ARTÍCULOS

On the different ways of being a bidialectal immigrant: The case of Argentineans in Spain

María Clara von Essen

This paper aims at analysing the accommodation (convergence) of young immigrants, born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, but living in Malaga, Spain (n = 22). Our main goals are a) to establish why young immigrants adopt different linguistic behaviour in regard to their variety of origin (spoken by their parents, D1-BAS) and the new variety they have contact with as a result of immigration (D2-MAL), b) to determine what this behaviour reveals about their individual characteristics and the speech communities to which they belong to. Attention has been focused on several linguistic levels: phonology, morphology (syntax) and lexis. Based on our results, the immigrants were classified by two-step cluster analysis in three groups: one is almost completely divergent (conserving D1-BAS), another shows mixed linguistic behaviour and seems to be bidialectal (D1+D2), and the third exhibits almost full accommodation towards D2-MAL. This paper aims to be a comprehensive analysis of how speakers readjust their own varieties and display new identities through accommodation (convergence) or divergence.

Keywords: varieties of Spanish in contact, immigration, accommodation (convergence), divergence.

Las distintas formas de ser un inmigrante bidialectal: el caso de los argentinos en España. Este artículo analiza la acomodación (convergencia) de un grupo de jóvenes inmigrantes (n = 22) nacidos en Buenos Aires (Argentina) que residen en Málaga (España). Nuestros objetivos principales son: a) establecer por qué los jóvenes inmigrantes adoptan diferentes comportamientos lingüísticos con respecto a su variedad de origen (variedad de sus padres, D1 BAS) y la nueva variedad con la que entran en contacto como resultado de un proceso de inmigración (D2-MAL), b) determinar qué revela este comportamiento lingüístico sobre sus características individuales y sobre las comunidades de habla a las que pertenecen.

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Para ello, hemos centrado nuestra atención en diferentes niveles lingüísticos: fonológico, morfosintáctico y léxico. A partir de nuestros resultados, los inmigrantes fueron clasificados mediante un análisis de conglomerados en dos fases (bietápico) en tres grupos: el primer grupo es completamente divergente (conserva su D1-BAS), el segundo grupo muestra un comportamiento lingüístico mixto y parece ser bidialectal (D1+D2) y el tercer grupo presenta una acomodación casi completa a la nueva variedad peninsular (D2-MAL). Este trabajo pretende ser un análisis exhaustivo de cómo los hablantes reajustan sus propias variedades y exhiben nuevas identidades a través de la acomodación (convergencia) o la divergencia.

Palabras claves: variedades del español en contacto, inmigración, acomodación (convergencia), divergencia.

1. Introduction

Our paper deals with the results of dialect contact of two mutually intelligible varieties of Spanish: the variety spoken by the middle class speakers of Malaga, Spain (MAL) and Buenos Aires, Argentina (BAS) (von Essen 2016).[1] We will centre our attention on a group of young Argentinean immigrants in Malaga (Spain), describing how they organise their linguistic patterns and how they readjust their own variety, adapting or accommodating to the host variety paralleling their integration into the host society. Our main goal is to determine why 22 immigrants (of both genders) adopt different linguistic behaviour with regard to their vernacular variety, i.e. BAS which is spoken by their parents at home and the new variety they have contact with: MAL[2]. This different linguistic behaviour consists of different degrees of either accommodation (convergence) or divergence.

According to Auer and Hinskens (2005: 335), "accommodation may consist of either the adoption of the new feature and/or the abandonment of the older one(s)." Convergence (advergence since it is unilateral, from BAS to MAL) is related to some kind of prestige: the accommodating speaker appeals to the linguistic patterns of the host variety in search of social approval by using the host linguistic patterns (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Auer and Hinskens 2005). As Coupland (1984: 65) suggests, we also state here that accommodation is highly related to an *identity projection*: immigrants will mostly accommodate to reduce social distance (related to identity) towards their interlocutors or diverge from them to conserve their Argentinean identities.

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Regarding accommodation Chambers (1992: 689) suggested that "a person seven or under will almost certainly acquire a new dialect perfectly, while a person 14 or over almost certainly not. In between those ages, people will vary". Giles and Smith (1979) or Trudgill (1986) also consider that some of the younger speakers in dialect contact situations are bidialectal, which they define as a situation in which "an indigenous variety operates alongside more widespread norms in a community of speakers". Our goal is to determine if our young immigrants are in fact bidialectal (or mono-dialectal) and which linguistic and extra-linguistic factors affect their linguistic behaviour.

Finally, a variety should not be described only on the basis of one particular feature, thus, different phonological, morpho-syntactical and lexical features, will allow us to obtain a better portrait of the young immigrants' variety. In addition, we will argue that other individual factors considered here as intermediate or small-scale variables as the immigrant's social network,[3] age of arrival,[4] language attitudes or national identity should be considered in order to complete the explanation of accommodation (convergence) or divergence (see Auer et al. 1998; Auer and Hinskens 1996, 2005; Trudgill 1986; Chambers 1992; among others).

2. Hypotheses

Our idea is that young immigrants will follow a process of accommodation which is likely to be affected by their personal position as constrained by a set of intermediate and small- scale variables, among which the speaker's design (Bell 1984), their linguistic and ethnic attitudes and social networks play a major role. This sociolinguistic profile interacts with the kind of variables we are dealing with and shows an interesting way of accessing the migrants' varieties.

A set of hypotheses organizing this objective follows:

Hypothesis 1. Salient linguistic features that are perceived by the native speakers of the host speech community as stereotyped signs of migrant origin are firstly abandoned or, at least, lees frequently used. A relative shift of the acoustic correlates of fricative /ʒ/ phoneme is expected in benefit of voiced approximant and fricative realisations. Other processes of accommodation affecting morpho-syntactical and lexical features (as so-called *voseo* or the use of specific Argentinean words) can also be expected (Hypothesis 2). To understand accommodation, maybe a way of argumentation pointing to a phenomenon of hybridisation could be very productive (see Almeida 2019). Hybridised variants between prototypical BAS [ʃ, ʒ] and MAL [j, ʝ, ʄ] would be then a way of either (1) accommodate or imitate the host variety as a result,

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in some cases, of imperfect learning (Trudgill 1986, Siegel 2010) or (2) accommodate to the host variety with a solution that allows individuals to place themselves in both poles of a phonetic continuum as a way of affirmation of mixed identity (BAS and MAL).[5]

Hypothesis 2. Second dialect acquisition and long-term accommodation conducting to converge is a complex process, which has to do with the language system as a whole, and affects every linguistic component of the varieties involved. A hierarchy of accommodation can be proposed, where lexis and morphology/syntax appears to be the easiest component to be acquired. Phonological features are harder to master, particularly if they involve complexity of rules. On the whole, anyway, partial coherence is expected in the young migrants' repertoire.

Hypothesis 3. Short-term accommodation involving bidialectal speakers is particularly affected by the audience. Speakers' design strategies (Bell 1984) allow young immigrants to actively monitor their use of the most salient variables. Fieldwork strategies used in the study involving variation of the interviewers' background, prove to be effective to obtain an idea of how style variation occurs in this particular context. Since we divided the interview considering the background of the interviewer, we expect that different instances of short-term accommodation will be collected, especially among bi-dialectal speakers.

Hypothesis 4. In order to reach complete understanding of accommodation and convergence, as well as stylistic and personal variation by young immigrants, interaction of the speakers' macrosocial and intermediate/small-scale variables has to be scrutinised. Attitudes towards and satisfaction with the host speech community, the speakers social networks, his or her plans or returning home, etc. will interact with the migrants' age of arrival, education, gender in such a way that a personal profile can be built to understand better each of the speakers behaviour. To prove this hypothesis, a scale measuring the migrants' accommodation is designed in this study.

3. Linguistic varieties

We will primarily focus our attention on a very prominent, salient and even stereotypical feature of the BAS pronunciation: the realisation of the voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/ as [ʒ] and [ʃ]. This feature is so salient that when Spaniards are asked to imitate this variety, perhaps the first phonological feature that comes to mind is the realisation of /ʒ/ as a fricative allophone with a high index of noise that is usually devoiced [ʃ] (see Colantoni and Hualde 2013; Chang 2008; Donni de Mirande 1996, 2000; Fernández-Trinidad 2010; Rohena-Madrazo 2013, 2015; among others). These devoiced and very noisy realisations contrast sharply with the realisations of the voiced approximant palatal phoneme /j̬/ in MAL, which

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is pronounced in intervocalic positions as a voiced approximant palatal [ʝ̞] or a voiced palatal fricative [ʝ], are less tense, open, more intense, without noise and sometimes even approximant [jʝ̞ʝ] (Martínez-Celdrán and Fernández-Planas 2007: 58-63).

Both varieties that come in contact in the city of Malaga belong to the same group of phonologically innovative varieties of Spanish, including their spoken standards (Ávila 2003; Villena-Ponsoda 2006) and have been widely studied. They are:

1) The variety of Buenos Aires (BAS), studied by among others by Wolf and Jiménez (1979), Fontanella de Weinberg (1978), Donni de Mirande (1996), Wolf (1984). Already in the 21st century, several studies have been conducted using instrumental acoustic analysis like Chang (2008), Rohena-Madrazo (2013, 2015), Colantoni (2008) or King (2009), etc.

2) The eastern variety of Andalucia (including the variety of Malaga MAL) has been studied by Moya-Corral and García-Wiedemann (1995), Villena-Ponsoda (2008), Villena-Ponsoda and Ávila-Muñoz (2012), Villena-Ponsoda and Vida-Castro (2015, 2017b), Villena-Ponsoda et al. (2017a) or Lasarte-Cervantes (2010), among others.

3.1. Phonological variables: /ʝ/ and /θ/

Both in BAS and in MAL there is only one merged voiced palatal obstruent (/ʝ/ = /ʎ/), i.e. the so called *yeísmo,* that is the phenomenon consisting in the gradual replacement in Spanish of the palatal lateral phoneme /ʎ/ by the voiced palatal fricative /ʝ/. The old phonemic distinction of /ʎ/ and /ʝ/ is only consistent nowadays in rural or isolated speaking communities, while in the rest of the Castilian Spanish linguistic domain the spread of *yeísmo* (i.e. the use of one phoneme /ʝ/, instead of two /ʎ/ and /ʝ/, that is the reduction in the number of phonemes) is considered a sound change in progress (Moreno-Fernández 2005; Rost-Bagudanch 2017). *Yeísmo* has been described as a dephonologization process and as a merger case (Rost-Bagudanch 2017: 171-172).

Although both varieties present *yeísmo,* the realisations that each speaking community displays are extremely variable:[6]

a) The variants of BAS, in intervocalic positions,[7] of the voiced postalveolar fricative phoneme /ʒ/ are the voiced postalveolar fricative [ʒ] and the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ]. These allophones ([ʒ] and [ʃ]) exhibit long duration, are tense, have high indexes of noise and are often voiceless [ʃ] (Chang 2008; Rohena-Madrazo 2013, 2015; Martínez-Celdrán 2012).[8] In recent studies, [ʃ] was found to be the preferred solution in Buenos Aires in most middle-class and upper class younger speakers (Chang 2008; Colantoni 2008; King 2009; Rohena-Madrazo 2013, 2015; among others).

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b) The variants of /ʝ/ in MAL, in intervocalic positions, tend to be approximant, open fricative allophones with a small index of noise like the voiced approximant palatal [ʝ̞] or the voiced palatal fricative [ʝ].[9] Although some fricative allophones were found for the variety of Malaga, they are never voiceless [ʃ] as in Buenos Aires (see von Essen 2016 for more details about acoustic measures).

The differences between each allophone are easily detectable if we draw each /ʝ/ or /ʒ/ sound of the word *pollo* (chicken) as realized by different speakers from our sample. If we look at Figure 1 and how the soundwave crosses the dotted line (0), we can observe from left to right: a) voiced approximant palatal [ʝ̞][10] and voiced palatal fricative [ʝ][11] (first row) from speakers born and raised in Malaga,[12] and c) voiced postalveolar fricative [ʒ] and e) voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] (bottom row) from speakers born and raised in Buenos Aires.

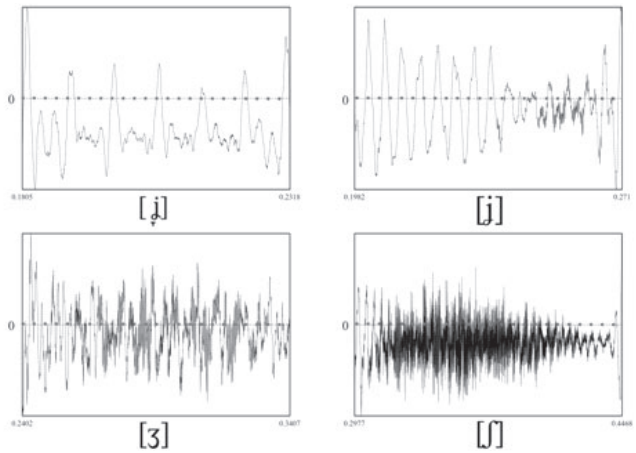

Figure 1. *Fragments of allophones of /ʝ/. First row: allophones from Malaga.*
Second row: allophones from Buenos Aires

Regarding **/θ/,** when comparing both phonological inventories (BAS versus MAL), MAL (associated with middle-class speakers), "represents the most recent trend of convergence towards the national standard", which includes phonemic split and reallocation of the previous merged phoneme /θˢ/ resulting in a sibilant /s/ vs. non-sibilant /θ/ contrast (Villena-Ponsoda and Vida Castro 2017b: 131). This split or phonemic contrast of the Andalusian coronal fricative /θˢ/ known as *distinción*, is the result of convergence towards the Castilian Spanish northern varieties, which preserved contrast between word sets with (inter) dental /θ/ CAZA ['kaθa] 'hunting' and alveolo-palatal /s/ ['kasa] CASA 'house'. It is important to point out that this phonemic contrast is

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unthinkable in BAS, where the pronunciation of /θˢ/ as [s̪] (*seseo*) is prestigious and the split is unlikely to occur[13]. In BAS as well as all over Latin America, obstruent fricatives involved both in both word sets (CAZA or CASA) are exclusively produced as a unique dental fricative phoneme, i.e. as a laminal sibilant (i.e. what is known as *seseo*), perceptually similar to the English or French /s/ (Penny 2014: 125). So, word sets CAZA and CASA are pronounced the same way, i.e. ['kas̪a].

3.2. Morpho-syntactical variables: *voseo* and *tuteo*

In Buenos Aires, *voseo* is considered as part of the BAS norm (prestigious feature), and is one of the most characteristic traits of Argentinean Spanish (Carricaburo 2013: 133). *Voseo* involves the use of pronouns and/or verbal forms of second person plural with singular value (Carricaburo 1997: 11). *Tuteo* is: a) only taught in schools to speakers of Argentina (although *voseo* is only used, even in mainstream media), and b) it is considered among BAS speakers as a part of Castilian Spanish Standard (Carricaburo 1997: 24). We will consider here only the Present tense in indicative mood, since we did not find any Imperative examples. The Present tense of subjunctive forms (in which *tú* and *vos* could alternate, for example '*que* ***vos comas*** *es importante/que* ***tú comas*** *es importante* [it is important that you eat]), were not considered here.

During the interview we perceived a shift in the pronoun paradigm and its verbal forms, most specifically in the use of the second person singular pronoun (*tú* for MAL, *vos* for BAS) and their corresponding verbal forms (see Table 1).[14] For MAL the exclusive forms are A+C, while for BAS the exclusive forms are B+D. The MAL solution A+C (*tú comes* ['you eat']) is called *tuteo,* while the BAS solutions B+D (*vos comés* ['you eat']) are considered as *voseo.*[15]

A	B	C	D
tú (you) (Second person singular pronoun)	*vos* (you) (Second person singular pronoun)	*comes* ['ko↑ mes] (eat) *tuteo* (Second person verb. Present tense [indicative mood])	*comés* ['komé ↓ s] (eat) *voseo* (Second person verb. Present tense [indicative mood])
MAL	**BAS**	**MAL**	**BAS**

Table 1. *Pronoun paradigm and verbal forms*

So if accommodation occurs, the BAS immigrants of our sample should a) replace their native BAS pronoun *vos*, by the MAL or Spain solution *tú* (A), b) change the verbal morphemes related to those pronouns (C): for example, for the sentence 'you eat every day at home' the

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MAL solution would be '**tú comes** todos los días en casa' whereas the BAS solution is '**vos comés** todos los días en casa'. The accommodated solution of the immigrants should also be A+C.

3.3. Lexis variables

In our study, we only considered those lexical items that are salient and/or could affect intelligibility. In order to determine if a particular word should be considered as MAL, we consulted the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (Reference Corpus of the Contemporary Spanish, *CREA*) and the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy, *DRAE*).[16] To determine if the words were from BAS we consulted the *Diccionario del Habla de los Argentinos* (Diccionary of the Argentinean Speech) (DHA) (Academia Argentina de las Letras 2008) of the Argentinean Academy of Letters, as well as *DRAE* and *CREA*. We include in Table 2 a short selection of the lexical contrasts of both varieties that occurred during the interview.

	MAL	BAS
Nouns		
Bus (noun)	*Autobús*	*Colectivo*
Avocado (noun)	*Aguacate*	*Palta*
Flip-flops (noun)	*Chancla*	*Ojota*
Marker (noun)	*Rotulador*	*Fibra*
High-School (noun)	*Instituto*	*Secundaria*
Skirt (noun)	*Falda*	*Pollera*
Women's-handbag (noun)	*Bolso*	*Cartera*
Jacket (noun)	*Chaqueta*	*Campera*
Disco (noun)	*Discoteca*	*Boliche*
Commotion (noun)	*Follón*	*Quilombo*
Tap (noun)	*Grifo*	*Canilla*
Joke (noun or verb)	*Cachondeo*	*Joda*
Adjectives		
Posh (adjective)	*Pijo*	*Concheto/cheto*
Dodgy (adjective)	*Chungo*	*Jodido*
Stupid (adjective)	*Gilipollas*	*Boludo/pelotudo*
Verbs		
To grab (verb)	*Coger*	*Agarrar*
Others		
Ni de coña (*no way*-interjection)	*Ni de coña*	*Ni en pedo*

Table 2. *Contrast of words: words from Malaga (MAL) vs. words from Buenos Aires Spanish (BAS)*

4. Argentinean immigrants in Malaga

The results presented in this paper correspond to the spontaneous speech recordings of the total number of young immigrants in our sample (n = 22, f = 10, m = 12),[17] which are between 16 and 29 years old (see Table

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6). All the immigrant speakers were born in Buenos Aires, Argentina and have been living in Malaga for, at least, the last seven years. We considered their social class to make the comparison reliable.[18]

We also collected a comparative corpus of non-mobile speakers of Buenos Aires (n = 4, 2 males and 2 females), and a corpus of non-mobile speakers of Malaga (n = 4, 2 males and 2 females).[19] The idea was to compare their speakers' behaviour to that of our young immigrants from Buenos Aires living in Malaga (n= 22) (see Section 6.1, Table 7). The comparison is possible since they are all the same age (less than 29 years old) and social class.

5. Field Method

Recordings took place in a quiet and echo-free room at the University of Malaga with a Handy Recorder H4N Zoom. In previous studies of this immigrant community we established that the background of the interviewer had an important impact on the immigrant's realisations or speech use (von Essen 2016). Considering these results, we divided the speech performance of these young immigrants (n = 22) in two parts: a) The first part of the interview, with duration of 15 minutes, where an interviewer born and raised in Malaga interacted with the immigrants (Spanish interviewer); b) The second part of the interview, with a duration of 30 minutes, where an interviewer born and raised in Buenos Aires joined the participants for the rest of the interview (Mixed interviewers). Nevertheless, although the impact of the background of the interviewer ever persists, its effect is different depending on the circumstances of each immigrant and should be considered in depth in order to avoid biased results. However, results will be presented considering: Spanish Interviewer, Mixed Interviewers, All interviewers (complete interview).

We analysed the realizations of BAS and MAL acoustically by looking at different acoustic measures such as duration (Dur), zero crossings rate (standardised) (ZCR) and relative intensity (R. Int), since these are the acoustic measures that allow us to consider the complete hierarchy of realisations: both the allophones from MAL and BAS (see Table 3).

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Duration (Dur). Martínez-Celdrán (2015), Fernández-Trinidad (2010), von Essen (2016)	Measures the total duration of the segment. Fricative segments of BAS [ʃ] were expected to be longer than voiced approximant palatal [j̬] or fricative [j] allophones of MAL.
Zero crossings rate (ZCR). Martínez-Celdrán (2015), Fernández-Trinidad (2010), Gordeeva and Scobbie (2010), von Essen (2016, 2020)	1. Measures the number of times in a given interval that the amplitude of the speech signal passes through a value of zero (the time-axis), divided by the number of frames (Kiss 2013). 2. Contrast aperiodic and periodic sounds: the aperiodic sounds of BAS [ʃ] will always present more friction and the highest values of ZCR in comparison with the periodic sounds of MAL [j]; lower values of ZCR are related to more modal excitation (voicing) (Kiss 2013: 11-13). 3. ZCR could be influenced by the allophone's duration so, following Martínez-Celdrán we standardised the ZCR values multiplying by 10 the zero crossings values of the interval and dividing it by the duration of the complete interval
Relative Intensity (Rint). Gradoville (2011), Rost-Bagudanch (2017), Martínez-Celdrán (2013)	1. Determines the phonetic voicing of /j̬/. 2. Intensity can be measured for allophones with formants structure (open allophones of MAL) and also for fricative segments (BAS). It is crucial to normalise intensity values: the recording level and the volume speech could easily affect these values. Gradoville (2011) and Martínez-Celdrán (2013) normalise these results as follows: (Intensity preceding vowel + intensity following vowel) /2= n. Then n minus the intensity of the consonant allophone of /j̬/ = Relative Intensity.

Table 3. *Acoustic measures considered for the realisations of /j̬/ and /ʒ/*

6. Results

6.1. First Hypothesis: salient features are abandoned or less frequently used. The palatal obstruent

In dialect contact situations, what is perceived by the speakers as salient or even stereotyped is abandoned more easily and faster than what is perceived as less salient. A variant is salient when "it is phonetically radically different from the corresponding variant of the variable" (Auer et al. 1998: 167). Hinskens (1996) or Auer et al. (1998: 167), among others, referred to salience as *phonetic distance* or *articulatory distance* respectively. As confirmed by our results "dialect features used only in a restricted area will be more salient and therefore given up in dialect contact" (Trudgill 1986: 11).

The realisation of /ʒ/ as [ʒ] or [ʃ] is exceedingly salient and speakers of MAL can easily detect BAS speakers by this particular feature of pronunciation.[20] The allophones of /j̬/ and /ʒ/ produced by the young immigrants are presented in Table 4. As expected, almost 58.8 % of the

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approximant are open [j̬] and fricative realisations [j̞] that are characteristic of MAL,[21] so accommodation (convergence) is already confirmed. We also found 11.6 [ʒ] + 29.5 [ʃ] = 41.1 % of BAS realisations.[22]

Variant	[j̬] (approx.)	[j̞] (fricative)	[ʒ]	[ʃ]
Occurrences	578	114	137	347
% In corpus	49.1	9.7	11.7	29.5

Table 4. *Distribution of variants of /j̬/ and /ʒ/ (n = 1176)*

We also confirmed accommodation acoustically by looking at different acoustic measures such as duration (Dur), zero crossings rate (standardised) (ZCR) and relative intensity (R. Int), since these are the acoustic measures that allow us to consider the complete hierarchy of realisations: both the allophones from MAL and BAS (see Table 5).[23]

	[j̬] (open)	[j̞] (fricative)	[ʒ]	[ʃ]	Total	Sig.	Eta^2
N	578	114	137	347	1176		
% of the sample	49.1	9.7	11.7	29.5			
Dur. ms. (mean)	**57.8**	**64.6**	**76.4**	**94.2**	**71.3**	**0.000**	**0.49**
Dur. ms. (SD)	14.3	17.1	14.0	19.7			
Dur. ms. (min.)	29	17	51	38			
Dur. ms. (max.)	162	129	124	201			
ZCR (mean)	**9.3**	**13.0**	**24.3**	**51.4**	**23.8**	**0.000**	**0.74**
ZCR (SD)	3.0	7.1	12.3	17.7			
ZCR (min.)	3.1	4.8	4.9	18.9			
ZCR (max.)	19.8	35.7	70.5	108.1			
Rint (mean)	**3.7**	**5.3**	**9.1**	**12.2**	**7.0**	**0.000**	**0.56**
Rint (SD)	2.9	3.5	3.3	3.5			
Rint (min.)	-5.5	-2.5	-1.0	2.5			
Rint (max.)	12.5	14.5	17.5	21.5			

Table 5. *Overall results of measures: Duration, ZCR, and Relative Intensity*

As we can see in Table 5, results obtained from the Relative Intensity measure and ZCR were similar and seem to work out apparently in the same way for the allophones of /j̬/ and /ʒ/. Therefore, we decided to compare their scores for our four perceived allophones ([j̬, j̞, ʒ, ʃ]) in a normalized histogram (see Figure 2).[24] As shown, although the four categories representing the four perceived allophones of /j̬/ and /ʒ/ are not clearly separate (which is normal since this is a hierarchy of realizations), the allophones are more stable or better defined by ZCR values with clearer and better delineated categories. Looking, for example, at the Gaussian distribution and the categories 0 [j̬], 1 [j̞], 2 [ʒ] and

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3 [ʃ] in the normalised histogram of realisations on the left (ZCR), it is clear that 0 and 3 are two categories that do not have coincidental values, i. e. we cannot find values of 0 in the category 3. However, if we look into all the categories for Relative intensity, we find that some values of 0, 1 and 2 are included in category 3. What we see in Figure 2 also correlates with the η^2 values: as we mentioned above (Table 5) when discriminating each allophone, ZCR explains better each category with 0.74 η^2 values versus 0.56 η^2 values of the Relative Intensity. This leads to the conclusion that ZCR seems to be the best measure to discriminate each allophone, the categories are more stable, the values of the extremes (0, 3) are not coincidental and each category is better defined.

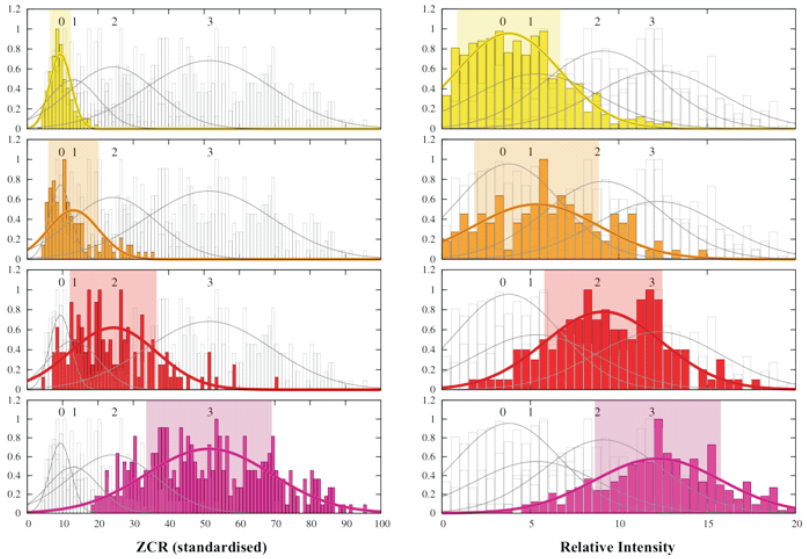

Figure 2. *Normalized Histogram (n = 1176). ZCR: zero crossing rate (standardised) (left) vs. Relative Intensity (right).* **0** *= [j̩],* **1** *= [j],* **2** *= [ʒ],* **3** *= [ʃ]*

Looking at the acoustic results presented in Table 5 and comparing them to Table 6 below, we can easily detect three different groups where speakers show similar speech behaviour: the first group, labelled *New Malagueneans* NM (n = 8), produced 99.22 % of variants from MAL, the second group the *Dialect switchers* DS (n = 9), 52.57 % and the third group, the *Argentos* ARG (n = 5), 5.58 % of variants from MAL.

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SPK	Gen	Name	Age	AoA	TR	/j/	%MAL	ZCR	SD	Rint	Dur
New Malagueneans- NM (n = 8)											
100	M	Iván	25	10	15	67	**98.5**	**6.69**	1.86	4.26	55.97
96	M	Gastón	23	10	13	45	**97.9**	**8.94**	3.32	4.07	62.15
97	M	Damián	29	12	17	47	**100**	**9.31**	2.16	4.84	65.09
87	M	Federico	22	15	7	92	**100**	**9.5**	2.75	2.98	59.91
92	F	Soledad	16	9	7	59	**100**	**10.14**	3.52	4.12	51.24
63	F	Julieta	21	7	14	42	**100**	**11.03**	2.84	3.32	55.45
84	F	Ayelén	19	11	8	38	**97.4**	**13.25**	4.14	3.57	59.89
48	F	Lucía	22	8	14	53	**100**	**18.56**	5.93	3.68	56.62
Total group NM (mean)						443	**99.22**	**10.60**	**4.77**	**3.79**	**58.13**
Dialect switchers- DS (n = 9)											
21	M	Gabriel	27	12	15	44	**84.4**	**9.95**	5.93	2.93	68.41
68	F	Estefanía	20	8	12	58	**78.7**	**11.54**	6.08	6.51	57.09
58	F	Bianca	20	8	12	25	**48.0**	**15.5**	8.97	8.54	61.84
40	M	Fernando	22	10	12	37	**55.5**	**16.92**	12.4	6.45	84.43
56	F	Ailén	25	12	13	39	**46.2**	**24.0**	17.38	6.43	74.08
98	M	Javier	24	8	16	37	**45.9**	**29.73**	22.41	10.2	81.24
103	M	Joaquín	18	4	14	51	**37.3**	**33.1**	24.44	8.16	72.98
104	F	Juliana	22	8	14	46	**41.3**	**39.14**	28.46	5.72	73.54
82	F	Flavia	18	3	15	57	**36.8**	**42.24**	29.61	12.28	80.25
Total group DS (mean)						**396**	**52.57**	**25.47**	**23.14**	**7.53**	**72.47**
Argentos- ARG (n = 5)											
86	M	Lucas	29	12	7	97	**27.9**	**19.96**	12.94	9.76	80.08
78	M	Matías	23	21	11	42	**0.0**	**28.12**	9.85	7.35	96.31
45	M	Nahuel	29	16	11	57	**0.0**	**43.45**	9.38	13.91	99.12
17	M	Joaquín	27	21	8	64	**0.0**	**49.79**	21.98	11.26	90.3
11	F	Bianca	24	22	8	77	**0.0**	**58.84**	16.72	11.15	80.13
Total group ARG (mean)						337	**5.58**	**39.47**	21.55	10.77	87.28
					Total	**1176**	**52.49**	**23.88**	**21.41**	**7.05**	**71.31**

Table 6. *Young Immigrants of the sample (n = 22). Speaker variables, acoustic parameters, and individual percentage of Malaga allophones*[25]

We also confirmed accommodation by the young immigrants through comparison of their speech behaviour with that of the non-mobile speakers of Malaga and Buenos Aires. On Table 7 we can see that the most accommodated group (NM, first group) do not significantly differ in ZCR when compared to the younger speakers born and raised in MAL (Tuckey shows no significant differences between these two groups). That means that accommodation in this group towards the allophones of MAL is almost completed. DS (second group), present an intermediate degree of accommodation. Finally, ARG (the third group), which is the less-convergent group, also presents accommodation at some extent: their realizations of are less noisy and statistically different from the non-mobile speakers of BAS, which could be also related to a slower accommodation process.

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Group	N	ZCR	Stand. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Speakers of Malaga (n = 4)	129	**9.92**	3.31	3.71	24.16
New Malagueneans NM (n = 8)	443	**10.60**	4.77	4.39	33.80
Dialect switchers DS (n = 9)	396	25.47	23.14	3.14	108.17
Argentos ARG (n = 5)	337	39.47	21.55	4.86	95.32
Speakers of Buenos Aires (n = 4)	88	65.58	30.36	14.92	150.03
Total	1393	25.22	23.91	3.14	150.03

Table 7. *Comparison between speaking communities and immigrant groups*

6.2. Hypothesis 2. There is a hierarchy of features in accommodation. Coherence is partially present in the immigrants' results

The linguistic variation found among the immigrants is not restricted to one linguistic feature (as /ʝ̞/ and /ʒ/ variation). In fact, as Hinskens and Guy proposed (2016: 2), "the more coherent a set of coexisting linguistic variables, the bigger the chances that a change in the variant of one of the variables will trigger a switch to another […] like a falling domino effect." Although the immigrants' varieties are always associated to high indexes of variation, our group of young immigrants exhibits a quite coherent linguistic behaviour in the sense that some variables in this variety co-vary in their usage.

To confirm the hierarchy of features in accommodation, we focused our attention on other linguistic components: (1) phonology: previously we considered the loss of a native phonemes of BAS (/ʒ/ as [ʒ] and [ʃ]), now we are considering the acquisition of an phoneme of MAL /θˢ/, (2) morpho-syntax: we will consider the loss of prototypical BAS forms of address (*voseo*, namely the use of *vos*) in favour of MAL variants (*tuteo*, namely the use of *tú* for the informal second person 'you') and their corresponding verbal forms, (3) lexis: a comparative analysis of accommodation is carried out with special emphasis on words related to common, but also to specific referent either in MAL or BAS.

(1) Firstly, on the phonological component a relatively recent and socially prestigious feature is considered since it is one of the most salient features of the MAL middle-class variety: the phonemic split or contrast of /θˢ/. Regarding phonological complexity, Wells (1973: 118) or Siegel (2010: 92) consider that sound changes that include categorical substitution or simple rules (i.e. the kind of changes consisting in replacing one sound used in the D1 [BAS] by other used in the D2 [MAL]), are easier in comparison to sound changes that include phonological

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splits or complex rules. This distinction has been observed previously (Payne 1976; Chambers 1992; Foreman 2003) with quite conclusive results (see Table 8).

Payne (1976) (n = 34) Children from Philadelphia with influence of New York and Midwestern dialects	Chambers (1992) (n = 6) Canadian English (CanE) acquiring Southern England English (SEE)	Foreman (2003) (n = 34) North American English (NAE) acquiring Australian English (AusE)	von Essen-this paper (n = 22) Argentinean immigrants of BAS acquiring MAL
Complex rule phenomenon (CR): Involves phonologically conditioned merging: /ohr/ like in SURE/SHORE /er/ like in FERRY/FURRY **33.3 %** acquisition of /ohr/; **17.6 %** acquisition of /er/	**Complex rule phenomenon:** Vowel backing: involves learning a new phoneme and splitting words with low vowels that have merged in CanE. CanE: [gəɹ ɑ 'ʤ] or [gəɹ ɑ 'ʒ] SEE: [ga'ɹ ɑ ʤ] or [ga'ɹəʤ] 23.3 % acquisition of Vowel backing	**Complex rule phenomenon:** Non pre-vocalic /ɾ/: AusE requires to eliminate /r/ in non-pre-vocalic positions. NAE: [kare], [dare] AusE: [kae], [dae] **5.3 %** acquisition of non-pre-vocalic /r/	**Complex rule phenomenon: Split of** /θˢ/ MAL: caza ['kaθa] [hunting]; ['kasa] casa [house] BAS: ['kaʂa] caza [hunting]; ['kaˌʂa] casa [house] **33.4 %** acquisition of split of /θˢ/
Categorical substitution/simple rule (CS): /aw/ MOUTH; /oy/ CHOICE, /ay/ PRICE, /ow/ GOAT, /uw/ GOOSE Acquisition: **40 %** /aw/; **60 %** /oy/; **50 %** /ay/; **68 %** /ow/, 52 % /uw/	**Categorical substitution/simple rule (CS):** T-voicing **55 %** absence of T-Voicing	**Categorical substitution/simple rule (CS):** acquisition of the five vowels **18 %** acquisition of the five vowels	**Categorical substitution/simple rule (CS):** **58.8 %** acquisition of approximant [ɟ] and fricative [j] allophones

Table 8. *Effect of the type of change (CS vs. CR) on the frequency of accommodation. Four speech communities. Source: Payne 1976, Chambers 1992, Foreman 2003 and von Essen (2020, 2021)*

As mentioned above, categorical substitution or simple rules (CS) involves substituting one sound by another that already exists in the speakers' phonological repertoire. Following Siegel (2010: 17) "they may involve either substitution or merging." Siegel (2010: 18) exemplifies categorical substitution by proposing, "Speakers of North American English who are trying to speak British English would need to learn to substitute [əʊ] for their [oʊ] pronunciation of the diphthong in GOAT." Wells (1973) also considered categorical substitution when studying Jamaican English (JE) speakers acquiring London English (LE). He found that the higher indexes of accommodation occurred in categorical substitution for /o:/ GOAT and /e:/ FACE; Jamaican English speakers only needed to replace one sound of JE with the sound used in LE, but they didn't have to learn these new sounds (/o:/ /e:/) because they already existed in their phonological repertoire.

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In our particular case, speakers of BAS already have very similar allophones to the [j̟] and [j̠] MAL realisations, for example in the word *paranoia* [‘paranoja] (Harris and Kaisse 1999). So, for our immigrants to pronounce [plaja-plaja-plaja] (‘beach’) instead of [plaʒa-plaʃa] is actually simpler because the sounds [j], [j̟] and [j̠] (or a very close allophone to them), already exists in their phonological repertoire: /j/ in *paranoia* could be an allophone of /i/. Furthermore, Harris and Kaisse (1999: 141) consider that [ʃ] and [ʒ] are “surface reflexes of underlying /i/”; that makes [ʃ] and [ʒ] phonologically closer to [j], [j̟] and [j̠]. Therefore, they could be also easier to master or even imitate (Almeida 2019). In summary, as Wells (1973), Chambers (1992), Foreman (2003) or Siegel (2010) among others, we also found that categorical substitution or simple rules results in higher indexes of accommodation (see Table 8).

Phonological splits (or complex rules) refer to the acquisition of new or additional phonemes (Chambers 1992). We expected that the phonemic split of MAL /θˢ/ could present differences in accommodation (in comparison to /j/), because: a) due to its phonological complexity, b) it only occurs in MAL, not in BAS.

To simplify the analysis and avoid shortcomings we concentrate on the word sets etymological ‘z, c+e, c+i’ (z = *pozo*, c+e = *doce*, c+i = *bici*) that are pronounced among the young middle-class speakers of MAL as interdental [θ] and among young middle class speakers of BAS as [s̟] (see Figure 3).

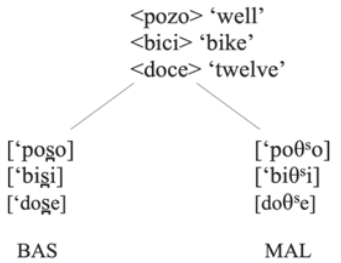

Figure 3. *Phonological split: Differences between BAS and MAL pronunciation*

So, for the immigrants to acquire this split of /θ/ means that they have to learn a contrast between two phonemes and two word sets (/s/ vs. /θ/; CASA vs. CAZA) that are already storage in their phonological repertoire as a single phoneme /s/ and one unique word set (/θˢ/; CASA=CAZA). Siegel (2010: 92-93) considers this type of accommodation harder to natively achieve since it involves a ‘complex rule’. This ‘complex rule’ (to learn a new phoneme or split) could end up in less success in acquiring this new phonological contrast.[26] Therefore, the Andalusian split of the

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coronal fricative, which is associated with the national standard, is very likely to be a linguistic marker of accommodation (or its absence of) towards MAL: given the prestige that this split exhibits in Malaga (Villena-Ponsoda et al. 2015, 2017a, 2017b) we expected that the group of young immigrants presented a certain percentage of split in their realisations if they were accommodating to MAL, but also a lower degree in accommodation due too its complexity (see Table 9 and Figure 4).

		Spanish Interviewer		Mixed Interviewers		All interviewers	
		[s]	[θ]	[s]	[θ]	[s]	[θ]
New Malagueneans	%	25.8	**74.2**	25.5	**74.5**	25.6	**74.4**
	n	49	141	68	199	117	340
Dialect switchers	%	68.5	31.5	77.9	**22.1**	74.0	**26.0**
	n	100	46	159	45	259	91
Argentos	%	**100.0**	0.00	**100.0**	0.00	**100.0**	0.00
	n	96	0	193	0	289	0
Total	%	56.7	43.3	63.3	36.7	60.7	39.3
	n	245	187	420	244	665	431
Sig.			0.000		0.000		0.000

Table 9. *Pronunciation of /θ/ as [s] seseo BAS or [θ] split MAL*

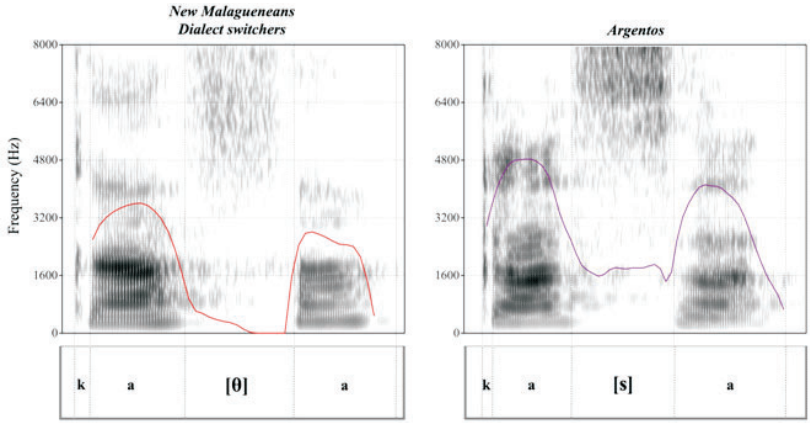

Figure 4. *Split /θ/: /s/ in the word caza (hunting). NM and DS vs. ARG*

Looking at the results in Table 9 we find that whereas in the realisations of /ʝ̟/ and /ʒ/ at least some degree of accommodation in the three different groups exists, divergent behaviour is evident among the ARG with no accommodation at all regarding the phonemic split.[27] The explanation could lie in the fact that a) the split involves a complex rule and/or b) the split sounds *too salient* as a feature of the Castilian Spanish

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standard, it sounds, and feels, too European Spanish. NM and DS use the phonemic split as a solution that allows them "[….] to avoid being identified only with one dialect" (Almeida 2019: 5).

In fact, the differences between categorical substitution and complex rule are clear when looking at the results in Table 10 of the speakers who exhibit more accommodation, the NM and most precisely to speakers 87 and 100: although they arrived in Malaga with 10 and 15 years old and they fully accommodate when 'categorical substitution' takes place acquiring, so to say, MAL variants of /j̬ /, they do not so with the phonemic split which involves 'complex rules'. Both present almost 100% of MAL variants of /j/ and 0% of split.

Num.	AGE OF ARRIVAL	% /j/ MAL	ZCR	% /θˢ/
NEW MALAGUENEANS				
100	10	98.5	6.69	0.0
96	10	97.9	8.94	95.3
97	12	100	9.31	94.8
87	15	100	9.5	0.0
92	9	100	10.14	100.0
63	7	100	11.03	100.0
84	11	97.4	13.25	86.8
48	8	100	18.56	96.8
		99.22	10.6	74.0

Table 10. *'Categorical substitution' of of /j̬/ and /ʒ/ versus 'complex rule'/split of /θˢ/ among NM*

Therefore, we conclude that: a) the split could be harder to master do to its complexity (complex rule), b) it could be considered as a too salient feature of Castilian Spanish, c) is acquired at a slower pace and d) seems to be not as influenced by age of arrival as /j̬ / and /ʒ/. All these factors could explain less success in accommodation.

(2) Regarding the morpho-syntactical level, Kerswill (1994: 69) states that "acquiring morphological (morpho-syntactical) or lexical features of D2 would be easier than achieving phonological features because in first language acquisition morphology and syntax can be acquired at a later age than phonology" (Chambers 1992; Siegel 2010).

Considering the overall results, the use of *tú* and *tuteo* follow the same tendency between groups and interviewers that has been detected so far with the phonological variables (see Table 11).

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		Spanish Interviewer		Mixed Interviewers		All interviewers	
New Malagueneans		**BAS**	**MAL**	**BAS**	**MAL**	**BAS**	**MAL**
		vos	***tú***	***vos***	***tú***	***vos***	***tú***
	%	0.0	**100.0**	5.7	**94.3**	4.3	**95.7**
	n	0	12	2	33	2	45
		voseo	***tuteo***	***voseo***	***tuteo***	***voseo***	***tuteo***
	%	0.0	**100.0**	7.4	**92.6**	4.4	**95.6**
	n	0	84	9	113	9	197
Dialect switchers		***vos***	***tú***	***vos***	***tú***	***vos***	***tú***
	%	4.8	**95.2**	65.4	**34.6**	38.3	**61.7**
	n	1	20	17	9	18	29
		voseo	***tuteo***	***voseo***	***tuteo***	***voseo***	***tuteo***
	%	6.8	**93.2**	67.7	**32.3**	41.6	**58.4**
	n	5	69	67	32	72	101
Argentos		***vos***	***tú***	***vos***	***tú***	***vos***	***tú***
	%	**77.8**	22.2	**71.0**	29.0	**73.5**	26.5
	n	14	4	22	9	36	13
		voseo	***tuteo***	***voseo***	***tuteo***	***voseo***	***tuteo***
	%	**81.1**	18.9	**82.4**	17.6	**81.9**	18.1
	n	60	14	98	21	158	35

Vos-tú. All differences are significant (Chi2, p <0.001) except **Stylistic differences** (Spanish vs. Mixed interviewers): NM Chi², p = 0.550, ARG Chi², p = 0.433. **Group differences** (NM vs. DS vs. ARG): all differences are significant (Chi², p<0.001). ***Voseo-tuteo***. All differences are significant (Chi2, p <0.001) except **Stylistic differences** (Spanish vs. Mixed interviewers): ARG p = 0.975. **Group differences** (NM vs. DS vs. ARG): all differences are significant (Chi², p<0.001).

Table 11. *Morpho-syntactical accommodation: vos vs. tú and voseo vs. tuteo*

First, NM seem to fully accommodate to European Standard Spanish A+C with no differences between interviewers (p = 0.55). Second, DS also knew what variants were expected during the interview with the Spanish interviewer using 95.2% of the pronoun *tú* (A). However, they react to the background of the interviewer (*style-shifting*) producing only 34.6% the pronoun *tú* (A) with Mixed Interviewers (Chi², p<0.001). The same applied to *tuteo* (C) (Chi², p<0.001). Third, although we would expect the results of ARG to be of no accommodation, especially if we compare them to the split of /θˢ/ (0%) or to the accommodated realisations of /j̰ / and /ʒ/ in MAL (5.58%), we discovered that the speakers are more permeable to accommodation: they are acquiring the use of *tú* (A) with percentages of 22.2% with the Spanish interviewer and 29.0% with Mixed interviewers (p = 0.443). Regarding *tuteo* (C) they produced 18.9% with Spanish inter-

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viewer and 17.6% with Mixed interviewers (p = 0.975). It also appears that this change among the ARG could be unconscious since its variation: a) is not statistically significant and b) it does not depend on the interviewer. Nevertheless, they accommodate to the native variants of MAL, perhaps more than in other levels.[28] This confirms what Kerswill (1994), Chambers (1992) or Siegel (2010) already suggested for different varieties of English: acquiring morpho-syntactical or lexical features of D2 is easier than achieving phonological features.[29]

(3) Regarding the lexis level, accommodation is related to "the use of completely different words to refer to the same thing" (Siegel 2010: 20). Our results are in line with Chambers' who asserts that "lexical variants are acquired faster that pronunciation and phonological variants" (1992: 677)[30]. When analysing the frequency of the words and their origin (n = 1302, mean of 20 lemmas and 59 occurrences per speaker), we found that words from BAS are less used with the Spanish Interviewer, following the same tendency found with phonological and morpho-syntactical data for the NM and DS (see Table 12).

Words and origin (n = 1302)							
		Spanish Interviewer		**Mixed Interviewers**		**All Interviewers**	
		BAS	MAL	BAS	MAL	BAS	MAL
New Malagueneans	%	1.5	**98.5**	11.2	**88.8**	7.0	**93.0**
	n	3	193	29	230	32	423
Dialect switchers	%	6.3	**93.8**	48.2	**51.8**	27.2	**72.8**
	n	16	240	123	132	139	372
Argentos	%	49.6	**50.4**	41.6	**58.4**	44.6	**55.4**
	n	63	64	87	122	150	186
Total	%	**14.2**	**85.8**	**33.1**	**66.9**	**24.7**	**75.3**
	n	82	497	239	484	321	981
Sig.			0.000		0.000		0.000

Stylistic differences (Spanish vs. Mixed interviewers): all differences are significant (Chi^2, p<0.001) except ARG Chi^2, p = 0.102. **Group differences** (NM vs. DS vs. ARG): all differences are significant (Chi^2, p<0.001). Spanish Interviewer: V = 0.542; Mixed interviewers V = 0.352; All interviewers V = 0.340.

Table 12. *Origin of words and percentage of use during the interviews*

ARG also presented different behaviour on this level, producing more accommodation than in any other: 55.4 % of MAL words (All interviewers). ARG did not react stylistically to the interviewer, ending up in variation that is not related neither to the Spanish or Argentinean interviewers. As Siegel (2010: 74) points out, "having learned a lexical item […] does not mean that the new variant will be used consistently,

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[…] linguistic knowledge does not necessarily translate to fluency or accuracy." It appears that ARG are not yet as consistent or even native as other accommodated speakers (NM or DS) and because their accommodation is gradual it involves a great deal of variation.

In summary, we can confirm Hypothesis 3: there is a hierarchical order in accommodation:

(1) Lexical accommodation seems to be the first step in accommodation. Above all when it comes to lexical items (as it is the case here) that play a role in intelligibility. Phonological or morpho-syntactical features of BAS will not produce any visible barriers in communication: non-mobile speakers of MAL will certainly understand if an Argentinean immigrant says ['kaʂa] instead of ['kaθa] for the word CAZA (*hunting*) or ['plaʃa] instead of [plaja] for the word PLAYA (*beach*) because MAL speakers are familiar with these phonetic features and because they could infer the meaning by the context in which the word is embedded. They will also understand *vos comés* ('you eat') (BAS) because MAL speakers have learned at school the differences that exist between the different dialects of European Spanish and Latin American Spanish. However, BAS lexical items could cause failures in communication with MAL speakers. This is why MAL lexical features are more easily acquired by the ARG (the less-convergent group). ARG also arrived in Malaga more or less in their early twenties, which following Chambers (1992) makes them more prone to acquire morphological and lexical features than phonological features. So, we believe that they could be accommodating to MAL because 'they have to do so' in order to be understood. A clear example of this is that MAL speakers will not understand an immigrant asking for a *palta* ('avocado' BAS) instead of *aguacate* ('avocado' MAL) at the supermarket. If ARG ask for an *aguacate* at the supermarket (accommodating to MAL), they will certainly purchase an avocado. So ARG are learning this new variety to be understood by speakers of MAL but they keep other features that a) project an Argentinean identity b) do not interfere succesful communication or intelligibility (split of /θˢ/, /ʝ̟/, *tuteo* and *tú*).

(2) Accommodation on the morpho-syntactical level seems to be more easily acquired by the immigrants than phonology. It seems that morpho-syntax follows the same tendency as lexis but moves at a slower pace: immigrants replace one pronoun and the corresponding verbal forms to the MAL forms, but accommodation is not as simple as changing one word of BAS for another word of MAL (lexical accommodation).

(3) Accommodation on the phonological level depends not only on individual or macrosocial factors, but also on linguistic factors such as categorical substitution in /ʝ̟/ or complex rules in /θˢ/. On the one hand, the *salience* of /ʒ/ pronounced as [ʒ] or [ʃ] (a stereotyped variable of BAS) and the phonetic distance between BAS and MAL realisations 'pushes'

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the most accommodated immigrants to the highest indexes of convergence towards MAL. On the other hand, the complexity of the split of /θˢ/ slows down accommodation. As already suggested in previous studies of second dialect acquisition in different varieties of English (Siegel 2010, Chambers 1992, Tagliamonte and Molfenter 2007, Foreman 2003, etc.), the phonological level seems to be the hardest to master: to sound as a native MAL speaker is the final step in accommodation.

6.3. Hypothesis 3. The audience, especially among bidialectal speakers, particularly affects short-term accommodation

In previous studies (von Essen 2016, 2020a and 2020b) we detected that the impact of the background of the interviewer was particularly strong among the younger immigrants. So the interview task was divided into two separated but complementary parts: 1) The first part was carried out by a speaker born and raised in Malaga (Malaga interviewer), and 2) the second part was conducted by the same speaker of Malaga and a speaker born and raised in Buenos Aires (Argentinean interviewer, the author of this paper). Firstly, we extracted the overall results of accommodation considering the complete interview (see Figure 5).

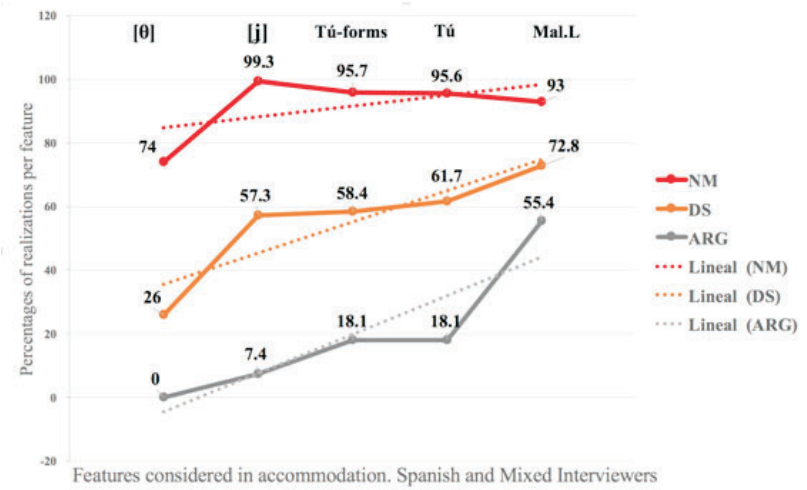

Figure 5. *Use of MAL features (All the interviewers). [θ] Percentage of split; [j] percentage of MAL allophones; Tú-forms: percentage of tuteo; Tú: percentage of tú and Mal.L: percentage of MAL lexicon. NM: New Malagueneans; DS: Dialect switchers; ARG: Argentos*

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However, we knew from previous studies that the impact of the background of the interviewer would be immense, particularly among the group of DS. As we see in the results of Figure 6, we found that this group is capable of designing their style to fit with the addressee (Spanish interviewer).[31]

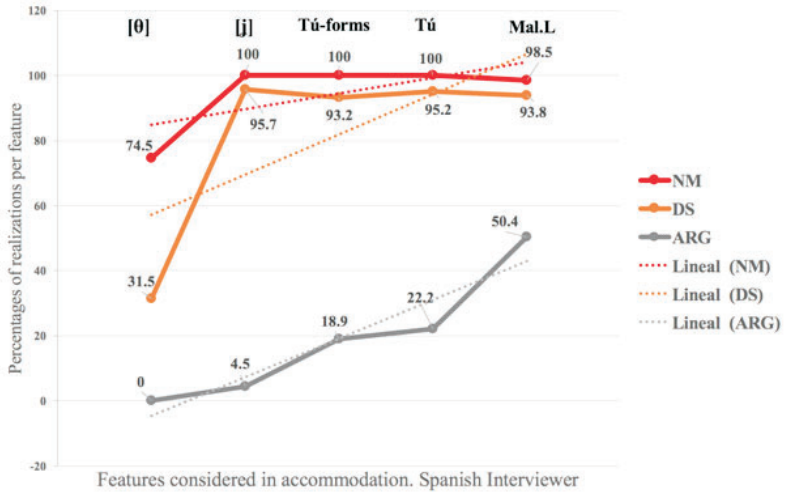

Figure 6. *Use of MAL features (Spanish interviewer)*

Based on the results compared in Figure 6 (results of Spanish Interviewers only) and Figure 5 (results of Spanish and Mixed interviewers), we can conclude that: **DS**: a) present a very large *style-shift*; b) are in fact bidialectal: they participate in the norm of MAL whenever the Spanish interviewer is alone and they switch to BAS realisations when the Argentinean interviewer takes over the interview. **NM**: a) have clearly accepted the Malaga norm (MAL) and are uni-dialectal, **ARG**: a) seem to be halfway in their accommodation process to the southern Spanish variety.

Considering this information, we corroborate Hypothesis 3: The audience, especially among bidialectal speakers DS, particularly affects short-term accommodation.

6.4. Hypothesis 4. Effect of intermediate and small-scale variables on accommodation or divergence. The Accommodation Scale (AS)

Following Eckert (2008: 26), "the traditional emphasis in variation studies has been to correlate linguistic variables with macro-social categories (e.g. class, gender, ethnicity) […] Quantitative generalizations of

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this sort are fundamental to the study of variation, but understanding the social meaning of variation requires that we examine what lies beneath those generalizations." To understand social meaning, speakers "use linguistic variables that have socially meaningful interpretations or indexicalities, i.e. socially symbolic meanings" (Hinskens and Guy 2016: 3). Eckert (2004) defines the linguistic variants that each speaker uses as a practice of *bricolage*: by these variants, which have a purpose, a stance or intent, speakers construct identities (Hinskens and Guy 2016: 2-3). We agree here with Hinskens and Guy (2016: 3) that "coherence and covariation on the one hand and *bricolage* on the other […] are not equally strong in every respect", i.e. variation should not be exclusively explained by coherence or quantitative approaches (Hypothesis 1 and 2) but also by examining small-scale or intermediate variables that are highly related to what Eckert considers a practice of *bricolage* (Hypothesis 4). So, as Hinskens and Guy already suggested (2016: 3) we considered both quantitative and *bricolage* approaches since "the two perspectives are essentially complementary."

Given that the macro-social categories of our young immigrants were homogenous, several intermediate variables and their effects were considered to build the Accommodation Scale (AS). The information used to build AS was obtained through systematic scrutiny of the young immigrants' attitudes towards the host variety, their orientation towards national identity, including return plans to Argentina, as well as their personal network of links in Malaga (social network), the role of the family pressure on the young migrant, and their age of arrival (access to education). All this information was obtained: a) during the semi-guided interviews, and b) from social/reticular questionnaires filled by the immigrants during the interviews.

Our first idea was that age of arrival (and their consequent access to education) would determine the migrants' linguistic behaviour since "children tend to orient linguistically to their peers, perhaps more than to any other influence" (Labov 1991).[32] As we mentioned above, Chambers (1992: 689) pointed out that "a person seven or under will almost certainly acquire a new dialect perfectly, while a person 14 or over almost certainly not. In between those ages, people will vary." Although Chambers' approach almost coincides 100% with our results and it seems that the age of arrival plays a role in explaining variation (in fact, for example, age of arrival and ZCR present a negative correlation of $R= -0.291$, $p< 0.001$), two exceptions arise from our data when we look at the individual speakers' behaviour (See Table 6): informants 78 and 87 do not follow Chambers' critical age of acquisition, presenting a linguistic behaviour quite opposite to what was expected:[33] ARG 86 arrived when he was 12 years old but shows a completely divergent

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behaviour with regards to the MAL typical patterns of speech use, while NM 87, who arrived when he was 15 years old, reveals an almost completely convergent speech use. However, when we consider the aggregate effect of intermediate or small-scale variables, the speech behaviour of these two speakers reveals itself as perfectly coherent.

Firstly, we analysed the separate effect of each of the variables used to build the AS (Accommodation Scale) on the realisations of /ʝ/ and /ʒ/ to be sure of their significant influence. Secondly, we combined the effect of each variable: AS works as a proxy scale / index, which functions as a predictor. The AS considers the combined effect of the different individual characteristics functioning as a unique independent variable, and aims to determine how this aggregate effect correlates with the speakers' degree of accommodation (convergence) or divergence as reflected in the use of MAL features. Following not only the personal biographies of each immigrant but also opinions and attitudes expressed during the interview, each immigrant received a particular score on the AS (scores from 0 to 3). Given that some variables weighted 2 points, others 0, 1 or even 3, we have adjusted the weight (weighted mean), so that every scale has the same numeric importance[34] (see Table 13).

In summary, AS considers:

(1) The speakers' perception of which variety he or she uses in the day-to-day life, based on direct or indirect statements taken from the interview (MAL, BAS or both) (SP), (2) The explicit definition of the speaker's identities (BAS, MAL or both) (ID), (3) The family pressure the young immigrants experience regarding their linguistic use (BAS at home versus MAL) (FP), (4) Type of social network (SN), (5) Positive or negative attitudes towards accommodation to MAL (LA), (6) Formal education in Malaga (ED) or Age of arrival (AoA), (7) Plans to return to Buenos Aires in the future (PR).

Secondly, considering the final scores of each immigrant (from 13 to 1) and following our first linguistic analysis namely the three groups (NM, DS, ARG) of speakers, we can conclude that there is not only a hierarchy of components (Hypothesis 2) but also a hierarchy of speakers: the immigrants will acquire MAL faster if certain circumstances (considered here in Table 13) are present or part of their personal biographies (Hypothesis 4).

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	0	1	2	3
1. Declared speech use (SP)	BAS at home and all possible interactions with speakers of Malaga	Use two different varieties, i.e. MAL with Spaniards and BAS with Argentinean speakers	Exclusively use BAS at home (vernacular variety). Use MAL in all other possible interactions	
2. Identity (ID)	Consider themselves only Argentineans	Consider themselves mostly Argentineans but partly Spaniards	Consider themselves mostly Spaniards but partly Argentineans	Consider themselves only Spaniards
3. Family pressure (FP)	Experienced family pressure	Did not mention or experienced family pressure at home		
4. Social networks links (SN)	Argentineans or other nationalities of immigrants	More Argentineans immigrants than speakers from Malaga	More speakers from Malaga than Argentineans immigrants	Only speakers from Malaga (only Argentineans from their own family: father, mother, brother, sister)
5. Language Attitudes (LA)	Do not like when other Argentineans accommodate to MAL	Do not reject immigrants that accommodate to MAL		
6. Education and Age of Arrival (ED, AoA)	ED: Did not attend any kind of formal education in Malaga. AoA: More than 18 years old	ED: Attended either High School or the university in Malaga. AoA: Between 12 and 16 years old	ED: Attended Primary School and High School in Malaga. AoA: Between 3 and 11 years old	
7. Plans to return (PR)	Want to return to Argentina and travel there every year to visit their relatives	Do not want to return to Argentina and prefer to stay in Europe during the holiday		

Table 13. *The Accommodation Scale (AS). Scores from 0 to 3*

Finally, we also intended to confirm that this division of immigrants was accurate. To do so, we conducted a two-step cluster analysis on SPSS, which revealed natural groupings (or clusters) within our dataset.[36] The variables used to conduct the two-step cluster analysis and to prove that the grouping was accurate were: (1) informant (since each speaker was considered separately in order to obtain a grouping), (2) AS scores for each informant, (3) ZCR (standardised) since ZCR was the best measure of /ʝ̟/ and /ʒ/ (eta^2= 0.74), (4) % of split of /θˢ/, (5) % of use of pronouns *tú* (MAL), (6) % of use of *tuteo* (MAL), and (7) % of use of lexical features (MAL) (see Table 14).

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SPK	SP	ID	FP	SN	LA	ED	PR	S. AS	% /j/ MAL	ZCR	%/θ/	%Tú forms	%Tú	%Mal.L
***New Malagueneans* (NM)**														
92	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	14	100	10.1	100	100	100	90.8
	0.61[37]	0.69	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.46	3.98						
84	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	**14**	**97.4**	**13.2**	**86.8**	**100**	**100**	**93.9**
	0.61	0.69	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.46	3.98						
48	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	**14**	**100**	**18.5**	**96.8**	**100**	**100**	**93.5**
	0.61	0.69	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.46	3.98						
96	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	**13**	**97.9**	**8.9**	**95.3**	**90**	**50**	**95.7**
	0.61	0.46	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.46	3.75						
87	2	3	1	3	1	1	1	**13**	**100**	**9.5**	**0.0**	**100**	**100**	**91.7**
	0.61	0.69	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.3	0.46	3.75						
63	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	**13**	**100**	**11.0**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**98.6**
	0.61	0.46	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.46	3.75						
97	2	2	1	3	1	1	1	**12**	**100**	**9.3**	**94.8**	**63.2**	**75**	**34.9**
	0.61	0.46	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.3	0.46	3.44						
100	2	2	0	3	1	2	1	**11**	**98.5**	**6.6**	**0.0**	**98**	**100**	**92.7**
	0.61	0.46	0.0	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.46	3.29						
Total (mean per group)								**13**	**99.2**	**10.9**	**74**	**95.6**	**95.6**	**93**
***Dialect switchers* (DS)**														
58	1	1	0	3	1	2	1	**9**	**48.0**	**15.5**	**8**	**33.3**	**50**	**78.8**
	0.3	0.23	0.0	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.46	2.75						
21	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	**9**	**84.4**	**9.9**	**16.7**	**67.7**	**60**	**75.6**
	0.3	0.23	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.3	0.46	2.9						
56	1	2	1	3	1	1	0	**9**	**46.2**	**24.0**	**4.7**	**46.2**	**0**	**78.1**
	0.3	0.46	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.3	0.0	2.67						
103	1	1	0	3	1	2	1	**9**	**37.3**	**33.1**	**100**	**52.9**	**66.7**	**85.7**
	0.3	0.23	0.0	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.46	2.75						
68	1	1	0	3	1	2	0	**8**	**78.7**	**11.5**	**6.3**	**100**	**100**	**89**
	0.3	0.23	0.0	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.0	2.29						
98	1	1	0	2	1	2	1	**8**	**45.9**	**29.7**	**0**	**70.4**	**100**	**30.2**
	0.3	0.23	0.0	0.46	0.46	0.61	0.46	2.52						
104	1	0	0	3	1	2	1	**8**	**41.3**	**39.1**	**11.8**	**31.4**	**20**	**46.9**
	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.69	0.46	0.61	0.46	2.52						
82	1	1	0	2	1	2	1	**8**	**36.8**	**42.2**	**52.4**	**67.9**	**63.6**	**53.8**
	0.3	0.23	0.0	0.46	0.46	0.61	0.46	2.52						
40	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	**6**	**55.5**	**16.9**	**17.5**	**0**	**0**	**76.9**
	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.46	0.46	0.61	0.0	1.86						
Total (mean per group)								**8.3**	**52.6**	**24.6**	**26**	**58.4**	**61.7**	**72.8**
***Argentos* (ARG)**														
86	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	**3**	**27.9**	**19.9**	**0**	**42**	**21.4**	**77**
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.46	0.46	0.0	0.0	0.92						
78	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	**3**	**0.0**	**28.1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**31.6**
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.46	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.76						
11	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	**3**	**0.0**	**58.8**	**0**	**14.9**	**36.4**	**38.5**
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.23	0.46	0.3	0.0	0.99						
17	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	**2**	**0.0**	**49.7**	**0**	**17.1**	**40**	**49.4**
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.46	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.46						
45	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	**2**	**0.0**	**43.4**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**44.3**
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.46	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.46						
Total (mean per group)								**2.6**	**5.5**	**40.0**	**0**	**18.1**	**18.1**	**55.4**

Table 14. *Young migrants' individual and aggregate scores on the accommodation scales in Malaga and overall accommodation results*

The results obtained by the two-step cluster analysis (see Figure 7) matched our expectative: cluster analysis proposes three different groups with a good cluster quality from over 0.6 of 1.0 in Silhouette measure of cohesion and separation.[38]

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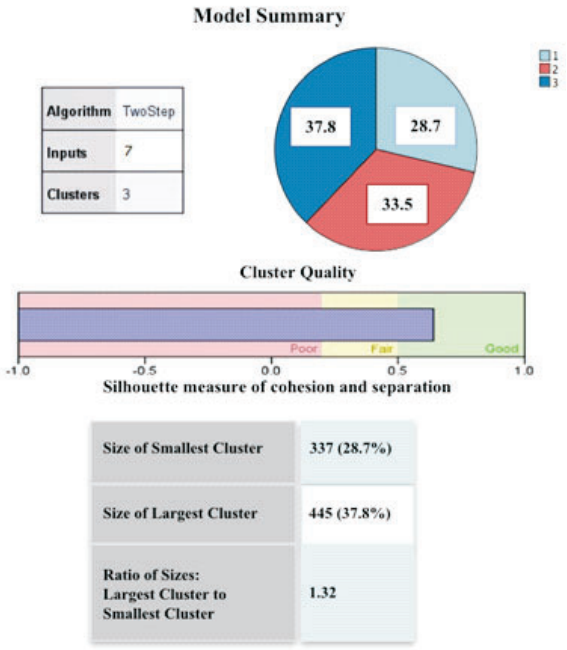

Figure 7. *Two-step cluster analysis of the sample (n = 22)*

The size of each conglomerate or group is: conglomerate 1, 28.7% of the sample: **ARG**. This group is uni-dialectal, divergent and conservative regarding their original variety (BAS). Conglomerate 2, 33.5%. **DS**. This group is bidialectal producing two different stances that emerge from *style-shifting* and are related to the background of the interviewer. Conglomerate 3, 37.8%. **NM**. This group is uni-dialectal, presenting almost full accommodation towards MAL, since these speakers exclusively produced features of MAL during the interview with the consequent apparent loss of their original variety (BAS).

7. Conclusions

Young immigrants born in Buenos Aires and living in Malaga accommodate to the variety of their host city. Results of our analysis confirm that accommodation is a complex process that does not follow fixed patterns: None of the immigrants has completely shifted to the variety of MAL, all retain some BAS features in their realisations although NM and DS really sounded like native speakers of MAL to both interviewers (especially when they interacted with a Spanish

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interviewer).[39]

Accommodation depends on several factors, which we considered here as: (a) linguistic factors, (b) intermediate or small-scale variables that were later grouped to build a scale, the Accommodation Scale (AS), (c) stylistic factors (background of the interviewer).

(a) We have corroborated that there is a hierarchy of accommodation (see Figure 8). When we consider the 22 young immigrants as a group, the lexis results the most permeable level to accommodation. Morpho-syntactical features seem also to be easier to master. Phonological features are the hardest to achieve and accommodation depends on their complexity: the closer the D2 sound is to the young migrants' D1, the more successful phonological accommodation will be. Therefore, the linguistic rules that underlie a particular feature could influence accommodation.

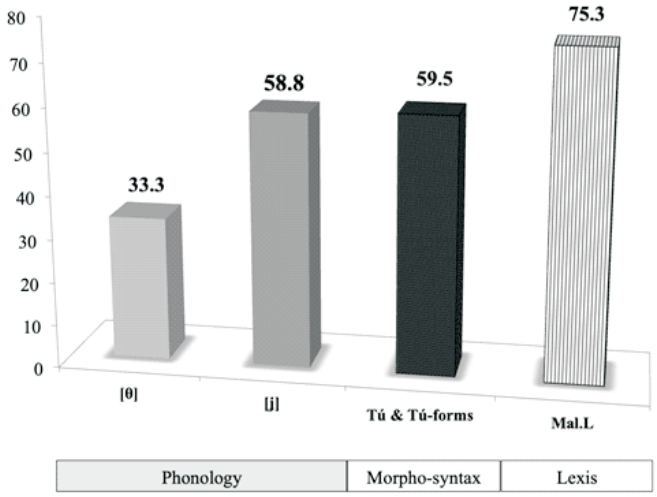

Figure 8. *Hierarchy of accommodation among the young immigrants of BAS (nθ] Percentage of split; [j] percentage of MAL allophones; Tú and Tú-forms: percentage of tú and tuteo (here considered together); Mal.L: percentage of lexicon of MAL*

(b) The intermediate and small-scale variables, on the one hand, and the Accommodation Scale (AS), on the other hand, allowed us, first, to classify speakers according to their contact and acceptance of the host speech community values and speech use and, second, to separate groups of migrants in three different subgroups as previously detected through linguistic analysis. So AS helped to refine and confirm our categorization of the immigrants (NM, DS, ARG) and to understand the

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behaviour and ideologies that underlie accommodation and its social meaning. Through the analysis of the AS we conclude that accommodation on various linguistic levels is not a mechanistic matching of frequencies, but an attempt at 'identity projection' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Coupland 1984; Almeida 2019). The objective method of analysis carried out in this paper, which is not biased by the researchers' perception, helped us to establish accommodation or divergence and to understand which identity the immigrants wanted to project: Argentinean (ARG), Malaguenean (NM) or Mixed identities (DS).

(c) *Style-shift* resulted important among bidialectal speakers (*Dialect switchers*); the background of the interviewer turned up to be relevant and permitted to carry out a rigorous analysis. Young immigrants were exposed during the interview to what they actually experience on a daily basis: the MAL and the BAS varieties. We were able to observe how they interact with speakers of both varieties and what that meant. All this allowed us to understand how they actively construct their own 'varieties of immigration'.

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[2] BAS: Buenos Aires Spanish, spoken in Argentina. MAL: Spanish spoken in the city of Malaga, Spain.

[3] As in Auer, Barden and Grosskopf (1998) for Saxon East German speakers moving to the west of Germany, Hinskens et al. (2016) for accommodation and the importance of social networks among Moroccan and Turkish communities in Amsterdam and Nijmegen, among others.

[4] For the importance of age and accommodation: Chambers (1992, 2003), Kerswill (1994), Kerswill and Williams (2000), Potowsky (2016), among others.

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[5] It is important to mention that hybridisation depends on the linguistic attitudes that the immigrants hold towards these sets of varieties (BAS and MAL) and is only possible when the attitudes are positive. Negative linguistic attitudes, as we will see later, result in less accommodation or even completely divergent behaviour.

[6] In fact, the differences between BAS and MAL regarding /ʝ̟/ are not only phonetic but also phonological. The voiced /ʒ/ fricative of Buenos Aires Spanish (BAS) is considered a phoneme.

[7] We will consider here only the intervocalic realisations. However, other realisations as voiced or voiceless affricates [ʝ̟ʝ̟] or [d͡ʒ] (Martínez-Celdrán & Fernández-Planas, 2001: 187), after pause and after nasal consonants are also common.

[8] Although the initial innovation of [ʃ] appeared in Buenos Aires sixty years ago among young middle-class citizens, younger speakers (especially women) are generally held responsible for its rapid spread. Fontanella de Weinberg (1978) provided the first quantitative analysis of 60 speakers of Buenos Aires, in which she stated the coexistence of voiced [ʒ] and voiceless [ʃ] palatals in Argentina. Back in the 80's Fontanella de Weinberg established that 15-30-year-old females are the ones that produce usually only [ʃ] allophones, followed by 31-50 females and 15-30-year-old males and finally males 31-50 years old. The voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] was rarely found among 51-70 old speakers. Wolf (1984) also proposed that the devoicing of /ʒ/ as [ʃ] has already been completed among the younger speakers of Buenos Aires.

[9] This is the preferred variant among young middle-class speakers in Malaga (von Essen 2016). However, other social classes in Malaga (particularly the lower classes) could present allophones with higher index of noise in intervocalic positions such as [ʝ̟ʲ] or [ʒ] although they have not been acoustically described so far (von Essen, forthcoming).

[10] In previous studies (von Essen 2016), we labelled this realisation as voiced approximant palatal /j/ according with Martínez-Celdrán (2015) and Fernández-Trinidad (2010), among others. There has been a debate about this issue, since the Real Academia Española (RAE) and the Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (2011: 174-193) defines this phoneme as a voiced fricative pre-palatal /j/. Martínez Celdrán (2013, 2015) considers [ʝ̟] as a sub-group of approximants and as an open palatal realisation. This open palatal realisation is also referred to or labelled as approximant [j] by Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996, 197) or non-lateral palatal approximant [j] by Rost Bagudanch (2017, 169). In order to avoid label controversies, we will consider this allophone as voiced open palatal [ʝ̟].

[11] In previous studies (von Essen 2016), we labelled this realisation as open voiced fricative /j/.

[12] As we mentioned previously, allophones allophones of /ʝ̟/ and /ʒ/ as voiced affricate [ʝ̟ʝ̟] or as voiced postalveolar fricative [ʒ] could be also possible in Malaga (all after pause and in initial word position, rarely in intervocalic positions) but only among older speakers coming from lower social-class backgrounds. The common intervocalic realisations of /ʝ̟/ among young middle-class speakers in Malaga are [ʝ̟] and [j] (von Essen 2016).

[13] Regarding this issue, Colantoni and Hualde (2013: 29) state that the most important phonological difference between Castilian Standard Spanish and Latin American Spanish is this phonemic contrast, which acts an isogloss that clearly separates both continents.

[14] Given the format of the interview, we did not found enough instances of *vosotros* or *ustedes* to make any comparison possible.

[15] Also in Rona (1967), Moreno-Fernández (1993), Fontanella de Weinberg (1979) (among many others).

[16] Although we are aware that CREA and DRAE compile all variants of Spanish (also American varieties as the Argentinean variety), they also annotate the regional origin of

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words or where they were used or localised. Words considered here as MAL could also sometimes be classified as words of Castilian Spanish but never Buenos Aires Spanish.

[17] The total number of young immigrants interviewed corresponds to a larger sample of immigrants (from 16 to 72 years old) that were interviewed for this project (n = 108), although we reduced the number to 72 immigrants considering education, time of residence in Malaga and age (von Essen 2016, 2020a and 2020b).

[18] The information about social class was gathered through questionnaire with regard to their families' incomes: almost 80% of them declared that their parents' income (or their personal incomes in case that they were currently employed) ranges from 1100 to 1800 euros per month (if they live with their parents 1100-1800 each), which could characterize our informants as members of middle-class families. So, immigrants who earned similar salaries to the middle-class in Malaga were included in a middle-class category. The information about incomes for middle-class in Malaga was extracted from the National Statistical Institute (INE), which informs that the Andalusian middle-class salaries or incomes range from 21000 to 24000 per person/year. The speakers' parent formal education was also taken into account: 90% of the young immigrants responded that their parents had had university education and some of them are also currently working in jobs related to their formal education.

[19] The corpus of Argentineans in Buenos Aires and native speakers of Malaga has 36 informants respectively. The non-mobile speakers both of Buenos Aires and Malaga never left Argentina or Spain; none of them are immigrants or intend to live outside their countries of origin.

[20] Each word was selected at most three times for a given speaker in a given interviewer situation (Spanish interviewer/Mixed Interviewers) to ensure the data were not biased by a specific high-frequency word. The average number of /j/-lexemes selected per speaker was fifty-three (n = 53 per speaker). All instances correspond to non-marked-by-theme parts of the interviews (i.e. no metalinguistic instances of the interviews were considered in the analysis).

All allophones were analyzed using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2017). As stated above, all allophones considered in this paper belong to the intervocalic positions V_C_V (*poyo* 'stone bench'; *la_llave* 'the key'); we decided not to include realisations after pause (pause_*llave* 'key') since duration and other acoustical values could we affected by it, especially if we compare voiceless to voiced allophones. In order to avoid biased results, we also tested: 1) if the position of the variable in the word itself (medial for *calle* and initial for *la_llave*) could affect the ZCR results, 2) the preceding vowels, since non-palatal realisations (/a, o, u/) could favour more open realisations and 3) the accentual structure (i.e. the variation between stressed or unstressed syllables). We have found no significant effects for: 1) variable position (medial: *calle* or initial: *la_llave*) (T-test: Sig. 0.206), 2) preceding vowels (Anova: Sig. 0.511), and 3) accentual structure (T-test: Sig. 0.201).

[21] We could also consider here a 50.9 % of fricative realizations (9.7 [j] + 11.7 [ʒ] + 29.5 [ʃ] = 50.9 %), since [j] is also a fricative sound. However, in order to avoid confusions, we will present them separately as BAS and MAL allophones.

[22] These categories were obtained through the perceptual analysis of each allophone. We confirmed later that each one of these categories or allophones presents statistical significant differences at the acoustical level.

[23] If we would exclusively consider the allophones produced by the speakers of Malaga, on the one hand, other measures would also be valid for voiced open palatal segments, as values of F1, F2 and F3. However, the voiced palatal fricative could not be measured by F1, F2 and F3 because it presents some degree of noise. The same applied to the fricatives of Buenos Aires since voiced and voiceless postalveolar fricatives do not have formant structure (Rost Bagudanch 2017: 188). On the other hand, if we would consider only the realisations of Buenos Aires, other measures would also be valid for fricatives as Peak of Max. Intensity, Centre of Gravity, skewness or kurtosis, among others.

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Because we intend to compare these fricative realisations to open palatal segments, these measures are not convenient since open allophones present no fricative structure or comparable amounts of noise (Harrington 2013: 102-111).

[24] Duration is not included here since its η^2 values are lower than those from ZCR and Relative Intensity.

[25] SPK: Speaker number, Gen: Gender, AoA: Age of arrival, TR: Time of residence in Malaga, /j/ total number of realisations, % MAL: Percentage of realizations of /j/ as MAL, ZCR: zero crossings rate (standardized), SD: Standard deviation, Rint: Relative intensity, Dur: Duration.

[26] Wells (1973: 118) found the same tendency among Jamaican English speakers in London: the lowest indexes in accommodation regarding pronunciation were found when speakers have to acquire a contrast or split. He concludes, "They do not on the whole succeed in acquiring new phonological oppositions or in altering the distributional restraints on their phonology."

[27] Note the differences also here between these two particular sounds: the interdental [θ] and the laminal sibilant [s]. The interdental [θ] presents less duration: 170 vs. 195 ms., less intensity (mean): [θ^s] 53.15 (dB) vs. [s] 61.4 (dB) (see intensity contour: red line vs. purple line), less centre of gravity: 5447 (Hz) vs. 5899 (Hz), and less ZCR (standardised) 142 vs. 151.95. The data was extracted from one random realization of the variables [s] or [θ^s] and one representative immigrant of each group.

[28] We also considered the use of 'ustedes' and 'vosotros' (second personal plural pronouns) and the verbal forms (*tuteo* and *voseo*). Due to the interview format, where the immigrants talked to one interviewer regardless of which of them was present, very few cases of 'ustedes' and 'vosotros' and their verbal forms were found. However, they present the same tendency as *vos* vs. *tú* and *voseo* vs. *tuteo*. The reduced number of occurrences did not allow statistical analysis.

[29] There are no cases of pronoun and verb mixing (mixed forms) among our immigrants, for example: *vos comes* or *tú comés* 'you eat'. So, combinations were regularly coherent: when *vos* was used the conjugation was always *voseante* and vice versa. However, we did find that some of the immigrants (mostly the *Dialect switchers*) frequently varied their use presenting *vos comés* 'you eat' with Mixed Interviewers and *tú comes* 'you eat' with Spanish Interviewer. So, the effect of the background of the interviewer could explain this particular variation.

[30] When analysing a group of immigrants, Foreman (2003: 170) also discovered that while only 12 of 54 informants used Australian English phonological variants, most of them changed their North American English words by Australian English words.

[31] On *style-shifting* consult also Bell (1984), Giles and Powesland (1975), Giles and Smith (1979), among many others.

[32] Consult also Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007).

[33] Siegel (2010, 89) claims that Chambers' critical age "is backed up for the most part by other studies in which subjects older than 13 did not show native-like usage with any of the variables studied." Nevertheless, there were three exceptions to Chamber's statement, but it should be pointed out that those results came from studies in which morphological features (not phonological ones) were studied. Kerswill (1994) and Ivars (1994) established morphological changes in speakers with 14 and 16 years old and Omdal (1994) up to 16, 17, 19, 22 and 25 years old.

[34] The two-step cluster analysis established the same number of conglomerates and informants per group, both considering the numeric values (0 to 3, without considering weight) and the weighted mean.

[35] Although not all of them experienced family pressure, it was quite interesting to detect that most of the DS did experienced a lot of pressure from their parents to maintain the BAS variety not only at home but also in all possible situations. Most of their parents find odd or strongly reject that their children are bidialectal.

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[36] "The SPSS TwoStep Cluster Component is a scalable cluster analysis algorithm designed to handle very large datasets. In the first step of the procedure, it pre-clusters the records into many small sub-clusters. Then, it clusters the sub-clusters from the pre-cluster step into the desired number of clusters. If the desired number of clusters is unknown, the SPSS TwoStep Cluster Component will find the proper number of clusters automatically. The results gathered from running a simulation are consistently accurate and scalable in performance" (SPSS 2001).

[37] Weighted means.

[38] The Ratio of sizes of 1.32 is also adequate since this value ensures that none of the clusters is 2 times bigger than any of the other clusters.

[39] A perceptive analysis of recordings by speakers of Malaga that confirms this statement about the NM and DS is forthcoming (von Essen, in preparation).

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