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Sociolinguistics of the Spanish-Speaking World

Manuel Díaz-Campos, Juan M. Escalona Torres, and Valentyna Filimonova

Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405-7103, USA; email: mdiazcam@indiana.edu, jumescal@indiana.edu, valefili@indiana.edu

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Abstract

This review provides a state-of-the-art overview of Spanish sociolinguistics and discusses several areas, including variationist sociolinguistics, bilingual and immigrant communities, and linguistic ethnography. We acknowledge many recent advances and the abundant research on several classic topics, such as phonology, morphosyntax, and discourse-pragmatics. We also highlight the need for research on understudied phenomena and emphasize the importance of combining both quantitative and ethnographic methodologies in sociolinguistic research. Much research on Spanish has shown that the language's wide variation across the globe is a reflection of Spanish-speaking communities' rich sociohistorical and demographic diversity. Yet, there are many areas where research is needed, including bilingualism in indigenous communities, access to bilingual education, attitudes toward speakers of indigenous languages, and language maintenance and attrition. Language policy, ideology, and use in the legal and health care systems have also become important topics of sociolinguistics today as they relate to issues of human rights.

1. INTRODUCTION

This review provides a general overview of recent developments in Spanish sociolinguistics and highlights major contributions to the field as well as topics that have emerged in recent research. Instead of providing an exhaustive review, we have selected the most recent studies and make recommendations for further work in areas where research is scarce. Section 2 provides an overview of the most recent work in Hispanic sociolinguistics. Section 3 is dedicated to broader contributions of Spanish sociolinguistic research in relation to linguistics and especially bilingual regions and immigrant communities. Section 4 is concerned with linguistic ethnography, and Section 5 briefly alludes to other relevant areas in sociolinguistic studies. Section 6 concludes with future directions that the field should take, given the current state of affairs.

2. RECENT RESEARCH IN SPANISH SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Variationist (or quantitative) sociolinguistics focuses on the linguistic and extralinguistic conditioning of variable phenomena. This branch of sociolinguistics is traditionally considered a theoretical and methodological approach to the study of language and stresses the examination of language use in context. The use of this approach in Spanish-focused studies dates back to Cedergren's (1973) seminal work, which examined several variable phonetic phenomena in Panamanian Spanish, including syllable-final /s/ aspiration and deletion, lenition of /tʃ/, and intervocalic /d/ deletion. Cedergren's groundbreaking work laid the foundation for research in both Latin American and Peninsular Spanish (see Samper-Padilla 2004). Pioneering scholars included Orlando Alba, Paola Bentivoglio, Henrietta Cedergren, Francesco D'Introno, Jorge Guitart, Humberto López-Morales, Amparo Morales, Maximiliano Jiménez Sabater, Mercedes Sedano, Tracy Terrell, and María Vaquero.

There is a long tradition in Hispanic linguistics of collecting oral data in the format of sociolinguistic interviews. For example, Díaz-Campos (2011) has highlighted *El estudio coordinado de la norma lingüística culta de las principales ciudades de Iberoamérica y de la Península Ibérica* [The coordinated study of the educated linguistic norm in the main Iberian-American and Iberian Peninsula cities] (see Lope Blanch 1977), which comprises oral samples from 12 major cities across the Spanish-speaking world. Likewise, *El proyecto para el estudio sociolingüístico del español de España y de América* [The project for the sociolinguistic study of Spanish from Spain and America] (PRESEEA 2014) provides geographically varied speech samples from several institutions. A recent overview of Hispanic sociolinguistics, including research from Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Spain, and the United States, can be found in a special volume of the journal *Español Actual* (Moreno-Fernández 2012).

In the study of variable phenomena, no linguistic feature is necessarily exclusive to a particular region. However, in this review, we consider phonological and morphosyntactic phenomena that are predominant in the Americas, Spain, Africa, and Asia as well as those shared across regions. The research regarding these phenomena contributes to an understanding of the common patterns of variability shared across Spanish-speaking regions as well as the social meanings that characterize the development of sociolinguistic variables in particular communities.

2.1. Phonological Variables

There has been a variety of research on phonological phenomena across several regions of the Spanish-speaking world. In this section, we review some of the iconic phonological variables that have been studied in Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. We close the section with a discussion of phonological phenomena that are prevalent cross-regionally in Spanish.

2.1.1. Latin America. This section focuses on phonological sociolinguistic phenomena attested in Latin American varieties of Spanish.

Zheísmo is a variable phenomenon typically found in the River Plate region that encompasses Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. This variable is defined by the alternation of two variants: (*a*) a palato-alveolar voiced fricative [ʒ] and (*b*) a palato-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ]. For instance, Fontanella de Weinberg (1973) found that younger women, in contrast to older women, were the promoters of the linguistic change in Buenos Aires as evidenced by their increased production of the innovative variant (i.e., voiceless [ʃ]). More recently, Rohena-Madrazo (2015) has shown that the voiceless variant is produced almost categorically by younger speakers, whereas older speakers variably use the voiced and voiceless variants. Rohena-Madrazo (2015) has argued that the voiceless variant is becoming the normative pronunciation in Buenos Aires Spanish. Analyzing zheísmo at different time intervals enables tracking of the direction of change by examining the shifts in social and linguistic conditioning of the variable over time.

Another sociolinguistic variable is the backing (or change from front to back place of articulation) of /r/. For example, the syllable-initial alveolar trill /r/ alternates with velar, uvular, or glottal productions in certain regions of Puerto Rico (see Delgado-Díaz & Galarza 2015, p. 70). Navarro Tomás (1948), the first researcher to document this phenomenon, described it along a range of velar variants that differ in manner and voicing. A sociolinguistic study by Medina-Rivera (1999) revealed that velar variants are favored in conversational styles in contrast to more formal styles such as oral presentations. Polemic discourse topics and dialogic and narrative rhetorical modes also favor the use of velar variants. In a doctoral dissertation that compared speakers from Cabo Rojo with Puerto Ricans in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Valentín Márquez (2007) showed that the velar variant was favored by males and middle-aged speakers in both communities. This study resonates with more recent research on attitudes toward sociolinguistic variables in Puerto Rican Spanish (Díaz-Campos et al. 2014). The results, based on a matched guise test, suggest that backed /r/ is negatively evaluated overall and even more so in female speakers.

An assibilated rhotic is a linguistic feature characteristic of Mexico, the Andes region (Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador), and Costa Rica. Assibilation is characterized by the pronunciation of a trill and a tap with qualities similar to sibilant sounds, such as [s] and [ʃ]. Several studies of Mexican Spanish (Moreno de Alba 1972, Perissinotto 1972) have reported that assibilated variants are favored by female, younger, and middle-class speakers. In a sociolinguistic study in San Luis Potosí, Mexico, Rissel (1989) found that assibilation was most common among women and representatives of the middle class. Conservative speakers, as defined by their opinions about the role of women in society, assibilated less. Working-class men with more conservative views formed the group that used the least assibilation, which they associated with feminine speech.

Palatalization of the velar voiceless fricative [x] is a process of changing the velar place of articulation toward the postalveolar region. This phenomenon, documented especially in Chilean Spanish (see RAE-NGLE 2011, p. 194), tends to occur when [x] is followed by a front vowel [i] or [e] (e.g., [ˈçe̪n̪-te] instead of [ˈxe̪n̪-te] for *gente* 'people') (see Oroz 1966). In a recent study, Flores (2017) found that in a speech sample from Chilean radio, 56% of items analyzed were palatal variants. Specifically, more palatalization was observed in interview programs and among the stations that had nationwide reach. Flores (2017, p. 37) concluded that "today's media speech is more conversation-like and broadcasters are encouraged to connect more with their listeners." These results suggest that the palatalized variant is associated with more informal styles (e.g., radio interviews) and reflects Chilean vernacular.

Syllable-final liquid gliding is a process whereby liquids are produced as a glided high front vowel [j] as a result of tongue lowering (e.g., [mu-ˈher] > [mu-ˈhej] *mujer* 'woman,' [ˈgol-pe] > [ˈgoj-pe] *golpe* 'punch'; see RAE-NGLE 2011, p. 254). In the case of Dominican Spanish,

Alba (1988) found that liquid gliding was socially stratified and was especially prevalent among lower socioeconomic levels and in speakers over 50 years old. We should note that with respect to this phenomenon, there is a scarcity of sociolinguistic studies. Quantitative analyses and contemporary ethnographic studies examining the sociolinguistic profile of this phenomenon in the Dominican Republic and other Spanish-speaking regions would be valuable contributions to the literature.

Another phenomenon that affects syllable-final liquids is gemination—that is, lengthening of consonants as a result of coarticulation (e.g., [koɾ-ˈβa-ta] > [kob-ˈba-ta] *corbata* 'tie,' [ˈpweɾ-ta] > [ˈpwet-ta] *puerta* 'door'). In the examples of *corbata* 'tie' and *puerta* 'door,' the consonant clusters [ɾβ] and [ɾt] are reconfigured as [bb] and [tt]; this shift can be interpreted either as full assimilation of the rhotic segment [ɾ] to the following consonant or as a product of compensation efforts caused by the elision of the liquid segment. This is typical in Cuban speech and among the Caribbean varieties of Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and the coast of Colombia. With respect to Cuba specifically, Lipski (2005, p. 257) has suggested that gemination tends to be common in rural regions of the center of the island. This is another area of research where more sociolinguistic studies are needed since the phenomenon is only mentioned in broad descriptive reference books.

The process of /p-b/ and /t-d/ backing entails a change in the place of articulation of these anterior segments to the velum, such that *Pepsi* 'Pepsi' is pronounced as [ˈpek-si], and *absoluto* 'absolute' becomes [ak-so-ˈlu-to]. Both of these examples illustrate the change of articulation from bilabial /p-b/ to velar [k]. In Spain, on the contrary, the tendency is toward complete elision of the first consonant of the cluster (e.g., *Pepsi* 'Pepsi' [ˈpe-si]). Sociolinguistic studies examining this phenomenon have proposed several explanations. Brown (2006) has argued that speakers prefer the velar production because velars are generally more common than bilabials or dentals in syllable-final position (e.g., *acto* 'act' [ˈak-to], *acción* 'action' [ak-ˈsjon], *actuación* 'acting' [ak-twa-ˈsjon]). From a sociolinguistic point of view, it has been noted that the velar variants are generally present among speakers at all socioeconomic levels (González & Pereda 1998), although Bongiovanni's (2014) study of Caracas Spanish revealed a certain predominance of backing among low and middle socioeconomic classes and speakers over 30 years of age. Furthermore, Bongiovanni found that /p-b/ and /t-d/ deletion was favored by younger as well as working-class speakers, whereas velarization was favored by those in the lower middle class and middle class.

Finally, we turn our attention to the plosive production of /b-d-g/ after a semivowel or nonhomorganic consonant in regions such as Central America, Colombia, and the northern Andean region. The plosive or stop variants are usually limited to word-initial positions, especially when produced after a pause indicated by the symbol #: [#ˈba-te] *bate* 'bat,' [#ˈda-to] *dato* 'datum,' [#ˈga-to] *gato* 'cat.' The postnasal environment is characterized by categorical stop production of /b-d-g/: [ˈkam-bjo] *cambio* 'change,' [kaɲ-ˈde-la] *candela* 'candle,' [ˈkoŋ-ga] *conga* 'conga.' As for /d/, this behavior also occurs after laterals (e.g., [ˈfal-da] *falda* 'skirt'). Elsewhere, what is expected is an approximant realization: [ˈa-βa] *haba* 'broad bean,' [ˈa-ða] *hada* 'fairy,' [ˈa-ɣa] *haga* 'do-subjunctive.' One recent phonetic study that compared the realizations of /b-d-g/ in Costa Rica and Spain (Carrasco et al. 2012) found important differences in the distribution of the corresponding variants according to the preceding context: In Costa Rica, the postconsonantal position favors plosive allophones (in particular for /b/ and /d/), whereas approximants appear in postvocalic positions. In Spain, the production tends to be approximant. Michnowicz's (2011) research on Yucatan Spanish in Mexico found that the plosive variants were more common among older speakers, women, and children of monolingual Maya speakers. To our knowledge, few other sociolinguistic studies have examined this phenomenon, and thus it is another open area for future contributions to the field.

In summary, this section has discussed some of the phonological phenomena that can be considered more prominently associated with varieties of American Spanish. In doing so, we have also

pointed out some gaps in the literature that invite future research in those areas, in which there is a need for both larger quantitative studies and more ethnographically focused investigations.

2.1.2. Spain. This section focuses on the description and exemplification of a series of phonological phenomena that have been documented in different regions of Spain including its extrapeninsular territory. We highlight areas in which sociolinguistic research is available or offers promising future directions.

Peninsular Spanish (also called European Spanish) is known for a series of distinctive sound features that are conventionally distributed along the north-central/southern divide. In phonological terms, the north-central varieties are characterized by sibilant distinction between /θ/ and /s̊/, the production of a uvular voiceless fricative /χ/ in place of /x/ or /h/, [θ] as an allophone of syllable-final /d/, and elision of syllable-final obstruents, among other features. Sibilant distinction refers to the two distinct phonemes in the inventory: the apico-alveolar voiceless fricative /s̊/ corresponding to the grapheme s and the interdental voiceless fricative /θ/ corresponding to the graphemes z and c. This phonological contrast can be illustrated through such minimal pairs as [ˈka-θa] *caza* 'hunt' and [ˈka-s̊a] *casa* 'house.' Peninsular Spanish, as spoken in north-central Spain, has a phoneme /χ/ that can be described as a uvular voiceless fricative. In contrast, in other areas this segment can be considered a velar voiceless fricative /x/, and in southern Spain and regions of Latin America it can be produced as a glottal voiceless fricative /h/. To our knowledge, recent sociolinguistic research on this topic is scarce.

One phonological phenomenon with sociolinguistic conditioning is uvularization of the syllable-final /s/ before a velar consonant (e.g., *es que* 'is that' [ˈeχ-ke]). Turnham & Lafford (1995) found that this phenomenon comprised a third of the total instances of syllable-final /s/ production among Madrid high school students and was more common among male speakers and in informal styles. To gauge whether these patterns indicate stigmatization, Wright (2017) complemented a production study with a matched guise perception experiment. She found that participants from Madrid associated velarized /s/ realizations with lower intelligence, laziness, and a tough character. Regarding speaker gender, velarization in male voices was judged as a sign of insecurity but also as being loving and trustworthy, while in female voices it was associated with coldness and unreliability but also a sort of "male competence" (Wright 2017, p. 173). In general, female participants judged velarization more negatively than did male listeners. However, the stigma hypothesis remains under question because no significant differences between males and females in production have been observed.

The production of syllable-final /d/ as [θ] is a documented distinctive feature of north-central Spain (e.g., [ma-ˈðɾid̲] > [ma-ˈðɾiθ] *Madrid* 'Madrid'). This phonological phenomenon, considered a type of devoicing of /d/, also encompasses other syllable-final segments such as /k/ (e.g., [ak-ˈtoɾ] > [aθ-ˈtoɾ] *actor* 'actor'), which makes more complex the precise description of the phenomenon as it would imply change not only in manner of articulation but also in place of articulation. More generally, these types of variability fit into the category of phenomena under the umbrella of weakening of syllable-final obstruent segments; these phenomena include deletion in cases such as [seβ-ˈt̪jem-bɾe] > [se-ˈt̪jem-bɾe] *septiembre* 'September.' In a sociolinguistic study, Antón (1998) found that productions with the final interdental variant (e.g., [ma-ˈðɾiθ̲]) tended to be favored by working-class and lower-middle-class speakers as well as females in vernacular styles. Deleted variants were favored by older speakers from a lower-middle-class or lower socioeconomic background. In contrast, normative variants such as [seβ-ˈt̪jem-bɾe] were preferred by younger speakers from an upper-middle-class socioeconomic background. Research on this subject with a focus on Peninsular Spanish and using recent methodological advances in sociolinguistics is warranted.

The southern varieties in Spain are known for phonological traits like ceceo or seseo, rhotacism of syllable-final /l/, postaspiration of voiceless stops before an elided /s/, and vowel laxing before an elided /s/, along with other phenomena. The southern ceceo stands in opposition to the sibilant distinction (distinción) found in north-central Spain and consists of having only one phoneme /θ/ corresponding to the graphemes s, c, and z. Recent studies suggest, however, that the sibilant distinction characteristic of north-central Spain has influenced the southern varieties through education and other social pressures, especially in younger generations (Samper Padilla 2011, Villena Ponsoda & Ávila Muñoz 2012).

Rhotacism is another process characteristic of southern Spain that is included in a range of phenomena that are part of the neutralization of Spanish liquids: the alveolar voiced lateral /l/ and the alveolar voiced tap /ɾ/. In certain contexts, a distinction between minimal pairs such as [ˈaɾ-ma] *arma* 'gun' and [ˈal-ma] *alma* 'soul' converges as a homophone [ˈaɾ-ma]. Rufo-Sánchez (2006) examined sociolinguistic attitudes toward this phenomenon in a population of university students. The students showed acceptance of and pride toward rhotacism as a vernacular variant. However, Rufo-Sánchez noted the effect of pressure to speak the standard in a group of humanities students and among students more advanced in their program. While rhotacism is a widely documented phenomenon in southern Spain in the dialectology literature, there is a scarcity of quantitative sociolinguistic research on the subject.

Vowel laxing is a process that occurs as a consequence of syllable-final /s/ deletion in eastern Andalusia. The term vowel laxing is used to describe the change in quality of the vowel before a deleted syllable-final /s/. It is argued that this change in quality compensates the lost contrast between contexts in which /s/ is deleted versus contexts without the underlying /s/ (e.g., *calle* 'street-SG' versus *calles* 'street-PL'). In some regions, the laxing of the final vowel triggers vowel harmony with the rest of the vowels in the word. While vowel laxing is highly cited in descriptive and theoretical work (e.g., Hualde & Sanders 1995, Hernández Campoy & Trudgill 2002), sociolinguistic studies are scarce on this subject. More research is needed to understand the sociolinguistic profile of this phenomenon in eastern Spain. Furthermore, studies examining sociolinguistic phenomena in Spanish do not tend to focus on third-wave approaches that take ethnography and identity construction aspects into account, and this type of approach is one of the most valuable future directions to explain variation (see Eckert 2012).

2.1.3. Africa and Asia. Studies of sociolinguistic variation in Asia and Africa are scarce. In the case of Spanish in Africa, Quilis & Casado-Fresnillo (1995) have explained that, for the study of this region, it is important to distinguish between the northern part of Africa, where we find the influence of Arabic, and Equatorial Guinea. Regarding the latter region, Klee & Lynch (2009, p. 107) described the arrival of Portuguese explorers in 1472 and the arrival of Spanish colonizers to the mainland and associated islands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Around 90% of the population of Fernando Po and urban areas of Río Muni speaks Spanish, and this percentage drops to 60% among the rural population of Río Muni. There are several ethnic groups in the area, which include speakers of Fang, Combe, Bujeba, Benga, and Bapuco. It is important to note that there are no monolingual speakers of Spanish: Most, if not all, Equatorial Guinean Spanish speakers also speak either an indigenous African language or an English pidgin. Lipski (2000, cited by Klee & Lynch 2009, p. 108) has argued that the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea does not reflect Caribbean Spanish norms because the main influence originated in Castile, and there was continued contact with Iberian Spanish (rather than isolation), which prevented the development of a distinct regional variety.

Particular features of Equatorial Guinean Spanish, mentioned by Lipski (2000), include occlusive /d/ and flap /ɾ/ variants in the production of intervocalic /d/ (e.g., [lado]/[laro]) and the lack

of distinction between the trill /r/ and tap /ɾ/. This lack of distinction is attributed to an influence from the indigenous language Fang. However, sociolinguistic analysis of variable phenomena in Equatorial Guinean Spanish is scarce, and future research in the area is merited. The complex sociolinguistic situation of Spanish in the area, the negative attitudes associated with its use during the dictatorship of Francisco Macías Nguema (1968–1979), and the recent educational efforts to reintegrate Spanish education into schools all necessitate further research to determine their effects on language revitalization.

In northern Africa, the linguistic situation is somewhat different. In Morocco, the government has declared Arabic and French to be the official languages after the country's independence from France (1956). As a consequence, the presence of Spanish has diminished; however, traditional educational institutions and other influences from Spain keep it alive in the area. Sayahi (2011, p. 473) pointed out that one of the most important historical developments for Modern Spanish was the presence of Arabic in the Iberian Peninsula from 711 to 1492. The presence of Spanish in North Africa continues to this day in the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla and in enclaves in metropolitan areas across the northern section of the continent. It began with conquests from the Iberian Peninsula and the southern migration of Sephardic Jews and Moriscos. Sayahi also mentions more recent immigration from Morocco to Spain, which has increased the presence of Arabic in Spain.

Sayahi (2011) made a distinction between two types of speakers in Northern Africa. In this region, there are native speakers of Spanish, commonly of Peninsular origin, as well as native bilingual speakers of Arabic or Berber who also speak Spanish as a second language. Sayahi equated Spanish in North Africa to Andalusian Spanish and listed several phonetic similarities to southern Iberian varieties. For example, Ruiz Domínguez (1999) identified variable production of syllable-initial /s/, which tends to be produced as a predorsal alveolar fricative. She also observed that, contrary to Andalusian trends, seseo was favored by female speakers while distinción tended to be favored by male speakers. Younger speakers with greater education seemed to favor the distinción norm. Sayahi (2005) has pointed out additional phonetic features that reflect an Andalusian norm, such as deletion of syllable-final /s/, deletion of intervocalic and word-final /d/, yeísmo, deaffrication of /tʃ/, velarization of /n/, and aspiration of /x/.

Bilingual speakers of Spanish exhibit a series of variable phenomena influenced by Arabic. Sayahi (2011, p. 480) has mentioned that one of the most prominent is the variability of the vowel system and argued that this phenomenon can be explained by the limited vowel inventory available to speakers in Arabic, which generates alternation between /o/ and /u/ as well as between /e/ and /i/. For example, vowel raising in word-final position tends to be common (e.g., /amigo/ > [amigu]). Sayahi also has explained that there is a tendency toward syllable-initial vowel deletion, as in /es.pon.xa/ > [spon.xa].

These are just some of the features that have been described in variationist work for North African varieties of Spanish; such research includes studies by Moreno-Fernández (1992), Tarkki (1995), Ruiz Domínguez (1999), and Sayahi (2006). It is important to point out the relative scarcity of research in this contact zone between Arabic and Spanish, which warrants further investigation.

According to Klee & Lynch (2009), Spanish has been present in Asia since 1531, when the first explorers arrived in the Philippines. Because Spanish use was limited to a small group of colonists and their families for much of history, and the local Spanish government used indigenous languages to conduct affairs, Spanish had a limited role in the region (Lipski 2001, p. 5, cited by Klee & Lynch 2009, p. 104). The remaining Spanish speakers in the Philippines are often upper-class, middle-aged or elderly speakers whose language reflects north and central Iberian varieties of Spanish.

Klee & Lynch (2009) have argued that another important aspect of the linguistic landscape of the Philippines is the creole language Chabacano, whose origins trace back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nowadays, the most vital variety of Chabacano based on Spanish is the one spoken in the region of Zamboanga, where there are approximately 300,000 speakers.

As with the phenomena described for North Africa, these are just a few examples of variationist findings in Spanish varieties and creoles spoken in the Philippines. Further studies of Philippine Spanish include those by Holm (2001) and Lipski (2001). Variationist approaches to Spanish varieties in both North Africa and Asia have only begun to appear within the last two decades, and there are still many areas of research that need attention.

2.1.4. Shared phenomena. One way to look at phonological variability in Spanish across the globe is to notice processes that affect vowels and those that affect consonants. Two common vowel reduction phenomena are vowel raising in unstressed word-final position and diphthongization. Vowel raising results in such words as *noche* 'night' [ˈno-ʧe] being pronounced as [ˈno-ʧi], which has been attested in a range of dialectal areas, including northern and eastern Spain, the Canary Islands, central Mexico, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Bolivia, southern Uruguay, Chile, and northwestern Argentina (Oliver Rajan 2007, RAE-NGLE 2011). Vowel diphthongization is a type of hiatus resolution through vowel raising and syllable restructuring in words such as *real* 'real' from a two-syllable [reˈal] to a monosyllabic [ˈrjal] around Latin America, Spain, and some US regions (e.g., New Mexico) (Alba 2006, RAE-NGLE 2011, Díaz-Campos & Scrivner 2012).

The most common consonantal phenomena in Spanish are likely yeísmo and seseo. Yeísmo is a product of historical delateralization of the palatal lateral phoneme /ʎ/, which used to correspond to the grapheme ll and produce minimal pairs like *malla* 'mesh' and *maya* 'Maya' but now only remains in some rural areas of Spain and limited parts of Latin America, having been replaced by the palatal voiced fricative /j/ in most Spanish-speaking varieties (Zamora Vicente 1970, Molina 2008, Lipski 2011, RAE-NGLE 2011). Likewise, seseo is the production of only the /s/ phoneme regardless of the grapheme s, c, or z. This means that in regions where seseo predominates, such as Latin America, southern Spain, and the Canary Islands, the words *tasa* 'cup' and *taza* 'rate' are both produced as [ˈta-sa]. Similarly ubiquitous, with a few exceptions, are aspiration and other reduction phenomena affecting the syllable-final /s/: for instance, *pasta* 'pasta' [ˈpas-ta] > [ˈpah-ta] > [ˈpat-ta] > [ˈpa-ta] (Zamora Vicente 1970, Lipski 2011, Samper Padilla 2011). Aspiration may be the most studied phenomenon in both phonology and sociolinguistics; a number of social groups favor the reduction—men, lower socioeconomic classes, older generations in conservative regions, and younger generations in less conservative regions, which yield different production rates in different geographical locales (Samper Padilla 2011).

Another reduction phenomenon, if less pervasive, is fricativization of the palatal voiceless affricate /ʧ/ (e.g., [ˈmu-ʧo] > [ˈmu-ʃo] *mucho* 'a lot (of)'). According to the *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (RAE-NGLE 2011, p. 207), this phenomenon is common in parts of southern Spain (e.g., Granada, Seville, Cádiz, western Málaga, Almería), the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Panama, northern Mexico, and the southwestern United States. Social conditioning of this phenomenon often correlates with age but generally varies from one area to another (Cedergren 1973, Samper Padilla 2011). Not uncommon in Spanish are processes affecting sonorant consonants: liquids and nasals. For example, syllable-final alveolar tap /ɾ/ and lateral /l/ are often elided or neutralized, ceasing to produce minimal pairs such as [maɾ] 'sea' and [mal] 'bad' in areas of southern Spain, the Caribbean, Ecuador, Argentina, southern Uruguay, and central Chile (Zamora Vicente 1970, Cedergren 1973, Alba 1988, López Morales 1989, Alvar 1996, Lipski 2011, RAE-NGLE 2011). Nasals, in turn, can be velarized in syllable-final position but are typically

produced as alveolar in other Spanish varieties (e.g., *pan* 'bread' [pan] > [paŋ]). This phenomenon has been attested in Spain as well as in the Caribbean, southern Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, Guatemala, El Salvador, and the coasts of Colombia and Ecuador (RAE-NGLE 2011, Samper Padilla 2011, Díaz-Campos 2014).

2.2. Morphosyntactic Variables

As with phonological phenomena, there are also linguistic variables that go beyond the sound system of the Spanish language that have been the focus of variationist research in the past few decades. In this section, we provide an overview of some of the most common morphosyntactic phenomena that have been researched in the field of sociolinguistic variation. As in Section 2.1, we organize this section by region of study.

2.2.1. Latin America. Some morphosyntactic phenomena characteristic of Latin American Spanish varieties include the noninversion of word order in questions, the use of *vos* 'you,' and focalized *ser* 'to be.' Once again, it is important to point out that in principle, all of these phenomena are sociolinguistic variables and probabilistic in nature, so a categorical description in which particular phenomena are only relevant to a specific area would not be adequate.

While questions in Spanish are usually realized by inverting the subject and the verb after the interrogative pronoun (which corresponds to the English *wh*-question words), noninversion results in expressions such as *¿Cómo tú te llamas?* in place of *¿Cómo te llamas tú?* 'What is your name?' or *¿Qué tú quieres?* instead of *¿Qué quieres tú?* 'What (do) you want?' Lipski (2005, p. 132) has pointed out that these constructions are common in Caribbean Spanish varieties and argued that they may be connected to the Canary migrations as a possible source of origin. Lipski also documented these constructions in varieties of Spanish with African influences. Sociolinguistic studies of this phenomenon are scarce in the Hispanic linguistic literature. Future research may examine the linguistic and social factors involved in this pattern of variability and further examine the potential language contact origin.

Voseo is the use of the second-person pronoun *vos* 'you' in contexts that are generally considered informal or familiar. The other two pronouns typically used to refer to second-person singular referents are *usted*, which indicates formality, distance, or respect, and *tú*, which usually indexes close relationships and trust in informal situations. The voseo (and its corresponding verbal forms) is used extensively in areas of Central and South America. Voseo has its historical origin in the varieties of Peninsular Spanish that the conquistadores brought to the Americas. According to some researchers, (Kany 1969, Benavides 2003, Newall 2007), voseo acquired negative connotations and began disappearing in Spain around the sixteenth century. In America, however, voseo remains active in areas that were in little contact with Spain (see Kany 1969), albeit with varying verbal paradigms (see Paez Urdaneta 1981). The new form *tú* was imposed on the regions with the highest level of politico-commercial exchange with Spain, such as Mexico, the Caribbean, and Peru. Díaz-Collazos (2015), analyzing documents from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, examined the diachronic development of voseo in Colombia. She showed that *vos* was used in intimate communication among people of all social classes, to address individuals of equal or inferior status, and as a stereotype marker of the lower class, female speech, and groups of mixed racial background. Likewise, Newall (2007) revealed that in Chilean texts of the mid to late nineteenth century, voseo was used to address interlocutors of lower social status, especially in texts situated in rural settings. These studies suggest that voseo, at least in areas of South America, originates as an address form that signals informality or asymmetrical status toward inferior social groups, and

this usage may be a remnant of what the conquistadores brought to the Americas early on (for a synchronic study, see Valenzuela 2016).

Finally, a phenomenon that has received some attention is the focalizing copula *ser* 'to be.' This structure consists of finite *ser* interpolated between another finite verb and its complements (e.g., *Yo vivo es en Barranquilla* 'I live (is) in Barranquilla'). The function of the copula in these cases is to highlight the constituent that immediately follows: *en Barranquilla* 'in Barranquilla.' Kany (1969, p. 303) documented this structure in the Spanish of Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and the Andean region of Venezuela. Kany cited examples of use such as *No, llegué fue cansado* 'No, I came (was) tired' as a possible response to the question *¿Llegó usted con hambre?* 'Did you come hungry?' As such, the phenomenon applies to sentences in which the focalized constituent represents a contrastive response. Sedano (1990) equated these constructions to pseudoclefts (e.g., *Donde yo vivo es en Barranquilla* 'Where I live is in Barranquilla'). Bentivoglio & Sedano (2011, p. 181) described the similarities shared by these constructions: Each contains a precopula clause (before the verb *ser* 'to be'), the copula is conjugated, and the postcopula clause contains the focalized element. Focalizing *ser* is conditioned by the grammatical category of the postcopula clause and the grammatical tense of the precopula clause. Specifically, if the postcopula clause is an adverbial phrase, speakers favor the use of the focalized *ser* (e.g., *Juan vino fue ayer* 'Juan came (was) yesterday'; *Cuando vino Juan fue ayer* 'When Juan came (was) yesterday'). The precopula clauses that favor the focalized *ser* with higher frequency are in preterite indicative, imperfect, or some other tense than present indicative (Bentivoglio & Sedano 2011). The macro and micro social conditioning of this phenomenon are a valuable direction for future research.

2.2.2. Spain. Among the morphosyntactic features of north-central Spanish are *vosotros* 'you-PL, informal,' laísmo and loísmo, the use of the conditional in the main clause of contrary-to-fact sentences, and the use of present perfect for preterite. Some characteristic southern features include mixed *vosotros–ustedes* paradigms and the use of infinitive for plural imperative.

The terms laísmo and loísmo refer to the use of the respective accusative pronouns *la* ('her/it') and *lo* ('him/it') in place of the dative invariable *le* ('her/him/it'). Laísmo is generally more common than loísmo and has been attested in regions of Cantabria, Castile–León, Castile–La Mancha, and Rioja (Alvar 1996). Some sociolinguistic conditioning has been noted, suggesting that laísmo is more common among younger speakers, in informal styles, and among lower socioeconomic classes (Klein-Andreu 1993). Also, the dative use of the feminine pronoun *la* has been shown to be linguistically constrained to human and singular references (Hernández Alonso 1996). Loísmo is found among speakers of rural origin and low socioeconomic class (Hernández Alonso 1996), and, unlike laísmo, this phenomenon is mostly limited to fixed idiomatic expressions.

One southern characteristic of Peninsular Spanish is the mixed *vosotros–ustedes* paradigm to treat the second-person plural and informal references. Just like the *tú–usted* contrast for singular 'you,' Peninsular Spanish is known for indexing this informal–formal symmetry in the plural as well. This distinction was later neutralized to *ustedes* in Seville and Latin America independent of formality (Alvar 1996, Lara Bermejo 2010). Nowadays, mixed paradigms are attested in Andalusia, in which the *vosotros* shifts to align with the *ustedes* verbal agreement. The reverse has also been documented, as has socially constrained intraspeaker variation in both directions, as in *¿Ustedes vais al cine, o quieren quedarse en casa?* 'Are you-*ustedes* going-*vosotros* to the movies, or do you want-*ustedes* to stay at home?' (Univ. Sevilla 2019). Morgan & Schwenter (2015) have observed that the singular *usted* is much more common than the plural *ustedes* in formal contexts, where it coexists with *vosotros*.

Some tense and aspect phenomena characteristic of Spain include the use of the conditional to express contrary-to-fact ideas (Silva-Corvalán 1984) and the predominance of the present perfect

as a generalized past tense (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008, Serrano 2011). Although some important sociolinguistic groundwork was done in the 1980s and 1990s on these phenomena, further research is needed to trace the direction and the implications of these linguistic changes across Spain and other Spanish-speaking countries.

2.2.3. Africa and Asia. While many morphosyntactic phenomena have been traced throughout the Spanish of the Americas and Europe, there has been little variationist research into varieties spoken in Africa and Asia. In the Spanish spoken in Equatorial Guinea, we find several variable phenomena related to the expression of gender and plurality (Casado-Fresnillo 1995). For example, we find variation in terms such as *el tema* 'the-MASC theme' produced as *la tema*, or *la idioma* instead of *el idioma* 'the-MASC language' (Casado-Fresnillo 1995, p. 288). Regarding plurality, Quilis & Fresnillo (1995, p. 158) mentioned deletion of syllable-final /s/ as well as word-final /n/ (e.g., *es importante para nosotro* 'it's important for us' instead of *nosotros*, *sale hojas tiernas* 'fresh leaves fall' instead of *salen*). Casado-Fresnillo (1995, p. 288) also mentioned the omission of articles due to the influence of indigenous languages (e.g., *Está mal de cabeza* instead of *Está mal de la cabeza* 'He is crazy'). These are just some relevant examples of the areas in which morphosyntactic variation seems to be productive.

Sayahi (2011) attributed some of the morphosyntactic variable phenomena in Morocco and other Spanish-speaking regions of North Africa to different degrees of linguistic competence of bilingual speakers. Some of the features documented by Sayahi include metathesis of pronominals (e.g., *se me olvidó* > *me se olvidó* 'I forgot it'), vowel alternation in the expression of mood [e.g., *somos* > *semos* 'we are' (Sayahi 2011, p. 484)], and morphological alternation of the imperfect indicative (e.g., *decía* > *decíe* 'I/He/She said-IMPF'). Sayahi's (2019) book provides a more recent and complete overview of these topics.

Finally, according to Quilis (1995, p. 294), there are three areas of Spanish influence in the Philippines: Spanish as a native language, its legacy in Chabacano, and its presence in indigenous languages. At the morphosyntactic level, the most relevant phenomena highlighted in the work of Quilis are those characteristic of Chabacano and the influence of Spanish in indigenous languages.

With respect to the Chabacano creole, the expression of plurality is variable, and speakers often use the indigenous plural [e.g., *las mána compañera* 'the companions' (Quilis 1995, p. 296)] in place of the Spanish one. The expression of gender and number, however, is invariable for adjectives [e.g., *un muchacha nervioso* 'a-MASC nervous-MASC girl' instead of *una muchacha nerviosa* (Quilis 1995, p. 296)]. Indigenous Philippine languages do not distinguish between adjectives and adverbs, and for that reason, Chabacano also does not make this distinction [e.g., *caminá chiquitico* 'he walks with small steps' instead of *camina con pasos cortos* (taken from Quilis 1995, p. 295)].

In a brief description of Chabacano, Klee & Lynch (2009) have shown that this Spanish creole shares some of its characteristics with Palanquero and Papiamento. For example, the authors mentioned the use of the particle *ta* to mark progressive and habitual tense (e.g., *Ta anda yo* 'I normally go') and the use of *ya* to indicate past tense and perfective aspect (e.g., *Ya anda silana Lamitan* 'They went to Lamitan').

Spanish is also present in the indigenous languages of the Philippines. For example, gender marking based on Spanish was adopted in several languages. In Tagalog, the word for *gossiper* has two forms: *daldalero* (masculine) and *daldalera* (feminine) (Quilis 1995, p. 299). Other adoptions include diminutive suffixes such as *-ito* and *-illo* and some derivational morphemes, including *-al* [e.g., *palay* 'rice' and *palayal* 'rice plantation' (Quilis 1995, p. 300)].

In all of these contexts, although linguistic research has addressed the influence of Spanish on the region, there is a lack of sociolinguistic consideration of the role that social factors play in usage and language identity.

2.2.4. Shared phenomena. Just as there are common trends in sound variation across the Spanish-speaking world, many regional varieties also show similarities in how they vary in morphosyntactic structure. Some of the most typical phenomena in this category include variation in future expression and in use of indicative/subjunctive mood, (de)queísmo, pluralization of *haber*, and leísmo.

Variation in the future expression between morphological future (e.g., *cant-a-ré* 'sing-1P.SG-FUT') and periphrastic future (e.g., *voy a cantar* 'go-1P.SG-PRES to sing-INF') is a trait of contemporary Spanish (Bentivoglio & Sedano 2011). Numerous studies in Latin American and Peninsular Spanish show that despite some semantic differences, the periphrastic future has become the preferred form of future expression (Sedano 2006, Blas Arroyo 2008, Lastra & Butragueño 2010).

Mood variation in probability contexts has been documented in Argentina, Spain, and Mexico (King et al. 2008), but it is likely common to all Spanish varieties. The premise is that the use of the adverbs *tal vez/quizás* 'maybe,' *posiblemente* 'possibly,' and *probablemente* 'probably' leaves room for speakers to express different overtones of their subjective stance and level of certainty through the choice of the indicative or the subjunctive. For example, King and colleagues' (2008) variationist methodology suggests that the subjunctive is especially preferred with the adverb *tal vez* and among Argentineans.

The term (de)queísmo refers to two phenomena affecting verbs that select for clausal complements: (1) the use of the preposition *de* with transitive verbs that typically do not require it (e.g., *decir* 'to say' > *decir de que* 'to say that') and (2) the omission of the preposition in typically prepositional verbs (e.g., *enterarse de* 'to find out' > *enterarse Ø que* 'to find out that'). Schwenter (1999) has proposed that this intrusive *de* serves as an evidential marker indicating a third-party information source. Some recent sociolinguistic work on this phenomenon has been carried out in Spain, Argentina, Chile, and Venezuela (Schwenter 1999, Guirado 2006, Kanwit 2012).

A similarly extended phenomenon is pluralization of impersonal *haber* 'there is/are,' which traditionally defaults to third-person singular. However, the direct object of this existential expression tends to be reinterpreted as a subject requiring agreement and therefore results in regularization of a paradigm [e.g., *hubieron diputados* 'there were representatives' (Argentina; example drawn from the CREA corpus available at **http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html**)]. Kany (1969) documented this phenomenon in the spoken and written Spanish of Spain, River Plate, Chile, the Caribbean, Mexico, and most of Central and South America. Pato & Bouzouita (2016) have argued that this phenomenon is associated with rural and older speakers in Spain, but De Mello (1994) also found it in the speech of educated speakers of Latin America.

Finally, leísmo refers to the use of the dative clitic *le(s)* in the accusative contexts that normatively require *lo/la(s)* 'him/her/it/them/you (formal usted).' The third-person leísmo is common in contemporary Peninsular Spanish [it is now officially accepted by RAE-NGLE (2011)] with masculine singular animate referents [e.g., *Le vi ayer (a Pablo)* 'I saw him (Pablo) yesterday']. This type of leísmo is rather uncommon in Latin America, but the second-person leísmo does occur with reference to *usted* 'you-formal,' also known as polite leísmo (Parodi et al. 2012). Filimonova's (2017) sociopragmatic processing study of polite leísmo in Mexico suggests that it is favored by certain verbs that express commitment (e.g., *invitar* 'invite'), influence (e.g., *detener* 'stop'), and a variety of relationally focused speech acts (e.g., *atender* 'help,' *visitar* 'visit'). Furthermore, some of the verbs of influence are processed more easily with *le* than with *lo* by female Mexican speakers, and Filimonova's current dissertation work seeks to shed light on other social and situational variables at play in both production and perception of polite leísmo in Mexico City. More studies on this phenomenon in other varieties of Spanish are still needed.

2.3. The Linguistic Variable Beyond the Sentence

There are decades' worth of studies on phonological and morphosyntactic structures in Hispanic sociolinguistics; however, research on discourse-pragmatic phenomena has become increasingly popular in variationist literature. These variables operate outside of the propositional content of the sentence; take on a variety of pragmatic and discursive functions; and are structurally, socially, and stylistically constrained (Cameron 1998, Pichler 2010, D'Arcy 2017). While the character of these linguistic forms presents an obstacle to the principle of accountability, it provides a rich source for sociolinguistic work.

Some of the discourse-pragmatic structures studied under the quantitative sociolinguistic tradition include quotative constructions, reformulators, and general extenders. Quotative constructions are formulae used to introduce direct quotations. Research on quotative constructions in Puerto Rican Spanish (Cameron 1998), Peninsular Spanish (Palacios Martínez 2014), and US Spanish (Holguín Mendoza 2015; Kern 2017a,b) has found that introducing direct speech or thought in Spanish consists of the following strategies:

1. Verb + quote: *Yo le dije "Fue José"* 'I told him "It was Jose"'
2. The pronominal formula *y* + subject + quote: *Y yo "Fue José"* 'And I "It was Jose"'
3. Discourse markers, such as *como*: *Y yo como "Fue José"* 'And I like "It was Jose"'
4. Zero quotative: *"Fue José"* 'It was Jose'

Kern (2017b) and Holguín Mendoza (2015) have found that the choice of these variants is constrained by the quoted material. For instance, in the Spanish of El Paso, Texas, and Juárez, Mexico, Holguín Mendoza (2015) has reported that the verb *decir* (strategy 1 above) is the most preferred form to quote direct speech, while the other strategies are used for a wider range of quoted material, such as thoughts, sounds, or gestures. Kern (2017b) obtained similar results in his data from Arizona Spanish. He found that quotative discourse markers such as *como*, *de que*, and *así* (strategy 3 above) were used much more frequently to quote internal speech or thoughts. The quotative system also appears to be socially conditioned. Studies such as those by Palacios Martínez (2014) and Holguín Mendoza (2015) found that speakers with a higher degree of cultural exposure to English speakers showed higher use of quotative discourse markers, a staple of the English language today.

Related to the study of the quotative system is the study of discourse markers of reformulation (e.g., *o sea* 'I mean,' *es decir* 'that is to say,' *digamos* 'let's say,' *por ser* 'being'). Rojas Inostroza et al. (2012) found that in the Spanish of Santiago, Chile, the use of reformulative discourse markers was socially constrained, especially by age and socioeconomic background. That is, younger speakers used higher rates of reformulative markers (see also San Martín Núñez 2017) and employed the innovative form of reformulation *onda* (literally 'wave,' colloquially 'in a way/kind') nearly categorically, whereas older speakers used forms such as *es decir* 'that is to say' and *por ser* 'being'; this contrast may represent an ongoing change. Rojas Inostroza et al. also showed that speakers at higher socioeconomic levels used more reformulative markers.

Finally, with regard to general extenders, Kern (2017a) found, in a contrastive study between English and Spanish in Arizona, that speakers generally used three main strategies:

1. Adjunctive general extenders (e.g., *y todo eso* 'and all that')
2. Disjunctive general extenders [e.g., *o algo (así)* 'or something (like that)']
3. Others (e.g., *algo así* 'something like that')

Kern (2017a) did not find social factors to be significant in his study, but he did find that adjunctive general extenders were more common in the data for both languages. He also found that

general extenders with referential function were much more common in Spanish than in English, which shows that the strategies are at earlier stages of grammaticalization as they are still dependent on the narrative context.

The study of discourse-pragmatic variables is still a developing inquiry of quantitative sociolinguistic research. More studies looking into the varying ways to circumscribe the discourse-pragmatic variable and diverse ways of collecting data are needed.

3. BILINGUAL AREAS AND IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

The sociolinguistic study of immigrant communities and contact regions is an area ripe for research in light of the current events and increasing displacement rates around the world. Although most existing research concerning Spanish considers US contact varieties, more sociolinguistic research on Spanish bilingual and bidialectal communities outside of the United States would be welcome.

3.1. Contact Linguistics

An area of research that has been neglected is the current situation of bilingual indigenous speakers and their contribution to Latin American varieties of Spanish. The *Atlas sociolingüístico de pueblos indígenas en América Latina* [Sociolinguistic atlas of indigenous peoples in Latin America] (Sichra 2009) documents 665 communities and 557 indigenous languages in the region. Large communities with substantial influence on Spanish include speakers of the following languages: Nahuatl in Mexico; Maya in Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize; Quechua in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia; Aymara in Bolivia, southern Peru, northern Argentina, and northern Chile; Guarani in Paraguay; and Mapuche in Chile and Argentina. For example, San Giacomo Trinidad's (2017) analysis of bilingual Nahuatl and Cuicateco communities in Mexico focuses on the importance of considering both linguistic and sociolinguistic factors. While recent legislation in several Latin American countries includes provisions to support bilingual speakers and their educational needs, discriminatory practices and intolerance to indigenous people are still pervasive. Sociolinguistic research documenting language maintenance, attrition, discrimination, and linguistic attitudes toward indigenous languages is still needed (for relevant examples, see King & Hornberger 2004, Coronel-Molina 2011). For example, Escobar (2011, p. 327) pointed out changes in the constitutions of countries such as Ecuador and Bolivia in 2008 and 2009, respectively, in which indigenous languages were given official status. Escobar (2011) has argued that while Spanish remains the dominant language of the government, education, and mass media, new advances can be observed in the last two decades, such as the election of bilingual Quechua speakers to political positions and the recognition of indigenous political organizations (e.g., Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador).

The historical contributions of Afro-Spanish communities across Latin America constitute another area now receiving attention. The work of Schwegler (2011), for instance, offers an overview of Palenque in Colombia, a community of African descendants of about 4,000–5,000 inhabitants whose families escaped slavery in the mid-seventeenth century. Palenquero is a Creole language spoken in this community alongside Spanish. Schwegler explains that Palenquero has several grammatical features that are typical of other Atlantic creoles and has a distinct intonational pattern that differs from those of other Spanish varieties.

More recently, the work of Sessarego (2015, 2019) has examined Afro-Latino vernaculars of the Americas to provide insights about their origin and the contact situation with Spanish during colonial times. For example, Sessarego (2019) adopted a linguistic, historical, and sociocultural perspective to study the sociohistorical conditions for the formation of Chocó Spanish in Colombia. Sessarego's (2015) examination of the linguistic and sociohistorical origins of

Afro-Peruvian Spanish contributes to the discussion of the genesis of Spanish creoles in the Americas. These efforts to study Afro-Hispanic communities are important to understand both historical and contemporary formations of Latin American varieties of Spanish and the communities that speak these varieties.

This sociolinguistic line of research opens doors to exciting and groundbreaking research opportunities in border sociolinguistics (e.g., Carvalho 2014), heritage Spanish (e.g., Alarcón 2010), indigenous languages in contact with Spanish (e.g., Rendón 2008), minority language rights and language policy (e.g., Hamel 1997), and other language contact phenomena, such as code switching (e.g., Zentella 1990).

As mentioned, the research on Spanish-speaking immigrants in non-Spanish-speaking countries is dominated by studies of US Spanish. The focus is often on the contact between English and Spanish with a particular focus on Mexican American and Puerto Rican varieties. Torres & Potowski (2008) reported on discourse markers in Chicago Spanish from first- to third-generation Mexican and Puerto Rican Spanish speakers. On the basis of 51 sociolinguistic interviews, the authors observed that the variation between *so* and its Spanish equivalent *entonces* was socially and linguistically conditioned. Specifically, the English *so* was used twice as much by Puerto Rican and MexiRican (child of a Mexican and a Puerto Rican parent) speakers than by Mexican speakers and was more highly correlated with proficiency level than with the speaker's generation.

Otheguy et al. (2007) gave an account of subject expression across different New York City Spanish communities, countries of origin, and generations based on 67 sociolinguistic interviews. Their findings suggest that in addition to the influence of English, there is also interdialectal influence. The higher use of overt subject pronouns was especially notable among the generation born in New York in contrast to newcomers. Even though the Caribbean newcomers (especially Dominican) used more overt pronouns than mainland (or non-Caribbean) newcomers, these differences leveled out by the second generation because of a faster rate of change among mainlanders.

Hernández's (2002) study of voseo use among Salvadorans in Houston, Texas, indicated that voseo was quickly replaced with the predominant Mexican tuteo (use of *tú* as a second-person reference). Age of arrival was a significant predictor of just how much and how quickly this switch happened: Speakers arriving in early childhood (ages 3–11) showed categorical tuteo, which was mirrored closely by those arriving between ages 14 and 20 using tuteo at 98.6%, followed by late arrivals (aged 21 and older), who used tuteo 89% of the time. Hernández argues that this drastic change was the result of accommodation and the social markedness of the variable.

One example of a sociolinguistic study in a bidialectal context is Pesqueira's (2008) analysis of phonetic accommodation by Argentinean immigrants in Mexico City with a particular focus on zheísmo abandonment. Pesqueira showed that the typical River Plate zheísmo (e.g., *ensayo* 'essay' [en-ˈsa-ʃo] or [en-ˈsa-ʒo]) was reduced in favor of Mexican yeísmo (e.g., [en-ˈsa-jo]). The accommodation was most noticeable in high-frequency words (e.g., *yo* 'I') and in Mexican words for food (e.g., *tortilla*, *tlacoyo*) and toponyms (e.g., *Coyoacán*, *Altillo*). In terms of social factors, the adoption of the Mexican [j] was associated with female gender, positive attitudes toward Mexican Spanish, longer duration of stay and plans to remain in Mexico longer, limited contact with other Argentineans, and increased contact with Mexicans (e.g., living with a Mexican partner).

3.2. Spanish Language Policy

Language policy issues are complex and cover a range of social, political, and economic topics and debates at particular points in history. They range from the status of national languages to language of instruction and bilingual education; legal language and plain language legislation;

administration of justice and court interpreters for minority and sign languages; documentation of design and assurance of voting rights and Miranda rights; on-the-job language policies regarding ethnic and gender discrimination; language of public services, such as fire, police, and health services; language of government administration and mass media; literacy and testing; teacher training; and international studies, among others (Macías 1981).

For example, in the United States, the politics of language have been closely connected to issues of immigration yet complicated by the specific histories of different groups at different times (Macías 1981). The issue of Spanish in the United States, then, is different for Puerto Ricans who are US citizens than it is for mainland-born Spanish-speaking citizens, legal seasonal workers, refugees, naturalized citizens, or illegal immigrants from other Spanish-speaking countries. Puerto Rico, as a territory of the United States, is a unique case of officially recognized bilingualism in Spanish and English, yet it is struggling with a number of language status issues in practice. Pousada (2011), recounting the history of the language in courts, noted that Spanish did not become the language of the insular courts until 1966 and that English is still the language of the US federal court in Puerto Rico (with provided interpretation services). Elsewhere in the United States, English is the language of the court even though there is no national official language. However, while the US federal court recognizes the value and encourages the use of interpreters in court (**https://www.uscourts.gov/services-forms/federal-court-interpreters**), studies show that a number of challenges connected with truthful interpretation of what has been said more frequently serve against defendants' interests. Zambrano-Paff's (2011) analysis of US immigration hearings reveals numerous inaccuracies in lexical choice, use of definitions for precise word choices, improvised repetition, insertion of queries, and interruptions. Mendoza et al. (2000) have emphasized the effects of hedges and hesitations in Spanish-language testimony and in English translations of interpreters on jurors' higher probability of guilty verdicts. Similarly, Hale (1999) found that discourse markers were often omitted or mistranslated by court interpreters, which affected the success and accuracy of conveying speakers' original intentions, illocutionary force, and argumentation and disagreement strategies. The language of courts is just one example that illustrates the need for a sound language policy and the various linguistic challenges that come with such policies.

Martínez (2014) offered a glance at similar linguistic challenges in health care facilities on the United States–Mexico border, which are lacking in both number and quality of publicly displayed signs and written materials in Spanish. Studies such as this one bring awareness to language rights as human rights in the United States and elsewhere, yet research of this kind is still far from reaching policy makers. Although the same challenges are faced by other linguistic minorities in the United States and around the world, Brandes (2009) shaped her discussion of language rights in the United States specifically around Spanish because of its unique history and its undeniable projected influence on the sociocultural, political, and economic landscape and on the language policies of the nation.

3.3. Social Meaning

The social meaning of a language in a society is often informed but also reinforced by existing and missing language policies. Pomerantz & Schwartz (2011) examined the social meaning of Spanish among US university students through their reflective narratives: specifically, how learners of Spanish used narratives to understand their experience with Spanish in and outside of the classroom and how these narratives contributed to the construction of sociolinguistic borders. Narrative analysis of structured interviews at the University of the Southwest and Shadyside yielded three common themes: (1) peering across borders with Spanish as something

foreign but desirable, (2) defending borders with Spanish as something local and undesirable, and (3) traversing borders with Spanish as something comforting or comfortable for the learner. In general, Spanish learners at both universities devalued Spanish spoken in the United States and compared it with that of Spain and varieties of South America specifically (often in opposition to Mexico as something more familiar). The authors highlighted the importance of the social, historical, political, and economic contexts to the creation of the social meaning of language. This study provides an example in support of the authors' argument that Spanish education in the United States requires a multidisciplinary approach involving collaborations among sociolinguists, anthropologists, cultural geographers, and historians to better respond to and raise awareness of the multilingual and multicultural reality of the country.

Schwartz's (2014) follow-up study at the University of the Southwest focused further on intersubjectivity, power negotiation, and the construction of race in Spanish-language classrooms. According to Schwartz, the shared attitudes reproduced through discourses of suspicion and otherness create and maintain the so-called third borders between different types of citizen communities within the United States. Language therefore represents power in parallel to race and other privileged social categories, such as authenticity, adequacy, and legitimacy. It serves to unify the "us" (native English speakers, white) against "them" (native Spanish speakers, nonwhite), as evidenced by narrative elements of fear and suspicion of qualities perceived as remote from one's self.

Outside of the United States, many traditionally denominated Spanish-speaking countries are in reality plurinational, multicultural, and multilingual. Spain is known as one such multilingual state, having recognized the value of regional languages in its Constitution of 1978. However, the social meanings of these languages vary across the country and depend on a number of factors, such as co-official status (e.g., Catalan, Basque, and Galician are co-official while Asturian and Aragonese are not), geographic location of these languages within the Iberian Peninsula on the one hand (e.g., north-central Spanish, Andalusian Spanish, Canary Spanish) and in the African enclaves on the other hand (e.g., Arabic, Tamazight), and the nonterritorial languages of the refugees and migrants who are integrated into the country to different degrees (Doppelbauer & Cichon 2008). The Ecuadorian Constitution of 2008 declared Ecuador as a plurinational and intercultural state; this inclusiveness is largely informed and enforced by localized indigenous social movements such as la Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador [Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador] (**https://conaie.org/?s=defensa+linguistica**), among others.

3.4. Language Ideology

Linguistic ideology, language ideology, and ideologies of language are some terms that refer to the mediating links between social structures and forms of speech (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994). The definition of language ideology usually addresses issues of metalinguistics, attitudes, prestige, standards, aesthetics, hegemony, and more. For example, Silverstein (1979, p. 193) defined language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use." However, the precise definition and the approach to ideology analysis vary by field and focus of study, which may include ethnography of speaking, politics of multilingualism and language contact, linguistic discrimination, literacy studies and doctrines of correctness, standardization and purism, historiography of linguistics and public discourse on language, and meta-pragmatics and linguistic structure (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994). In general, language ideology is what bridges linguistic and social theory and informs sociocultural debates and practices such as the bilingual policies and official languages of a country, the distinguishing of free speech from harassment, multiculturalism in schools and

texts, prohibition of jurors' speaking the same language as a defendant or witness, and journalists' truthful accounts of direct speech (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994, p. 72).

Regarding Spanish specifically, Carter (2014) examined the everyday discourse of US middle schoolers within the larger context of institutional ideologies and as a reflection of national discourses about US Latinos. In a school in North Carolina with a majority-minority student body and accelerated growth in its Hispanic population, the author conducted an anthropological study of local talk and tropes surrounding speaking Spanish; methods included class observation, guided conversations with teachers and students, and analysis of motivational signs posted around the school. A number of identified tropes resonate with the public discourses and anxieties about immigration as a national threat to the United States; these anxieties have resulted in stigmatization and marginalization of the "new" US Latino communities, who are perceived as unable or unwilling to learn English, unable or unwilling to integrate into the larger society, homogeneous and immutable, and conspiring to reconquer the southwestern United States. At the school that Carter visited, these ideologies were enacted through a variety of means and practices: from the ways the teachers prohibited the use of Spanish in class, to the sociodemographic and economic inequalities of the teachers, to how the different students formed their groups and referred to their ingroups and outgroups, to motivational signs posted around the school that inadvertently tied speaking Spanish to vocational careers. While this study focused mainly on the ideologies that frame Spanish and Latinos as "them" in relation to the US "us," the author recognized that these ideologies had a range of effects on the Latino students in the school, who used language and silence to show some degrees of conformity as well as rebellion against the harmful subjectivizing forces of the institutional and national reality. Understandably, this discussion leads to a call to action, especially for institutions that may act as links between national discourses and local ways of talking to instill greater sensitivity to key multicultural and multiethnic issues.

4. LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY

In this section, we present an overview of research that examines issues related to language and social practices by means of ethnographic methodology. Linguistic anthropology is a discipline that studies the relationships between language, culture, and ideology in human societies. We can understand social values and organization by examining language practices in a given community. Some relevant issues include language and race, standardization, language and borders, the role of context in interpreting linguistic variables, the linguistic anthropology of US Latinos, language identity, migration studies, and language ideology.

Prominent work in this area is found in studies by Hill (1993, 1995, 1998), who analyzed the origins and features of Spanish in the southwestern United States. Historically, contact between Hispanics and English speakers in the Southwest increased after the United States' annexation of Spanish-dominant territories through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 and the Gadsden Purchase in 1854. Hill (1993) pointed out that terminology came into Spanish in three areas. The first realm of Spanish linguistic influence was related to farm life, cattle raising, and food traditions. The second area of influence was promotional tourism and words related to historical sites and events. Hill used the term "español nouvelle," defined as the use of Spanish to evoke an idyllic era of colonization, for this promotion. The third area of Spanish usage was "mock Spanish"—the ironic use of the language by English speakers as a symbolic tool to reject Hispanic culture and reproduce dominant social structures. Hill's research on mock Spanish has analyzed the social contexts and the cultural indices that help uncover prejudice against Hispanic culture in the region. The concept of index is a crucial element in this research as it references the cultural knowledge necessary for the interpretation of mock Spanish.

The ethnographic work of Mendoza-Denton & Gordon (2011) has highlighted sociolinguistic contexts in which Spanish and English, and Spanish and indigenous languages in the Americas, create a rich variety of linguistic meanings, cultural negotiations, and social practices. A key example in their work is the issue of Spanish–English translations in medical contexts. While there are legal provisions to make interpreters available to patients in the United States, research has found that in cases where interpreters are in fact available, they are often minimally trained. Mendoza-Denton & Gordon's findings, which come from a variety of sources, show that half of meetings with interpreters had communication issues. The quality of interpretation could affect the credibility of patients' concerns and reinforcing stereotypes of passiveness in Latinos. Another source of miscommunication is the use of unfamiliar cultural references in the US context, which can sometimes lead to misunderstandings or a lack of clear expression between patients and medical staff.

Ethnographic work is also important in the areas of language policy and language ideologies. As Urciuoli (1995) has pointed out, stigmatization of less prestigious languages or language varieties is often an effect of ethnolinguistic borders that emerge as a result of sociopolitical and economic factors. In her article, Urciuoli argued that the notion of code contrast and code switching must be understood both at the micro level of linguistic analysis (i.e., form and function) and at the macro level of analysis (i.e., speakers' social realities). That is, while linguistic inquiry is often concerned with what gets borrowed or the formal and functional details of when speakers switch, understanding speakers' social realities of what these phenomena mean in their communities and how these phenomena affect their day-to-day lives is essential to understanding other social practices such as social- and context-dependent meaning, language standardization, and social injustice.

Studies in the fields of linguistic anthropology and sociology of language have used linguistic ethnography and discourse analysis to better understand how speakers both align with preexisting notions of social categories and create new social meanings during interaction. For instance, Babel (2014) has examined how contact features in the Spanish spoken in central Bolivia serve as social indices. However, she has argued that the social meaning coded in contact features is dependent not only on the sociohistorical context of the linguistic forms in themselves but also on the history and profile of each speaker and the speaker's choices at the moment of interaction.

In another example of discourse analysis, Mason Carris (2011) analyzed interactions among workers in a restaurant who mocked the pronunciation of English-accented Spanish (in the author's terms, "la voz gringa"). Via microanalysis of conversations, Mason Carris suggested that the speakers' mocking use of la voz gringa not only reinforced their *nosotros* 'us' identity as Spanish speakers and members of a speech community but also implied an "other" identity, which in this case was white Americans. Within the analyzed exchange, the author identified how the manipulation of a word's phonetic realization evoked sociolinguistic meaning. That is, by mocking English-accented Spanish, the speakers challenged the historically established hegemony of white Americans in the United States and elevated themselves as masters of a linguistic code.

The topic of language ideology and standardization, and how it ties to race, is examined in a study by Rosa (2016) that presents a theoretical account of how standardization contributes to social practices of inclusion and exclusion, depending on sociopolitical contexts, ethnic group status, and linguistic practices. Rosa (2016, p. 163) has argued that US Latinos are commonly regarded as suffering a state of "languagelessness"—that is, a perceived linguistic incompetence and deficiency in their use of English and Spanish. Bilingualism is seen as an impediment to acquiring English "natively." This general concept reflects ideologies of language standardization, in which cultural homogeneity is linked to the use of a single dominant language at the expense of minority languages. This historical construct originated in the emergence of European nation-states and

the monoglot policies that they supported (and that supported them). Rosa, using a race-based analysis, has argued that Latinos in the United States are stigmatized and delegitimized as a result of Anglo-centric language policies. For example, standardized multilingual practices tend to present minority groups as linguistically and intellectually inferior to monolingual speakers of so-called Standard English. One of Rosa's main conclusions is that Latinos, who sometimes are seen as linguistically deficient, may need to overcome language barriers to be viewed as "legitimate" members of US society.

5. OTHER RESEARCH AREAS

Given the space limitations of this review, we cannot fully report on developments in areas such as transfer phenomena (see, e.g., Hualde & Kim 2015; Kim 2015, 2017), perceptual dialectology (see, e.g., Alfaraz 2002, 2014; Serrano & Morúa Leyva 2004; Serrano 2009; Díaz-Campos & Willis 2018; Galarza et al. 2019), and the full range of Spanish creoles (see, e.g., McWhorter 2000; Díaz-Campos & Clements 2008; Sessarego 2018, 2019; Schwegler et al. 2016). These are exciting areas of research in which outstanding scholars are constantly making new strides that will enrich our knowledge of both Spanish and linguistics in general. We hope that future generations of scholars will continue to transform our understanding of current issues in the Spanish-speaking world.

6. CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Given current sociopolitical developments across the world, the work of sociolinguistics becomes more relevant every day to help us understand our roots and to educate new scholars and the general public not only about the details of sociolinguistic phenomena but also about the sociohistorical contexts that explain who we are and where we are going. Language policy, language ideology, and language use in the legal and health care systems are important topics of sociolinguistic research today as they relate to issues of defense and advocacy for human rights.

In this review, we have attempted to provide an overview of recent issues in Spanish sociolinguistics that incorporates developments in the field and includes diverse perspectives. Although there have been great advances in the field of variationist sociolinguistics with regard to several classic topics (e.g., syllable-final /s/ deletion, (de)queísmo, future expression), many Spanish sociolinguistic contexts and subfields have not undergone the thorough examination they deserve. Current research needs to go beyond a macromethodological approach and adopt recent approaches that contribute to a more insightful understanding of the sociolinguistic profile of the variable phenomena across the Spanish-speaking world—not only in the Americas and Europe but also in the regions of Africa and Asia where Spanish is spoken.

Areas where more research is needed include the current situation of bilingual indigenous communities, access to bilingual education, attitudes toward speakers of indigenous languages, and language maintenance and attrition. We have highlighted some useful bibliographic resources on these topics throughout this review, and we hope that the next generation of sociolinguists will pursue further groundbreaking research in these important areas.

Exciting areas of research that would provide important contributions not only for Spanish sociolinguistics but also for sociolinguistics in general are suggested in the sections on the linguistic variable beyond the sentence (Section 2.3), bilingual areas and immigrant communities (Section 3), and linguistic ethnography (Section 4). Future theoretical frameworks need to approach research with an interdisciplinary mind-set to study sociolinguistic contexts more holistically, intertwining macrosociolinguistic methodologies with third-wave microsociolinguistic concerns to provide new insights into the field.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

Valentyna Filimonova has studied under and collaborated extensively with Manuel Díaz-Campos, the first coauthor and her PhD thesis advisor. Therefore, her training in sociolinguistic theory, methods, and applications has been significantly informed by the perspective of Dr. Díaz-Campos. Additionally, their mutual collaboration with the Mexican linguist Dr. Marcela San Giacomo of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México has enhanced the coauthors' knowledge of and experience with the indigenous languages reported on in this review. These significant collaborations and the unique knowledge they produced are acknowledged in the works cited in this review. Apart from these collaborations, the authors are not aware of any affiliations, memberships, funding, or financial holdings that might be perceived as affecting the objectivity of this review.

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