

## Writing vs speech: How do Spanish online videos pronounce gender inclusive language?

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In recent years, ways of incorporating gender inclusivity into written Spanish have arisen (de Onis, 2017; Acosta Matos, 2018). Because of the binary nature of grammatical gender in Spanish, for some years there have been efforts to better include two social genders in writing. These include two-gender doublets and the suffix "-@", understood to include both binary grammatical genders (-a and -o) reflecting two social genders equally:

1. a. Migración: una oportunidad para todos y todas. (Alianza Solidaridad, 2015)  
Migration: an opportunity for everybody [for all-MPI and all-FPI]
- b. Salud universal: para tod@s, en todas partes. (PAHO TV, 2018)  
Universal health: for everyone [for all-@], everywhere.

These graphic innovations help avoid the (falsely) generic masculine (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Cameron & Kulick, 2003; Leap, 1995), but fail to include those who do not identify with either binary social gender. A non-binary option has arisen more recently:

2. a. No son tres, somos todxs. (Diario de Confianza, 2018)  
They are not three, we are all (all-X-pl)
- b. Lxs chicxs IMITAN a lxs PROFESORXS (Operación Triunfo Oficial, 2018)  
The-X-PL children-X-PL do impressions of the professors-X-PL

Like -@ (in 1. above), -x is used in place of the traditional masculine -o and feminine -a suffixes but without the underlying supposition that there are only two gender options. But how are these symbols pronounced in spoken Spanish? Does the -@ symbol have a single concrete sound? The grapheme <x> cannot be pronounced as a syllable nucleus in Spanish. How do Spanish speakers orally express gender inclusive language?

These proposed written alternatives may work on paper but it is far from clear how they should be pronounced. This study addresses these questions by utilizing an online corpus of more than 30 YouTube videos from various Spanish-speaking countries, in different genres and contexts. Based on initial findings, the increasingly popular grapheme <-x> appears frequently in titles of YouTube videos, such (3a), but in the spoken language of the same videos they often use the traditional ('generic') masculine plurals, as in (3b):

3. a. "¿la justicia es igual para todxs?"      b. ¿la justicia es igual para todos?  
Is justice equal for all-X-PL      Is justice equal for all-MPL (Cuellilargo, 2018)
- c. Algunes o poques diputades. (Actualidad Chile, 2018)  
Some[-E-PL] or few[-E-PL] members of parliament.

In the videos we examine, most speakers do not alter their speech to match the gender inclusive alternatives that appear in the written titles. However, a number of speakers have begun to use the (ungendered) suffix -e as a possible gender neutral option in place of (grammatically gendered) -a or -o that follows the phonological rules of Spanish and can appear as a syllable nucleus, as in (3c).

The results of our study show the problematization of the correspondence between writing and speech related to gender inclusive language in Spanish-speaking communities, and contributes to the study of grammatical expressions of grammatical gender.

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