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Identity, language socialization, and family language policies in dialect contact: the case of Argentinean immigrants in Malaga, Spain

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Abstract: This paper explores from a qualitative and quantitative approach, the complex interactions between second dialect accommodation or acquisition, language socialization, ideologies, family language policies, and identity, among Argentinean immigrants living in Malaga, Spain (n = 72). We found that family language policies – and more specifically mothers' language policies and their stances towards both varieties in contact – shape their children's development, connect with their formal school success, determine D1 maintenance, and even affect identity projection. We also found discrepancies between conservative family language policies and linguistic production: what families try to do with language does not always match their own linguistic performance. Through the analysis of different language components – phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical – we conclude that linguistic accommodation or second dialect acquisition does not always follow a linear path to assimilation, but it is related to early stages of exposure and formal education in the D2 community (optimal age acquisition period), takes place to improve mutual intelligibility, derives from both unconscious and conscious decisions to change D1, and allows speakers to showcase different identities through accommodation or divergence.

Keywords: family language policies; immigration; language socialization; Spanish

1 Introduction: language socialization and heritage languages

Mobility and immigration in Spain have created an exceptional opportunity to study dialect contact, from both a sociolinguistic and anthropological linguistic perspective. Conducive to describing the contexts to which this paper is dedicated, we define

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socialization, which refers to a broad term used in various disciplines: following Maccoby (2015: 13), socialization is "[…] the process whereby naïve individuals are taught the skills, behavior patterns, values and motivations needed for functioning competently in the cultural framework". *Language socialization* research is very closely related to the work of social theorists, significantly Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979), who aim to analyze the relationship between social actor's orientations to others and to social institutions. It also focuses more specifically on the anthropological linguistic analysis of linguistically mediated socializing interactions, and how these interactions shape *identity*. We will consider identity here following Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985: 115) who proposed that "[…] people project a particular identity by speaking like those they wish to identify with", or Siegel (2010: 106) who considers identity as "[…] the part of a person's self-image based on the characteristics and attitudes of the social group or groups which that person belongs to or aspires to belong to".

Regarding immigrant populations, language socialization research focusses on how immigrant groups negotiate participation in and influence new communities and social institutions (Baquedano-López and Mangual Figueroa 2011: 536–537). So far, research on migration and language socialization has explored the different pressures that immigrants face within both workplaces and educational institutions, as well as with peer groups. These studies have particularly investigated the relationship between language as it is in a given community (Buriel 1993; Delgado-Gaitán 1992; Goldenberg and Gallimore 1995) and how it changes during the transition between home and school (Azmitia and Brown 2002; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008). These two settings – home and school – are established as two of the primary contexts that could influence an individual's sociolinguistic developmental trajectory in immigration contexts (Baquedano-López and Mangual Figueroa 2011: 537–538).

The concept of heritage languages is very broad, and it can refer to different situations: for example, with the speakers' own family history, with their ethnic affiliation, attribution or appropriation, and with their cultural links (Montrul and Polinsky 2021; Moreno-Fernández 1998). The studies focused on heritage speakers often refer to bilinguals, who shifted early in childhood from one language (their L1 heritage language) to their dominant language (the L2 or language of their speech community). So, typically, heritage languages studies have focused on speakers who speak two different languages (L1 vs. L2). However, we propose here that the theoretical observations and methodology applied when dealing with heritage speakers can be often applied to the contact of two different varieties of the same language (D1 vs. D2). The two main reasons for this are: (a) the particular socialization processes experienced by heritage speakers (Duranti et al. 2011; He 2008) are very similar to those experienced by dialect speakers of two different varieties in contact, and (b) the

two varieties in contact studied here, the variety spoken by the middle-class speakers of Buenos Aires (D1-BAS) and the variety spoken by the middle-class speakers of Malaga (D2-MAL), are perceived by our speakers as completely autonomous. This is particularly clear in the speakers' opinions and declarations (see Section 5 below), which reflect the understanding that these two varieties are particularly different and separate, a continuum in which they move (code-dialect switching) as a result of their immigration processes.

In previous work (von Essen 2016, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2021, 2022, 2023), we analyzed the results of dialect contact of two mutually intelligible varieties of Spanish in an immigration context: the variety spoken by the middle-class speakers of Málaga, Spain (D2-MAL) and Buenos Aires, Argentina (D1-BAS). We established that identity, that is identification or dis-identification with the immigrants' group of origin, was perhaps one of the most important extra-linguistic variables when explaining accommodation and acquisition of D2-MAL. The different identities shaped by the immigrants during the immigration processes, allowed us to understand the behavior and ideologies that underlie accommodation and its social meaning. Through the analysis of various linguistic levels – phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical language components – we concluded that accommodation is not a mechanistic matching of frequencies, but an attempt at identity projection (Almeida 2019; Coupland 1984; Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985).

In this paper, we will further examine the qualitative information compiled in semi-guided interviews, that allowed us to explain the relationship between language socialization, family language policies, identity, and linguistic accommodation and acquisition, and how both social institutions (school) and family/social interactions (home) can determine the *varieties of immigration*.

2 Language socialization in the intimate context of home: how ideologies shape sociolinguistic decisions

Family language policy sets the frame for child-caretaker interactions and for child language development (De Houwer 1999), while also providing a window into parental language ideologies (King 2008: 907). Language policy research is rooted in applied linguistics (Spolsky 2004), sociology of education (Fishman 1968), and sociolinguistics (Fasold 1984). The study of language policy includes analysis of language beliefs or ideologies, what people think about language; of language practices, what people do with language; and of efforts to modify or influence those

practices through any kind of language intervention, what people try to do to language (King et al. 2008: 907–909).

With relatively few exceptions (Okita 2001; Piller 2001, 2002), nearly all work on language policy, both theoretical and empirical, has reviewed language policy in institutional contexts, such as the state, the school, or the workplace (Ricento 2006; Robinson et al. 2006; Willey and Wright 2004), with very little attention to the intimate context at home. Family language policies are *overt* (Schiffman 1996) and *explicit* (Shohamy 2006) decisions about how the different varieties, that is, in our case, D1-BAS or D2-MAL, are allocated within family communication. Many families establish language policies very clearly, but some do not (what is known as *laissez-faire* language policies). However, in every immigrant family we interviewed, we found very firm and clear ideas of what variety should be used or dominate at home, what is appropriate or desired and what is not. The fact that these Argentinean families had very clear and firm ideas about language policies could be related to their education (higher education) and social class (middle class speakers): these two variables could influence and derive in more sociolinguistic consciousness.

In this paper, we will try to describe and understand which language ideologies underlie parenting practices, how these ideologies are formed, and how they shape children's and adults' identities. To do so, we will look at qualitative information that clearly portrays, firstly, how these overt and explicit beliefs or ideologies, i.e. language attitudes towards two different varieties of Spanish, shape the degree of accommodation to D2 by the immigrants and, secondly, how they affect children's linguistic acquisition with special attention paid to their mothers' or caregivers' roles.

3 Language socialization in school: how formal education shapes accommodation

Following Siegel (2010: 7), in dialect contact situations that take place in the classroom, D2 is nearly always the standard dialect, the target language of the education system, and the immigrant students are generally children who come to school speaking a dialect markedly different from the standard. School involves connecting with the local speech community, which could affect language acquisition. In fact, given the importance of the place and moment in which formal education takes place, Siegel (2010: 5) proposes to divide second dialect acquisition studies in two categories: (1) naturalistic, that focuses on learning a new dialect (the D2) without any formal teaching; (2) educational, which studies how the new dialect (D2) is learned in formal training or education (schools, universities).

School and formal education in the recipient community have a huge impact on D2 acquisition. Some studies found that parental influence (D1 influence) diminishes when children enter school (see Chambers 2003: 185; Eckert 1997: 162; Kerswill 1996; Payne 1980; Tagliamonte and Molfenter 2007; Trudgill 1986: 31). Educational settings, such as the public school, have been identified as primary sites for the (re)production of the language ideologies (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990) that play a key part in the constitution of the indexical meanings of language (Philips 2000). Children, as newcomers to a group in a new classroom, learn, explicitly or implicitly, how that new variety encodes thoughts and feelings, and how they are expected to speak, read, or write (Duff 2008: 108).

Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007) studied three children from Canada (Ottawa) that moved to the United Kingdom (York) when they were less than five years old. Among their most important results, they concluded that starting formal school was a critical moment for the children; it prompted them to acquire more D2 variants as a consequence of everyday contact with D1 speakers. Starks and Bayard (2002) found that the earlier children enter a D2 daycare facility, the more local variants they will acquire.

In regard to language socialization studies related to school carried out in Europe, García Sánchez (2009) investigated Moroccan middle school immigrants in Spain. She found that integration of Moroccan immigrants into Spanish society has been problematic due to perceptions that the children's integration poses a threat both to Spanish identity (e.g. they are non-Christians with radically different cultural practices) and to national security (through either current or historical associations with terrorism and with the Moors who once ruled Spanish territory). She found that these negative perceptions impacted classroom interactions even in a school environment in which tolerance and inclusion were promoted. Also, Abad Quintanal (2022) describes research carried out in Spain with non-Spanish speaking immigrant children (using a different L1 to that of Spain's, i.e. Castilian Spanish). She studied immigrant students in kindergarten and elementary school and focused on what policies or measures are currently carried out in Madrid to facilitate integration and adoption of Castilian Spanish. She found that school has the potential to facilitate integration, and that this integration could also trigger their parents or grandparents' integration in Spain. However, she concluded that the policies and measures to facilitate the immigrants' integration are not always effective, should be better coordinated, and have earlier introduction with sufficient planning or human and material resources. Finally, Ávila Muñoz (2019) proposes that the integration of vulnerable groups of immigrants could benefit from a model for teaching languages that helps overcome linguistic barriers through the identification and gradual inclusion in teaching programs of the linguistic elements that facilitate sociocultural

integration: the kindred vocabulary, that is associated to social meanings of the host community.

Of course, school attendance is particularly related to the immigrant's age of arrival into a new speaking community, which is said to be one of the most important predictors of success in acquiring a second dialect. Early acquirers, typically described as those under the age of eight, should be able to achieve near native-like, if not perfect, command of the new dialect (Tagliamonte and Molfenter 2007: 671). Following Labov (1966), between the ages of 4 and 13, children acquire the pronunciation patterns and are very influenced by classmates and friends. Only during later adolescence (between 17 and 18 years), do speakers become aware of the social significance of prestigious variants of their own variety (D1-BAS) and the social significance of prestigious variants of other varieties of Spanish (for example, the variety spoken by middle class speakers of Malaga, D2-MAL). Chambers (1992) and Romaine (1984) state that between the ages of 13 and 15, there is progress in becoming aware of the social importance of language and in the assumption of evaluative judgments of different varieties.[1] Therefore, it is not unusual that early stages of acquisition or contact with D2-MAL impacted greatly the degree of acquisition or accommodation of our young immigrants.

However, not all the immigrants deal with language socialization at school in the same way. Some of them could orient themselves to vernacular varieties (D1-BAS), rather than to those that are most prized or accepted within mainstream society or institutions like schools (D2-MAL). This raises the question of how was the experience for our Argentinean immigrants when having contact at school with the local D2-MAL community?

In our research, we addressed this question by conducting a quantitative analysis of the linguistic performance of 32 Argentinean immigrants who encountered the new variety in formal education settings in Malaga, Spain. During our interviews, we were able, first, to extract relevant information, on the one hand, about the contact between immigrant children and the rest of the classroom (which will generate a different mixed or melted variety of Spanish) and, on the other hand, and very importantly, on how teachers had been dealing with this issue, and second, to obtain details about the contact between adolescents and adult immigrants and how these linguistic encounters affected their linguistic repertoires.

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1 See also Chambers (1992), Foreman (2003), Kerswill (1994), Siegel (2010), von Essen (2021) for more information about the importance of access to formal education. For more information about the age of arrival, see Berthele (2002), Chambers (1988), Kerswill (1994, 1996), Omdal (1994), Payne (1976, 1980), Siegel (2010), Tagliamonte and Monfenter (2007) or Trudgill (1986), von Essen (2021) among many others.

4 Sample and field method

Data and results are based on spontaneous speech recordings of the speech performance by the total number of immigrants of our sample (n = 72, f = 36, m = 36). All our immigrant speakers were born in Buenos Aires, Argentina and had been living in Malaga for, at least, the last four years before the date of the recording. Recordings took place in a quiet and echo-free room at the University of Malaga with a Handy Recorder H4N Zoom and were made by two different sets of interviewers: a Spanish interviewer versus a mixed team of Argentinean and Spanish interviewers. Most of the immigrants (65 out of 72) are "economic immigrants", who arrived in Spain after the *Corralito* crisis[2] (2001–2002) and encountered a very positive economic situation in Spain (until 2008). Following Maguid and Cerrutti (2011) to understand the election of Spain as a host country, it is important to consider the positive insertion that these immigrants, in fact, experienced: Argentineans, on the one hand, have a larger presence in professional and technical occupations and professions in comparison to other Latin American groups. Many Argentineans also have prior-to-immigration European citizenships (Spanish, Italian, French, German, etc.), which could help them access qualified professions. On the other hand, they are characterised by their high educational and occupational profiles prior to immigration and constitute a group with a low degree of vulnerability or social exclusion in Malaga, Spain.

5 Results

5.1 Language socialization at home: what children do with language and what their mothers think about it

The ideologies or language attitudes that parents have about the two varieties in contact shape language policies at home which are, in a way, one of the biggest pressures our younger immigrants can experience: family language policies are important as they shape children's developmental trajectories, connect in significant ways with children's academic achievement at school, and collectively determine the maintenance of the D1-BAS variety.

Following Bürki (2019: 197), transmission of a monoglossic and purist ideology is usually given by mothers, who are also transmitters of the linguistic norm.[3] After

2 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corralito#:~:text=Debt%20restructuring,1%20USD%20%3D%201%20ARS (accessed 10 July 2022).

3 Bürki (2019) also found that these mothers are ideological purists but, in practice, they are not. Their purist ideologies about languages do not always match a purist linguistic production, as their

analyzing our data, we found two sets of mothers with very different language ideologies or policies: (a) those who corrected their children's linguistic performance when they diverged from the home vernacular variety (D1-BAS) and (b) those who understood that accommodation or acquisition of a new variety is "normal" or even desirable when moving to another country.

Regarding the group of mothers, *Purist Caregivers*, who corrected their children's linguistic performance at home, we must first consider that acceptance, discrimination, and stigmatization issues of less socially accepted varieties of language are important for this group (language attitudes). The Andalusian variety of Malaga (D2-MAL) is perceived by these Purist Caregivers as incorrect, inappropriate, and less desirable for their children to acquire than their home dialect (D1-BAS). Many of them commented that they did not want their children to adopt Andalusian features of speaking (above all, phonological features) due to various reasons. On the one hand, they argued that adoption of phonological and some lexical features would impair mutual intelligibility in normal day-to-day interactions within the household; on the other hand, it would make the children sound uneducated or rough – which clearly reflects negative attitudes towards the Andalusian variety. Therefore, Purist Caregivers decided that D2-MAL was not socially or linguistically prestigious enough to be inserted within the household, and they forbid its use, as we see in the following examples:

Inf. 64. ARG.

[00:21:59] Es que es muy raro, es muy raro […] Y yo en mi casa las corrijo (habla de sus hijas), en mi casa no se habla […] No se habla malagueño […].

[00:22:08] Ajá.

[00:22:09] En mi casa se habla argentino.

[00:21:59] It's all very weird […] I correct them at home (speaking about their daughters), at home we don't speak Malaguenean.

[00:22:08] Aha.

[00:22:09] At home we speak Argentinean.

Inf. 101. ARG.

[00:33:24] A veces le digo a F (su hija): "Vos no hablarás así, ¿no?" (se refiere a si habla como malagueña). F que si algún día te escucho […] ay, yo te juro que me pongo re nerviosa con eso

own daughters commented during their interviews. As we will see later (see Section 5.2 and Section 6), this is also the case for the Purist caregivers of this sample.

[…] es que los malagueños hablan mal y cuando yo la escucho a F que habla como malagueña no, no puedo con eso […].

[00:33:24] Sometimes I tell F (her daughter): "You won't talk like that, will you?" (She is referring here to her daughter speaking like someone from Malaga). "F. if I hear you talking like this" […] I can't, I swear to you that this makes me so nervous […] because people of Malaga speak badly and incorrectly and when I listen to F. speaking like someone from Malaga, I can't, I can't stand that.

Other mothers or caregivers, however, accepted and considered the acquisition of D2-MAL as normal, and they did not forbid its use at home. These *Tolerant Caregivers* did not consider this new variety as incorrect or less desirable; quite the contrary, they perceived this new variety as new *linguistic capital*[4] (Bourdieu 1991; Sankoff and Laberge 1978), which would allow their children to adapt better to the new environment and have fuller or better experiences in Malaga.

Inf. 50. AMAL.

[00:14:30] Hay madres que no les importa como hablan sus hijos, pero había madres que sí les importa y les decían: "No, tú en casa hablas como un argentino".

Entrevistadora: ¿Y qué opinas de eso? ¿Quieres que en tu casa hablen argentino?

[00:14:41] No […] A mí me encanta que hablen como malagueños […] Me encantaría hablar yo […] Como española, pero no me sale […].

[00:14:30] There are mothers who do not care how their children speak, but there were mothers that did care about that and told their children: "No, you have to speak as an Argentinean at home".

Interviewer: And how do you feel about that? Do you prefer that your children speak Argentinean at home?

[00:14:41] No […] I love that my children speak as Malagueneans […] I would really love to speak like that […] like a Spaniard, but I'm not able to do that […].

Inf. 59. ARG.

[00:15:40] Yo creo que se sienten cómodas hablando como argentinas con nosotros (habla de sus hijas) […] A la mayor le dije: "Adáptate, no te diferencies. Mejor que seas igual" (en la forma de hablar). Pero no, no la forzábamos para nada a hablar como argentina en casa. Al revés, al revés.

4 Each speaker of a linguistic community enjoys a certain amount of *linguistic capital* which allows him or her to produce expressions which are highly valued on a particular market (as it is the case with D2-MAL speaking community). The more *linguistic capital* a speaker possesses, the more he or she will be able to exert symbolic power (Thompson 1991: 13–18).

> [00:15:40] I think that they feel comfortable speaking to us in Argentinean (she is speaking about their daughters). I told the eldest: "Adapt yourself, don't be different. It's better if you speak in the same way". But no, we never forced them to speak Argentinean at home, quite the contrary.

These ideologies or different linguistic attitudes towards D2-MAL transcend the family circle and have a big impact on the degree of acquisition of the new variety both by children and their mothers. It is very important to point out that we were also able to interview some of the fathers of these children, but none of them seemed to be interested or commented about language ideologies or policies at home.

Therefore, on the one side, we extracted information about Purist Caregivers. They usually were the children's mothers who pressured them to speak D1-BAS at home, considered themselves exclusively as Argentineans. They did not accept for themselves a mixed identity and took part in close-knit social networks with Argentineans, strenuously rejecting as objectionable those Argentinean immigrants that accommodate to D2-MAL, did not attend any kind of formal education in Malaga since they arrived there when they were more than 18 years old, and hence, had the firm idea of returning to Argentina in the near future. These biographic and meso-social characteristics of the mothers could be responsible for the bi-dialectal behavior of their children (von Essen 2020a, 2021). It is also relevant to point out that these mothers belong to a group we labeled as the *Argentos* (von Essen 2020a: 34, von Essen 2021: 304), who seem to be far from accommodating to the southern Spanish variety and are uni-dialectal, divergent, and conservative of their original variety (D1-BAS).

On the other side, Tolerant Caregivers were usually the children's mothers who did not force their children to speak Argentinean (D1-BAS) at home, considered themselves integrated in Malaga, had social networks that included Andalusian as well as Argentinean speakers, did not reject immigrants that accommodate to D2-MAL, attended perhaps some kind of formal education in Malaga, as they arrived in Spain when they were more than 18 years old, and did not envisage returning to Argentina. These biographic and mesosocial characteristics could be underlying the relatively high degree of their children's acquisition of D2-MAL linguistic features. Children of Tolerant Caregivers showcased monodialectal patterns of linguistic use; they "sounded" very close to how a speaker born and raised in Malaga would speak. Most of these caregivers belonged to a group we labeled as the *Amalgamados* (von Essen 2021: 304), who seemed to be halfway in their accommodation process to the southern Spanish variety of Malaga (D2-MAL).

Table 1 shows how each of these groups are connected and how the speakers are related (mothers and children): (a) Purist Caregivers are conservative mothers who forbid D2-MAL use at home or in any other social interactions (n = 2); (b) Bidialectal Children (BD Children) are the most sensitive group to the interviewerer effect: they

show evident patterns of *style-shifting* and are, *stricto sensu*, bidialectal. In other words, they accept and abide by the norms of D2-MAL whenever only the Spanish interviewer is present, but switch to the D1-BAS norms as soon as the Argentinean interviewer takes over the interaction (n = 2); (c) Tolerant Caregivers are a group of mothers who permit D2-MAL use at home (n = 5); (d) *Nuevos Malagueños* Children (NM Children, n = 6) have clearly accepted the Malaga norms of use (D2-MAL) and are, in fact, uni-dialectal.

Table 1: Relationships between caregiver's linguistic orientation (n = 7) and children's accommodation index (n = 8) (Adapted from von Essen 2021: 315).

Child	Category	Mother	Category
NM 63	NM children	AMAL 57	Tolerant
NM 66	NM children	AMAL 50	Tolerant
NM 92	NM children	AMAL 81	Tolerant
NM 96	NM children	AMAL 94	Tolerant
NM 84 and NM 87	NM children	AMAL 91	Tolerant
BD 58	BD children	ARG 64	Purist
BD 82	BD children	ARG 101	Purist

Each speaker's accommodation index score is shown along with his/her adscription to one of the qualitative linguistic orientation groups (NM = Nuevos malagueños; BD = Bidialectales; AMAL = Amalgamados; ARG = Argentos).

As for how these characteristics affected immigrants' accommodation to Malaga linguistic features, Figure 1 and Table 2 show a comparison between frequency of use of several Malaga variables by four groups of children and caregivers as defined above.

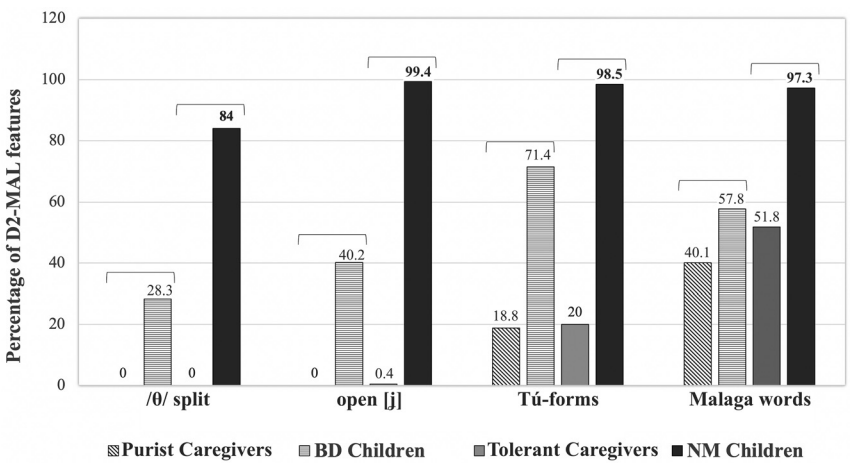

Figure 1: Percentage of D2-MAL acquisition among different immigrant children and their mothers.

Table 2: Percentage of acquisition of D2-MAL features.

		/θˢ/split	open [ɟ]	Tú-forms	Malaga words
NM children (*n* = 6)	%	84.0	99.4	98.5	97.3
	n	263	317	65	354
Tolerant caregivers (*n* = 5)	%	0.0	0.4	20	51.8
	n	0	1	12	48
BD children (*n* = 2)	%	28.3	40.2	71.4	57.8
	n	13	33	20	48
Purist caregivers (*n* = 2)	%	0.0	0.0	18.8	40.1
	n	0	0	3	61
Total (*n* = 15)	%	40.5	42.0	58.8	68.8
	n	276	351	100	619

Differences between the four groups (NM vs. Tolerant Caregivers vs. BD vs. Purist Caregivers):
/θˢ/ split: Chi^2 (3, 468.0) = 589.7, $p < 0.001$. $V = 0.829$, $p < 0.001$
open [ɟ]: Chi^2 (3, 741.8) = 988.3, $p < 0.001$. $V = 0.943$, $p < 0.001$
Tú-forms: Chi^2 (3, 92.6) = 110.9, $p < 0.001$. $V = 0.738$, $p < 0.001$
Malaga words: Chi^2 (3, 240.4) = 291.3, $p < 0.001$. $V = 0.517$, $p < 0.001$.
Differences between NM and BD Children (Spanish and Argentinean interviewer):
/θˢ/ split: *T-Test*: t (357) = 12.67, $p < 0.001$, $n^2 = 0.442$
open [ɟ]: *T-Test*: t (399) = 2124.7, $p < 0.001$, $n^2 = 0.716$
Tú-forms: *T-Test*: t (92) = 131.03, $p < 0.001$, $n^2 = 0.421$
Malaga words: *T-Test*: t (445) = 617.8, $p < 0.001$, $n^2 = 0.509$.
Differences between NM and BD Children (only Spanish interviewer):
/θˢ/ split: *T-Test*: t (162) = 16.06, $p < 0.002$, $n^2 = 0.239$
open [ɟ]: *T-Test*: t (399) = 98.92, $p < 0.001$, $n^2 = 0.372$
Tú-forms: *T-Test*: No Sig. No cases of *voseo*, only Tú forms
Malaga words: *T-Test*: t (169) = 5.18, No Sig. $p < 0.256$.

First, percentage of acquisition of coronal fricative /θˢ/ phonemic split, which is one of the most salient features of the Andalusian middle-class variety (Villena-Ponsoda et al. 2022). When comparing both phonological inventories (D1-BAS vs. D2-MAL), the latter "[…] includes the phonemic split and reallocation of the previous merged phoneme /θˢ/ resulting in sibilant /s/ versus non-sibilant /θ/ contrast (Villena-Ponsoda 1996, 2018; Villena-Ponsoda and Vida-Castro 2017: 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'. *Distinción*, on one hand, is very common among highly educated middle-class speakers of D2-MAL and, on the other hand, it is unthinkable in D1-BAS, where the pronunciation of /θˢ/ as [s̻] (*seseo*) is prestigious, and the split is unlikely to occur. So, word sets CAZA and CASA are pronounced the same way, i.e. ['kas̻a] (von Essen 2020a: 12–13)". Hence, acquiring this split or phonemic contrast is related to accommodation or acquisition of D2-MAL.

Second, percentage of acquisition of the less noisy allophones of /ʝ/ or /ʒ/. When comparing both phonological inventories (D1-BAS vs. D2-MAL), intervocalic variants of /ʝ/ in D2-MAL "[…] tend to be approximant, open fricative allophones with a small index of noise like the voiced palatal approximant [j̞] or the voiced palatal fricative [ʝ]. […] The variants of D1-BAS are the voiced postalveolar fricative [ʒ] and the voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ] […] which exhibit long duration, are tense, have high indexes of noise, and are often voiceless (von Essen 2020a: 11)".[5]

Third, under the category "Tú forms", we contrast the percentage of acquisition of morpho-syntactic features, more specifically, of the pronoun paradigm and verbal forms used in D2-MAL: whereas in D2-MAL, the use of the second person singular pronoun *you* is *tú* (second person singular in Castilian Spanish and many other varieties), in D1-BAS. The same category is produced as *vos*. Also, some corresponding verbal forms change, so whereas for D1-BAS *you eat* regularly occurs as *vos comés* (*voseo*), the D2-MAL unchangeable solution is *tú comes* (*tuteo*).[6]

Finally, labelled as "Malaga words", we show frequency of acquisition of the lexical features of D2-MAL that are salient and/or could affect intelligibility (von Essen forthcoming). Our results are in line with Chambers' (1992: 677) who considers that "[…] lexical variants are acquired faster than pronunciation and phonological variants". This is particularly true for all the groups included here, where we establish what percentage of D2-MAL lexicon is produced by the immigrants during the semi-guided interviews.

As we infer from Table 2 and Figure 1, ideologies, pressures, and family linguistic policies promoted by caregivers at home, on the one hand, and acquisition of D2-MAL variants by both groups, on the other hand, could play a relevant role in the children's dialect acquisition. All these caregivers, mostly, the children's mothers, are users of a linguistic variety that is their country's standard (D1-BAS). Therefore, they are supposed to have a strongly hierarchical national ideology in which their variety of Spanish is at the top of the linguistic scale. The Andalusian variety is not the national standard variety of Spain, and these mothers are aware of this situation.

It is also important to point out that whereas the differences in accommodation of the children are related to their mothers' sociolinguistic stances, these children (NM and BD) have extremely similar biographic and mesosocial characteristics: they arrived when they were less than 14 years old (most of them between the ages of 7

5 We also confirmed accommodation of /ʝ/or /ʒ/acoustically. For results of acoustic accommodation, see von Essen (2016, 2020a, 2020b, 2021, 2022).

6 See von Essen (2020a: 13, 2021: 168) for more information on morpho-syntactic accommodation.

and 14), they attended elementary school in Malaga, they have social networks composed mostly of speakers from Malaga, they have positive language attitudes towards D2-MAL, and they do not plan to return to Argentina. One of the explanations for these differences between NM-children and BD-children could lie in the fact that NM-children are not prohibited to adopt D2-MAL, whereas BD-children are strongly advised not to adopt nor use this new variety at home (or in any other social interactions). These differences are also related to the background of the interviewer (see Section 4). When comparing results of the Spanish interviewer (cf. Table 2, only Spanish interviewer), NM-Children and BD-Children show very similar linguistic behaviors, especially if we look at the morpho-syntactic and lexical level, which show no significant differences.

In sum, if we look at results from Table 2 and Figure 1, above, we can conclude that:

(a) Although these results account for a small number of speakers (15 speakers out of 72), dependence between linguistic variation and the speaker's inclusion in one of the groups (NM Children vs. BD Children vs. Tolerant Caregivers vs. Purist Caregivers) is very high (Cramer's V): 0.943 for [j] allophones, 0.829 for /θ^{s}/split, 0.738 for "Tú forms", and 0.517 for lexical acquisition of D2-MAL features.

(b) We also establish, as in previous results (von Essen 2020a: 35, 2021: 213), an accommodation hierarchy (cf. Table 2): lexis is the feature most permeable to accommodation (68.8% of "Malaga words"). Morpho-syntactical features seem also to be easier to master (58.8% of "Tú forms"). Phonological features are the hardest to acquire, and accommodation depends on their specific complexity: splitting of /θ/corresponds to a complex rule phenomenon, while open [j] realization is a simple rule phenomenon.[7]

(c) All groups overall show some degree of accommodation to D2-MAL features. However, the exception being, very likely, the splitting of /θ^{s}/.[8]

(d) Differences between age groups are apparent. Both groups of caregivers tend to acquire fewer phonological features than any group of children, no matter their ideologies or sociolinguistic *stances.* Of course, this should be related to late contact with D2-MAL.

(e) Morpho-syntactic and, above all, lexical accommodation, is quite common among caregivers (both, purist and tolerant), no matter what they "think they

7 For more information about the impact of the complexity of rules in accommodation, see von Essen (2021: 49–52).

8 As mentioned, this fact is related to the complexity of phonological rules underlying any demerger see von Essen (2020a: 21–22, 2021: 227) for further details.

do". This is particularly interesting for the Purist Caregivers, since what they think about language, i.e. that D2-MAL must be forbidden at home since it is not prestigious enough and appropriate only for uneducated speakers, on one hand, and what they do with language they actually acquire and produce D2-MAL features, on the other hand, shows that their language interventions at home, i.e. what the mothers try to do about language, do not always match their own linguistic performance. In fact, Purist Caregivers' linguistic behavior involves a considerable degree of accommodation (perhaps unconscious) of morpho-syntactical (18.8%) and lexical (40.1%) D2-MAL features.

(f) Purist Caregivers' policies could lead, or even, unconsciously force, bidialectal children (BD Children), on the one hand, to adopt less convergent or even divergent linguistic behaviors towards D2-MAL. Tolerant Caregivers' more adaptative attitudes, on the other hand, could be responsible, among other small-scale variables (von Essen 2020a, 2021), for the high degree of acquisition of D2-MAL variants by the *New Malaguenian children* (*Nuevos Malagueños*, NM Children). This is particularly clear if we compare the rate of acquisition of D2-MAL features by BD Children and NM Children. In spite of the differences (see Table 2), it should be pointed out that BD Children tend to react to the interviewer's background (i.e. presence of an Argentinean speaker during the interview). When speaking to the Malaga interviewer, they produced similar results to those of the NM Children (von Essen 2020a, 2021). One would suggest, then, that the second generation of immigrants (BD Children and NM Children) understand varieties as communication tools, so that every element is equally valid, depending on the context, to help fulfill communicative interactions (Bürki 2019). This is particularly clear for the NM children group, who have acquired more D2-MAL than D1-BAS linguistic features (97.3% lexis, 98.5% morpho-syntax, 99.4% of [j] and 84% of [θ], for an overall frequency of 91.7% of phonological accommodation).

5.2 Language socialization at school: what children experience during their formal education in Malaga

According to García and Torres-Guevara (2009: 182), in educational activities that take place at school and the classroom, language becomes paramount for three reasons: (a) schooling often takes place in the language of power in a nation state (here, D2-MAL); (b) language is the medium through which instruction takes place; and (c) it is an important school subject.

Here, we examined personal experiences at school of the immigrants of our sample and the impact of formal education in their degree of accommodation towards D2-MAL. To do so, we observed and analyzed data from our whole sample (n = 72). Based on the information that the immigrants shared about their experiences, we were able to portray how relationships between young immigrants and their classmates worked out and how teachers dealt with this issue. In order to analyze the impact of school on the immigrant children's accommodation and acquisition, we focused on the same linguistic levels considered so far (phonology, morpho-syntax, lexis), dividing the speakers into three groups:

(a) those who attended elementary school in Spain (age of arrival between 3 and 14) (n = 16); (b) those who attended Spanish high school or university (age of arrival between 14 and 18) (n = 16); and (c) those who did not attend any kind of formal education in Spain and arrived in Malaga when they were more than 18 years old (n = 40).

In previous results from this sample (von Essen 2020c: 323–333; 2021: 260), we found that the immigrants' age of arrival and their access to formal education in Spain had a moderate effect in explaining linguistic accommodation. More precisely, age of arrival explained 68,3% of /θ^s/variation, whereas access to formal education explained 60,8% of /j̟/variation, 34,3% of "Tú forms" and 31,2% of lexical variation (cf. Table 3).

However, despite these, to a certain extent, remarkable results, we see as necessary to broaden the information about the personal experiences of the speakers, who are culturally and, somewhat, linguistically very close to the recipient community. None of them commented that they are perceived as a threat (García Sánchez 2009), nor are their cultural practices extremely different from those of the D2-MAL speakers. Some of them exclusively speak, at least with their parents and family, a different variety of Spanish (D1-BAS), which was sometimes a problem for themselves, for some of their classmates, and, even, for some teachers, who ended up correcting their linguistic productions when they diverged from the local variety (D2-MAL).

Table 3: Effect of immigrant children's age of arrival and access to formal education on the frequency of use of four linguistic variables. Results for n^2 (von Essen 2020c: 323–330).

	Age of arrival (n^2)	**Access to formal education in Spain (n^2)**
[θ] Splitting	0.683	0.612
Open [j̟]	0.562	0.608
Tú-forms	0.256	0.358
Malaga words	0.280	0.312

Although we found different experiences among the immigrants that arrived between the ages of 3 and 14 years old, we found some groups with common experiences as to how they were treated by their classmates during elementary school. It seems that accommodation pressure at this stage was greater than that felt further on in formal education. Some of the children from this group (n = 8) mentioned that they all felt lack of attention from their parents to language planning at home, i.e. parents never openly pressured them to speak in a certain way, which could lead to language-free accommodation to the dominant variety in the speech community. All of them mentioned, however, two stages in their acquisition of D2-MAL, strongly dependent on school attendance. First, they started changing some words (for example, they picked *fresa* for *strawberry* and left out *frutilla*), because they needed to be understood by their teachers and classmates. Second, this lexical accommodation derived or even pushed unconscious accent acquisition:

> Inf. 92. NM.
>
> [00:17:40] Los primeros meses sí en el colegio tenía un acento muy cerrado y se metían un poco conmigo algunas personas y tal. Pero no sé, a los cuatro meses o así, empecé a cambiar la manera de hablar porque si no, no me entendían.
>
> [00:18:01] ¿Tú crees que el colegio hizo que tú empezaras a cambiar tu acento? (Entrevistador)
>
> [00:18:02] Sí. A lo mejor usaba en vez de *fibra*, *rotulador*; o cosas así. Porque estás en clase y necesitas saberlo. Y ya luego, de hablar así y de escuchar en el colegio se te pega y se te cambia solo el acento.
>
> The first few months at school, I did have a very strong accent (D1-BAS), and some classmates made fun of me a little and such. But I don't know, after four months or so, I started to change the way I spoke, because otherwise they wouldn't understand me.
>
> [00:18:01] Do you think that school made you start to change your accent? (Interviewer)
>
> [00:18:02] Yes. Maybe during class, I used *rotulador* ("marker" in Spain) instead of *fibra* ("marker" in Argentina); or things like this. Because you're in class and you need to know that. And then, from talking like that and listening at school, the new accent sticks to you, and it changes.

A second group of speakers (n = 4) commented that during the first period at elementary school, they were assigned an "interpreter–translator" classmate, that is, another immigrant child who had been living in Malaga for a longer period of time. This "interpreter-translator" child oversaw the teacher's explanation of situations, words, expressions, or lexical items that these younger immigrants did not

understand during the first year of school. In a way, they were a link between the newest immigrant and the teacher.

This "interpreter–translator" child was never negatively perceived by our immigrants. When asked about this, they explained that either teachers maybe decided to use this link because they were not able to stop the class to attend the new immigrant students' doubts, or perhaps they tried to ease new students with immigrant background into integration. Although the experience with the help of this "interpreter–translator" child was perceived positively by all the immigrant of this group, the decision of these teachers could alienate and even separate children in the classroom into two groups: native versus immigrants. At the end of the day, this decision could have been the consequence of defective preparation of teachers on how to deal with different languages or linguistic varieties in the classroom and would have caused alienation rather than integration. In the following excerpt, we can get a better insight into how this teacher's strategy worked out and how both immigrants and the rest of the classroom perceived this link:

Inf. 84. NM.

[00:06:05] Y son palabras diferentes, y tú cuando eres tan chica ¡no te enteras de nada! Yo no me enteraba ni de la mitad, te lo juro, lo que pasa, que había un niño de mi clase que se llamaba Oki, que me cae muy bien, que llevaba más tiempo allí, y como que me arropó, y me apoyó y me explicaba y tal y cual […] la verdad que es que la gente de mi clase, bueno yo no sé, pero a mí trataron muy bien, vamos hice amistades muy rápido […] Me costó eso, no es el idioma es como la lengua, ¿sabes? Que no es la misma. Sí, pero que al año o dos yo ya estaba hablando andaluza. O sea que es que los niños aprenden muy rápido, hmm.

[00:06:05] And they are different words, and when you are so young, you don't understand anything! I didn't even understand the half of it, I swear (she is speaking about the first months at school). What happened is that there was a boy in my class named Oki, who I like very much, who had been living there longer, and he kind of tucked me in, and supported me and he explained to me everything […] the truth is that the people in my class, well I don't know, but they treated me very well, I made friends very quickly […] What was difficult for me, is not the language, it is kind of the way of speaking. Which is not the same. Yes, but after a year or two I was already speaking Andalusian. Children learn very quickly, hmm.

One of the children (a boy) commented that he used sports, particularly football, to better integrate among the children of the new classroom:

Inf. 87. BD.

[00:06:09] Me integré un poquito así. Con el fútbol […] Sí. Porque no sé porque la sociedad esta, al que se le da bien el fútbol, está como un poco mejor valorado que uno que no haga deporte en el colegio […] Entonces al principio, yo me muero por el fútbol y los primeros días como era nuevo no me dejaban jugar, porque es que yo me acuerdo. Y claro, cuando uno de mis mejores

amigos me dijo que me probarían a jugar. Claro, los partí a todos, entonces ellos dijeron "uhh, uhh". Que fue una manera de relacionarme, no te voy a mentir. No es que tuviera problemas para relacionarme, pero […] No sé, un chaval que viene de […] Que llega sin amigos, con otro acento […] Me ayudó mucho a integrarme.

[00:06:09] I integrated a little like that. With football […] Yes. Because I don't know why this society, whoever is good at football is somewhat better valued than someone who doesn't play sports at school […] So at first, I was dying to play football, and the first few days as I was the new student, they didn't let me play. And, of course, when one of my best friends told me that they would try me out to play and I played great and broke all of them, they said "uhh, uhh". Football was a way of relating to others. It's not that I had problems relating to others, but […] I don't know, a kid who comes from […] Who comes with no friends, with a different accent […] Football helped me integrate a lot.

However, not all experiences were positive. Among the children that arrived at the age of three, we found a female speaker that was forced and actively corrected by her teachers to speak the D2-MAL variety, not only in the classroom but also at home. Otherwise, she commented, she would have been excluded from her new school, as we see in the following example:

Inf. 82. BD.

[00:06:35]

Porque yo vine con tres años, y yo hablaba argentino, yo llegué aquí y empecé a hablar, o sea yo en el colegio hablaba argentino. Lo que pasa es que la profesora me decía que o hablaba español o me echaban del colegio. Me obligaba a hablar español […] y mi madre fue a hablar y le dijo con la directora del colegio, que le dijo que yo tenía que empezar a hablar así porque los chicos tan chicos de mi clase no me entendían […] Porque el argentino y el español tienen por ejemplo palabras diferentes, o las mismas palabras que allí significan diferente. Pero ya ahora no, o hablo todo argentino o todo español. Hablo argentino con los argentinos y malagueño con los malagueños.

Because I came when I was three years old, and I spoke Argentinean (D1-BAS), I came here and began to speak, that is, I spoke Argentinean at school. What happened is that the teacher told me that either I spoke Castilian Spanish (D2-MAL) or they would kick me out of school. She forced me to speak Castilian Spanish […] and my mother went to talk to the school principal, who told her that I had to start speaking D2-MAL because my classmates did not understand me […] Because Argentinean Spanish (D1-BAS) and Castilian Spanish have, for example, different words, or the same words that mean something different. But not anymore, either I speak Argentinean or Castilian Spanish. I speak Argentinean with Argentineans and Malaguenean (D2-MAL) with the people of Malaga.

We were also able to interview her mother (Inf. 101 ARG), who commented on this very traumatic experience with the school principal and her daughter's teachers, and what it meant for her daughter and for her:

Inf. 101. ARG.

Me decía la maestra a mí, que yo en casa hablara, que tratara de hablar andaluz. Por qué, ¿qué pasaba con F.? Es muy extrovertida. Entonces ella, hablaba todo el tiempo, y la maestra, iban todos los chiquitos '¡ay F. dijo *canilla*! ¿Qué es la *canilla*? Y bueno, *canilla* es *grifo*, *almohada* es un *cojín* y la maestra ya estaba harta, al mes, harta de esa situación. Y entonces me llamó y me dijo que ella la iba a corregir a F. en el colegio, y que yo la corrigiera en casa […] Y yo imaginate […] Le dije que yo en casa no lo iba a hacer, que era un trabajo de ella si quería […] Pero ella tiene eso tiene que cambia su forma de hablar y habla malagueño con andaluces y argentino con argentinos. Pero ¿por qué? Porque en el colegio la obligaban a hablar andaluz y en casa hablaba argentino.

The teacher told me to try to speak Andalusian at home. Why, what happened to F.? She is very outgoing. So, she talked all the time, and the classmates asked the teacher 'oh F. said *canilla* ("tap" in Argentina instead of *grifo* in Spain) What is the *canilla*?' And well, *canilla* is a tap, and the teacher was fed up, after a month, fed up with that situation. And then she called me and told me that she was going to correct F. at school, and that I should correct her at home […] I told her that I was not going to do it at home, that it was her job if she wanted to do that at school […] But she has that, she changed her way of speaking and now she speaks D2-MAL with Andalusians and D1-BAS with Argentineans. But why? Because she was forced at school to speak Andalusian, and at home, she spoke Argentinean.

Although this was an isolated case and not the common scenario, the teachers' ideologies on correctness, their negative language attitudes towards different linguistic varieties, and their influence on students has been largely confirmed in literature: corrective feedback in the classroom is consequential for students' learning and affects performance (García Sánchez 2009: 179).

If we consider immigrants who attended high school or the university (n = 16), we find a common denominator in this group: attendance at high school or the university had a big impact in the speakers' degree of accommodation. As we commented previously, only in late adolescence (between 17 and 18 years), do speakers come to be aware of the social significance of prestigious variants both of their own variety (D1-BAS) and of other varieties of Spanish (D2-MAL). Therefore, almost everyone commented on how specific experiences and memories regarding the different varieties they had contact with, as well as their underlying ideologies, shaped the way they speak today, as we observe in the following example:

Inf. 49. Imp.[9]

9 Imp. Corresponds to the group of *Impostores* (von Essen 2021: 278). This group shows similar linguistic accommodation to that by NM Children, but they do not reach authentic native-like usage of the linguistic features. They are very aware of their conscious decisions to sound and "act" as speakers of the new D2-MAL variety.

> Y poco a poco, al empezar sobre todo en la Universidad yo creo que me influyó mucho. Porque me acuerdo que exponíamos trabajos y al final me daba cuenta que nadie se centraba en lo que estaba diciendo, sino que se fijaban en mi acento. Y eso me empezó a molestar, mucho, muchísimo […] Y a partir de ahí bueno, forzado empecé a cambiar la forma de hablar, en un principio fue forzado, ahora es natural. A ver si cambiando no me interrumpen cuando hablo o se centran más en lo que digo en los trabajos.
>
> And little by little, starting especially at university, I think it influenced me a lot. Because I remember that we had a presentation and, in the end, I realized that nobody focused on what I was saying, but rather they noticed my accent. And that started to bother me, a lot. And from then on, well, in the beginning like forced, I began to change the way I speak, at first it was forced, now it's natural. Let's see if by changing my accent, they don't interrupt me, and they focus more on what I say, not how I say it.

As to the effect of language socialization at school on linguistic accommodation or acquisition (cf. Table 4 and Figure 2), we found that immigrants who attended elementary school in Malaga and were incorporated into the school system in early stages of language development, had bigger opportunities and, in fact, acquired a higher percentage of D2-MAL than D1-BAS features (see Section 5.1 above). However, attending high school or the university also had a moderate effect in accommodation, although for this group, acquisition of phonology seemed to advance at a slower pace than for other language components. Nevertheless, attendance at any kind of formal education in Spain was not a *sine qua non* condition to accommodate to the D2-MAL variety: speakers that were not exposed at all to formal education in Spain did also accommodate to D2-MAL.

Table 4: Effect of speakers' formal education in Spain on frequency of acquisition of D2-MAL features (Adapted from von Essen 2020c: 325).

		[θ]	[ʝ]	Tú forms	Malaga words
Since elementary school (*n* = 16)	%	58.4	74.4	78.4	81.6
	n	458	560	207	753
Since high school and/or university (*n* = 16)	%	12.3	45.5	60.7	67.4
	n	85	457	167	725
No education in Spain (*n* = 40)	%	1.8	5.8	35.9	44.2
	n	32	124	199	1138
Total (*n* = 72)	%	17.6	29.2	52.4	57.2
	n	575	1141	573	2616

[θ] = Chi^2 (2, 1225.8) = 1141.4, $p < 0.001$. $V = 0.612$, $p < 0.001$
[ʝ] = Chi^2 (2, 1445) = 1532, $p < 0.001$. $V = 0.608$, $p < 0.001$
"tú forms" = Chi^2 (2, 140.1) = 145.8, $p < 0.001$. $V = 0.358$, $p < 0.001$
Malaga words = Chi^2 (2, 446) = 468.7, $p < 0.001$. $V = 0.312$, $p < 0.001$.

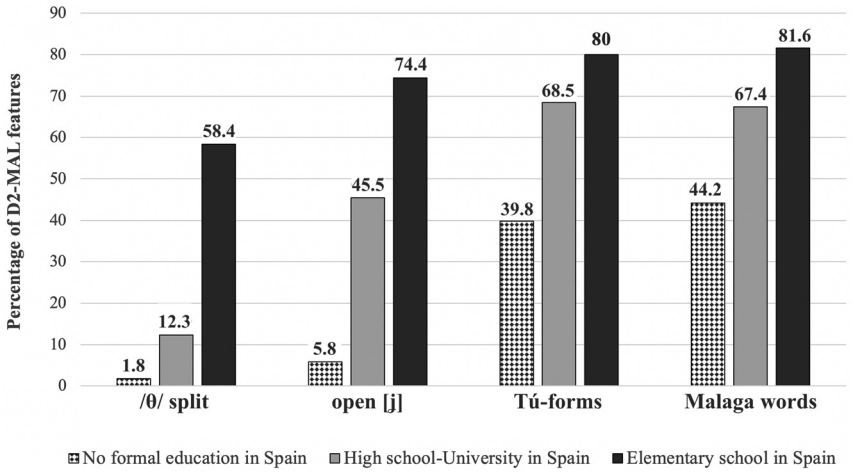

Figure 2: Impact of formal education in Malaga, Spain (*n* = 72) (Adapted from von Essen 2020c: 323–330).

This effect was particularly strong on phonological features; for example, in the case of /θ/ and /ʝ/, dependence of D2-MAL variants used by immigrants and formal education rates is relevant and attains Cramer's V values of 0.602 and 0.608, respectively. This comes as no surprise given the fact that phonological features are faster acquired in younger stages of exposure to D2, and that elementary school takes place during the *optimal age of the acquisition period*. Chambers (1988, 1992), Kerswill (1994, 1996), Payne (1976, 1980), and Trudgill (1986), among many others, referred to these differences in acquisition by considering a *critical period in acquisition*: until the age of 14, children can certainly acquire phonological features, although the *optimal age of acquisition* is before the age of 7, especially for the so-called "complex-rule" phonological features, like the acquisition of /θ^{s}/ (von Essen 2021: 244). Therefore, the older the immigrants are exposed to D2 features, the smaller or lesser their phonological acquisition will be. As Chambers (1988: 689) suggested "[…] a person seven or under will almost certainly acquire a new dialect perfectly, while a person 14 or over almost certainly will not. In between those ages, people will vary".

6 Conclusion

In this paper, we have explored the complex interactions between language use, language socialization, ideologies, family language policies, identity, and sociolinguistic accommodation among Argentinean immigrants in Malaga, Spain.

First, based on the data and results presented here, we can conclude, on the one hand, that family language policies and, more specifically, caregivers' language policies, shape children's development, connect with their academic school success and determine D1-BAS maintenance or loss. In fact, both teachers' and parents' attempts to force immigrant children to use either their heritage variety (B1-BAS) or a given dialect from the recipient community (D2-MAL) have a strong impact on children's or youth's opportunities to redefine their identities, which later influence their linguistic repertoires and their degree of accommodation to the variety of the majority. We also found a contradiction among the most conservative or Purist Caregivers, i.e. mostly mothers with a strong monocentric language ideology. On the one hand, Purist Caregivers commented during the interviews that they never accommodate to the D2-MAL variety, though their effective linguistic results contradict, in fact, their own perception. This means that what they think about language, i.e. that D2-MAL must be forbidden at home, is not prestigious enough, should not be followed, and is fit only for uneducated speakers, and what they do with language (they actually produced and acquired D2-MAL features) do not match at all. Moreover, the distance between Purist Caregiver's language interventions at home, what they try to do to language, and the way they actually use language can be quite large. These speakers attain a considerable degree of acquisition (perhaps unconscious) of morpho-syntactical (18.8%) and lexical (40.1%) D2-MAL features. On the other hand, Tolerant Caregivers represent quite a different position since they not only conduct accommodation of their own performance to the Malaga variety (20% morpho-syntactical and 51.8% lexical) but promote a markedly higher acquisition rate of D2-MAL variants by their children, the *Nuevos Malagueños* (NM-Children): 97.3% of lexical, 98.5% morpho-syntactical, 91.7% phonological rate of accommodation to D2-MAL.

Second, when dealing with formal language socialization and academic education in Spain, we were able to better understand, using in-depth qualitative information, how linguistic and extralinguistic forces pressure children, adolescents, and adults to adopt D2-MAL in one of the cardinal contexts that organizes human behavior or individuals' linguistic development: school. Every individual experience during formal education in Malaga, elementary school, high school, or university, affected the degree of acquisition or accommodation of our immigrants. We also found that due to the fact that children's attendance at elementary school takes place during the period of their *optimal age of acquisition* (Chambers 1988, 1992; Kerswill 1994, 1996; Payne 1976, 1980; Trudgill 1986), frequency of accommodation towards D2-MAL features is much higher than that attained by speakers who came to Malaga after this period. Furthermore, this difference is particularly significant when we compare rates of accommodation across language components – morpho-syntax and lexis of D2 are faster and earlier acquired than phonology.

Finally, linguistic acquisition or accommodation towards D2-MAL is not homogeneous and does not follow a linear path to assimilation: (a) it stems from the need to be understood and also as a consequence of long and early stages of contact to D2-MAL (NM and BD Children), (b) it is sometimes unconscious (Purist Caregivers), (c) sometimes takes place as a consequence of linking teachers and newcomer students by means of a mediator (an interpreter-translator classmate), (d) occasionally, it follows a quite traumatic experience (BD Children forced by teachers to change their heritage variety), (e) it derives also from personal and conscious decisions to adopt the new variety, which would avoid the immigrant being *marked* as an *outsider* (NM and BD Children, Tolerant Caregivers), and (f) last but not least, it advances quite slowly due to monocentric language leading to D1 maintenance (Purist Caregivers).

Combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis, as carried out in this paper, where we intended to be objective and, hence, far from any perceptual or ideological prejudice, helped us not only describe acquisition, or the lack of it, but understand as well how language socialisation affects accommodation and the projection of identity: either the Argentinean identity (Purist Caregivers), the Malaga identity (NM Children) or a brand-new mixed identity (BD Children, Tolerant Caregivers).

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