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Mapping the Hispanic migration trends

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Mapping the Hispanic migration trends*

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Abstract

This compact atlas presents several maps that attempt to outline the main keys to Spanish as a migratory language. From a historical perspective, it maps the first Spanish migration flows in the Americas and the main regional origins of the first settlers, the evolution of the ethnic composition of the population and migratory movements of communities such as the Italian, which influenced American Spanish. From a current perspective, the maps presented show the current trends of Latin American migration in the continent, from Central American flows to Hispanic migration to the United States and more recently to European destinations.

Keywords: Atlas, Migrations, Latin America

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Robert Kaplan (2013) depicts geography as the backdrop to human history itself and explains how, in the long term, geography can apply the relentless iron law to its own borders and nodes of contact. This way of understanding the sociopolitical situation suggests that it is the geographical conditions that mark the history of nations. This, in turn, enables maps to become an extraordinary means of understanding the origin, development, and aim of such consequential events for global communities, namely colonization or migration.

Confusion originated between maps and territories is a fact that is both well-known and recurrent. The correlation between reality and its projection, between things and their representations, is a matter that brings us

back to Plato's cave, albeit having evidently a more current topicality. In his *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded* (1895), Lewis Carroll wrote about a fictional, life-size map that could not be unfolded—farmers argued that the soil would not receive any sunlight—, it was therefore decided to use the country as its own map, which ended up working “almost as well”. Aside from confusions, however, maps can indeed explain and even condition the interpretation of a territory, or a specific sociopolitical or sociocultural situation.

On the other hand, the undeniable importance of the geography itself does not cancel the leverage of the human will and our overall achievements. The human will led the Saracens to the north of the Mediterranean, extending the

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Arabic language over the Iberian Peninsula; as it led the Romans to the conquest of Carthage, while carrying along Latin. With regard to humankind's achievements, we only need to look at how engineering projects have turned areas that were considered unreachable into accessible locations. As a matter of fact, a large variety of languages and dialects were born due to the isolation of territories that are nowadays unified; on the other hand, many settings that could provide unique languages are nowadays multilingual territories.

In terms of geographical, historical and social notions, these discussions have shown show their full linguistic potential. They have guided us in the study of Hispanic migrations, their historical development, and contemporary reality, by means of a simple cartographic representation. If we take a quick look, the maps do allow us to interpret vast—sometimes quite complex—portrayals of linguistic, ethnic, social or cultural diversity. This reinforces the idea that a forest can have as much importance as its trees. The pure spatial information can also be accompanied by qualitative and quantitative information with regards to the development of a certain event, its overall geographical movement, or its intensity.

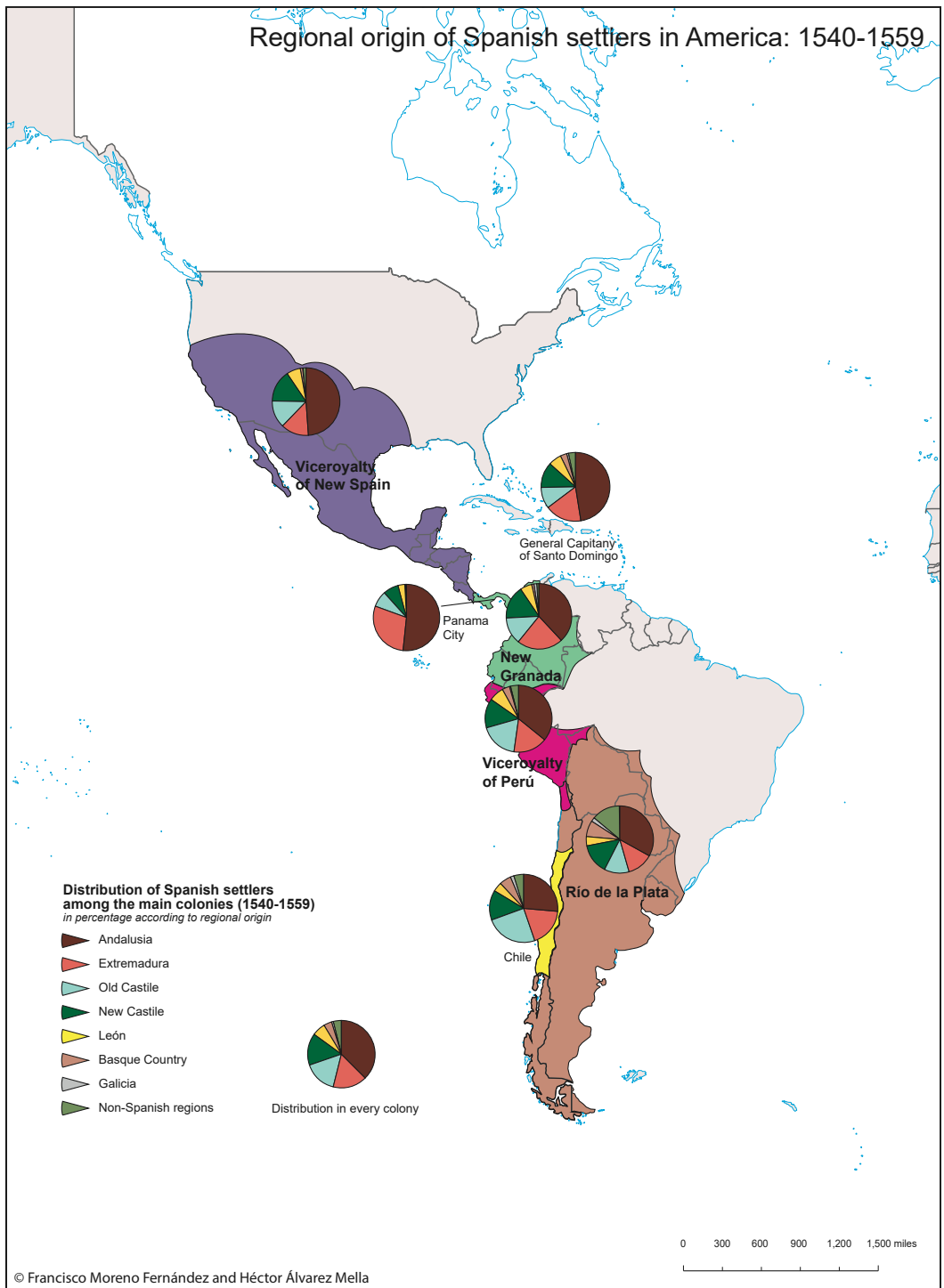
The objective of this small mapping project is to visually present, in an attractive and dynamic matter, information regarding some of the key junctures and spaces of migration movements from Spanish-speaking populations, both throughout the past and the present. Thereby, we offer a series of graphic and cartographic representations of some of the most relevant movements and processes that configure the external history of the Spanish language, as well as the territories in which it is spoken.

These maps reference two time frames, of different extension each: the historical space, ranging from 1500 to 1950, as well as the contemporary, extending from 1990 to the present. The maps belonging to the first group set off from the situation derived from one of the most decisive population movements in modern Western history: the colonization of American lands by Castile. This work begins studying the geographical origin of the Spanish settlers between 1540 and 1559, mapped in a quite original manner by the data provided by Peter Boyd-Bowman, professor in the University of New York at Buffalo, USA. The author carried out a vigorous demographic research in the mid-twentieth century, which resulted in a series influential works, such as his *Índice*

geobiográfico de 40000 pobladores de América en el siglo XVI (“geographical index of 40,000 settlers in America in the 16th century”) (1964). Along with Boyd-Bowman, we have obtained the data from Ángel Rosenblat's investigation (1945), who is also considered one of the leading researchers when it comes to studying the history of the Spanish language in America. His work has provided us with information about the ethnic composition in the Spanish-speaking American communities, which are complemented with more recent data about native American population. The reason for this is because these communities have been the ethnolinguistic milieu in which the Spanish language has unfolded, including the present time. As proof of being one of the most important migratory movements in the American history of this last century, we have mapped the origin of the Italian population that migrated to Argentina and that consequently left an unmistakable legacy in the Spanish spoken there.

The maps encompassing this time period describe and even explain the scope of the Spanish-speaking population movements that were most decisive during the last three decades: one focusing on the migrations towards the United States and the other—with special focus on those emerging from the Caribbean—towards Europe. These movements are contextualized in the maps which represent international migrations and migrant-receiving global areas. Moreover, our mapping project takes into account another displacement, less present in the social media: the migration flow towards Mexico from other Spanish-speaking countries. The authors have tried to provide the most updated information available with regard to the maps of this last group.

The maps shown in this volume have been originally designed by the authors. Some of them chart known data for the very first time, whereas others lead to a geographical representation of what were originally numbers represented only in raw tables. The software that was used to chart these were ArcGIS, Adobe Illustrator and RAWgraphs. The basemaps and administrative boundaries were gathered from the Eurostat repository (©EuroGeographics). Héctor Álvarez Mella was in charge of elaborating the maps, receiving invaluable support from Dr. Jana Moser and Silke Dutzmann, respectively Director and map editor of the Cartography and Visual Communication department of the The Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography in Leipzig (Germany). Each map is coupled with a text that focuses on the most relevant aspects



Map no. 1. Regional origin of Spanish Settlers in America: 1540-1599.

Source: Boyd-Bowman 1967.

	Río de la Plata	Chile	Viceroyalty of Peru	New Granada	Panama City	Viceroyalty of New Spain	General Capitanía of Santo Domingo	Total of the Americas	%
Andalusia	31.7%	25.9%	34%	34.6%	48.2%	47.4%	47.5%	3,269	36.1%
Extremadura	12.0%	18.1%	15.5%	20.6%	26.9%	12.7%	17.2%	1,416	15.7%
Old Castile	11.3%	24.2%	17.2%	12.1%	7.3%	12.7%	10.0%	1,390	15.4%
New Castile	13.8%	14.0%	13.5%	14.8%	6.9%	14.7%	12.1%	1,303	14.4%
Leon	4.3%	4.3%	6.7%	5.4%	3.2%	6.4%	6.1%	559	6.2%
Basque Country	7.3%	5.4%	3.5%	1.0%	0.2%	1.1%	3.1%	396	3.7%
Galicia	1.8%	1.7%	0.6%	1.1%	0.2%	0.4%	0.8%	73	0.8%
Foreigners	13.2%	4.5%	3.5%	1.0%	0.2%	1.1%	3.1%	332	3.7%
Iberian Peninsula	82.2%	93.6%	91.0%	89.6%	92.9%	95.4%	96.8%	8,406	92.3%

Table 1. Regional origin of Spanish settlers in America: 1540–1559. Mapped data. Source: Boyd-Bowman 1967.

of its content.

This is simply a small atlas that certainly does not aim to be exhaustive. It is rather an illustrative exercise that attempts to explain, in a comprehensive manner, some of the most significant migratory events in the Spanish-speaking world. Moreover, the maps should be understood as complementary depictions of the graphs, tables and illustrations that are included in this same volume.

MAP NO. 1. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF SPANISH SETTLERS IN AMERICA: 1540–1559

The first of our historical maps has been charted according to data provided by Peter Boyd-Bowman half a century ago. It could very well serve as a tribute to the remarkable demographic research, if it weren't for the fact that most of his contributions are still valid. Boyd-Bowman proved how data referred to 5,481 settlers that had arrived at America before 1520 can reveal the influence of five Castilian provinces, located in the southeast of Spain: Seville, Huelva, Badajoz, Cáceres, and Salamanca. These provinces brought more than half of the total number of settlers during the Antillean period.

During the second period, settlers also arrived from Toledo and Valladolid, whereas Extremadura increased its number of immigrants arriving to America, especially from Badajoz. In comparison with the Antillean period, however, the number of Andalusians decreased to a 32%, even though the presence of Andalusian women was substantial. The regions in America

that received the largest number of Spaniards until 1540 were Mexico (32.4%), Santo Domingo (11%), and Peru (10.8%). The presence of settlers of Andalusia and Extremadura in Peru was not noticeable during the first decades, whereas the region of Río de la Plata attracted the largest amount of non-Spaniard settlers, mostly being Portuguese.

Boyd-Bowman's analysis of the period ranging from 1540 to 1559, which was based on 9,044 emigrants, revealed that 55% of them still originated from Seville, Badajoz, Cáceres, Toledo, Salamanca and Valladolid. In the mid-16th century, even though the migration flow that originated from Andalusia remained stable—especially from Seville—, a new type of emigration emerged in America. It was affected by fluctuations in the transit of high-ranking officials, both civilian and ecclesiastical, their entourage, and their companions. Nevertheless, the map reveals the existence of a maritime space that connected the main ports (La Habana, Veracruz, Cartagena de Indias, Las Palmas, and Seville) through trade routes predominantly frequented by Andalusian sailors and merchants. According to Boyd-Bowman's point of view, the geographical origin of the 16th-century settlers, as well as their destinations in America, allow us to understand the proximity between the speech communities of the Caribbean and Andalusia, especially in terms of pronunciation.

Map no.1 displays the data regarding eight American areas that were considered by Boyd-Bowman to be the main destinations for settlers

between 1540 and 1559. Although the map also shows the current border limits between countries, the territorial units of reference are the administrative boundaries of the Spanish Monarchy during the period mentioned previously. The territories that were taken into account are, for example, the Viceroyalties of India, Peru and New Spain, which encompassed southern territories of the current United States and countries of Central America; the Captaincy General of Santo Domingo, which contained the island of Hispaniola; or Panama City, within the jurisdiction of New Granada. Bearing this in mind, the map reveals the influence of the Andalusian contingent in all reference areas. This dominance, however, doesn't divert attention away from other details, such as the noteworthy presence of foreigners alongside Basques and Galicians in Río de la Plata, or Extremadurians in Panama and New Granada.

In order to properly interpret the dialects of Spanish in America, we must take into account the influence of the Andalusians and their varieties during the first decades of colonization. It should, however, be kept in mind that the population flow of Spaniards in America lasted for many decades more, and that this population experienced a great diversification both in terms of origin, as well as of social composition. Along with this fact, the substantial intensity of specific population movements in very particular periods and regions also contributed to shape the current varieties of Spanish in America. A clear example of this is the migration flow from the Canary Islands population to different places of America—especially since the 18th century—to territories such as Uruguay, Colombia, the south of the United States and, in particular, Venezuela.

MAP NO. 2. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF AMERICA IN 1650 AND 1940

The fact that most of the population of Hispanic countries in America speaks Spanish, even where the indigenous languages have a greater influence (Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru), may seem an expected outcome of three centuries of colonization. Colonization was certainly a milestone in this regard, but not so much as a fact in itself as in how it evolved over time. If we take India for example, we can observe that, under a complete colonial and commercial domination of the UK between 1845 and 1946, the current rate of English speakers lies around 16% (Graddol 2010). Meanwhile, the average of Spanish speakers among Hispanic countries surpasses

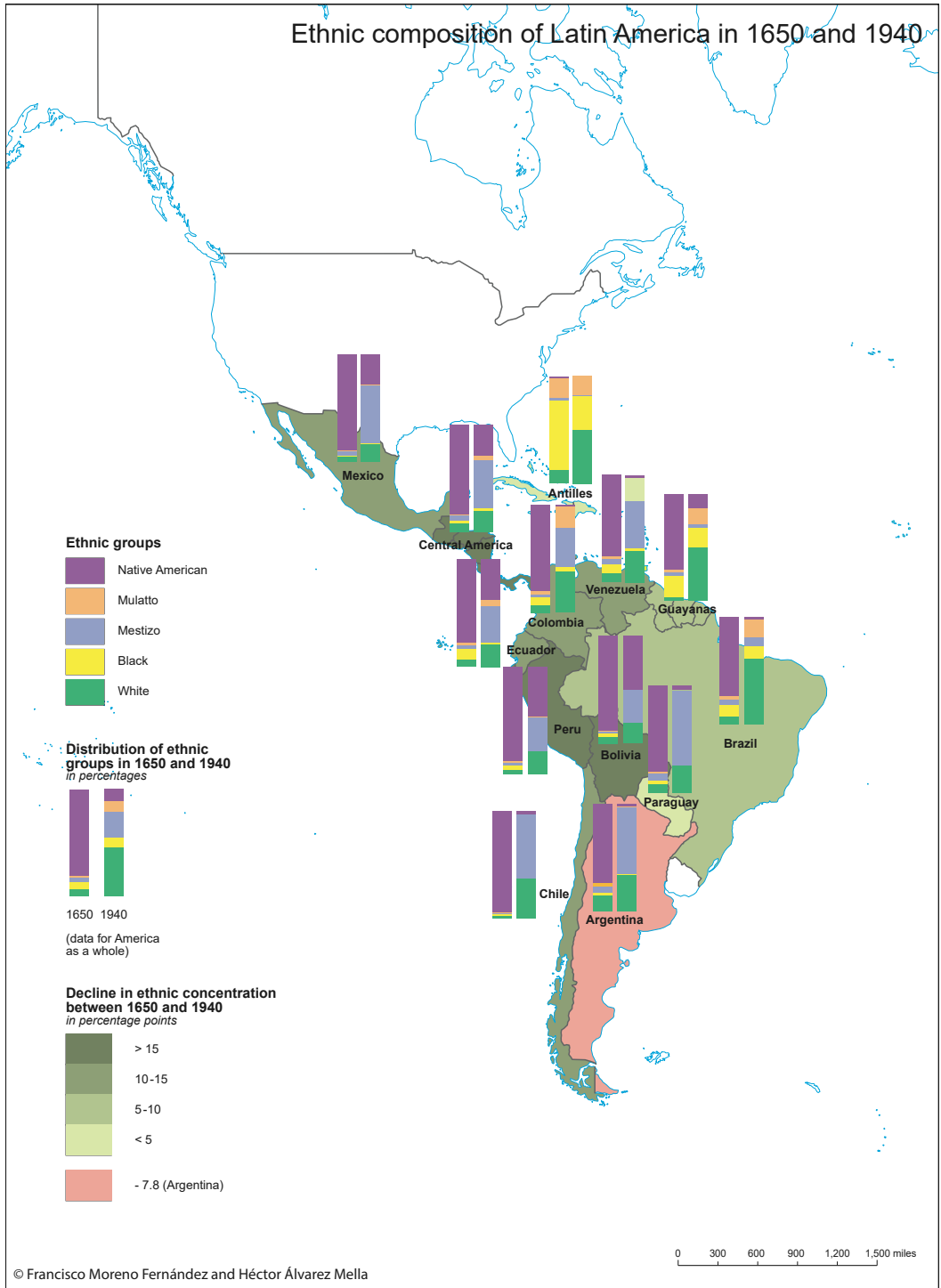
the 90% (Moreno Fernández and Otero 2016). There are obviously numerous factors to consider when explaining circumstances with such cultural, political and financial importance, aside from linguistic. Amongst them, however, the ethnic composition of Spanish-speaking American territories has shown a significant development.

In order to somewhat explain how the ethnic composition has changed in America, we shall use the information provided by one of the reference authors in the field: Ángel Rosenblat (1945). Due to the complexity of the subject, it is understandable that Rosenblat's analytical proposals haven't been the only ones considered (Kroeber 1939; Alchon 2003). But time has proven that they were coherent and measured calculations which therefore maintain their interpretative value intact in general terms.

This second map, charted according to Rosenblat's data, allows us to clearly observe that the ethnicity of the American population in 1650 was mainly native American (81%). This date takes us back a century and a half after the arrival of Spaniards in America. However, there is an area where the number of native Americans were not the main ethnic group. This is the case of the Antilles, which, along with the military conquest, deeply suffered the effects of epidemic diseases carried by Europeans upon their arrival. On the other hand, there is a remarkably drastic decline of native Americans between 1650 and 1940 in Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Colombia, and Venezuela. In these cases, the rise of mestizo and mulatto population helps understand the process of ethnic mix which substitutes previous ethnic groups. What's more, we should not forget the harsh repression of native Americans by Spain-independent governments, especially in the southern cone.

The ethnic composition of the region in 1940 shows an unmistakable diversification. The degree of ethnic concentration is measured by calculating the standard deviation of the ethnic group's distribution. The native American populations receded to an 11% of the total, which meant a higher relative ratio for other ethnicities. The white ethnic groups increased from a 6.4% of the population in 1650 to a 46.2% in 1940. The groups of mestizos rose from 3.5% to 23.8% and the mulattoes, from 2.4% to 10.6%.

The regions that underwent a greater diversification were Central America, Peru and Bolivia (shown in dark green). Their indigenous population had a greater relative ratio in comparison with other countries. In



Map no. 2. Ethnic composition of Latin America:1650 and 1940.
Source: Rosenblat 1945.

contrast, the regions that experimented the lowest diversification process were Paraguay and the Antilles. The indigenous concentration in Paraguay was replaced by a greater ratio of mestizos, which reveals a strong hybridization, as can be seen in Chile and Argentina as well. In the Antilles, however, the relative ratio of black ethnic groups diminished, and its society focused its diversity on three main ethnic groups: black, mulatto and white, having this last one increased its ratio considerably. Argentina is the only country whose ethnic composition underwent a concentration process, especially due to the drop of indigenous, mulatto and black groups to nearly a zero percent.

MAP NO. 3. NATIVE AMERICAN POPULATION IN AMERICA CIRCA 2010

Spanish wasn't the only language spoken in the Hispanic America, nor the only protagonist. In 2010 around 45 million people were of native American origin in the geographical regions within the Ibero-American region, which makes up to 8,3% of the population in the area (ECLAC 2013). This fact allows us to understand some of the characteristics of the ethnic, demographic and linguistic composition of Ibero America, including Brazil. It helps us recognize some of the main characteristics of the Spanish language as well. We know that, quantitatively speaking, native American languages haven't exerted a rather substantial impact on Spanish (Lope Blanch 1965). Nonetheless, it is undeniable that the coexistence of these languages forced Spanish to adapt its vocabulary and, in some regions in particular, specific grammatical and pragmatic aspects.

The Spanish language also served as a belt drive for the worldwide conveyance of indigenous lexicon into other languages. Consequently, there is vocabulary, such as tomate, patata, chocolate, cigarro, cóndor, iguana, barbacoa, tabaco..., which has been incorporated internationally with their corresponding adaptations. Along with these Americanisms, it is worth mentioning terms that are frequent in the Spanish-speaking territories of America (petate, zoquete, achote, cancha...)¹; those that are common in restricted areas of America (palta, chochlo, chueco, zapayo...)²; and, lastly,

those that are specific to a country or smaller territories (Colombia: ahuyama 'pumpkin', Peru: ajochar 'to urge, to chase'...).

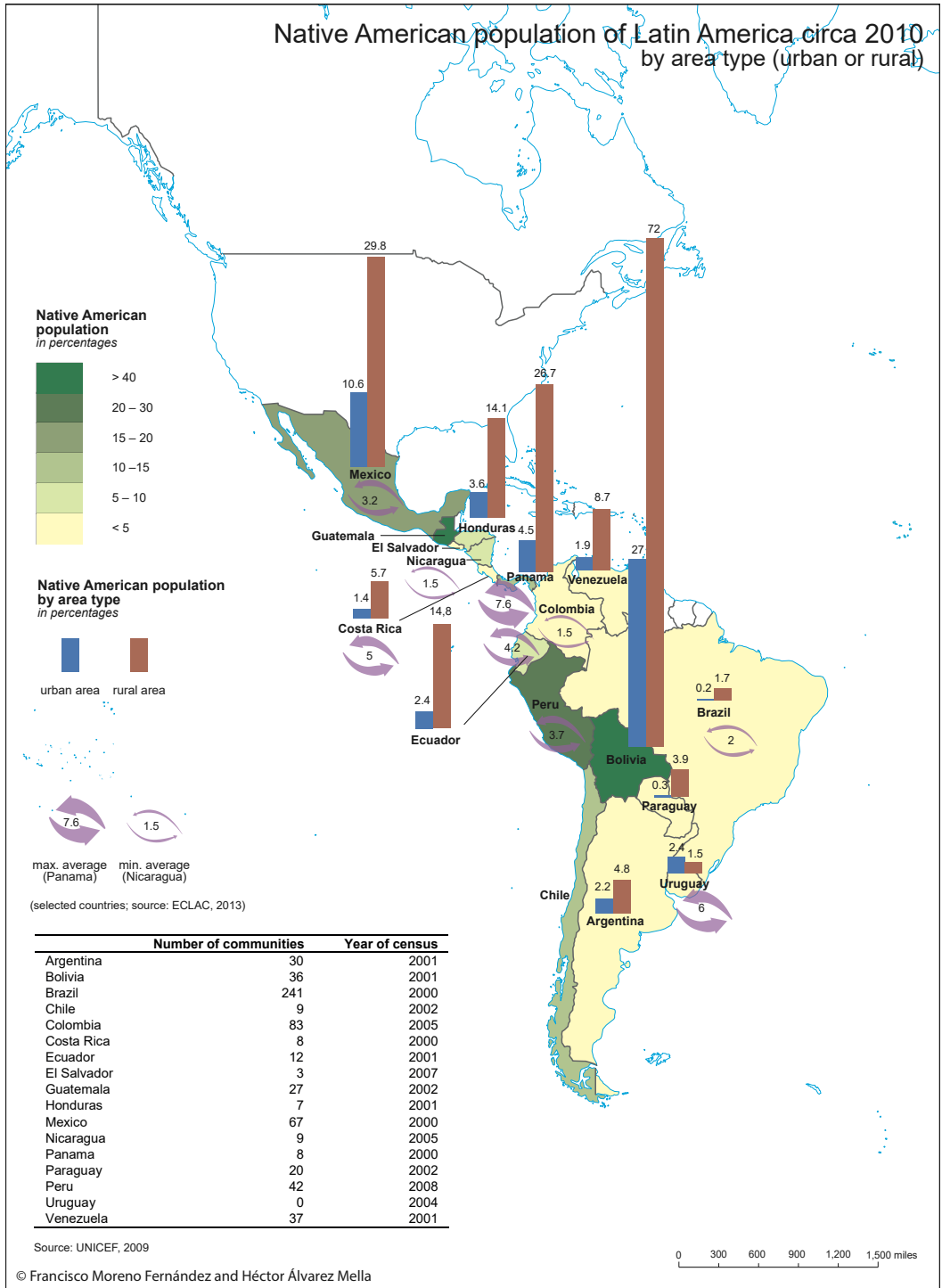
The current state of affairs of the indigenous languages in America has evolved over the years. In fact, numerous languages have disappeared, before and after the sovereignty of American republics: many have restrained their domain of use; others have reinforced their social standing, whereas some languages have experienced a weakening due to the migratory movements of its speakers. All things considered, the current state of affairs allows us to understand some of the historical constants in which indigenous languages have played a leading role. These constants refer to the demographic proliferation of Nahuatl, Mayan, Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní, caused by their status as general or intermediary languages between speakers of other indigenous languages. What's more, their geographic location has remained practically the same over the centuries, even when its boundaries have narrowed in many cases—such as Quechuan dialects. The course of time has also contributed both to the growth of bilingual population, with either Spanish or Portuguese, and to the creation of hybrid varieties, such as the Jopara in Paraguay or the Media Lengua in Ecuador.

The current data presented in map no. 3 show us that the countries with the highest ratio of native Americans are Bolivia and Guatemala (42% and 41% of the population, respectively). Meanwhile, there are eight countries where less than 5% of the population is native American: El Salvador, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Colombia. Quantitatively speaking, however, the number of people with indigenous ethnicity is high in these countries, for instance in Colombia (1.6 million), Brazil (900,000), Argentina (955,000) and Venezuela (725,000). In all of these countries, with the exception of Uruguay, the relative presence of native Americans is greater in rural areas. The rural areas of Bolivia stand out for their higher presence of native Americans (72%). In Mexico and in Panama, more than one of every four inhabitants that live in rural areas are native American. On the other hand, the presence of indigenous population in urban areas is relatively high in Bolivia (1 of every 4 residents is native American), followed by Mexico (1 out of 10).

A very interesting and revealing fact about the condition of the indigenous population in Latin America refers to the migratory movements of these communities. The data provided by the

¹ Petate: woven bedroll. Zoquete: blockhead, Achote: a type of fruit. Cancha: court, playing area for basketball, tennis, etc.

² Palta: avocado. Choclo: corn. Chueco: crooked. Zapayo oder zapallo: pumpkin.



Map no. 3. Native American population of Latin America circa 2010 by area type (urban or rural).
Source: UNICEF and FUNPROEIB 2009; CELADE 2019.

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), which is represented in this map, shows us the high ratio of native American population that travel from Panama, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru and Mexico. However, in Peru the migration is mainly carried out by non-indigenous population instead. The most frequent effect that results from these migratory movements is the abandonment of the native languages, which are substituted for a vehicular language.

MAP NO. 4. ITALIAN MIGRATION TO ARGENTINA

Amongst the great migration flows throughout modern history, the movement of millions of Europeans to South America deserves a renowned position. It is well known that the consecutive financial and political crisis that took place throughout Europe in the 19th century drove large groups of European population towards Brazil or Argentina. These eventually influenced the society, culture and language of the receiving countries.

The migratory movements that took place between 1876 and 1915 were especially intense within the Spanish-speaking countries, in particular with the population that had arrived to Argentina from Italy. In 1876 Argentina passed the Law of Immigration and Colonization, which finally triggered the massive arrival of international immigrants. During this time period, Argentina experienced the arrival of 3.5 million Italians. The migration of Italian population affected all the regions of the Mediterranean country, albeit to different extents. The Italian immigrants in Argentina that came during the change of centuries originated from Veneto, Piedmont or Friuli-Venecia. The regional origin diversified over the years, which was detrimental to northern areas, even though the number of migrants from Sicily and, to a lesser extent, from Calabria, Campania, and Abruzzo, experienced a significant rise over the turn of century.

The importance of this massive migratory movement did not only root from its socioeconomic and purely demographic dimension: it carried quite interesting cultural and linguistic implications as well. From a cultural perspective, the coast of Argentina—with special focus on the Río de la Plata estuary—, was deeply influenced by Italian traditions and vocabulary, whereas the inner territories displayed cultural profiles with either Spanish or native American roots. The Spanish or Castilian

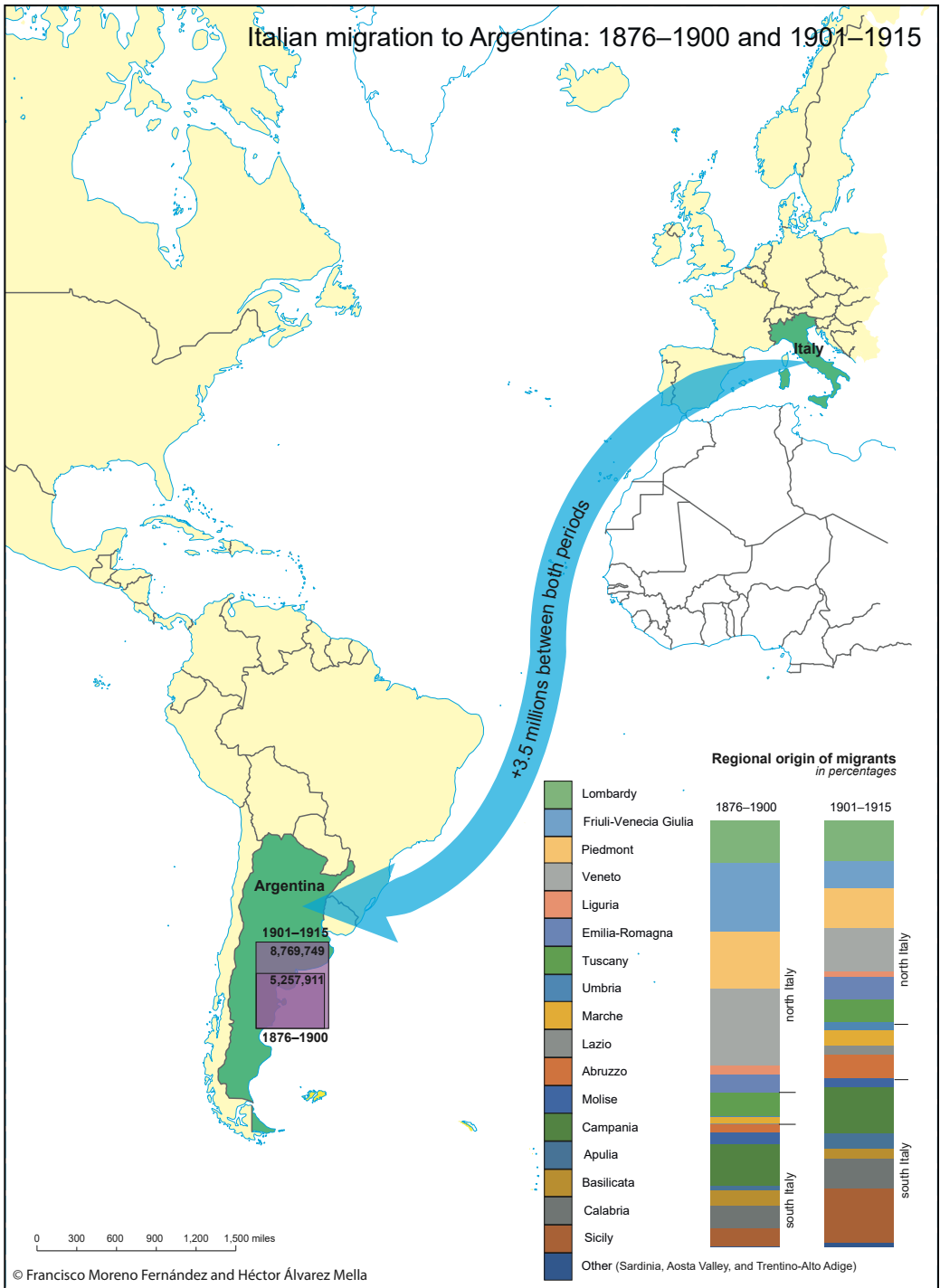
from Argentina can be mainly identified due to the use of numerous Italianisms and intonation patterns that showed—and still do—an Italian imprint. Moreover, the financial and cultural situation contributed to the emergence of the lunfardo as slang for discrimination and linked to the underworld, and to the formation of a mixed dialect: the cocoliche, which had its own impression in popular culture.

We should keep in mind that the high percentage of Italians could have well achieved a linguistic outcome of greater scope than those previously mentioned: the linguistic substitution of Spanish, which begun in the great city of Buenos Aires. The fact that Italian did not substitute Spanish was due to multiple reasons, as expected in every complex process. On the one hand, Spanish was well established as the language of the nation's institutions, of families, and of people who governed its financial and political objectives. In other words, the language of power and status was Spanish, not that of the poor immigrants that had come to build a better future for themselves. On the other hand, the diversity of national and regional origins of newcomers (Lombardy, Piedmont, south of Italy) reinforced the social use of Spanish as a *lingua franca* amongst them, since they usually did not share the same mother language or dialect. This is how Spanish became the main vehicle for communication within immigrant communities, which were organized in networks according to their geographical and linguistic origin.

MAP NO. 5 AND NO. 6. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS

Although it has been consistent throughout history, migration seems to be one of the phenomena that best characterizes the global contemporary reality (United Nations 2019; Castles and Miller 2019). In 2019 over 260.3 million people found themselves within migration contexts all over the world. A 46.4% (128.6 million people) originated from 20 countries, mainly from Asia. A total of 180.6 million of the 260 million migrants (69.3%) reside in 20 countries. The concentration of the receiving countries is greater than that of the sending ones, which reveals a distinct asymmetry in the migration flow. Maps no. 5 and 6 depict information complementary to the overview of countries that send and receive migrant population.

In 2019, the main migrant-sending country was India (6.7% of the total, i.e. 17.5 million). If we take neighboring countries into account, like Pakistan and Bangladesh, these comprise more



Map no. 4. Italian migration to Argentina: 1875–1900 and 1901–1915.
Source: Sarra 2007; Associazione Culturale Due Sicilie 2007.

than a 12% of the total global migration. Mexico (4.53%), China (4.11%), and Russia (4.03%) are the three next most migrant-sending countries. We should nonetheless acknowledge the case of Syria as a migration source due to the war: in 2019, 8.2 million Syrians resided outside their native country (a 3.2% of the global migration). In general, the Syrian war as well as the political and military instability in Middle East have caused a large number of displaced populations to move towards nearby territories, both in Asia and in East Europe. Asia holds 30% of the world's immigration rates, concentrated mainly on West Asia, which is currently the focal point of one of the biggest international migration crises. Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Jordan and Turkey receive 30.9 million migrants, a 12% of the global amount. Five European countries are also among the 20 countries with the highest number of emigrants: on the one hand, the United Kingdom and Germany, despite their high income levels and dynamism of the different socioeconomic stratification; on the other hand, Poland, Ukraine, and Romania, which are well known for their recent emigration history.

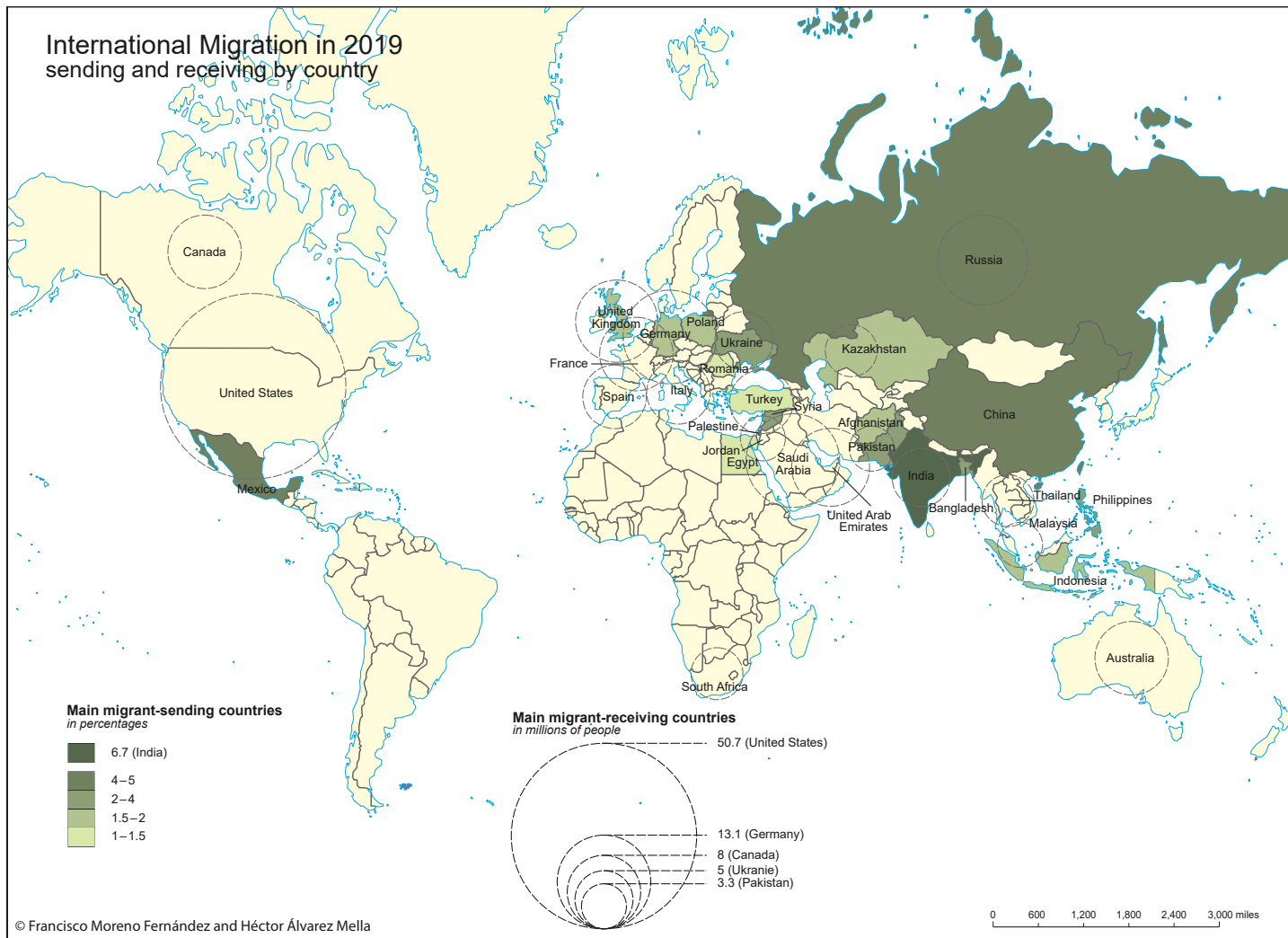
We need to acknowledge the migration from and to Spanish-speaking countries from a

global perspective if we want to have a correct understanding of their scope. With regard to recipient areas, we can observe a concentration of 52% of the migratory movements in two regions: North America and Europe. North America, especially the United States, is the region that receives the most immigrants. Within Europe, the western area has a higher rate. The United States are the main migrant-receiving country, with 51.7 million people, a 19.5% of the total—almost 1 out of every 5 migrants reside in this country. With regard to Europe: Germany (13.1 million), United Kingdom (9.6 million), France (8.3 million), Italy (6.3 million), and Spain (6.1 million) host 43.4 million of migrants, a 17% of the total amount. Aside from these countries, there are three other noteworthy migration recipients: Canada with 8 million (3%), Russia with 11.6 million (4.5%), and Australia with 7.5 million (2.9%), being the latter as a center of migration in Oceania.

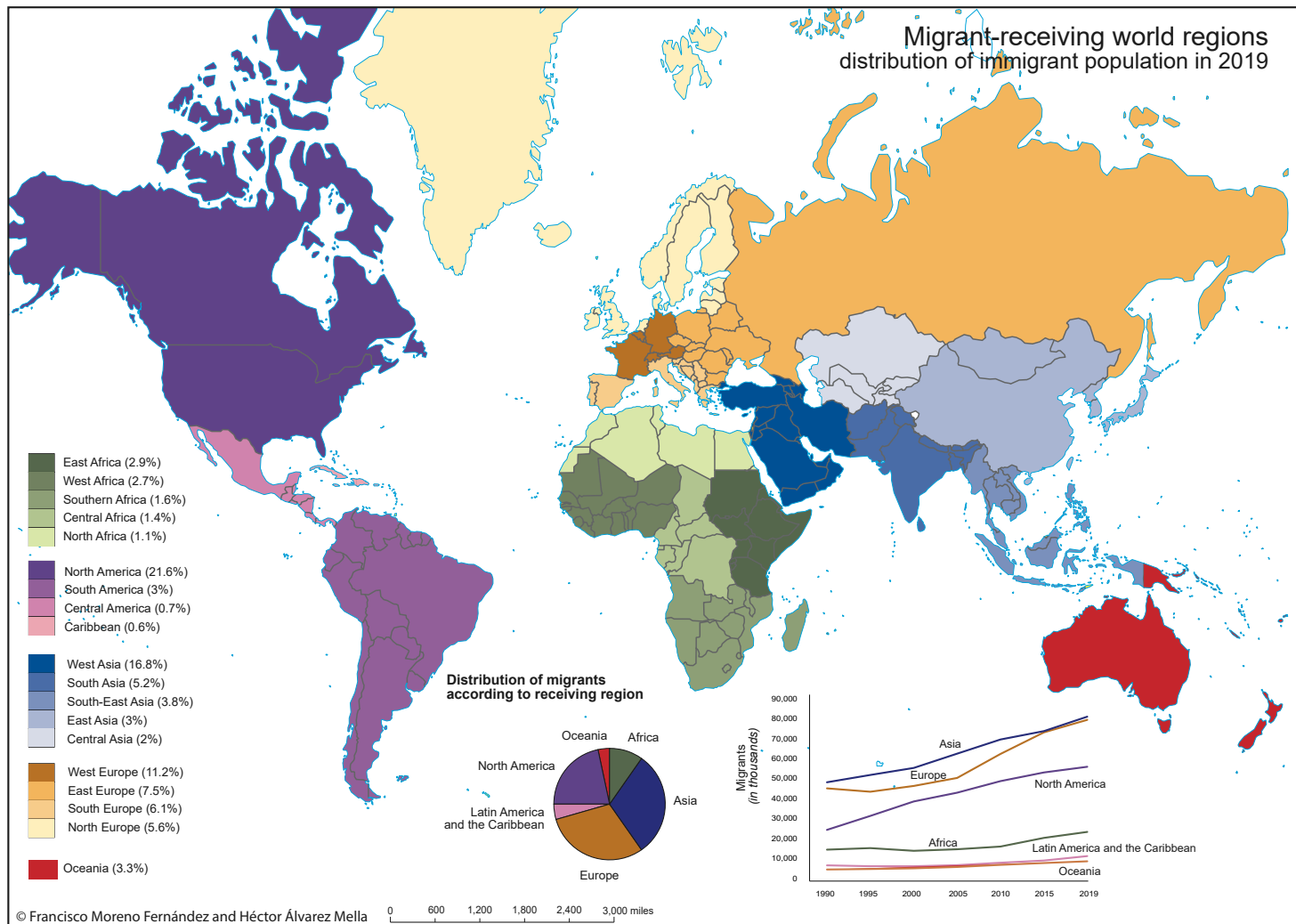
The two main migrant-receiving areas, North America and Europe, are important for the Spanish language since it is relevant in both, from the host population's perspective as well as from that of the migrants. The United States has thus incorporated in its demographics—and

Region	Number of migrants	%
North America	58,647,822	21.6%
West Asia	45,635,541	16.8%
West Europe	30,427,318	11.2%
East Europe	20,278,745	7.5%
South Europe	16,503,552	6.1%
North Europe	15,094,924	5.6%
South Asia	14,083,627	5.2%
South-East Asia	10,190,867	3.8%
Oceania	8,927,925	3.3%
South America	8,220,807	3.0%
East Asia	8,105,764	3.0%
East Africa	7,908,176	2.9%
West Africa	7,398,379	2.7%
Central Asia	5,543,398	2.0%
Southern Africa	4,481,651	1.6%
Central Africa	3,785,279	1.4%
North Africa	2,955,849	1.1%
Central America	1,927,688	0.7%
Caribbean	1,524,793	0.6%

Table 2. Migrant-receiving global areas. Mapped data.
Source: United Nations 2019.



Map no. 5. International migrations: 2019.
Source: Migration Data Portal 2019.



Map no. 6. Migrant-receiving world regions.
Source: United Nations 2019

continues to do so—habitants with Hispanic origin; in the case of South and West Europe, Spain stands out for being a destination of strong contingents of population coming from various regions, but especially from South America. In the case of the United States, the displaced and Spanish-speaking population are welcomed in a country where Spanish is socially the second language; in the case of South and West Europe, Spanish-speakers are largely hosted by Spain, which allows us to confirm that language is a decisive factor in the origin of migration movements. In comparison with the other global areas, Latin America and the Caribbean comprise the second region with the least migrants (4.3%), followed only by Oceania (3.3%). Thus, Hispanic America is a region that fundamentally generates migration, with practically insignificant immigration rates in Central America and the Caribbean.

MAP NO. 7. HISPANICS IN THE UNITED STATES: 1990–2019

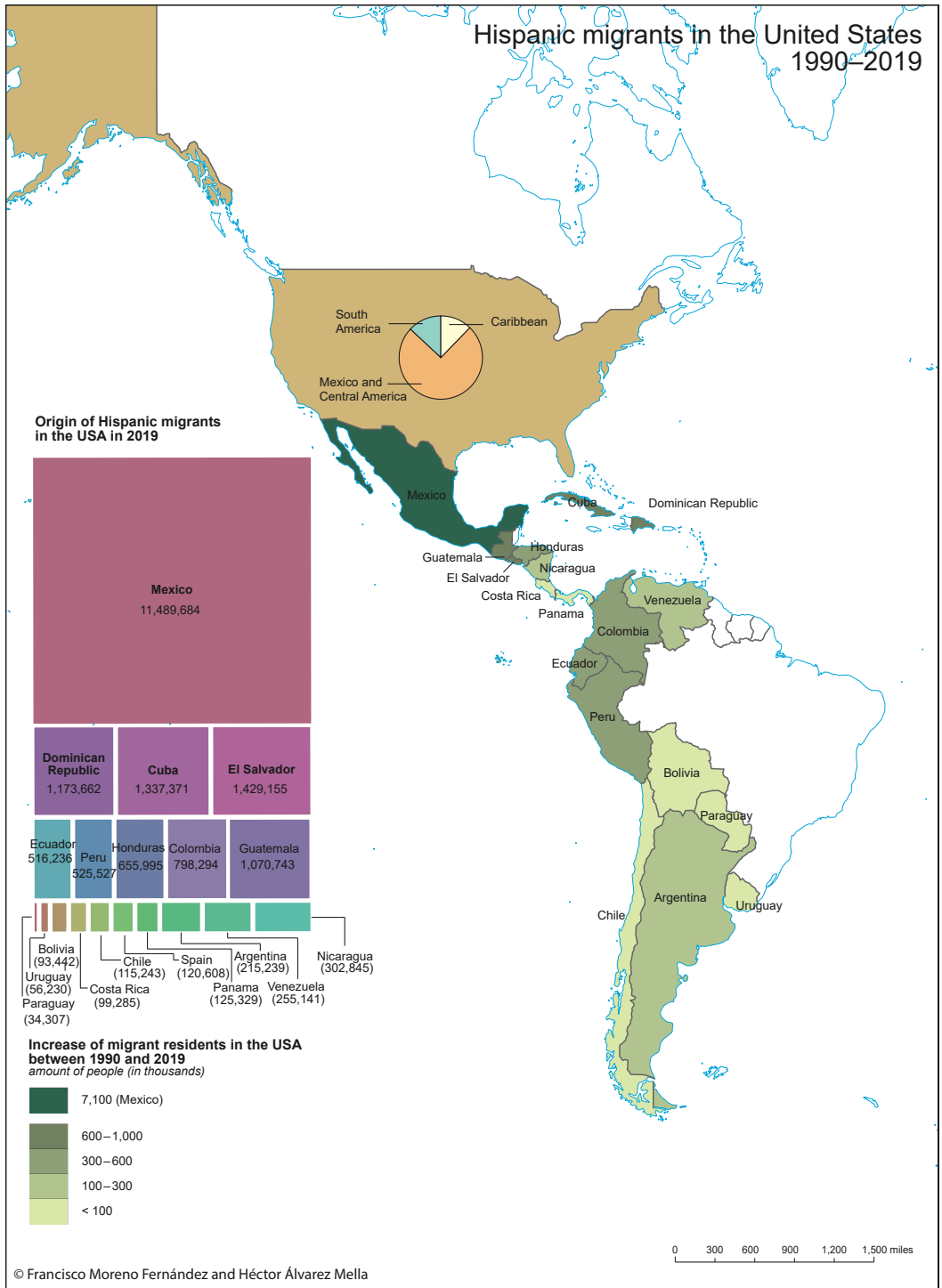
The maps referring to the largest international migrations allow us to clearly see the relevance of the United States as a recipient country of Hispanic migrants—i.e. from Mexico,

the Caribbean, and both Central and South America. The presence of Spanish-speaking communities in the United States is well known—it is neither a new phenomenon nor unrelated to the country’s own nature—. Nonetheless, since the first decades of the Union’s independence, it has held a status as a foreign language in official proceedings. It is true, however, that the presence of Hispanic and Spanish-speaking population has experienced an extraordinary growth over the last four decades. This has been due to the arrival of new immigrants, as well as the evolution of the Hispanic population within the United States.

In 2019 there were 20,293,728 Hispanic American migrants in the United States. As can be seen from map no. 7, the main group of migrants registered in the reference date are those arriving from Central America and Mexico, having the latter a greater significance (11,489,684). In addition, these two regions constitute the fastest growing group within the United States: between 1990 and 2019 their population increased by 7.1 million. Following the Mexicans, the group with the largest presence in the United States is comprised of two Central American countries (El Salvador and Guatemala) and two Caribbean countries

Country of origin	Population difference between 1990 and 2019
Mexico	7,191,670
El Salvador	963,722
Guatemala	845,004
Dominican Republic	825,804
Cuba	600,400
Honduras	547,072
Colombia	512,170
Peru	381,328
Ecuador	372,922
Venezuela	213,022
Nicaragua	134,186
Argentina	122,676
Bolivia	62,139
Chile	59,562
Costa Rica	55,755
Spain	44,193
Panama	39,592
Uruguay	35,464
Paraguay	28,250

Table 3. Hispanics in the United States 1990–2019. Total. Mapped data.
Source: United Nations 2019, verified with United States Census Bureau 2019.



Map no. 7. Hispanic migrants in the United States and their country of origin: 1990–2019. Total.
Source: United Nations 2019, verified with United States Census Bureau 2019.

(Dominican Republic and Cuba). The highest figures belong to the Salvadorans and the Cubans (1,429,155 and 1,337,371, respectively). As shown in table 3, the number of migrants from El Salvador, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic increased considerably between 1990 and 2019.

From a geographical perspective, the map allows us to clearly observe the outcome of the migration flow caused by the spatial proximity with the United States. With regard to the migrants arriving from South American countries, we can observe a greater presence of Colombians, Peruvians and Ecuadorians (798,294; 525,527; and 516,236; respectively). Even so, if we analyze the evolution that took place between 1990 and 2019, the most surprising increase belongs proportionally to the Venezuelans, which grew from 41,119 to 255,141 migrants. Financial reasons are a decisive factor in terms of understanding and explaining the recent evolution and state of affairs of Hispanic migrations towards the United States. Nonetheless, there are also contributing factors that are better understood when related to other causes, such as the individual insecurity or the political development in countries such as Venezuela, Honduras, El Salvador or, undoubtedly, Cuba.

MAP NO. 8. MIGRATIONS FROM THE CARIBBEAN: 1990–2019

Both in the past and in the present, the area which has been most notably affected by migration in America has been the Caribbean. Historically the Caribbean has been, without doubt, the American region with the most registered migratory flows since the sixteenth century. The only exception is currently the United States, which, as a matter of fact, is also connected with the Caribbean in this sense. The Greater Antilles (Cuba, the island of Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico) have been the arriving and departing port for millions of migrants. This makes them a privileged laboratory for the study of migrations and their linguistic repercussions.

Map no. 8 shows a high concentration of Caribbean migration towards North America—from a total of 7 million, 6.4 million are heading to the United States, and 0.64 million to Canada. The other two main destinations are Europe, with 1.1 million and, curiously enough, the Caribbean region itself (interregional migration), with 1 million. This last type of displacement is quite characteristic of the Dominican Republic,

making it the third global receiving country of Caribbean migration (5.46%).

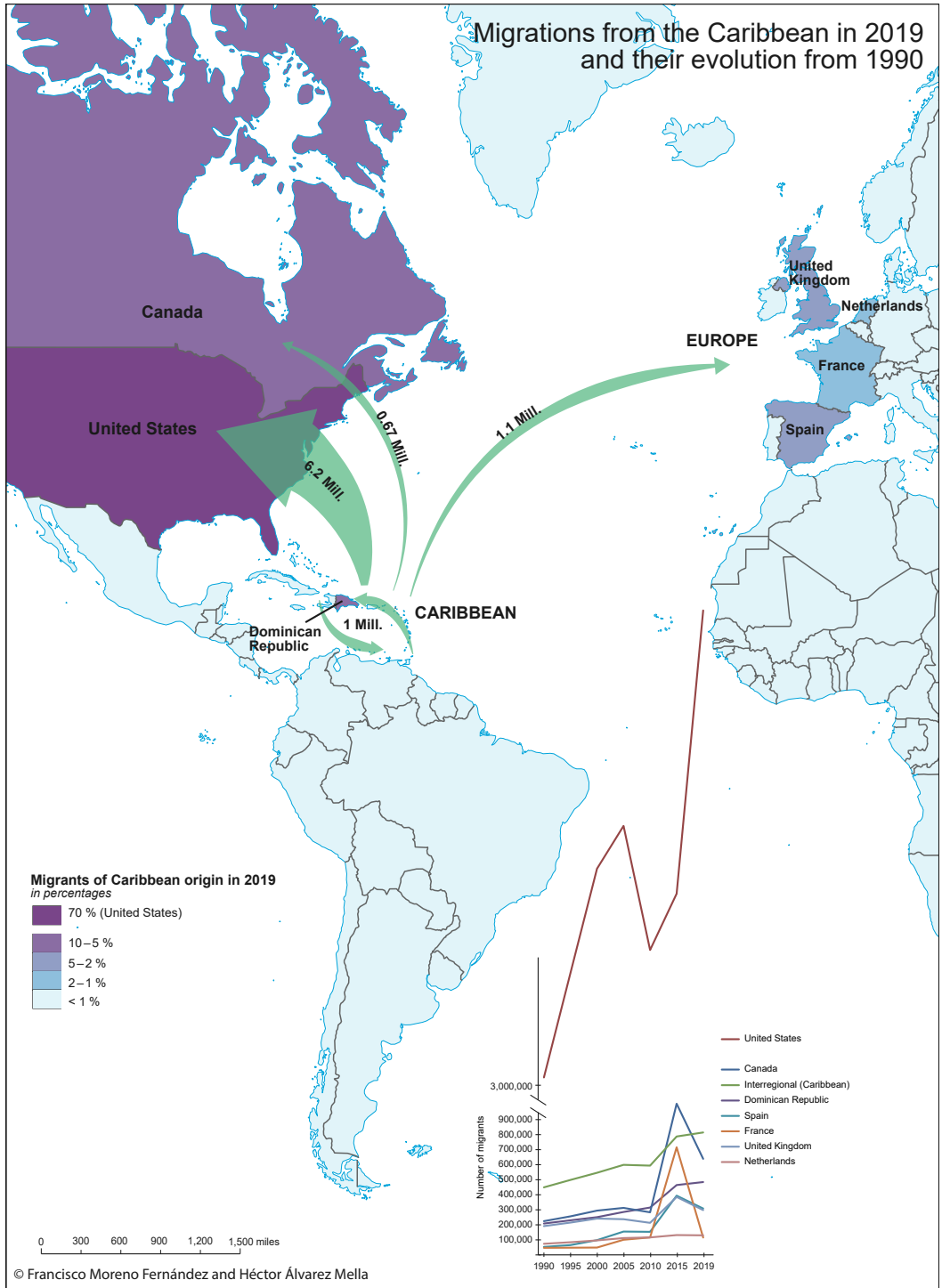
The main European destinations of these Caribbean groups are Spain and the United Kingdom, which host 3.4% and 3.3% of their migrants, respectively. These countries are followed by France and the Netherlands, where 1.3% and 1.1% of the migratory Caribbean population are settled. However, in spite of the geographical proximity and the language community, Central and South America are not preferred destinations for the Caribbean migrants, hosting only 1.65% of them. Moreover, Africa and Asia offer minimal figures, and have therefore not been included in the map.

There are two migratory realities that should be highlighted from this data. On the one hand, the migratory movements towards the United States. The presence of Puerto Ricans in the New York area constitutes one of the most solid locations of Spanish in the United States. This reality has contributed to both extensive and intensive use of Spanish in the big city, palpable in the everyday life. This has also promoted the arrival of other migratory groups coming from the Caribbean, especially from the Dominican Republic. On the other, the noteworthy internal displacement from the Caribbean population towards the Dominican Republic. This is fundamentally brought by the strength of the tourism industry, which reveals the very precarious economic conditions that people experience in the Lesser Antilles or Haiti, its neighbor country.

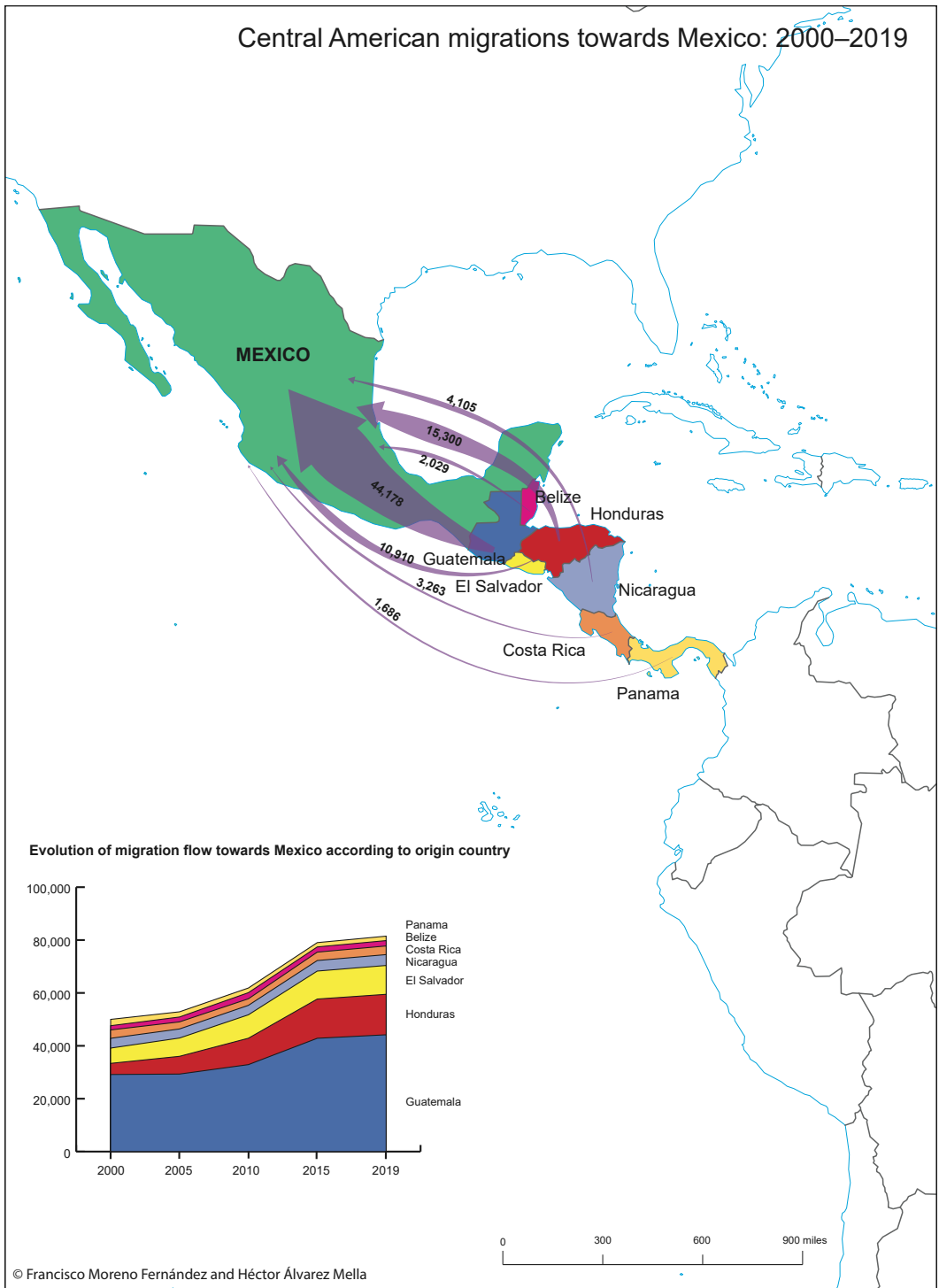
MAP NO. 9. CENTRAL AMERICAN MIGRATIONS TOWARDS MEXICO: 2000–2019

From a linguistic and cultural point of view, migrations between Spanish-speaking territories usually either go unnoticed or are described as irrelevant, invisible even. However, they have a significant impact on the social life of the Spanish language. On the one hand, these relocations have dialectal consequences. This is because they create an adaptation trend amongst different linguistic profiles and because they generate uses of neutralized or compromised language. On the other hand, they create complex sociolinguistic processes, related to identity and socioeconomic imbalance.

The most prominent migratory movements within Hispanic America are originated in Central American countries and are headed towards Mexico. Map no. 9 shows us that the main country



Map no. 8. Migrations from the Caribbean: 1990–2019.
Source: United Nations 2019.



Map no. 9. Central American migrations towards Mexico: 2000–2019.
Source: United Nations 2019.

of origin amongst these migrations is Guatemala (54%). We can also observe a progression based on the geographical proximity. In the case of Costa Rica and Panama, it correlates with their higher development levels. During these last 19 years, the size of migratory groups from El Salvador and Honduras, as well as Guatemala, has experienced a significant increase.

Amongst the dialectal consequences of movements from Central America towards Mexico, we should mention the reinforcement of the Mexican variety. In fact, the modality spoken in Mexico City has achieved the status of a prestigious and standard variety. This implies the consolidation of homogeneity. This is the opposite of maintaining the Central American linguistic space as an ecosystem of dialects that increases its variety when further from areas with standardized modalities. This could be considered as a proof of the struggle between unification, or homogenization, and the conservation of features, which help identify each minor dialectal space that has been affected by migrations.

MAP NO. 10: HISPANICS TOWARDS EUROPE

Preceded by the United States, Europe is the second preferred global destination for migratory movements coming from Hispanic America. In 2019, in fact, 11.1% of the Hispanic migrants resided in Europe, which translates into a total of 3.5 million Hispanics. The largest of these groups originate from Colombia (551,588), Ecuador (544,487), and Argentina (406,226). Map no. 10 shows that the European continent is an essential destination for migratory groups

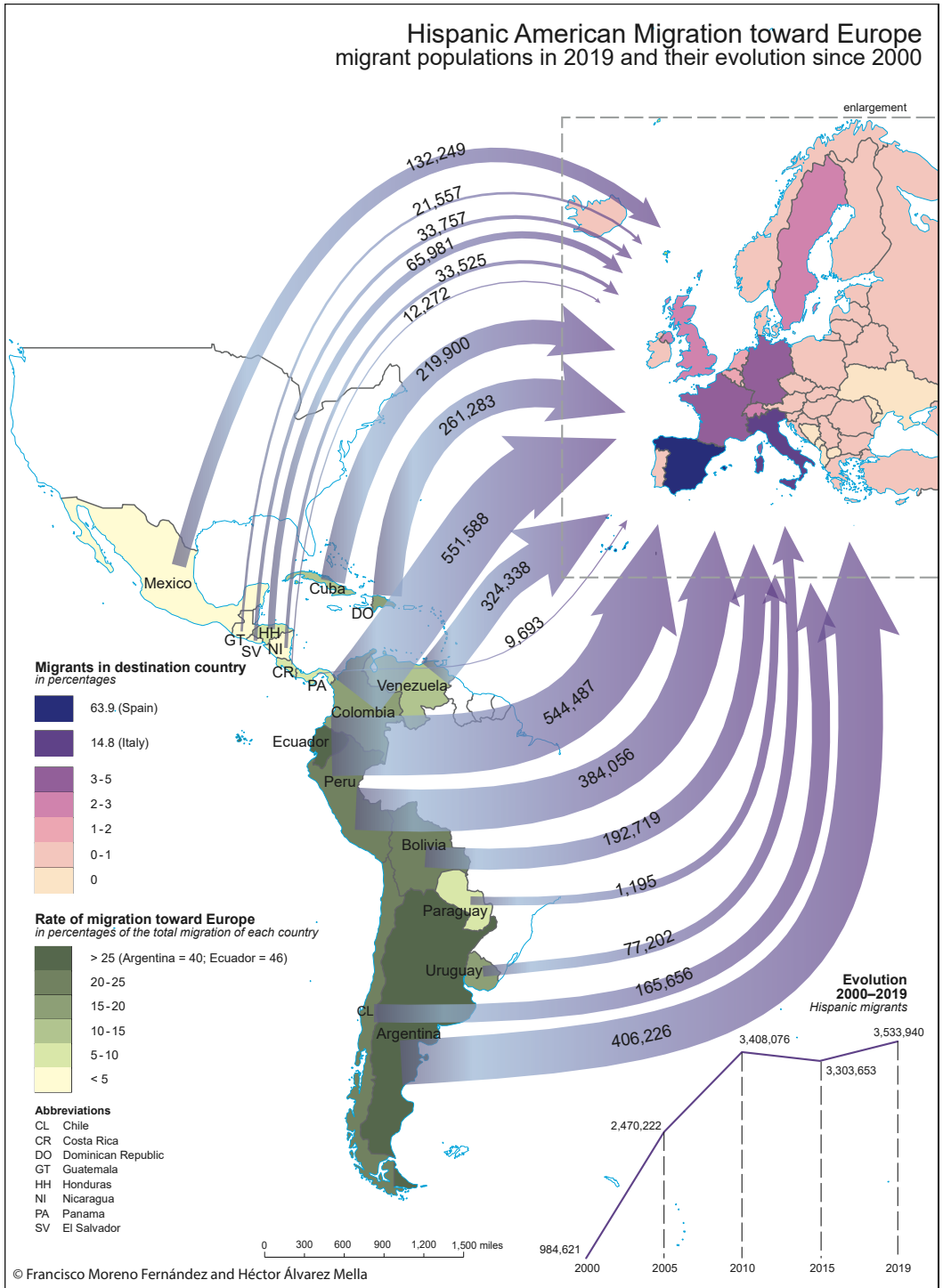
from South American countries, whereas Central America and the Caribbean have a much lower ratio, demonstrating the importance of other areas, especially the United States.

The attraction of South American migrants for European countries can be observed in 46% and 40% of Ecuadorian and Argentinian migrants that live in Europe, respectively. A 25% of Chileans and Peruvians, as well as a 22% of Bolivians, also choose European countries. In addition, almost 1 of every 5 Colombians resides in Europe. With regards to the Caribbean, even though the United States is the most important receiving country for migrants from Cuba and the Dominican Republic, Europe still hosts 13% and 17% of immigrants arriving from these countries, respectively. Moreover, Europe is not a main destination for migrants coming from Mexico (1%), or other Central American countries (Honduras 8%, Costa Rica 8%, Panama 8%, and Nicaragua 5%).

Amongst the European Hispanic-recipient countries, Spain stands out immensely, with 2,258,316 immigrants in 2019. This is more than twice the amount hosted by Italy, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal together. This is mainly due to two factors: the linguistic and cultural affinity that migrants experience in Spain, and the force of attraction generated by previous Hispanic groups. It is well known that the requirements for entering in Europe are established by common EU legislation. Spain, however, has offered the eligibility to apply for citizenship to relatives and descendants of Hispanic Americans that are not settled in other countries. In this sense, Italy offers more possibilities, especially for Argentinians, the same goes for Brazilian

Destination Country	Population difference between 1990 and 2019
Spain	2,258,316
Italy	523,754
Germany	147,482
France	121,985
United Kingdom	98,507
Switzerland	89,611
Sweden	76,491
The Netherlands	56,619
Belgium	38,836
Portugal	30,221

Table 4. 10 main hosting countries of Hispanic American immigration.
Source: United Nations 2019.



Hispanic American migration towards Europe: 1990-2019.
Source: United Nations 2019.

citizens with Portugal.

The transatlantic migration flows towards Europe have intensified at the beginning of the new century: in ten years, the number of Hispanic migrants increased in over 3.5 million. These displacements were not only driven by the previously mentioned appeal of some European countries, but by the tightening of migratory policies in the US as well, where most of the Hispanic flow headed after 2001. In spite of the deceleration and the slow migration levels caused by the global recession of 2008, which severely affected many European countries, the most recent transatlantic flows begin to show positive results.

MAP LIST

1. Regional origin of Spanish settlers in America: 1540–1559. Source: Boyd-Bowman 1967.
2. Ethnic composition of America in 1650 and 1940. Source: Rosenblat 1945.
3. Native American population in Latin America circa 2010, according to area type (urban or rural). Source: UNICEF and FUNPROEIB 2009; CELADE 2019.
4. Italian migration to Argentina in 1875–1900 and 1901–1915. 19th century. Source: Sarra 2007; Associazione Culturale Due Sicilie 2007.
5. International migrations in 2019. Source: Migration Data Portal 2019.
6. Migrant-receiving global areas. Source: United Nations 2019.
7. Hispanic American migrants in the United States: 1990–2019. Source: United Nations 2019, verified with United States Census Bureau 2019.
8. Migrations from the Caribbean in 2019 and their evolution since 1990. Source: United Nations 2019.
9. Central American migrations towards Mexico: 2000–2019. Source: United Nations 2019.
10. Migrations from Hispanic America towards Europe. Source: United Nations 2019.

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