

## **Stereotypes, Markers, and Indicators in Contact-induced Phenomena: Sociophonetic Variation in Barcelonan Spanish**

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This study aims to apply notions of linguistic stereotypes, markers, and indicators, traditionally explored in monolingual communities (cf. Labov 2001; 1972), to language variation and change in a community characterized by widespread bilingualism. Two phonetic contact features found in the Spanish of Catalan-Spanish bilinguals of Barcelona, Spain, are analyzed with the objective of uncovering their sociolinguistic meaning through the extent of their diffusion in the Barcelonan bilingual community. These features are the voicing of the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] to voiced [z] intervocally (e.g. *los amigos* [lo.sa.mí.γos] > [lo.za.mí.γos] “the friends”) and the velarization of the voiced alveolar lateral [l] to velarized [ɫ] (e.g. *al parque* [al.pár.ke] > [aɫ.pár.ke] “to the park”).

Both [z] and [ɫ] are traditionally ascribed to Catalan-L1 transfer as characteristic of a ‘Catalanized variety of Spanish’ spoken by [L1-Catalan+L2-Spanish] bilinguals (Sinner 2002; Vann 2001; Wesch 1997). Yet, overt awareness and negative social commentary are only reported for [ɫ], described as a hallmark of ‘Catalanized Spanish’ by both monolingual Spanish speakers outside of Catalonia as well as by Catalan-Spanish bilinguals, and additionally labeled as ugly, uneducated, and rural (Sinner 2002: 165). Although these descriptors seem to suggest that [ɫ] is an example of a social stereotype, neither variant is claimed to show stylistic variation (Wesch 1997), suggesting the classification of both [z] and [ɫ] as social indicators.

Recent research on [z] and [ɫ] production has shown that while [L1-Catalan+L2-Spanish] bilinguals use these features most (and even in formal registers), they are also found in [L1-Spanish+L2-Catalan] bilingual speech (Davidson forthcoming; 2012; Báez de Aguilar 2008; Pieras 1999), which we suggest may evidence diffusion from Catalan-dominant to Spanish-dominant bilinguals. Accordingly, we propose that each feature is propagating, albeit to different degrees, in accordance with traditional sociolinguistic and scenario-specific social factors (e.g. gender, age, birthplace/residence), as well as language dominance, unique to situations of language contact. Differences in usage patterns between the two variants are expected to reflect differences in their salience and social value in the community.

Production data were collected from 100 Catalan-Spanish bilinguals from the Barcelona metropolitan area (alongside a control group of 20 monolingual Spanish speakers from Madrid), stratified by gender, age, and language exposure and use. Experimental production tasks, informed by quantitative and variationist approaches to sociolinguistics (cf. Labov 2001; Tagliamonte 2012; Turell i Julià 1995), consisted of a word-list reading (careful Spanish speech) and informal interview (casual Spanish speech). Acoustic analyses of fricative voicing and lateral velarization were performed in Praat on approximately 25,000 productions of /s/ and /l/, measured along gradient voicing and velarization continua (cf. File-Muriel and Brown 2011; Gradoville 2011; Recasens 2004; Simonet 2010; Watt & Fabricius 2002).

Results from variable rule generalized linear regression techniques in Rbrul reveal that although both phenomena are favored by [L1-Catalan+L2-Spanish] bilinguals, voicing is more widespread a feature than velarization, appearing even in the formal speech of younger [L1-Spanish+L2-Catalan] females. Style effects in the form of favoring [z] or [ɫ] in casual speech vary in strength by language dominance group, which we propose as a unique attribute in the degree of diffusion of these contact features across a bilingual speech community. In light of attitude and perception tests currently underway, we frame our results within a discussion of the role of Labovian indicators and stereotypes specifically within language contact situations.

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