Introduction: Selected Proceedings of the Third Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics

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Introduction

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The Third Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics (WSS3) took place April 6th-8th 2006 at Temple University in Philadelphia. As was the case with the First and Second Workshops, the intent was to provide a forum for researchers who share both an interest in Spanish-language data and a sociolinguistic perspective. The papers analyzed samples of Spanish data gathered in a variety of contexts in South America, Central America, the Caribbean, North America, and Spain; they also presented research from a variety of perspectives: phonology, morpho-syntax, discourse analysis, and language contact. Although the contexts and points of analysis varied, all papers in the Third Workshop, as well as in the previous two, were presented in a schedule of single rather than concurrent sessions to allow participants to give and receive feedback in one cohesive group.

A total of 34 papers were presented at WSS3, including the keynote address presented by William Labov, to whom the organizers and participants are indebted for this recognition of Spanish Sociolinguistics as a field that has produced a body of work that contributes directly to the discussion of theoretical issues in both Sociolinguistics and Linguistics in general. Organizers and participants are also indebted to Richard Cameron, Carol Klee and Ricardo Otheguy for their plenary presentations. The 30 regular conference papers were organized in sessions focusing on three areas: phonological variation, morpho-syntactic variation, and language contact (grammar and discourse). Six papers have been selected to represent the papers presented in each of these areas. To anchor this publication, we have also included Richard Cameron’s plenary presentation, “Three Approaches to Finding the Social in the Linguistic.”

In this introduction, we provide a synopsis of each paper, beginning with Cameron’s contribution, and continuing in alphabetical order for the six papers in each of the three subject areas.

Cameron’s thought-provoking contribution, “Three Approaches to Finding the Social in the Linguistic”, begins by recognizing that “sociolinguistics” is an umbrella term for a variety of enterprises that at times appear to be dissimilar in terms of origins, objectives and methods. He suggests that these enterprises may be linked by some of the underlying questions that they raise regarding the presence of the social in the linguistic, and of the linguistic in the social. His article then posits three approaches to discovering the social in the linguistic: the Indexicality Approach, the Constraint Approach, and the Discursive Construction Approach. In each case, he identifies origins of the approach in the literature of social anthropology, social philosophy or linguistics, and provides examples that draw on his own research in Puerto Rico, Philadelphia or Chicago. The result is a conceptual tool for the understanding of both sociolinguistic research and sociolinguistic patterns or systems.

The papers selected in the area of phonological variation analyze data collected in Miami on Cuban Spanish, in Ohio on Puerto Rican Spanish, in both Andean and Caribbean areas of Colombia, in the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico, in central Puerto Rico, and in northwestern Spain.

In “Effects of Age and Gender on Liquid Assimilation in Cuban Spanish,” Gabriela Alfaraz examines a feature frequently associated with the Spanish of the island, as represented in her sample from Miami. She first compares two generational groups, gauging the advancement of assimilation in the speech of younger individuals. She then examines gender patterns in the assimilation of (r) and (l) to determine whether they are the same for both liquids; a significant gender effect is found for (r) but not for (l). The results of the study suggest that in Cuban Spanish, assimilation is a change from below that has been led by men.
In “Diphthongization of Mid/Low Vowel Sequences in Colombian Spanish,” Marisol Garrido reports on two varieties of Colombian Spanish: Andean and Caribbean. The study incorporates the acoustic analysis of data and focuses on the adjacent vowels [eo]. It finds that although diphthongization is constrained by internal linguistic factors it is also constrained by external sociolinguistic factors, such as style and regional origin of speakers. The results identify significant differences between speakers of Andean and Caribbean origin; they also clearly establish that regional differences interact with speech styles, identified as informal and careful.

“El Habla de Yucatán: Final [m] in a Dialect in Contact,” by Jim Michnowicz, identifies Yucatan Spanish as a dialect distinguished from surrounding varieties of Spanish by several phonological features, including the variable articulation of /n/ as [m] in absolute final position. His paper draws on results of a sociolinguistic study in and around the city of Merida. Multivariate analysis shows that [m] is produced most frequently among speakers with at least a passive knowledge of the Mayan language and among women and speakers under the age of 50. Age is shown to be the most important factor and indicates that [m] is a relatively recent innovation. The paper emphasizes the social significance of the labialization of this nasal for speakers of the dialect.

“Mobility and its Effects on Vowel Raising in the Coffee Zone of Puerto Rico,” by Julia Oliver Rajan, highlights the effects on mobility, or migration, on vowel raising in a speaker sample drawn from communities across the coffee zone of rural Puerto Rico. This is done in the context of a study that also considers the phonological process of vowel raising (/e/>[i], /o/>[u]) as well as other social factors affecting variation. Although mobility proves to be the most important extralinguistic factor affecting the phonological variable, age proves to be the second most important factor, a finding that suggests that vowel raising may be slowly disappearing.

In “Lorain Puerto Rican Spanish and ‘r’ in Three Generations,” Michelle Ramos-Pelllicia examines the use of retroflex ‘r’ in coda position which, although documented in several varieties of Spanish, has been assumed to be the result of American English influence. The author suggests that the results from Lorain, where contact with English is ongoing and variable, present counter evidence to the hypothesized American English source of the retroflex ‘r’. Although the findings show the retroflex ‘r’ is most common in the third, or youngest, generation, first generation speakers use a retroflex ‘r’ in reading more than second generation speakers with more exposure to English. An explanation based exclusively on English contact is, then, found to be problematic.

The final paper in this section is “The Use of gheada in Three Generations of Women from Carballo, A Coruña,” by Juan Antonio Thomas. It examines a unique phonological feature associated with the Galician language, a close relative of Spanish. The gheada is the use of a typically voiceless glottal or pharyngeal fricative in place of the conventional velar occlusive /g/ (and its allophones). Data are drawn from recordings of nine female speakers of Galician from the town of Carballo, in the northwest corner of Spain. The women participated in three types of oral interview: a reading test, an oral test, and a free speech test. In the reading test, the mean of non-gheada use is significantly higher than that of gheada use; in the oral test, overall results show no preference for either use; in the free speech test, overall use of gheada is significantly higher than use of the non-gheada alternative. Spectograms show that the most frequent articulation of the gheada is the voiceless, velar fricative ([x]).

The papers in the morpho-syntax section of these proceedings examine a variety of issues of current interest in the study of Spanish grammar: subject pronoun expression, the use of null objects, copula choice, the expression of futurity, and the pluralization of impersonal haber. The authors have used existing corpora or their personally collected data from Spain, Colombia, Mexico, and the United States.

The first study in this section is Carolina Castillo Trelles’ “La Pluralización del Verbo Haber Impersonal en el Español Yucateco.” It examines the linguistic, social and stylistic factors that favor impersonal haber agreement in urban Yucatan Spanish. Her analysis shows that women pluralize haber more frequently than men in impersonal sentences, a finding that is in consonance with similar studies, and it concludes that women are more aware of societal perceptions of language use such as prestige and perceived grammatical correctness.

In “Los Mexicanos in New Jersey: Pronominal Expression and Ethnolinguistic Aspects,” Nydia Flores-Ferrán examines subject pronoun expression in oral narratives of monolingual Mexican Spanish
speakers living in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Her data reveal no significant social differences in correlation with pronoun usage. However, she notes a tendency toward post-verbal collocation of subject pronouns with verbs of external activity, which correlates also with a higher frequency in narratives than in controlled-elicited texts. This suggests that priming may have an effect on controlled-elicited responses as speakers tend to respond to the syntax in which questions were produced.

In “Exploring Copula Choice in Spanish: A Look at Gender”, Kimberly Geeslin and Pedro Guijarro-Fuentes evaluate variation in copula (ser or estar) usage with adjectives. Correlations with gender among monolingual Spanish speakers and bilingual speakers of Spanish and Basque, Catalan, Galician or Valencian are the primary focus. Their findings show differences that distinguish the bilingual populations in their rates of selection of estar with respect to monolingual Spanish speakers. The data, however, show no differences in the distribution of the copulas for men vs. women. The authors suggest that a multivariate approach taking into account other social and socio-political factors may shed new light on variation in Spanish copula usage in the context of Spain’s modernization over the past century.

“Social Constraints on the Expression of Futurity in Spanish-Speaking Urban Communities,” by Rafael Orozco, is a sociolinguistic comparison of linguistic variants (synthetic, analytical, present tense) in the expression of futurity in the Spanish of Colombians of New York City and Barranquilla, Colombia. His study concludes that there is an internally-motivated change in progress in favor of the analytical future in Colombian Spanish. Moreover, he suggests the change has been furthered among New York Colombian speakers as a result of Spanish-English bilingualism described in association with four social factors (age, education, sex, age of arrival/duration of stay).

In “Subject Personal Pronouns and Impersonal Sentences in Adult Colombian Immigrants”, Dora Ramírez compares two morpho-syntactic phenomena in the adult L1 Spanish of Colombian immigrants living in the United States to the usage of monolingual speakers. Her data show two statistically significant changes, namely, higher subject personal pronoun rates among bilinguals and more frequent attestation of the indefinite pronoun uno in impersonal constructions vis-à-vis se-constructions among monolinguals. She interprets the morpho-syntactic changes among Colombian immigrants as the early-onset of L1 attrition due to both Spanish reduction and contact with English and other Spanish-speaking varieties.

“Null Objects and Neuter lo: A Cross-Dialectal Variationist Analysis,” by Assela Reig Alamillo and Scott A. Schwenter, compares the use of the Spanish clitic lo and object-drop pronominalization affecting lo in Mexico City Spanish and Madrid Spanish based on data extracted from four corpora. The authors show that the overall frequency of the null object in place of lo is similar in both dialects, notwithstanding differences in null direct object restrictions in the two dialects. In Madrid, object drop is subject to lexical and constructional collocations like ‘no sé’ and non-declarative sentences, while in Mexico City, contextual factors such as polarity, turn taking and person favor null direct object.

The papers presented in the section on language contact concentrate primarily on non-phonological aspects of language contact, that is, syntax and discourse phenomena. The data have been collected in Los Angeles; in Guayaquil, Ecuador; in Catalonia; on the Dominican/Haitian border; and in bilingual blogs on the Internet.

In the first of the papers grouped in this section, “Word Order in Bilingual Spanish: Convergence and Intonation Strategy,” Emily Hinch Nava examines word order variation in Spanish as a result of contact with English in Los Angeles, California. Her results show that verb type, discourse factors, and also language dominance condition word order distribution, suggesting that the higher instantiation of SV order for unaccusatives can be attributed to indirect transfer. This hypothesis supports the notion that this word order phenomenon is a consequence of a social and functional interface: external force (language contact) and internal factors (inherent word-order flexibility in Spanish).

In “Natural Second Language Acquisition or Pidginization?: Present Tense Verb Usage by Adult Chinese Speakers of Spanish in Guayaquil, Ecuador” Hsiao-Ping Hu analyzes the acquisition of Spanish morpho-syntactic features of the present verb tense and subject/verb agreement by Chinese immigrants in Ecuador. She discovers that older adult participants have a strong tendency to use the third person singular form whether there is agreement or not. This suggests that, in this case, older adult learners of Spanish rely on their First Language as a linguistic knowledge base for the use of
non-conjugated forms. In so doing, they create a communication system based on First Language tendencies in combination with a Spanish-based lexicon, in a process that bears many qualities of pidginization.

“New Latino Diaspora and New Zones of Language Contact: a Social Constructionist Analysis of Spanish Speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia”, by Steve Marshall, analyzes how new Latino migrants in Catalonia reflexively apply their sociolinguistic knowledge. Marshall suggests that they do so by exercising their sociolinguistic agency in transition within the new structures of Catalonia, while still influenced by the old structures, and epistemologies, of countries of origin. The data presented illustrate how the analytic framework of transitional agency he develops can be applied at the level of inter-group interaction in situations of language contact in which language, migration, and identity formation are key factors.

In “Blogging in Two Languages: Code-Switching in Bilingual Blogs”, Cecilia Montes-Alcalá attempts to discover whether bilingual individuals freely switch languages when writing in a public journal and the possible reasons for doing so. Her analysis demonstrates that the writing of bilingual bloggers exposes specific social and stylistic functions similar to those attested in oral code-switching, including switching based on lexical need and for emphasis, the two most productive categories in the corpus. She also argues that biculturalism plays a central role in code-switching and may be seen in the use of idiomatic expressions and linguistic routines that convey the degree of familiarity that the individual possesses with both Hispanic and Anglo worlds.

In their paper, “El Contacto Créole/Español y la Adquisición de Clíticos en la Frontera Domínico-Haitiana”, Luis Ortiz López and Pedro Guijarro-Fuentes investigate the acquisition of Spanish clitic pronouns by three groups: Haitian learners of Spanish, Creole/Spanish bilingual speakers, and Dominican monolingual Spanish speakers. Based on data collected from speakers in the Dominican-Haitian border, their results show that the syntactic properties of the clitic pronouns are acquired more successfully than the morphological properties.

“Doing Catalan Spanish: Pragmatic Resources and Discourse Strategies in Ways of Speaking Spanish in Barcelona”, by Robert Vann, analyzes conversational data from a spoken language corpus of Catalan Spanish (not Catalan) to illustrate some of the pragmatic functions served through Catalan ways of speaking Spanish in Barcelona. He discovers that depending on discourse participants and audiences, doing Catalan Spanish can lead to the construction of common ground, cultural messages of Self and Other, and even cross-cultural messages. The investigation concludes that the Catalan ways of speaking Spanish are constitutive of culture-specific interactional styles that both contribute to and reflect the ethnographic richness of Spanish in the Països Catalans.

In closing, we would like to thank all who presented papers and participated in WSS3 for their contributions to the high level of discussion and collegial interaction that characterized the event. For financial support that contributed directly to the success of WSS3 we wish to thank the following Temple University organizations: the Center for the Humanities at Temple; the Faculty Senate Lectures and Forums Committee; and the Center for International Business, Education and Research. Finally, we wish to thank Dr. Carolyn Phipps, Alpha Walker, Stephanie Smith, and numerous graduate students from the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Temple for their support.