Title: Accommodating to Stereotypes

This presentation contributes to a central question on sound change actuation: "How much control and free choice does a speaker have on which phonetic variants to use and with whom?"

This presentation will focus on the Sociolinguistic-Speech Accommodation analysis of the variant productions of the /tr/ cluster in Chilean Spanish, which include the alveopalatal affricate [ʧ] and the voiced cluster [dr]. The affrication or palatalization of /tr/ has been associated with Andean Spanish, but has been documented for other varieties as well, including peninsular varieties (Lipski 2009, Hualde 2005). In Chilean Spanish, the affricate variant was found to be socially stigmatized at all social class levels (Silva-Corvalán 1987), and associated with male speakers.

My treatment of the /tr/ cluster differs from previous sociolinguistic work on this topic in two important ways. First, I am using spectrographic analyses to classify the variants that will be used as dependent variables for the statistical analysis. This approach will allow for a more precise characterization of the internal and external factors that influence the variation. Secondly, rather than focus solely on speaker traits, I am using a Speech Accommodation framework, the Audience Design model (Bell 1984, 2002), to analyze verbal exchanges between selected sets of radio co-hosts as they converse with each other and as they address different target audiences. I am analyzing these interlocutor interactions through four speech genres that range in formality from informal banter to international newscasts. No previous study has examined interlocutor relationships or public speech with this variable.

The data for this study comes from approximately 60 hours of high quality digital radio programming selected from 12 radio stations based in Santiago, Chile. A total of 1200 tokens of /tr/ segments were extracted from the speech of 72 reporters, program hosts, and invited guests, all natives of the Santiago metropolitan area. The contexts of the speech range in formality across four main genres: newscasts and news programs, formal journalistic interviews, sport-show commentaries, and light entertainment shows. The stations selected also target different audiences, which are coded for education level/social class, sex, and age. Linguistic factors such as word frequency, phonetic context, and stress were also coded. A logistic regression analysis, using Goldvarb X, was used to determine which linguistic and extra-linguistic factors contribute to the production of the variant forms.

Results of the logistical regression analysis suggest that male speakers in the 30-50 year age bracket favor the palatalized variant form. Interestingly, the data shows that speakers who do not belong to one or either of these groups (such as women or men who are under 30 or over 50), choose the variant form at a higher rate when speaking to co-hosts who are 30-50 year old males, even though these co-hosts did not produce any variant forms themselves throughout the recordings. The data suggests mutual accommodation among interlocutors to the speech patterns of their listener's sex and/or age group, overriding not only the speaker's normative pattern but also the listener's individual speech patterns. For this dataset, the answer to the question on sound change actuation is *yes*, speakers do exhibit a great deal of control on which phonetic variants to use and with whom.

While the formality level of the speech genre, the interlocutors' sex, and the education level of the target audience were statistically the most influential factors on variant production, linguistic variables such as syllable stress and word frequency were also shown to be significant. This study provides a detailed description of the usage of standard /tr/ and its variant forms across four genres of speech targeting different audiences. Results from this study extend our knowledge of palatalization in one variety of Spanish with implications for the variation of /tr/ found across other dialects and even languages.

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