syllable-final (s), which are aspiration and deletion, as well as the standard variant. Focusing on how Bayly pronounces the syllable-final (s) helps me to better understand the pronunciation of the /s/ in the Spanish spoken in Lima in general.

CHAPTER 2

PREVIOUS STUDIES

As was mentioned before, there are various studies on the pronunciation of the /s/

in Spanish, particularly Caribbean Spanish. In the following lines, I will present

studies on the pronunciation of the (s) in different Spanish speech communities in

order to give a better understanding of this phenomenon.

2.1 Cartagena, Colombia (1) (Lafford 1982)

Lafford did a study on the pronunciation of the word final (s) in the

Spanish spoken in Cartagena, Colombia, which is on the Caribbean coast. She

wanted to find out what social factors favored /s/ maintenance, which is the

prestigious variant in that dialect. She had a total of 83 participants, 40 males and

43 females, who had different levels of education and came from different social

classes (upper, upper-middle, middle, lower-middle, and working class). She tape

recorded her conversations with the participants. She began with a ten minute

conversation, asking them general topics like childhood experiences and interests.

Then she spent five minutes asking them questions about current events in

Colombia at that time to make the participants feel more comfortable. Finally, she

spent two minutes asking them what they would do with a lot of money in order

to get them to use casual speech. After transcribing the conversations, she found

the following occurrences of maintaining the sibilant variant among the classes:

- Upper: 26%

- Upper-middle: 19%

- Middle: 22%

- Lower-middle: 16%

- Working : 17%

The results suggest that speakers in higher levels of social class maintain the /s/ more than speakers in lower levels of social class. Men were as likely as women to maintain the /s/. Lafford concluded that social class was the most important factor in maintaining the /s/.

2.2 Cartagena, Colombia (2) (Lafford 1989)

Seven years later, Lafford did another study on the pronunciation of the word final /s/ in the Spanish spoken in Cartagena, Colombia. In this study, she focused on the phonological and grammatical-functional factors on the deletion of word final /s/ besides the social factors. She used the data collected from the 1982 study. However, she only used the data from the upper class participants (16 in total) and the working class participants (20 in total). In this study, she found that the upper class participants used the deleted variant 35% of the time, while the working class participants deleted it 59% of the time. She also found that the phonological factors were the most significant factors in the deletion of word final /s/. The speakers were more likely to delete the /s/ when it was:

1. in a polysyllabic (more than one syllable) word

2. before a consonant

3. in an atonic syllable.

The grammatical-functional factors were not significant. Also, Lafford found that working class speakers deleted the word final /s/ more than the upper class speakers.

2.3 Puerto Rico (Hochberg 1986)

Along the same lines, Hochberg studied the pronunciation of the /s/ in Puerto Rican Spanish. In her study, Hochberg focused on the deletion of the /s/ in the second person singular (*tú*) verb forms. She had ten participants, all of whom were Puerto Rican women in their twenties, working or studying in Boston. Most were working class and were born in Puerto Rico and moved to the United States in their teens or later. To maintain fast, native speech, the interviewer was a native speaker of Puerto Rican Spanish and, like the participants, was a young woman with a working class background. Each one-on-one interview lasted approximately 30 minutes. In the results, there were 3,897 occurrences of the final /s/, and the participants deleted it 53% of the time. Also, they deleted the final /s/ in the *tú* form of verbs 84% of the time. This suggests that working class Puerto Rican women in their twenties have a tendency to delete the final /s/ in that context.

Hochberg tested the functional hypothesis (Silva-Corvalán 2001), which states that speakers maintain sounds that have morphemic value. Morphemic value shows that a phoneme contains semantic information. In the case with the phoneme [s] in word-final contexts in Spanish, it can either demonstrate plurality or the second person singular in verb tenses. According to this hypothesis, speakers will maintain word-final [s] when it has morphemic value because the

phoneme contains important information. However, in Hochberg's study, it was not supported because most of the participants deleted the /s/ when it had the morphemic value of the second person singular.

2.3 Miami Cuban Spanish (Terrell 1979)

Focusing on the same phenomena, Terrell studied the pronunciation of the final /s/ in Cuban Spanish. He interviewed 22 Cubans between the ages of 25 and 50 who were living in Miami at the time. All the participants were middle class, natives of Havana, and lived in Miami for no more than three months. After recording and transcribing the interviews, he found that overall the participants aspirated the final /s/ more than they maintained or deleted it, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Frequency of the variants of final /s/ in Cuban Spanish

Variant	Percentage	Number of occurrences
Sibilant	18%	1443
Aspiration	61%	4947
Deletion	21%	1662
Total	100%	8052

Regarding the phonological order, the participants aspirated the final /s/ more when it was before a consonant and a vowel, while they maintained it before a pause, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequency of the variants of final /s/ by phonological order in Cuban Spanish

Phonological Order	[s]	[h]	[ø]	Number of Occurrences
_Consonant	2%	75%	23%	3265
_Vowel	18%	48%	34%	1300
_Pause	61%	13%	26%	1776

Terrell also took into consideration the grammatical functional of the word final /s/. He found that deletion of plural /s/ was frequent when it was redundant, like in the following example, *No(s) quedamo(s) por tre(s) hora(s).* 'We stayed for three hours' (Terrell 1979). This result did not support the functional hypothesis, just like the results in Hochberg's study (1986). However, he could not find any factor that was significant for the aspiration of the /s/.

2.5 Puente Genil, Andalusia (Ranson 1991)

One possible explanation for the weakening of the /s/ in Caribbean Spanish is that most Spanish colonists who settled in the Caribbean were from Andalusia, a region in the south of Spain, were weakening the /s/ is common. However, Lipski (1996) found that Andalusians only made up a third of the Spanish colonists in the Americas. Nonetheless, native speakers in both areas are known to weaken the /s/. In fact, Ranson (1991) did a study on the deletion of the /s/ in Andalusian Spanish. She went to Puente Genil, a small town in Andalusia,

and interviewed three natives of the town: two men and a woman. All three participants were at least 45 years of age and were working class. Each interview was 45 minutes long. In the results, there were 2,154 occurrences of word-final (s), and the majority of those occurrences ended in deletion, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Frequency of the variants of word-final /s/ in Andalusian Spanish

Variant	Percentage	Number of occurrences
Sibilant	1.5%	32
Aspiration	5%	110
Geminate consonant with next consonant	2%	49
Deletion	91%	1963
Total	100%	12,154

2.6 Lima, Peru (Caravedo 1990)

The only study that I could find that had information on Peruvian Spanish was that of Rocío Caravedo. In a section in her book *Sociolingüística del español de Lima*, she discussed her results from her study on the pronunciation of the /s/ in Peruvian Spanish in Lima. She compared her results to those in studies on the /s/ in Caribbean Spanish to establish dialectal similarities and/or differences. Caravedo mostly focused on phonological order and how it affected the pronunciation of variable (s), but she also took into consideration social status.

First, she discussed her results from her overall study. She found that the choice of using one of the variants mostly depended on phonological order, i.e.

the sounds that preceded and followed the /s/. The sound that followed the /s/ had the most influence. Speakers mostly maintained the /s/ when it was followed by a vowel, while speakers mostly aspirated or deleted the /s/ when it was followed by a consonant or a pause.

Then, she discussed her results on how social status combined with phonological order had an effect on the pronunciation of /s/. She had two social groups: one group of highly educated people and one group of people who received little to no education. She found that the highly educated people preferred to maintain the /s/ (77.94% [s] compared to 15.40% [h] and 4.7% [ø]), while people with little to no education also preferred to maintain the /s/ but not as much as the other group (72.7% [s]) (Caravedo 1990). People with little to no education also deleted the /s/ more frequently than the highly educated people (11.3% [ø]) (Caravedo 1990).

Not only was there a preference for a variant, there was also a preference for using a specific variant in a specific phonological context. Among the highly educated people, maintaining the /s/ was mostly preferred when it preceded a vowel or a pause (98.6% and 92.8%, respectively) and aspiration was slightly preferred more than maintaining the /s/ when it preceded a consonant (44.5% and 43.5%, respectively). (Caravedo 1990). Among the people with little to no education, however, maintaining the /s/ was most preferred in all phonological orders. However, they maintained the /s/ more when it preceded a vowel (85.6% compared to 55.8% when preceding a consonant and 57.6% when preceding a

9

pause) (Caravedo 1990). When the /s/ preceded a consonant or a pause, they preferred deletion.

Finally, Caravedo compared her study with a study done on Puerto Rican Spanish in San Juan by López Morales (1983). Before comparing the results, Caravedo mentioned that Peruvians are conservative in maintaining final /s/; in other words, they use the sibilant variant more than the aspirated and deleted variants. Caribbean people, on the other hand, are weakeners; they prefer to weaken the /s/. In her results, Peruvians from Lima mostly maintained the /s/ (75.9%), while in López Morales's results, Puerto Ricans from San Juan either aspirated (51.1%) or deleted the /s/ (38.2%) (Caravedo 1990). Table 4 compares the results from the two studies in detail.

Table 4. Frequency of the variants of the /s/ in the Spanish spoken in Lima compared to the Spanish spoken in San Juan

	Lima		San Juan	
	Number of occurrences	Percentage	Number of occurrences	Percentage
[s]	15,902	75.9	2,235	9
[h]	2,590	12.37	12,705	51.1
[ø]	1,519	7.2	9,489	38.2

From these results, one can clearly see that Peruvians prefer to maintain the /s/, while Caribbean speakers prefer to aspirate or delete the /s/, thus showing that different ends of a continuum of (s) weakening in Latin American Spanish, which

goes from more conservative (sibilant-maintaining) to more innovative (sibilant-deleting/weakening).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

To conduct this study, I watched eight different interviews with Jaime Bayly on his show "El Francotirador". Each interview had a different person and was ten minutes long. I watched the interviews on YouTube. I transcribed Bayly's speech, focusing on how he pronounced final-syllable /s/.

The only person who was present in all the interviews was Bayly. As was mentioned before, he is from Lima and is a writer and a journalist. His family is wealthy and he attended the prestigious Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Before getting his own show, he interviewed politicians and hosted a late night show. In 2010, he decided to run for president, but later dropped his candidacy. After he dropped his candidacy, his show got cancelled. He also wrote some best-seller novels about his youth and politics.

The first interview that I watched was with Christian Meier, an actor and singer. Like Bayly, he is from Lima. He comes from an upper-middle class family where his father is mayor of the San Isidro district in Lima and his mother was Miss Universe in 1957. He was in a rock band called Arena Hash until the band broke when a member went solo. Soon he started acting. He acted in some movies, but mostly acted in telenovelas. His most popular telenovela was "Zorro: La Espada y la Rosa" and he talked about it in his interview. Currently, he is in the telenovela "Doña Bárbara" on Telemundo.

The second interview was with Kina Malpartida, a boxer from Lima. She, too, has an upper-middle class background. Her father was a professional surfing

champion and her mother was a model. On February 21, 2009, she won the WBA Junior Lightweight title, which she talked about in her interview. She is a frequent guest on Bayly's show.

The third interview was with Enrique Ghersi, a politician and lawyer from Lima. He is friends with Bayly. In fact, he attended Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú with Bayly and they talked about their experiences at the university in the interview. Like Bayly, he has an upper-middle class background. Ghersi was a representative for Lima, which was also discussed in the interview. Currently, he is a professor at the University of Lima.

The fourth interview was with Miguelito Barraza, a comedian from Lima. I found very little information about him. The only information that I could find was that he comes from a working class family and is considerably older than Bayly.

The fifth interview was with Magaly Solier, a singer and actress from Huanta, Ayacucho, Peru. Like the previous interviewee, she came from a working class background. She acted mostly in movies and recently made an album. She is a frequent guest on the show. In the interview that I watched, she came back to the show with avocadoes from her farm because Bayly asked her to bring some in the previous interview.

The sixth interview was with Giuliana Llamoja, a law student from Lima who wrote poetry. She came from an upper-middle class family where her father was a judge. She did not get along with her mother. In 2005, she got into a fight with mother and stabbed her with a knife, killing her. Prior to this fight, she had

thought about killing her mother by putting rat poison in her drink, but her mother found out. The judge decided that it was murder caused by violent emotion and sentenced her to 12 years in prison, but she only served 4 years. After she was released, she published five poems. In the interview, she read her favorite poem and talked about her poetry. Bayly asked her about the murder of her mother and she told him that she was not comfortable talking about it.

The seventh interview was with Johanna San Miguel, an actress and TV show hostess from Lima. Unlike the other actress, she came from an upper-middle class background. In 1984, she got her first acting job in the soap opera "Carmín". In 1995, she acted in another soap opera called "Los Unos y los Otros". Later, she acted in a popular show called "Patacláun", which was a comedy. However, she is most famous for being the entertainment hostess on the morning news show "Primera Edición".

The last interview was with Tongo, a popular singer from El Tambo, Peru. Like Miguel Barraza, Tongo came from a working class background and is older than Bayly. He started singing when he joined the church choir at the age of seven. He recorded his first album when he was eighteen. The most common theme in his songs is the suffering of the Peruvian people. He is a frequent guest on the show. When Bayly ran for president, Tongo wrote a song called "Jaime Pa Presidente" (Bayly for President) to help Bayly win. Also, Tongo is the godfather of Bayly's daughter.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

As stated before, this study concentrates in the pronunciation of the final-syllable

(s) in Bayly's speech. Like the previous studies, I have three different variants of

the variable (s): maintenance [s], aspiration [h] and deletion [ø]. One common

factor in the studies on the pronunciation of the /s/ is phonological order. There

are three positions of the /s/: before a consonant, before a vowel, and before a

pause (4-6, respectively). The following examples are samples from this study:

   (4) ¿**Tienes** bonito recuerdo del colegio?

    'Do you have nice memories from high school?'

   (5) Eh bueno **es es** histórico tu triunfo…

    'Eh well it's it's historical your triumph…'

   (6) Te **acuerdas**?

    'Do you remember?'

One more factor that I am considering in this study is morphemic value. Example

7 is a sample of morphemic value from this study, while Example 8 is a sample of

non-morphemic value.

   (7) Tú ¿**cuántas almas tienes**?

    'You how many souls do you have?

   (8) Nos hubiera bien encantado verte con **esta** barba.

    'We would have been delighted to see you with that beard'.

To better understand when Bayly maintains or weakens the (s), I am also taking

into consideration the interviewees. First, I categorized them by gender (male or

female) and then by acquaintance (i.e. whether each person is an acquaintance of Bayly or not). Then, I categorized the interviewees by profession, which I classified as either media (acting, singing, comedy) or non-media (politics, sports, school). Finally, I categorized the interviewees by their social class, which was upper-middle or working class for this study.

After coding the variables, I looked at my transcriptions and coded each word that had syllable-final (s). I put my tokens into Goldvarb X to find out which variable had an effect on Bayly's choice of the pronunciation of the (s).

4.1 Hypothesis

For this study, I had three different hypotheses. My first two hypotheses were based on linguistic factors. They were:

1. Bayly's pronunciation of the variable (s) will be conditioned by the positions according to Caravedo (1990).
2. Bayly's pronunciation of the variable (s) will not support the functional hypothesis (Silva-Corvalán 2001).

My third hypothesis was based on social factors. Bayly will accommodate his pronunciation of the variable (s) due to the following characteristics of each interviewee:

a. Gender
b. Acquaintanceship
c. Social class

d. Profession.

I will base my third hypothesis on Giles's (1991) theory of accommodation, which states a speaker will adjust or accommodate his or her speech to the speech of the listener to make him or herself more favorable. Speakers usually accommodate their speech to create solidarity or to identify more with other people. It is possible for a speaker to maintain his or her speech in order to distance him or herself from the other speakers. Speakers will adjust, or accommodate, their speech depending on the situation.

4.2 Results

Abiding by the principle of accountability (Tagliamonte 2006), which states that I must take into consideration all of the factors, I will explain the results of each variant separately. First, I will discuss the results of the non-standard variants, which are aspiration and deletion. Then I will discuss the results of the standard variant, which is maintaining the syllable-final (s). For each variant, I will show a table with the results and then I will explain them.

2.1 Aspiration [h]

Table 5. Factors contributing to the aspiration of final-syllable /s/

Corrected mean: 0.06

Log likelihood: -201.579

Total N: 827

Factor	Factor weight	%	N
Position			
_ Consonant	0.612	9	628
_ Vowel	0.192	1	199
Range	42		
Gender			
Female	0.603	9	449
Male	0.378	4	378
Range	23		
Social class			
Working	[0.693]	9	229
Upper-middle	[0.423]	6	598
Range	[27]		
Acquaintance			
Stranger	[0.607]	9	313
Acquaintance	[0.434]	6	514
Range	[17]		
Profession			
Non-media	[0.550]	6	440
Media	[0.443]	8	387
Range	[11]		
Morphemic value			
Morphemic	[0.538]	7	515
Non-morphemic	[0.437]	7	312
Range	[10]		

After I put my data into Goldvarb X, I found that Bayly never aspirated

the /s/ before a pause; he either maintained it on deleted it. Once I discovered that,

I decided to exclude pre-pause position for the aspirated variant.

After I put my revised data into Goldvarb X, I found that the most

significant factors were position of the /s/ and gender of the interviewee as Table

5 shows. Table 5 gives the range for each factor. The range is the result of subtracting the lowest factor weight from the highest factor weight. The range measures the strength of the factor groups. The factor group with the highest range is the factor that has the most strength, i.e. it is statistically the most significant factor. Table 5 shows that the position of the syllable-final /s/ was more significant than the gender of the interviewee because the position factor has a higher range than the gender factor (42 and 23, respectively). Also, Table 5 shows the factors that Goldvarb found not to be significant. To distinguish the non-significant factors from the significant ones, I put brackets around the factor weights and ranges (Tagliamonte 2006).

Bayly used the aspirated variant more when it was in a pre-consonant position (9%) than when it was in a pre-vowel position (1%). The pre-consonant position had a factor weight of 0.612. For example, in his interview with Giuliana Llamoja, Bayly asked her which one of her five poems she liked the most:

(9) ¿Cuál es el **máh** que te gusta a ti?

'Which one do you like the most?'

Also, he aspirated more when he talked to females (9%) than when he talked to males (4%). The female gender had a factor weight of 0.603. For example, when he wanted to know which poems Llamoja wrote, he said:

(10) ¿**Cuántoh** son **loh poemah** que publicas?

'How many poems you publish?'

4.2.2 Deletion [ø]

Table 6. Factors contributing to the deletion of final-syllable /s/

Corrected mean: 0.29

Log likelihood: -529.814

Total N: 954

Factor	Factor weight	%	N
Position			
_ Consonant	0.637	40	628
_ Pause	0.353	21	127
_ Vowel	0.200	12	199
Range	44		
Morphemic value			
Morphemic	0.595	37	606
Non-morphemic	0.338	23	348
Range	26		
Gender			
Male	0.569	39	433
Female	0.443	26	521
Range	13		
Acquaintance			
Acquaintance	0.547	36	598
Stranger	0.421	25	356
Range	13		
Social class			
Upper-middle	[0.549]	32	674
Working	[0.383]	31	280
Range	[17]		
Profession			
Media	[0.565]	30	459
Non-media	[0.440]	34	495
Range	[13]		

Next, I will discuss the results of the deleted variant. After I put the data into Goldvarb X, I found that the most significant factors favoring syllable-final /s/ deletion were position, morphemic value, gender, and acquaintance.

Table 6 shows the ranges for each factor involved in syllable-final /s/ deletion. The factor with the highest range is the position of syllable-final /s/, which has a range of 44. This means that the position of syllable-final /s/ is the most significant factor favoring syllable-final /s/ deletion. The following significant factors are the morphemic value of syllable-final /s/, the gender and acquaintance of the interviewee, which have ranges of 26, 13, and 13, respectively. Since morphemic value was a significant factor for the deleted variant, the functional hypothesis (Silva-Corvalán 2001) is not confirmed. The two factors that Goldvarb found not to be significant in syllable-final /s/ deletion are the profession and social class of the interviewee.

Table 6 also shows that in the position group, Bayly deleted the /s/ more when it was in a pre-consonant position (40%) than when it was in a pre-vowel or a pre-pause position (12% and 21%, respectively). The pre-consonant position had a factor weight of 0.637. For example, in his interview with Enrique Ghersi, while he was talking about how the both of them first started to get involved in politics, he said:

(11) …pero no **teníamoø** partido ni **teníamoø laø** firmas.

'…but we did not have a party neither did we have the signatures.'

Another significant factor was the morphemic value of the (s). He deleted the (s) more when it had morphemic value (37%) than when it did not have morphemic value (23%). The morphemic value had a factor weight of 0.595. For example, in his interview with Tongo, he said:

(12) Me dicen cinco mil **almaø cuántaø personaø** son?

'They tell me five thousands souls how many people are there?'

Regarding the interviewees, one of the most significant factors was the gender of the interlocutor. He deleted the (s) more when he talked with males (39%) than with females (26%). The male gender had a factor weight of 0.569. Using the verb *tener* as an example, in his interview with Miguelito Barraza, he said:

(13) Simplemente te preguntado que **tieneø** fama de borrachín ¿no?

'Simply I asked that you are known for being a drunk, right?'

In his interview with Kina Malpartida, however, he asked her:

(14) ¿Ya **tienes** una una pelea pactada para defender tu título de campeona?

'Do you already have a an agreed fight to defend your title as champion?'

Another significant factor about the interviewees was whether the interviewee was an acquaintance of Bayly or not. He deleted the /s/ more when he talked to acquaintances (36%) than to strangers (25%). The acquaintance factor had a factor weight of 0.547. An excellent example of this is when Bayly interviewed his friend Enrique Ghersi, and he started talking about the idea that both he and his friend should run for president and said the following:

(15) Eh yo tengo la idea de que cinco años **eø** mucho tiempo para un presidente ¿no?

Hay **otroø** países en en **loø** que el periódo **loø Estadoø Unidoø** por ejemplo **eø** cuatro.

'Eh I have an idea that five years is a lot of time for a president, isn't it? There are other countries in in which the period the United States for example is four'.

4.2.3 Maintenance of the /s/ [s]

Table 7. Factors contributing to the maintenance of final syllable /s/

Corrected mean: 0.64

Log likelihood: -551.411

Total N: 954

Factor	Factor weight	%	N
Position			
_ Vowel	0.823	85	199
_ Pause	0.712	78	127
_ Consonant	0.338	50	628
Range	49		
Morphemic value			
Non-morphemic	0.668	69	348
Morphemic	0.401	56	606
Range	27		
Acquaintance			
Stranger	0.569	66	356
Acquaintance	0.459	58	598
Range	11		
Social class			
Lower	[0.549]	61	280
Upper-middle	[0.479]	61	674
Range	[7]		
Profession			
Non-media	[0.532]	60	495
Media	[0.466]	62	459
Range	[7]		
Gender			
Female	[0.529]	64	521
Male	[0.465]	57	433
Range	[6]		

Finally, I will discuss the results of the maintenance of the /s/, i.e. the standard variant. After I put my data into Goldvarb X, I found that the most significant factors were position, morphemic value, and acquaintance.

Table 7 shows the range for each factor involved in syllable-final /s/ maintenance. The factor with the highest range is the position of syllable-final /s/,

which has a range of 49. This means that the position of syllable-final /s/ is the most significant factor in syllable-final /s/ maintenance. The following significant factors are the morphemic value of syllable-final /s/ and the acquaintance of the interviewee, which have ranges of 27 and 11, respectively. The three factors that Goldvarb found not to be significant in syllable-final /s/ maintenance were the gender, profession, and social class of the interviewee.

As shown in Table 7, in the position group, he maintained the (s) more when it was in a pre-vowel position (85%) than when it was in a pre-consonant (50%) or a pre-pause (78%) position. The pre-vowel position had a factor weight of 0.823. For example, when Magaly Solier talked about working at her farm, he asked:

(11) Y ¿en qué consiste **más** o menos tu trabajo cuando **estás** allá?

'And what consists more or less your work when you are there?'

In the morphemic value group, he maintained the (s) more when it did not have morphemic value (69%) than when it did have it (56%). The non-morphemic value had a factor weight of 0.668. An example of this is when Johanna San Miguel said how many years she worked for her company and his response was:

(12) ¿**Justo** cuatro?

'Just four?'

Regarding the interviewees, the most significant factor is acquaintance. He maintained the /s/ more when he talked to strangers (66%) than to acquaintances (58%). The stranger factor had a weight of 0.569. Using the verb *tener* as an

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example, when he asked Christian Meier why the color of his moustache changed,

he asked him:

(13) Y esto, ¿por qué no **tienes** ese color ahora?

   'And this, why don't you have that color now?'

In his interview with his friend Enrique Ghersi, however, he said,

  (14) Tú, tú **tieneø** ganaø de entrar en en la pelea política…

    'You, you feel like entering in in the political fight…'

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Clearly, the one factor that was consistently most significant in all variants was the phonological environment of the /s/. Bayly never aspirated the /s/ before a pause, but he did aspirate it more when it was in a pre-consonant position than in a pre-vowel position. He deleted the /s/ more when it was in a pre-consonant position, while he maintained it when it was in a pre-vowel position. One possible explanation for why Bayly maintained the /s/ more in a pre-vowel position is complementary distribution (Hualde 2005), which states that in a spoken language, one variant is used in a certain phonological context, while another variant is used another phonological context. Based on these results, the standard variant [s] is used in pre-vowel positions, while the non-standard variants are used in the other positions. This result agrees with the results found in Caravedo's (1990) study on the pronunciation of the (s) in the Spanish spoken by both highly educated and poorly educated speakers in Lima and supports my first hypothesis.

Another significant factor was the morphemic value of the (s). The results showed that Bayly deleted the /s/ when it had morphemic value, while he maintained it when it did not have morphemic value. These findings, once again, go against the functional hypothesis (Silva-Corvalán 2001); this refutation of the functional hypothesis was hypothesized in this study.

There were two factors about the interviewees that were significant, one of which was gender. Bayly aspirated the /s/ more when he talked to females, while he deleted it more when he talked to males. One possible explanation for this

result is covert prestige, which is the idea that for men to use non-standard speech conveys some type of prestige. Labov (1972) explains that men are more concerned with establishing solidarity instead of social prestige; therefore they use non-standard speech, which is what people speak on a regular basis. Women, on the other hand, are more concerned with social prestige, therefore they use standard speech. Aspiration, while it is not the standard variant, is not stigmatized like deletion. Thus, Bayly used the aspirated variant more with women and the deleted variant more with men. Also, although not statistically significant, Table 7 shows that Bayly used the sibilant variant [s] with women 64% whereas only 57% with men.

The acquaintance factor was significant as well. He deleted the (s) more when he talked to acquaintances, while he maintained it more when he talked to strangers. One possible explanation for this result is Giles's (1991) accommodation theory, which states that an individual will accommodate his or her speech to that of the interlocutor to be more favorable to the interlocutor. Giles found that accommodating one's speech was often used to create solidarity or identify more with the interlocutor. However, if an individual wanted to distance himself or herself from the interlocutor, then the individual maintained his or her speech. Since non-standard speech is commonly used among acquaintances, Bayly decided to accommodate his speech to the non-standard speech when he talked to his acquaintances, while he maintained his speech with a stranger to distinguish himself from the person.

The two factors that were not significant in any of the variants were the profession and social class of the interviewees. One possible explanation is that I had an uneven number of interviewees in these two categories. I had five interviewees who had media jobs and three who did not. Also, I had five interviewees who were upper-middle class and three who were working class. All three working class interviewees had media jobs.

CHAPTER 6

LIMITATIONS

The most obvious is that I focused on one person in this study. For a future study,

there has to be more than one participant's speech analyzed. An ideal sample for a

study is 30 participants: 15 men and 15 women. The participants should vary in

social class, and there should be an equal number for each class. Also, I used

episodes from a talk show, which does show some normal everyday speech.

However, the best way to obtain normal everyday speech is through one-on-one

interviews with each participant.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the data and results, Bayly will most likely aspirate or delete final-syllable (s) when it precedes a consonant, while he will maintain it when it precedes a vowel. Goldvarb found that the most significant factor for all variants was the position of the /s/. This supports a previous study (Caravedo 1990) that found that Peruvians from Lima tend to aspirate or delete the /s/ before a consonant and maintain it before a vowel.

Regarding the use of the aspirated variant, another significant factor was the gender of the interviewee. Bayly will most likely use the aspirated variant when he interviews a woman. This supports the theory of cover prestige, which states that it is unacceptable for a woman to use non-standard speech. Even though aspiration is a non-standard variant, it is more acceptable than deletion; therefore he will use the more acceptable variant with women. Also, this supports the theory of accommodation because he accommodated his speech with men and with women.

Regarding the use of the deleted variant, the other significant factors were morphemic value, and the gender and acquaintance of the interviewee. Bayly will most likely use the deleted variant when the (s) has morphemic value, hence disproving the functional hypothesis. Bayly will most likely use the deleted variant when he interviews a man, thus supporting the theory of covert prestige, which allows men to use non-standard speech as acceptable behavior. Also, Bayly will most likely use the deleted variant when he interviews an acquaintance,

which shows that he accommodates his speech to create solidarity with the person.

Regarding the use of the sibilant variant, the other significant factors were morphemic value and the acquaintance of the interviewee. Bayly will most likely use the sibilant variant when the (s) does not have morphemic value, which again disproves the functional hypothesis. Also, Bayly will most likely use the sibilant variant when he interviews a stranger in order to distinguish himself from the interviewee.

Based on what I found, Peruvians, particularly those from Lima, are less likely to aspirate or delete final-syllable /s/ than maintain it, which is what Caravedo (1990) found. Even though I focused on one person in this study, my results give more information about the pronunciation of the /s/ in Peruvian Spanish. As I mentioned before, there is plenty of information on the pronunciation of the /s/ in the Latin American dialects of Spanish, but very few on Peruvian Spanish. My study was a small step into finding more information about the constraints governing the occurrences of variable (s) in Peruvian Spanish.

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For information on Bayly and the interviewees:

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YouTube www.youtube.com