

# Spanish in Contact

Policy, Social and Linguistic Inquiries

EDITED BY

Kim Potowski  
Richard Cameron

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

## Spanish in Contact

## *IMPACT: Studies in Language and Society*

IMPACT publishes monographs, collective volumes, and text books on topics in sociolinguistics. The scope of the series is broad, with special emphasis on areas such as language planning and language policies; language conflict and language death; language standards and language change; dialectology; diglossia; discourse studies; language and social identity (gender, ethnicity, class, ideology); and history and methods of sociolinguistics.

### **General Editor**

Ana Deumert  
Monash University

### **Advisory Board**

Peter Auer  
University of Freiburg

Jan Blommaert  
Ghent University

Annick De Houwer  
University of Antwerp

J. Joseph Errington  
Yale University

Anna Maria Escobar  
University of Illinois at Urbana

Guus Extra  
Tilburg University

Marlis Hellinger  
University of Frankfurt am Main

Elizabeth Lanza  
University of Oslo

William Labov  
University of Pennsylvania

Peter H. Nelde  
Catholic University Brussels

Peter L. Patrick  
University of Essex

Jeanine Treffers-Daller  
University of the West of England

Victor Webb  
University of Pretoria

### **Volume 22**

Spanish in Contact. Policy, Social and Linguistic Inquiries  
Edited by Kim Potowski and Richard Cameron

# Spanish in Contact

Policy, Social and Linguistic Inquiries

*Edited by*

Kim Potowski

Richard Cameron

University of Illinois at Chicago

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Spanish in contact : policy, social and linguistic inquiries / edited by Kim Potowski ;  
Richard Cameron.

p. cm. -- (Impact, studies in language and society, ISSN 1385-7908 ; v. 22)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Spanish language--Social aspects. 2. Spanish language--Political aspects. 3. Languages  
in contact. 4. Bilingualism. I. Potowski, Kim. II. Cameron, Richard, 1953-

PC4074.S63 2007

460--dc22

2007008298

ISBN 978 90 272 1861 2 (Hb; alk. paper)

© 2007 – John Benjamins B.V.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands  
John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

# Table of contents

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Introduction   | IX  |
| Part I. Heritage Spanish in the United States  |     |
| CHAPTER 1  |     |
| Subjects in early dual language development:<br>A case study of a Spanish-English bilingual child          | 3   |
| <i>Carmen Silva-Corvalán and Noelia Sánchez-Walker</i>   |     |
| CHAPTER 2  |     |
| Interpreting mood distinctions in Spanish as a heritage language   | 23  |
| <i>Silvina A. Montrul</i>  |     |
| CHAPTER 3  |     |
| Anglicismos en el léxico disponible de los adolescentes<br>hispanos de Chicago                             | 41  |
| <i>Francisco Moreno-Fernández</i>  |     |
| Part II. Education and policy issues   |     |
| CHAPTER 4  |     |
| Teaching Spanish in the U.S.: Beyond the one-size-fits-all paradigm  | 61  |
| <i>Maria M. Carreira</i>   |     |
| CHAPTER 5  |     |
| The politics of English and Spanish <i>aquí y allá</i>   | 81  |
| <i>Lourdes Torres</i>  |     |
| CHAPTER 6  |     |
| Language attitudes and the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian:<br>Implications for language planning | 101 |
| <i>Manuel Triano-López</i>   |     |
| CHAPTER 7  |     |
| Are Galicians bound to diglossia? An analysis of the nature,<br>uses and values of standard Galician       | 119 |
| <i>Verónica Loureiro-Rodríguez</i>   |     |

**Part III. Pragmatics and contact**

## CHAPTER 8

**Addressing peers in a Spanish-English bilingual classroom 135***Janet M. Fuller, Minta Elsmann and Kevan Self*

## CHAPTER 9

**Style variation in Spanish as a heritage language: A study of discourse particles in academic and non-academic registers 153***Ana Sánchez-Muñoz*

## CHAPTER 10

**“Baby I’m sorry, te juro, I’m sorry” – Subjetivización versus objetivización mediante el cambio de códigos inglés/español en la letra de una canción de bachata actual 173***Linda Ohlson*

## CHAPTER 11

**Cross-linguistic influence of the Cuzco Quechua epistemic system on Andean Spanish 191***Marilyn S. Manley*

## CHAPTER 12

**La negación en la frontera dominico-haitiana: Variantes y usos (socio)lingüísticos 211***Luis A. Ortiz López***Part IV. Variation and contact**

## CHAPTER 13

**On the development of contact varieties: The case of Andean Spanish 237***Anna María Escobar*

## CHAPTER 14

**Linguistic and social predictors of copula use in Galician Spanish 253***Kimberly L. Geeslin and Pedro Guijarro-Fuentes*

## CHAPTER 15

**Apuntes preliminares sobre el contacto lingüístico y dialectal en el uso pronominal del español en Nueva York 275***Ricardo Otheguy and Ana Celia Zentella*

---

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| CHAPTER 16  |     |
| Is the past really the past in narrative discourse?   | 297 |
| <i>Nydia Flores-Ferrán</i>  |     |
| CHAPTER 17  |     |
| The impact of linguistic constraints on the expression of futurity<br>in the Spanish of New York Colombians                   | 311 |
| <i>Rafael Orozco</i>  |     |
| CHAPTER 18  |     |
| Quantitative evidence for contact-induced accommodation:<br>Shifts in /s/ reduction patterns in Salvadoran Spanish in Houston | 329 |
| <i>Jessi Elana Aaron and José Esteban Hernández</i>   |     |
| CHAPTER 19  |     |
| Está muy diferente a como era antes: <i>Ser</i> and <i>Estar</i> + adjective<br>in New Mexico Spanish                         | 345 |
| <i>Michelle L. Salazar</i>  |     |
| <br>  |     |
| Part V. <i>Bozal</i> Spanish  |     |
| CHAPTER 20  |     |
| Where and how does <i>bozal</i> Spanish survive?  | 359 |
| <i>John M. Lipski</i>   |     |
| CHAPTER 21  |     |
| The appearance and use of <i>bozal</i> language in Cuban and Brazilian<br>neo-African literature                              | 377 |
| <i>William W. Megenney</i>  |     |
| <br>  |     |
| Index   | 395 |





## Introduction

In the fall of 1980, a group of researchers participated in a conference on Spanish-English bilingualism in the United States as a response to the increasing Hispanic population in areas outside of the Southwest. Until then, very little research had been conducted in other areas of the country, nor had United States Spanish linguistic phenomena been studied within the context of actual language use. The meeting was organized by Lucía Elías-Olivares at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and the product of that meeting was a collection of 16 papers (Elías-Olivares 1983). Between 1980 and 2002, the conference met an additional eighteen times at locations around the United States, and produced six more volumes of research papers – listed at the end of this introduction – studies that are still frequently cited in contemporary research. In 1991, the twelfth meeting of the conference, which had come to be known as Spanish in the United States, saw the addition of the first International Conference on Spanish and Portuguese in Contact with Other Languages. This conference has met intermittently with the Spanish in the United States conference over the years.

We were pleased and honored to host the 20th anniversary of this event back at its birthplace, the University of Illinois at Chicago. This volume is a collection of papers presented at the XX Conference on Spanish in the United States and the V International Conference on Spanish in Contact with Other Languages that took place in March 2005. Over 80 scholars from around the world presented their research at this event. We were especially honored by the participation of six plenary speakers: Frances Aparicio, Anna María Escobar, Ricardo Otheguy, Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, Guadalupe Valdés, and Kathryn Woolard. The papers read by Escobar and Otheguy appear in this volume. In addition to regular sessions, there was an invited panel on Spanish in contact with African languages (John Lipski, William Meggeney, Luis Ortíz López, and Armin Schwegler), another discussing the impact of bilingualism on the status of Spanish (Luis Moll and Otto Santa Anna), and a workshop on the teaching of Spanish to heritage speakers (María Carreira and Cecilia Colombi). We wish to thank all of our colleagues for making this such a successful event.

Current demographic realities in the United States make this volume particularly timely. Spanish continues to be the second language of the United States, and the Spanish-speaking community in the United States represents the fifth largest Spanish-speaking community within a national territory in the world. The situation in the US constitutes one of many around the world where Spanish is in contact with another language. Other examples include Spanish in contact with the Quechua language

in Peru, with Haitian Creole along the Haitian-Dominican border, and with former African slave dialects in the Caribbean, all of which are reported on in this volume.

As the Table of Contents shows, we have organized the research presented here into sections that revolve around five major themes: Spanish as a Heritage Language in the United States, Educational and Policy Issues, Pragmatics and Contact, Variation and Contact, and Bozal Spanish. The first section contains five papers that examine issues of Spanish heritage speakers in the United States. Heritage speakers are defined as those who acquired a minority language in their homes and communities, but who live in a society where the majority speak a different language. Many heritage speakers, particularly those who immigrated to the United States as children or who were born to immigrant parents from Latin America, have productive abilities in Spanish. However, those heritage speakers of the third generation and beyond often evidence only limited comprehension and generally lack productive abilities. While 40% of U.S. Hispanics were born abroad, the other 60% were born and raised in predominantly English-speaking environments in the United States, and thus the Spanish of the majority of heritage speakers in the United States shows evidence of incomplete acquisition, attrition, and other phenomena that have attracted the attention of sociolinguists. The first of these papers, by Silva-Corvalán and Sánchez-Walker, focuses on subject use in English (a non pro-drop language) and in Spanish (a pro-drop language) by a child acquiring these two languages from birth. Their paper contributes to closing a gap that currently exists in the literature: although acquisition by monolingual children of the knowledge of whether their language requires overt subjects is a widely studied phenomena, the acquisition of this knowledge by bilingual children has not received the same degree of attention. The authors determine the frequency of subject usage at five MLU (mean length of utterance) stages between the ages of 1;5:8 and 2;8:9, and examine discourse-pragmatic and processing factors that may account for the variable realization of subjects in each language. The analysis shows that the child under study realizes at a very early age that English requires overt subjects and Spanish does not. The results also indicate that in regard to subject use in Spanish, there does not exist an immature interface between grammar and the discourse-pragmatic domain. The child expresses subjects in contexts where monolingual speakers would also use them: contrastive and focal subjects are expressed, and coreferential subjects are not. With respect to the issue of interlinguistic influence, the study leaves no doubt that Spanish and English develop autonomously with respect to subject expression. That is, the child seems to be matching the input he receives in English and Spanish without showing any effect of one language on the other. Longitudinal case studies such as this one are sorely lacking yet essential for illuminating issues of language development among bilingual children.

Next, Montrul's contribution focuses on the mental representation of mood in second generation Spanish heritage speakers. A variety of studies have amply documented the loss or incomplete acquisition of subjunctive mood in these speakers, analyzing production data and finding that the subjunctive is replaced by the indicative in cases where the use of subjunctive or indicative is variable and subject to differ-

ent semantic or pragmatic implications. Montrul's goal, however, was to go beyond production and probe into the interpretations bilinguals assign to sentences with indicative and subjunctive in obligatory and variable contexts. The study assumes the theoretical framework of generative grammar by which mood is represented as a functional category MoodP in Spanish. Subjunctive morphology carries the feature [+MOOD], which is crucial for the interpretation of the morphology. If MoodP is absent from the bilinguals' grammars, then they should have difficulty with the interpretation of mood morphology in addition to their already documented production difficulties. Monolingual and bilingual heritage Spanish speakers completed a recognition task of subjunctive in obligatory contexts and a judgment task that tested interpretation of subjunctive in variable contexts. Results showed a correlation between recognition of modal morphology and semantic interpretations. Those bilinguals whose apparent loss of Spanish subjunctive mood was most pronounced in the morphological recognition task had difficulty discriminating between indicative and subjunctive sentences in the interpretation task, suggesting that the feature [+MOOD] was not operational. Thus, it appears that the loss of a functional category involves loss of semantic features in addition to morphophonology.

Next, and moving from the grammatical into the lexical, Moreno-Fernández analyzed the degree of English present in the available lexicon of adolescent first and second generation Hispanics in Chicago. Available lexicon is defined as the sum of words that speakers have in their mental systems and whose use is conditioned by a particular topic. Given the English environment in which these youth live and are educated, the hypothesis was that their Spanish would show notable influence from English in the form of lexical loans. The author elicited available lexicon by asking the teens to list words by association within 22 different semantic fields, such as the human body, clothing, parts of the house, food and drink, school, transportation, means of heating and cooling interior spaces, etc. Once the lists were obtained, the frequency of the words was calculated to arrive at a statistical index of availability. Of the 20 words most commonly listed in each of the semantic fields, only 26 (6.5%) were Anglicisms, indicating that the Spanish lexicon of these young U.S. Latinos is sufficiently solid to permit communication about general topics. A greater number of English words were present in more esoteric fields such as "means of heating and cooling interior spaces," which is to be expected given that this field is not part of the everyday experience of most teenagers. There were no significant differences related to gender or even to generation; it was the participants' level of Spanish, defined by the level of Spanish course in which they were enrolled, that showed the greatest correlation with the presence of English lexical items. Moreno-Fernández points to the relevance of these findings in the efforts of designing Spanish curricula for heritage speakers.

The Spanish language education of heritage Spanish speakers has, indeed, become of critical importance in the country. According to the 2000 Census, the U.S. Latino population grew to a total of 13% of the country's population, which has profoundly impacted the education system at all levels of instruction. Currently, Hispanics constitute 32% of the student population in the 100 largest public school districts in the

United States. In our largest urban areas, there are numerous public schools whose proportion of Hispanic students is even greater – between 50% and 100% – including 71% of all public schools in Los Angeles, 46% of schools in Dade County, Florida, and a third of all schools in New York City and in Chicago. Not only in areas where Hispanics are highly concentrated, but also where their presence is less strong, researchers and educators are increasingly concerned with the Spanish language education of these students, which is commonly known as *Spanish for Native Speakers* (SNS). Many academic publications and reports in mainstream media in recent years underscore the challenge represented by creating Spanish curricula that, unlike typical foreign language curricula, take into account heritage speakers' particular linguistic, educational, and affective needs.

In this section, Carreira tackles the complexities of mixed ability language classes. Current approaches to foreign language teaching can be characterized by uniform learning objectives, activities, pacing, and assessment tools for all students. The author argues that, regardless of whether the class design is one of SNS or foreign language, bilingual Latino students, with their divergent academic and linguistic backgrounds, inevitably compose a context of mixed-ability language classrooms. Furthermore, she notes that such classrooms may be on the way to becoming the norm rather than the exception in Spanish-language programs throughout the country. Carreira advocates the application of Differentiated Teaching, which is based on the notion that teaching should be responsive to student differences and reach out to learners at their level of readiness, as an effective way to address Spanish instruction as well as issues of equity and access to learning. She presents useful concrete examples of differentiated activities for use in mixed-ability Spanish classes.

The three remaining papers in this section explore policy issues in different areas of the world where Spanish is spoken. Language policy, both official as promoted by the government, as well as unofficial as promoted by communities and local attitudes, can exert important influences on the languages and varieties spoken by individuals. Torres' article is an examination of linguistic behavior and ideologies among Puerto Ricans. Discussions of Puerto Rican language practices are inextricably tied to issues of nationalism and political loyalties both in Puerto Rico and the United States. The linguistic behavior and the language ideologies of island and mainland Puerto Ricans are often presented in polarized ways: island Puerto Ricans are defined as fervently loyal to Spanish and mostly uninterested in speaking English, while mainland Puerto Ricans are presented as English dominant and unable to communicate in Spanish. A more nuanced analysis suggests that a greater degree of bilingualism exists in both contexts. Recent proposals that seek to promote bilingualism in both settings provide promise for increasing the range of Puerto Rican bilingualism both stateside and on the island.

The two final papers in this section bring us to Spain. Triano-López' paper examines language planning in Valencia, exploring the importance of acknowledging speakers' attitudes about lexical purification. The Valencian vernacular is heavily Castilianized at the lexical level, despite more than twenty years of planning aimed at raising

the status of Valencian and purging this variety of Spanish (Castilian) borrowings. The author contends that planners who wish to widen the current scope of the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian should first change speakers' attitudes towards the non-Castilian replacements. Positive attitudes towards these lexical items are expected to strongly correlate with linguistic behavior, i.e., with the use of these lexical replacements. Finally, Triano-López advances an attitude-changing construct that local planners could follow should they decide to intensify the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian.

Finally, Loureiro-Rodríguez focuses on diglossia in Galicia. Galician has traditionally been considered a non-standard and much stigmatized dialect, from the 15th century through Franco's dictatorship. The author analyzes the legal language used to refer to Spanish and Galician in the Spanish Constitution, the Autonomy Statute of Galicia, and the Linguistic Normalization Act, as well as the relatively new construct of standard Galician and its use in school curriculum, public institutions, and the media. The paper also explores speakers' attitudes towards standard Galician as well as their linguistic choices in Galician society. Recent standardization efforts meant to confer linguistic prestige have attempted to extend standard Galician to formal contexts. Having a Galician standard would allow citizens to converge onto this variety instead of Spanish, avoiding the presently common Spanish/Galician diglossia. Furthermore, the standardization movement has tried to reinforce Galician identity and attract the loyalty of speakers. But, "standard" Galician has become a source of diglossia in and of itself: speakers may shift into "standard" Galician because they consider it more appropriate and higher in status than the local varieties. This may lead to a more traditional diglossic society where speakers who are not competent in standard Galician shift into Spanish in formal contexts. These ramifications are discussed in light of the ethnographic data gathered for this study.

The next set of articles, a very heterogeneous group, draw on multiple types of pragmatic and discourse analysis. Some evoke socially informed approaches to discourse as a site for identity construction. Others focus strictly on linguistic objects, gathered in social contexts, which require a pragmatic explanation. The work of Fuller, Elsam, and Self on classroom code switching among bilingual elementary school children draws on two important approaches to code switching: the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton and the Sequential Approach found in the work of Auer and Wei. Whereas the Markedness Model originates within Gricean pragmatics, the Sequential Approach emerges from the Conversation Analysis. The researchers demonstrate that the majority of the switches can be explained within either model. However, the authors generally prefer the Markedness Model because it sheds light on the discursive construction of social identities through code switching. Yet in cases of code switching as the unmarked choice, the Markedness Model falters. In such interactions, they show how the Sequential Approach can provide an insightful analysis of bilingual discourse.

The work of Fuller et al. trades on conceptions of identity not unlike those found in social constructionism, wherein identity is a stylistic collaborative achievement worked out in discourse. In contrast, the work of Sánchez-Muñoz investigates style

and register not as sites of identity construction but as frames for analyzing an apparent change in the use and functions of the discourse marker *como*. Specifically, she claims that among certain Spanish heritage language speakers in the United States, the marker of *como* is adopting some of the pragmatic functions associated with the American English marker *like*, a feature that has not been previously reported in the literature.

The notion of pragmatic functions also figures in Ohlson's treatment of code switching in the Spanish-English lyrics of *bachata* songs. She demonstrates that code switching may serve as stylistic tool which permits speakers to achieve the effects known as subjectification and objectification. Ohlson further proposes that such effects could not be produced within these texts were the singers to sing only in one language or another.

In the following piece by Manley, the author turns her attention to a variety of features in Peruvian Spanish that show cross-linguistic influence from the remarkable set of epistemic suffixes in Cuzco Quechua. Speakers of Quechua convey their attitudes toward the knowledge they pass on through the use of five epistemic markers. In Cuzco Quechua, these include three epistemic suffixes, *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, and *-chá*, and two past tense verb forms, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*. There has been much debate and inconsistency in the literature concerning the semantics and pragmatics of these epistemic markers as well as the ways in which these markers exert cross-linguistic influence on Andean Spanish. Manley provides evidence supporting meanings and uses for the Cuzco Quechua epistemic system beyond the distinction of firsthand vs. secondhand information source. She also addresses the claim that the Andean Spanish present perfect and past perfect verb tenses serve to communicate the epistemic meanings conveyed in Quechua, and presents ways in which speakers exhibit cross-linguistic influence of the Cuzco Quechua epistemic markers on Andean Spanish, such as through the use of *dice* to calque the Quechua *-si/-s* epistemic marker, as well as seven strategies, some of which have not been documented previously, for calquing the Quechua *-mi/-n* epistemic marker. This is an excellent example of pragmatic analysis of form based on data gathered in social contexts.

Another example of pragmatic analysis of data gathered via sociolinguistic fieldwork is the work of Ortiz-López on double negation of the type *no V no*. Ortiz-López investigates pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors that condition the use of double negation along the Haitian-Dominican Republic border in the speech of Spanish monolinguals and in that of Haitian Creole/Spanish bilinguals. In Dominican Spanish, researchers have proposed two basic syntactic configurations for negation: a single pre-verbal negative marker of *no* + verb, and a set of configurations that entail double negation. Double negation may involve simultaneous pre- and post-verbal negative markers, preverbal and sentence final negative markers, and a preverbal negative marker plus a negative polarity item such as *nada*, *tampoco*, or *nadie*. With respect to social groups, Ortiz-López finds two points of interests. First, monolingual speakers of Dominican Spanish show a higher frequency of double negation than do the bilingual Haitian Creole-Spanish speakers. Second, Haitian learners of Dominican Spanish, in-

dependent of their degree of proficiency in Spanish, predominantly acquire and use the pattern of single pre-verbal negation. They display very few cases of double negation. Those Haitian speakers who do display some double negation show certain patterns of negation that may be interpreted as transfer from Haitian Creole. However, as these speakers increase in proficiency, they progressively diminish such transfer. Therefore, the relative absence of double negation in the Spanish of the Haitian Creole-Spanish bilinguals and the presence of double negation in the monolingual Dominican Spanish speakers do not provide support for claims that double negation in Dominican Spanish results from contact with Haitian Creole.

Notice that the work of Ortiz-López draws on both pragmatics and sociolinguistics. The work of Manley also involves some statistical analysis. This brings us to the next set of articles which directly instantiate quantitative sociolinguistics and the study of variation. The full range of sociolinguistic variables in this section is impressive as are the range of findings regarding language change in contexts of contact. Contact can and does promote linguistic change, but not always and, frequently, not at all.

We begin with Escobar, who investigates data from the early stages of the development of Andean Spanish. She focuses on bilingual documents written between 1595 and 1746. Given that Andean Spanish emerged initially in a context of language contact between the native Spanish community and the indigenous Amerindian bilingual community, it would seem reasonable to assume that early documents would provide evidence of contact-induced change in the developing Spanish of the community. This evidence could be apparent in patterns of variation that such documents would provide. However, after careful analysis, Escobar discounts the bilingual documents written between 1595 and 1746 as evidence of early stages in the formation of the Andean Spanish dialect for various reasons. For such change to occur, extensive face-to-face interaction among communities, not merely select individuals, has to occur, but this in fact did not happen. Thus, a close variationist analysis of bilingual documents contributes to the social history of early Andean Spanish as well as models of language contact and dialect birth. In short, a study of the linguistic features of texts is transformed into social history.

Whereas Escobar goes back in time, Geeslin and Guijarro-Fuentes pursue the present in a new study of a much studied variable: the variation of the two copular verbs, *ser* and *estar* 'to be'. Much sociolinguistic research to date has shown that in contexts where both copulas are allowed, some features (e.g., adjective class, frame of reference and susceptibility to change) can affect the degree to which one copula is favored over the other. In line with an evolving research agenda in Galicia, Spain, they further investigate this variable by expanding their participant group to include a less homogeneous population than previously investigated. Participants include a group of monolingual Spanish speakers residing outside Galicia to whom the bilingual participants are compared, and a group of Spanish speakers in Galicia who vary in degree of bilingualism, language learning histories, and language use profiles. Results show significant effects for gender, occupation, the first language of the participant's mother, and the language normally used by the participants.



The work of Geeslin and Guijarro-Fuentes finds clear evidence of social factors that influence their syntactic variable. Otheguy and Zentella also investigate a syntactic variable, the alternation of null and pronominal subjects. However, this is one in which past research has found virtually no social conditioning. Yet, in their close analysis of pronoun expression across six dialects and various generations of Spanish speakers in New York City, they identify a pattern of social influence derived in part from the source dialects, in part from regional dialects, and in part from English influence. Among the six dialects investigated within New York City, Otheguy and Zentella find that one basic division exists: Dominican Spanish versus all others. There is some evidence to support a further distinction of Mexican Spanish from all others. However, with respect to pronoun expression, one may not actually speak of Puerto Rican or Cuban or Ecuadorian or Colombian Spanishes as separate dialects. In contrast, a regional division of the dialects does emerge if one groups the six dialect groups into two: Caribbean speakers, with a relatively high rate of pronominal expression, and South American speakers with a somewhat lower rate. In addition, the influence of English is identified through a close comparison of recent arrivals to long-term residents of New York City. Thus, the frequency of subject pronouns in New York Spanish is changing, slowly, as speakers from these two regional sets converge and as they continue to live in contact with English over many years.

Flores-Ferrán also investigates Spanish in New York City, but with a focus on Puerto Rican residents. Her study looks at tense as conditioned by narrative unit, conflict narrative style, and foreground and background information within the narrative. Two social factors, gender and age, are also analyzed. The verb forms with the highest rate of production in this study are the present, the preterite and imperfect indicative, findings also documented by other scholars. With regard to foreground and background information, the results show that speakers recount stories mainly using the present, the preterite, and the imperfect indicative forms in the main skeleton of the storyline. Narratives that contain conflict, however, had the tendency of being recounted with past tense verbs. As expected, age and gender did not show a significant difference in the verb tense production of these NYC residents.

With the rich heterogeneity of Spanish dialects in New York City, it is not surprising that Orozco's article investigates yet another group: Colombians in Queens. Taking as a point of departure Guy's work on language change, Orozco notes that the linguistic factors constraining language change and variation are consistent within different segments of a speech community. In this case, the object of study involves alternation between three ways of expressing futurity: the morphological future, the periphrastic future, and the simple present. Using a fine-grained variationist approach, Orozco identifies a subset of statistically significant linguistic factors most strongly affecting this alternation. Additionally, he contrasts these results to those from a comparable monolingual population based in Colombia. The distribution of forms is congruent with reports of the prevalence of the periphrastic future in all varieties of Spanish, including situations where Spanish is in contact with other languages, as well as those regarding the drastic reduction of use of the morphological future as a marker of fu-

turity. The results of this study also revealed the same factor groups that significantly constrain the expression of futurity in Colombia. Such findings lend validity to Guy's theory. That is, the similarity of constraint effects found in New York and in Colombia suggests that, despite the influence of language contact, the two populations are still members of the same speech community. Additionally, the results of this study indicate that the change in progress from the preferential use of the morphological future to that of the periphrastic future seems to have been accelerated in the immigrant setting.

Leaving New York City, we turn to yet another North American city, Houston, Texas, where Aaron and Hernández also pursue quantitative sociolinguistic methodology. In contrast to the previous work on syntactic or morphological variables, they turn to a classic sociolinguistic variable in Spanish, that of word or syllable final /s/. In terms that echo some of the concerns of Otheguy and Zentella, they note that in studies of dialect accommodation that focus on the acquisition of new features, a speaker's age of arrival is often significant. Yet, by studying /s/ reduction among Salvadorans in Houston, they demonstrate that accommodation may also involve a redistribution of features already present within the dialect. For instance, although age of arrival is found to have the strongest effect in their analysis, surrounding phonological segments also contribute to and moderate the accommodation. Thus, even as Salvadorans accommodate their speech to patterns found in Mexican Spanish, their linguistic system also constrains those places in their phonological grammars where such accommodation plays out.

Finally, in the section on sociolinguistic variation, we return yet again to the alternation of *ser* and *estar*, with a focus on innovative uses of *estar* in New Mexican Spanish. Salazar employs quantitative methods to identify the influence of several sociolinguistic factors on the variable use of the two copulas. Results for linguistic factors show the greatest magnitude of effect for type of adjective, followed by the presence of a time adverbial, codeswitching, and the presence of an intensifier. Of the three social variables evaluated, level of education was significant while gender was not, and the factor of age of speaker was eliminated due to inconsistent results. These results concur with those of the other researchers and show that the same factors effecting the slow, gradual change in the usage of *estar* in both educated and uneducated dialects in Mexico City, Caracas, Morelia, Cuernavaca, and Los Angeles are also at work in the archaic and stigmatized northern New Mexico/southern Colorado variety of Spanish.

The last section of the book contains articles by John Lipski and William Meggeney. Investigations into contexts of language contact have long known that in such settings, new languages, either as pidgins, creoles, or mixed languages, may emerge. Yet, in contact contexts involving Spanish across the world, it is rare to find this. One exception to this is what is known as *bozal* Spanish. Lipski's contribution is a brief yet informative overview of aspects of *bozal* Spanish. He asks where and how *bozal* Spanish has survived, if at all. *Bozal* Spanish, a contact language once spoken by African-born slaves acquiring Spanish under duress, has usually been approached only through historical reconstruction based on second-hand written documents. Central to the debate over the reconstruction of *bozal* language is the extent to which *bozal* speech exhibited

consistent traits across time and space, and the possibility that Afro-Hispanic pidgins may have creolized across large areas of Spanish America. Literary imitations are insufficient to resolve the issue; only first-hand data from legitimate Afro-Hispanic speech communities may shed light on earlier stages of language contact. The present study reviews four alternative sources of data: surviving Afro-Hispanic linguistic isolates, collective memories of recently disappeared *bozal* speech, ritualized representations of *bozal* language, and descendants of return-diaspora *bozal* speakers. The surviving Afro-Hispanic speech communities that have been studied to date are found in Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador. These speech communities exhibit only a few deviations from monolingual Spanish, and do not suggest the prior existence of a stable Spanish-derived creole. New data are presented on a recently discovered Afro-Bolivian speech community, where a fully restructured Afro-Hispanic dialect still survives. The Afro-Bolivian dialect provides a scenario for the formation of reconstructed varieties of Spanish in the absence of a pan-American creole. Ritualized representations of *bozal* language are found among the *negros congos* of Panama and in Afro-Cuban *santería* and *palo mayombe* ceremonies. Collective recollections of recent *bozal* language are found in Cuba, where the last African-born *bozales* disappeared less than a century ago. Finally, return-diaspora speakers have been reported for Benin, Nigeria, and Angola, and may be found elsewhere in West Africa. By combining data from these remaining sources and comparing them with literary and folkloric texts, a more realistic reconstruction of emergent Afro-Hispanic contact varieties can be obtained.

Note that Lipski identifies literary sources as insufficient data sources in debates on the linguistic features of *bozal* Spanish. However, it is precisely to a fascinating set of literary sources that Megenney directs his attention. Towards the end of the 19th century, in both Cuba and Brazil, scholars became increasingly interested in the contributions of African slaves to the formation of these societies. In Cuba, the ethno-historical and scientific studies of Fernando Ortíz, among others, inspired numerous writers to produce literary works reflecting *el ethos del negro* as an integral part of Cuban society. These writings, which evoked numerous Afro-Cuban themes, were supposedly written in a style of language that reflected how Afro-Cubans spoke as a consequence of contact between Spanish and various sub-Saharan languages. Similar literary works were produced in Brazil. During the arrival of waves of African slaves to Brazil in 19th century, above all from the Kwa group, an indelible imprint was left on the society. Along with the various scientific studies that emerged from this time, the *Semana de Arte Moderna* served to inspire authors to write literary works aimed at capturing cultural trends termed “*neoafronegroide*.” One important aspect of this was language use. Megenney turns his attention to an analysis of the literary antecedents of these movements in Cuba and Brazil as well as to a study of the language of these texts. Did these texts authentically reproduce creole or *bozal* varieties of language, or did they merely produce varieties of literary style that achieved a kind of “African ambiance”? His research also demonstrates a few ways in which these authors incorporated *bozal* varieties into their writings, principally in poetry.

This volume of research, and the event that produced it, would not have been possible without the dedication and labor of many individuals, some of whom we would like to thank here. The members of the conference organizing committee at the University of Illinois at Chicago included members of the Department of Spanish, French, Italian and Portuguese – Luis López Carretero, Rafael Núñez-Cedeño, Graciela Reyes, and Bill VanPatten – as well as Flora Rodríguez-Brown (who was involved in the organization of the conference’s first meeting 25 years ago) and Irma Olmedo from the Department of Curriculum Instruction in the College of Education. Special thanks go to Chris Comer, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and to Vicki Chou, Dean of the College of Education, for providing necessary financial resources, as well as to Bill VanPatten, who was Acting Head of the Department of Spanish, French, Italian & Portuguese.

We also wish to thank the numerous colleagues who reviewed abstracts for the conference, as well as those who reviewed submissions to this volume: Jessi Aaron, Frances Aparicio, Bob Bayley, María Carreira, Cecilia Colombi, Anna María Escobar, Kimberly Geeslin, Elliot Judd, Carol Klee, Manel Lacorte, John Lipski, Luis López Carretero, Andrew Lynch, Silvina Montrul, Francisco Moreno Fernández, Rafael Nuñez-Cedeño, Luis Ortiz López, Ricardo Otheguy, Graciela Reyes, Ana Roca, Flora Rodríguez-Brown, Otto Santa Ana, Armin Schwegler, Scott Schwenter, Carmen Silva-Corvalán, Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, Lourdes Torres, Catherine Travis, and Jessica Williams.

The members of the conference’s standing committee provided much guidance and support, particularly Ana Roca, Luis Ortiz López, Manel Lacorte, Carol Klee, and Garland Bills.

At the University of Illinois at Chicago’s Department of Spanish, French, Italian and Portuguese, several graduate students were instrumental in assisting with this event, most notably Federica Bando. Brad Hoot’s editorial assistance, organizational skills, and sense of humor were also invaluable. In short, very hearty thanks to all who assisted in bringing this volume to fruition.

Kim Potowski and Richard Cameron  
The University of Illinois at Chicago

### **Past publications resulting from this conference, in chronological order:**

- Eliás-Olivares, L. (ed.). 1983. *Spanish in the U.S. Setting: Beyond the Southwest*. Rosslyn VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- Eliás-Olivares, L., Leone, E. A., Cisneros, R. & Gutiérrez, J. R. (eds.). 1985. *Spanish Language Use and Public Life in the United States*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Bergen, J. J. (ed.). 1990. *Spanish in the United States: Sociolinguistic issues*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Roca, A. & Lipski, J. M. (eds.). 1993. *Spanish in the United States: Linguistic contact and diversity*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Silva-Corvalán, C. (ed.). 1995. *Spanish in Four Continents: Studies in language contact and bilingualism*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Roca, A. (ed.). 2000. *Research on Spanish in the United States: Linguistic issues and challenges*. Somerville MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Ortiz López, L. & Lacorte, M. (eds.). 2005. *Contactos y contextos lingüísticos: El español en los Estados Unidos y en contacto con otras lenguas*. Madrid: Lingüística Iberoamericana.

PART I

## Heritage Spanish in the United States



## Subjects in early dual language development

### A case study of a Spanish-English bilingual child

Carmen Silva-Corvalán and Noelia Sánchez-Walker

University of Southern California

The acquisition by monolingual children of the knowledge of whether their language requires overt subjects is one of the most studied phenomena in the language acquisition literature, but this phenomenon has not received the same degree of attention in bilingual children. The present study contributes to closing this gap by focusing on subject use in an overt subject language, English, and a null subject language, Spanish, by a child acquiring these two languages from birth. We determine the frequency of subject usage at five MLUw stages between the ages of 1;5:8 and 2;8:9, and examine discourse-pragmatic and processing factors that may account for the variable realization of subjects in each language. The analysis shows that the child realizes at a very early age that English requires overt subjects and Spanish does not. The results also indicate that in regard to subject use in Spanish, there does not exist an immature interface between grammar and the discourse-pragmatic domain. The child expresses subjects in contexts where monolingual speakers would also use them: contrastive and focal subjects are expressed, and coreferential subjects are not. With respect to the issue of interlinguistic influence, the study leaves no doubt that Spanish and English develop autonomously with respect to subject expression. The child seems to be matching the input he receives in English and Spanish without showing any effect of one language on the other.

#### 1. Introduction

The acquisition by children of the knowledge of whether their language requires overt subjects is one of the most studied phenomena in the language acquisition literature (e.g., Austin Blume, Parkinson, Lust, & Núñez del Prado 1998; Grinstead 2004, and references therein). By contrast, fewer studies have examined this process in bilinguals. The goal of the present study is to add to our knowledge of bilingual acquisition processes by focusing on subject use in an overt subject language, English, and a null subject language, Spanish, by a child (Nico) acquiring these two languages from birth. We determine the frequency of subject usage at five MLUw stages between the ages of 1;5:8 and 2;8:9, and examine discourse-pragmatic and processing factors that may



account for the variable realization of subjects in each language. The analysis indicates that the child realizes at a very early age that English requires overt subjects and Spanish does not, thus providing clear evidence of the influence of the input language on the development of autonomous syntactic systems in bilingual first language acquisition.

Examples (1)–(4) illustrate subject use variation in Nico's Spanish and English production.

- (1) 1;6:21  
*Se fue.*<sup>1</sup> [while showing that there isn't any water left in his cup]  
 '0 went away.'
- (2) 1;6:24  
*Se fue pelo.* [when some hair is vacuumed]  
 '0 went away hair'
- (3) 1;6:23  
 0 push Kiko. [he says when seeing a picture of a girl who had pushed him]
- (4) 1;8:2  
 I get it. [when he goes to get a toy]

Null subject utterances such as those in (1) and (3) are common during early child language acquisition. Studies of monolingual children have shown that in early stages of language development, subjects do not occur in production even in overt subject languages, but child speakers of these languages begin to use subjects at an earlier age compared to children acquiring non-overt subject languages. The question that arises from these observations is whether these two types of grammar will be interdependent in bilingual acquisition or whether the two grammatical systems will develop autonomously in a Spanish-English bilingual child.

If the language systems develop autonomously, the patterns of acquisition and linguistic representation would match those of monolinguals. Interdependence, on the other hand, would mean that the grammar of one language would influence the grammar of the other language: there would be identifiable differences in a bilingual's patterns of development in comparison with a monolingual's.

The issue of the interdependence of systems has been a central concern of studies of bilingual development. In earlier work, the dominant view was that bilingual children pass through a stage during which the two languages are fused in one system (Taeschner 1983; Volterra & Taeschner 1978). Volterra & Taeschner, for instance, specifically propose three stages in the emergence of differentiation: (1) a lexically mixed stage during which lexical items have no equivalents in the other language; (2) a stage during which there are separate lexicons but the syntactic rules are the same for both languages; and (3) a stage of lexical and structural differentiation of the two languages.

---

1. Conventional English and Spanish orthography is used in the examples, but in the original diary notes words are entered as the child pronounces them. Utterances with uncertain sound sequences are discarded.

This unitary view has been much criticized since Genesee (1989) and Meisel (1989) pointed out some of its weaknesses. Ensuing empirical work (e.g., De Houwer 1990; Deuchar & Quay 2000; Genesee, Nicoladis, & Paradis 1995; Köppe 1996; Montanari 2003; Müller & Hulk 2001) has demonstrated that differentiation seems to occur at least from the beginning of early language production, and possibly earlier in the perception of phonological contrasts in the two languages (Paradis 2000). In her study of the early language productions of a trilingual child, for instance, Montanari (2003) identifies equivalent lexical items from the onset of speech and affirms that this child (between the ages of 1;4 and 2;0) uses the words of her three languages in differentially and pragmatically appropriate ways, yet she is cautious about drawing any conclusions regarding the syntactic systems at such an early age.

It appears that when children acquire a fairly balanced level of proficiency in their two (or more) languages, morphosyntactic development proceeds in a separate fashion for both languages. Meisel (1990) observes that from the earliest appearance of bound morphology, forms are used in a language-specific manner. The French-German bilinguals he studies, 2 to 3-year olds, correctly apply the different word order rules for main and subordinate clauses as expected in each of the languages. A similar conclusion is reached by De Houwer (1990) in her longitudinal study of Kate, a Dutch-English bilingual, between the ages of 2;7 and 3;4: there is no language interdependence. This conclusion may not refute the validity of the fused system hypothesis upheld by Volterra & Taeschner (1978), however, since the Dutch-English bilingual child might potentially have passed through a stage of a single syntactic system and reached differentiation by age 2;7.

An apparently conciliatory position is taken by Müller & Hulk (2001) in their study of object drop by bilinguals who speak a Germanic (Dutch or German) and a Romance (French or Italian) language. These authors argue that the bilinguals are able to separate the two languages from early on, but that the languages have an influence on each other. In the case of object drop, the effect of the influence is delay in acquiring the discourse constraints on object drop in the Romance languages in contact with a less restrictive object-drop Germanic language. Object drop persists in the Romance languages of the bilinguals at a higher rate and longer than in the speech of monolinguals. Similarly, in their study of an Italian-English bilingual child (1;10–4;6), Serratrice, Sorace & Paoli (2004) observe that null and overt subjects in the child's productions of the two languages do not violate syntactic rules, i.e., this aspect of the languages' syntax develops autonomously. The target-deviant constructions in Italian involve only violations of the discourse-pragmatic rules of subject expression in this language, possibly acquired later due to the fact that their absence in English does not reinforce their acquisition in Italian.

In regard to null subjects, Spanish is less restrictive than English inasmuch as it allows null subjects in a much larger number of discourse contexts. But Spanish poses a harder pragmatic task for the child: learning when it is appropriate to use an overt subject. If in bilingual acquisition languages influence each other (Müller & Hulk 2001), one may expect either delayed acquisition of obligatory subjects in English and/or un-

expected uses of overt subjects in Spanish by an English-Spanish bilingual. Indeed, the question whether the child represents a single or a dual system seems to be less important than the examination of the mechanisms involved in the process of dual language acquisition, as well as the identification and explanation of patterns of development. Our principal aim in this study is to shed some light on these processes while at the same time delving into the question of autonomy versus interdependence through an examination of the factors that may be governing the variation in subject use in each language. Comparison with monolingual behavior will be done whenever possible.

## 2. Monolingual acquisition

A number of researchers have proposed explanations for the fact that subjects (and other constituents) are missing in the production of infants acquiring English. One such account proposes that children represent different grammars than adults and that all children, regardless of the input, start acquisition with the null subject value (e.g., Hyams's 1986 position). By contrast, Bloom (1990) suggests that the child knows that sentences should have a subject but fails to apply his knowledge in production due to cognitive limitations. Valian's (1991:76) in-depth study of subjects in the early speech of American and Italian children supports this latter view by concluding: "A multifaceted performance explanation is a more tenable explanation of the children's behavior" than any deficit-based hypothesis.

Grinstead (2004), on the other hand, offers a syntactic explanation for the fact that overt subjects begin to be used at an earlier point in development by child speakers of English (and other overt-subject languages) compared to child speakers of Spanish or Catalan (null subject languages). He explains this crosslinguistic variation by suggesting that in overt subject languages, "subjects are realized in the canonical specifier-of-IP position" (40), whereas in Spanish and Catalan subjects are realized in a discourse-sensitive topic/focus position. The early period during which no overt subjects are used by child speakers of Spanish or Catalan is a consequence of the child's not yet fully formed syntax: although children may perhaps possess the discourse-pragmatic competence to use subjects as adults do, they cannot access this competence because the topic/focus position is not yet available to them. Grinstead (68) claims "that there exists an immature interface between grammar and the discourse-pragmatic domain." Evidence of maturation is found when the child begins to use constructions in topic/focus position, i.e., overt subjects, fronted objects, and WH-questions, at the same point in the acquisition of Spanish or Catalan.

A different position is held by Austin et al. (1998:44), who argue that from the beginning of speech production (MLUw 1.29) "Spanish-speaking children know the syntactic requirements of small *pro* subjects", that is, they know when an overt subject is not required because it is properly licensed and identified. This is taken to mean that children do not lack pragmatic knowledge concerning subject use. However, an unexpected higher percentage of overt first person singular pronouns in the

children's data is interpreted to indicate that the children may not have acquired some of the pragmatic constraints on the expression of the first person singular pronoun *yo*, specifically the requirement of emphasis or contrast for overt expression. The fact that in adult speech the pronoun *yo* is also used more frequently than other subject pronouns (Morales 1986; Ranson 1991) is not considered by Austin et al. as a possible explanation for the children's behavior.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Subjects in Spanish and English

Structurally, the observation that Spanish has the option of expressing or not expressing a subject appears to be valid for most sentential contexts in a discourse vacuum. Examined in the normal flow of speech, however, the complexity of the question of variable subject expression becomes clear. Studies done during the past three decades (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1997; Bentivoglio 1987; Cameron 1993; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2003; Flores-Ferrán 2002; Matos & Schwenter 2005; Silva-Corvalán 1982, 1996, among others) have shown that the variable expression of subjects in main clauses is controlled by cognitive and discourse sensitive factors, namely the establishment of an entity as the topic of more than one sentence (ex. 5); the need to express focal information either because it is new or contrastive (exx. 6–7); the need to identify subject referents clearly when the verbal form is ambiguous with respect to person (ex. 8); and coreferentiality with the subject of the preceding finite verb. Lack of coreferentiality, establishment of topicality, and the ambiguity of the verbal form favor probabilistically the expression of the subject. Overt subjects are required, on the other hand, when they are focal, contrastive, or when they are needed to identify their referent.

#### *Establishment of topic*

- (5) S= f24,ELA37; C= researcher

C: *Sí. Para ayudarle al niño.*

S: *Al niño, sí. /C: Um, hmm, sí./ A veces sí (a) yo me pongo a pensar y digo, 'Bueno, (b) yo no estoy tan mayor todavía.' Porque para la edad que 0 tengo- son veinticuatro años.*

/C: *Claro./ Entonces, (c) 0 me pongo a pensar que apenas sería una edad como para- Yo todavía, este, pudiera ser una mujer soltera.*

C: 'Yes. To help the boy.'

S: 'The boy, yes. /C: Um, hmm, yes./ Sometimes (a) I start thinking and say, 'Well, (b) I'm not that old yet.' Because for my age - I'm only twenty four. /C: Yeah./ So, (c) (I) start to think that it would be hardly the age to - I still, eh, could be a single woman.'

---

2. The relatively higher percentages of occurrences of *yo* 'I' in adult Spanish has been explained as a consequence of the egocentric nature of verbal communication: by explicitly referring to himself, the speaker fulfills the pragmatic need to keep himself overtly present in the verbal interaction (cf. Morales 1986: Ch. 5).

*Focal information*

- (6) A: ¿Quién escribió esta nota?  
 B: Yo la escribí. / \*0 la escribí.
- A: 'Who wrote this note?'  
 B: 'I wrote it. / \*0 wrote it.'

*Contrast*

- (7) *Y yo me fui a trabajar y él se quedó ahí un rato.* (f42,ELA18)  
 'And I went to work and he stayed a while longer.'

*Clarification of subject referent*

- (8) *Y (a) ella iba a mi lado y (b) yo estaba temblando, que hasta los dientes se oían que pegaban.* (f24,ELA37)  
 'And (a) she'd come up to my bedside and (b) (I) was trembling, you could even hear my teeth striking together.'

The subject is not required in any of the sentences in (5), but it is required in the highlighted positions in exx. (6, 7), and (8) (see Matos & Schwenter 2005; Silva-Corvalán 2003 for in-depth analyses of the "contrast constraint" on subject expression in Spanish). Intralanguage analyses and cross-language comparisons must take these facts into account when examining subject acquisition and the issue of possible interlinguistic influence.

To establish a point of reference with adult language, Table 1 presents overall percentages of overt subject pronouns, and the percentages of first person singular and plural pronouns in the speech of Spanish-speaking adults in four cities: Los Angeles (Mexican immigrants), Madrid, Caracas, and Santiago.

There are some differences between Madrid and the Latin American varieties. The percentage of expressed subject pronouns in Madrid, 21%, is lower than in Los Angeles, 33%, and Santiago, 38%. In regard to expression of the first person pronouns *yo* 'I' and *nosotros* 'we' only, the percentage of expression is also lower in Madrid than in the other cities, including Venezuela. It is also the case that the first person plural pronoun (indeed all plural pronouns, Silva-Corvalán 1996:163) is expressed much

**Table 1.** Percentages of overt subject pronouns in adult speech in Los Angeles, Madrid, Caracas, and Santiago de Chile

|             | Expressed pro's /<br>Total N of Verbs |     | Yo 'I'     |     | Nosotros 'we' |     |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|-----|------------|-----|---------------|-----|
| Los Angeles | 118/360                               | 33% | 58/137     | 42% | 6/39          | 15% |
| Madrid      | 4857/23717                            | 21% | 3249/10185 | 32% | 253/2431      | 10% |
| Caracas     | no data                               |     | 329/721    | 46% | 28/171        | 16% |
| Santiago    | 1587/4182                             | 38% | 752/2238   | 34% | 99/571        | 17% |

[Los Angeles (Silva-Corvalán 1982); Madrid (Enríquez 1984); Caracas (Bentivoglio 1987); Santiago (Cifuentes 1980–81)]

less frequently than singular pronouns. These overall percentages may serve as a point of comparison when studying child behavior in regard to overt subject use. In Nico's case, the percentages for the Santiago variety are of interest because this is the variety spoken by his family.

Although English, on the other hand, is an overt subject language, there are constructions where subjects may be absent. Imperatives (commands, requests) and some types of question (ex. 9), for instance, do not require an overt subject in English (nor in Spanish).

- (9) Wanna play?  
'¿Quieres jugar?'

English also allows coreferential subjects of independent sentences to remain unexpressed in cases of VP conjunction, as in ex. (10), but it requires the expression of a coreferential subject in subordinate clauses, as in (11). Spanish, by contrast, does not favor an expressed subject in ex. of the type of (11), as I indicate in the translation.

- (10) When we won the game, Mary ran to the telephone and **0** called Sue to tell her about it.
- (11) Mary always pays cash when *she*/*\*0* goes shopping.  
'*María siempre paga al contado cuando 0/?ella va de compras*'

In the English input they receive, children are exposed to subjectless sentences, but only imperatives have a significant presence. In our data, almost all adult statements with a verb in English occur with an overt subject, as in examples (12) and (13). Adult statements in Spanish, by contrast, provide frequent subjectless models to the child, as in the interaction between Nico and Silva-Corvalán in (14).

- (12) 1;11:3 N= Nico (in all examples); C= researcher (in all examples).  
N: What you doin', mommy?  
Mom: I'm studying.
- (13) 2;2  
N: Where's the new house, mommy?  
Mom: There it is Kiko. What's it called?  
N: Raintree.
- (14) 1;9:16  
N: ¿Dónde está la Lupe?  
C: **0** está en la casa de ella. **0** no está en la casa de granma.  
N: ¿Dónde está grandpa?  
C: **0** está en la oficina, trabajando.  
N: ¿Dónde está el papi?  
  
C: **0** está allá adelante, en el auto de la mami.  
N: 'Where's Lupe?'  
C: '(She)'s in her home. (She)'s not in granma's home.'  
N: 'Where's grandpa?'  
C: '(He)'s in the office, working.'

N: 'Where's daddy?'

C: '(He)'s over there, in mommy's car.'

The presence of the subject in Nico's English utterances is examined in relation to the length of the verbal phrase (VP; following Bloom 1990), but the results indicate lack of correlation with length from the earliest stage studied.<sup>3</sup> Thus, although there is considerable evidence supporting the notion of processing limitations in child language, the proposal that these limitations apply in the case of subject expression is not supported in this study.

#### 4. The data

The child studied, Nicolas (also referred to as "Kiko" and "Nico"), was observed and audio-recorded since he was nine months old. The present study is based on detailed diary notes made three to four days per week by Silva-Corvalán when the child was between the ages of 1;5:8 and 2;8:29.<sup>4</sup> Nicolas is the older of two brothers (his brother is 3 years younger), and has grown up in an ethnically mixed home in Los Angeles: his mother is an English speaking Euro-American, while the father is a bilingual Hispanic. This type of exogamous marriage is characteristic of a large number of homes in Southern California, yet nothing is known about its effect on the process of language acquisition.

At Nicolas's home, the "one parent / one language rule" was fairly consistently applied until the child was 3 years old, albeit in a bilingual environment in so far as the parents spoke to each other in English. Nicolas received Spanish input mainly from Silva-Corvalán, his paternal grandmother,<sup>5</sup> and from his father. Silva-Corvalán spoke to Nicolas only in Spanish, and he spoke to her almost exclusively in this language. He addressed his father in either Spanish or English. Occasionally, Nicolas also interacted in Spanish with his uncles and other Spanish speaking people in Los Angeles. From time to time he was exposed to children's movies and songs in Spanish. In addition, his family spent approximately one month in a Spanish speaking country when Nicolas was 1 year old. Nicolas started attending an English-only day-care center when he was 1;3. Based on his life-story, therefore, we may anticipate that his dominant language

---

3. The subjects used by the child include *I* pronounced as a schwa, a pronunciation which is also frequent in adult language.

4. The audio-recordings are being transcribed. Diary notes are commonly used in studies of early acquisition (see, for example, Deuchar & Quay 2000).

5. I believe that my personal relationship with the child studied has not hampered standard research procedures.

was English, but impressionistically, his Spanish was as well-developed as English until he was three years old.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4.1 Mean Length of Utterance (MLU)

The period of age studied was arbitrarily divided into five three-month-long periods for the calculation of the Mean Length of Utterance. Spanish has relatively more complex morphology compared to English; for instance, a higher number of verbal morphemes for person and number, gender marking on determiners, nouns, and adjectives. An MLU based on the number of morphemes was considered problematic for comparing Spanish and English (cf. Valian 1991:40). Therefore, it was decided to establish an MLU by counting the number of words per utterance (henceforth MLUw). An utterance was defined as a chunk of speech produced as one prosodic unit, preceded and followed by pauses or silence on the part of the child, and a word as a sign that in writing corresponds to a string of letters surrounded by spaces. It will be obvious that this type of MLU is also problematic, as the explanations below suggest.

According to our definition based on orthographic representation, a number of two-word verbs in English correspond to one word in Spanish: get up '*levantarse*', look for '*buscar*'. Clitic pronouns in Spanish are attached to the verb in postverbal position but written separately if they are preverbal. Thus *tómalo* 'take it' is counted as one word, but *lo tomó* '(he) took it' as two words. A further problem is posed by contractions in both languages, such as *it's* and *s'acabó* 'ran out', which were counted as two words while the genitive marker 's in English was counted as part of the word it is attached to (*daddy's car* is counted as two words).<sup>7</sup> Despite these problems, MLUw appears to be more appropriate than morpheme MLU for a crosslinguistic comparison involving Spanish and English. It is computed as another point of reference for stages of development in addition to the child's age.

Three types of utterance were differentiated: all English, all Spanish, and mixed utterances, which include only those utterances with a subject in one language and a predicate in the other language. The proportion of words per utterance constitutes the MLUw for each stage.<sup>8</sup> Whenever the length of the transcripts allowed it, sixty utterances were selected for the calculation. As displayed in Table 2, mixed utterances were not sufficiently frequent at any age stage, and in the last two stages the number of English utterances is below sixty. A total of 711 utterances were included in the calculation of MLUw.

---

6. Nicolas' and his brother's bilingual development from birth constitutes the target of a larger scale project.

7. This decision was based on the fact that the genitive mark 's is always attached to the noun (the possessor), while the verb contraction 's and the s' of *s'acabó* may occur independently as *is* and *se*, respectively.

8. Repetitions of adult utterances are not included in the calculation of MLUw.



Table 2. MLUw at five age stages

|                               | MLUw<br>English | MLUw<br>Spanish | MLUw<br>Mixed |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Stage 1<br>(1;5:18 – 1;8:18)  | 106/60 =1.76    | 105/60 =1.75    | 49/20 =2.45   |
| Stage 2<br>(1;8:19 – 1;11:18) | 136/60 =2.26    | 145/60 =2.42    | 170/49 =3.47  |
| Stage 3<br>(1;11:19 – 2;2:20) | 209/60 =3.48    | 177/60 =2.95    | 191/43 =4.40  |
| Stage 4<br>(2;2:21 – 2;5:21)  | 205/44 =4.66    | 195/60 =3.25    | 49/9 =5.44    |
| Stage 5<br>(2;5:22 – 2;8:29)  | 325/59 =5.51    | 344/60 =5.73    | 45/7 =6.43    |

Younger children's memory limitations are to a large extent responsible for their shorter utterances. As they grow older, children produce longer and more complex utterances, and become more competent conversationists. As expected, Table 2 shows that Nico's MLUw increases with age in both languages.

Interestingly, at each age stage the highest MLUw corresponds to the mixed utterances. This might be so because mixed utterances include an overt subject by definition. An overt subject adds to the word count compared to Spanish-only and English-only utterances, which do not necessarily have an expressed subject. Note, however, that the MLUw of mixed utterances is higher even at stages 3 and 4, when the child is already expressing subjects categorically in English (see Table 4 below). This fact supports the interpretation that, at least up to age 2;8:29, English and Spanish complement each other such that Nico reaches a higher communicative efficiency when he combines both languages in the same utterance. This behavior is pragmatically appropriate given that the child's interlocutors are also bilingual and at times engage in code switching themselves.

English and Spanish have a comparable MLUw in the first two and in the last stages. By contrast, the third and fourth stages are characterized by a higher MLUw in English. This cannot be explained as a result of the higher number of overt subjects, because of the almost equal MLUw in both languages at stage 5, when subjects are being expressed categorically in English. Rather, there seems to be a period of delay in the development of Spanish which may be due to external circumstances that remain to be examined.

#### 4.2 Utterances included in the analyses

All utterances containing a verb form which had or could have had a subject were included in the analyses. Also included were utterances that were analyzed as lacking a copula or an auxiliary (*be, ser, estar*) (cf. Bloom 1990). Examples (15) to (17) illustrate this.

- (15) Kiko comiendo. [missing *está*, auxiliary]  
 'Kiko eating.'
- (16) Kiko grande. [missing *está*, copula]  
 'Kiko big.'
- (17) Kiko hiding.<sup>9</sup> [missing auxiliary *is*]

Imperatives and rote imitations<sup>10</sup> were not included in the quantitative analyses of subject expression. There are instances when the child uses a present tense form instead of an imperative form. If the situation is clearly one in which the imperative meaning is obtained in the context where the utterance has been produced, as in (18), the utterance is not considered a possible site for an overt subject and is excluded.

- (18) Prendo la luz. [present tense used instead of an imperative form]  
 '(I) turn on the light.'

In example (18) the child wants someone else to turn on the light, but he uses the first person singular because this is the input he frequently receives from adults when they ask him *¿Prendo la luz, Nico?* 'Shall (I) turn on the light, Nico?'. When the context does not clarify the meaning, the utterance is discarded.

The routine expressions *all gone* and *se acabó* ('(it) ran out') were considered to be possible sites for an overt subject but were identified and coded as special lexical items. Indeed, although it is possible for *all gone* and *se acabó* to have an overt subject, as in *it's all gone* and *se acabó el jugo* ('there's no more juice'), these expressions tend to occur without a subject in the input to the child during the age period studied. In the case of *all gone*, a copula must also be expressed; the child shows knowledge of this requirement at later stages, as shown in example (19).

- (19) 2;2:6  
 This one is all gone.

Mixed subject-verb utterances were included to calculate overall subject expression but were discarded from all other quantifications. Fourteen utterances were identified as mixed: 7 with a subject in English and a verb in Spanish, as in example (20), and 7 with a subject in Spanish and a verb in English, as in (21).

- (20) 2;0:3  
 C: *¿Yo lo tapo?*  
 'Do I close it?'  
 N: I *tapo*, *¿okay?* [I= English; *tapo*= Spanish]  
 'I close (it), okay?'

---

9. The data do not contain any examples of missing copula in English in a construction with an overt subject and a predicate adjective.

10. Something the child repeats immediately after the adult has said it, as in: Dad: *Eso no, bibi*. Nico: *Eso no, bibi*.

(21) 2;7:13

N: *El fuego's* orange. [looking at the fire in the fireplace]  
'The fire's orange'. [*el fuego*= Spanish; 's orange= English]

Utterances with a switch within the predicate were considered to be either Spanish or English depending on the language of the subject and the verb. Accordingly, examples of the type of (22) and (23) were considered to be an English and a Spanish utterance, respectively.

(22) It's my *silla*. 'chair'

(23) *La luna es* sick.  
'The moon is sick.'

## 5. Analysis

If the input that the child receives, English or Spanish, has no effect on subject use, and every child starts acquisition with the null subject value, then the proportion of overt subjects in these two languages should not differ. Furthermore, if the absence of subjects in Spanish results from an immature grammar, specifically the inability to access a topic/focus position (Grinstead 2004), then no overt subjects should appear in this language at the earliest stage. However, the data examined in this study look very different from these predictions.

Of a total number of 918 utterances analyzed, including 14 mixed<sup>11</sup> utterances, the percentage of overt subjects in Spanish is 52.2% and in English, 94.2%. As shown in Table 3, when mixed utterances are discarded, the percentages drop slightly to 51.8% in Spanish and to 94.1% in English.

Table 3 clearly reveals the difference between the use of subjects in Spanish and English. There remains the question whether this difference is stable throughout the five age/MLUw stages or whether there is change. The quantitative results by age/MLUw presented in Table 4 indicate that although the percentages of overt subjects in English and Spanish are very different from the earliest productions of sites for possible subject use, overt subjects in English increase gradually until they become categorically expressed by stage 4. Table 4 presents the numbers and chi-square value for each language. At a threshold of .05, the differences across age/MLUw stages are not statistically significant for Spanish, but they are for English.

In English, overt subjects rise from 77.8% at stage 1 to 100% at stage 4. The 25 utterances that lack a subject in English occur in the first three stages of MLUw. By age 2;2 and MLUw 4.66, Nico produces subjects categorically in English. Figure 1 displays these results visually.

---

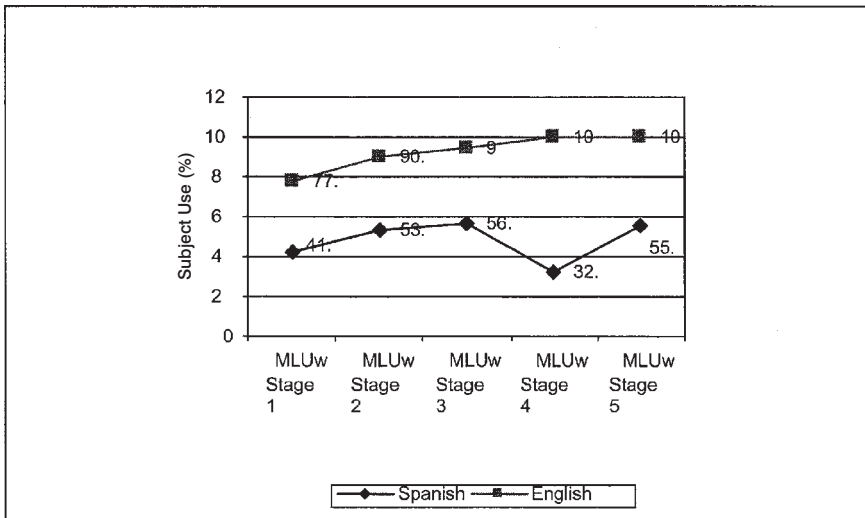
11. Mixed utterances with a subject in Spanish (7cases) are added to the Spanish data, and those with a subject in English (7 cases) are added to the English data.

**Table 3.** Subject use by language at ages 1;5 to 2;8 ( $p \leq .000$ )

|                  | Spanish |       | English |       |
|------------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| Overt Subjects   | 250     | 51.8% | 396     | 94.1% |
| Null Subjects    | 233     | 48.2% | 25      | 5.9%  |
| Total Utterances | 483     |       | 421     |       |

**Table 4.** Percentage of overt subjects by language and age/MLUw.

|         | Spanish ( $p \leq .079$ ) |       | English ( $p \leq .001$ ) |        |
|---------|---------------------------|-------|---------------------------|--------|
| Stage 1 | 25/60                     | 41.7% | 14/18                     | 77.8%  |
| Stage 2 | 107/200                   | 53.5% | 113/125                   | 90.4%  |
| Stage 3 | 35/62                     | 56.6% | 171/180                   | 95.0%  |
| Stage 4 | 9/28                      | 32.1% | 36/36                     | 100.0% |
| Stage 5 | 74/133                    | 55.6% | 62/62                     | 100.0% |



Note:

Age: Stage 1 1;5-1;8 Stage 2 1;8-1;11 Stage 3 1;11-2;2 Stage 4 2;2-2;5 Stage 5 2;5-2;8  
 MLUw: Eng 1.76 2.26 3.48 4.66 5.51  
 Span 1.75 2.42 2.95 3.25 5.73

**Figure 1.** Subject use by language and by MLUw.

If we assume with Valian (1991:48) that 84% to 94% is “evidence that children understand that subjects are obligatory”, then we can conclude that Nico knew that subjects were required in English around age 1;8 and soon after MLUw 1.76, i.e., between stages 1 and 2. By contrast, the percentage of Spanish subjects never rises above 56.5%. It stays roughly constant during the first three MLUw stages; it drops to 32.1% in the fourth stage, and it increases to 55.6% in the fifth stage. The drop to 32.1% at

**Table 5.** Subject use in English as a function of the verbal phrase length, MLUw stages 1–3; ages 1;5 to 2;2 ( $p \leq .038$ )

|                  | One word |      | Two words |      | Three words |      | Four or more words |      |
|------------------|----------|------|-----------|------|-------------|------|--------------------|------|
|                  | N        | %    | N         | %    | N           | %    | N                  | %    |
| Overt Subjects   | 18       | 85.7 | 108       | 89.3 | 77          | 97.5 | 47                 | 97.9 |
| Null Subjects    | 3        | 14.3 | 13        | 10.7 | 2           | 2.5  | 1                  | 2.1  |
| Total Utterances | 21       |      | 121       |      | 79          |      | 48                 |      |

stage 4 may be a function of the scarcity of the data, which reaches only 28 tokens at this stage.

A comparison of Nico's behavior with the 21 American children studied by Valian (1991) shows that Nico realizes at an earlier age that one of his languages, English, requires overt subjects. Although Valian's MLUw is based on a morpheme count, we assume it is more or less comparable with our word-based MLUw at an early age when morphology is still simple. Be that as it may, a word MLUw should result in a lower score than a morpheme MLUw. The youngest group in Valian's (1991:45) study ranges in age from 1;10 to 2;2, with a mean MLUw of 1.77, and an average use of subjects of 69%. At the younger age of 1;5 to 1;8 and MLUw 1.75, Nico's overt use of subjects in English is 77.8%, almost 9 percentage points higher. Furthermore, Nico starts using subjects categorically soon after age 2;2. At ages 2;3 to 2;8, Valian's (1991:44) children in Group II showed an average subject use of 89%. These results offer support for the observation that bilingual children are linguistically more aware at an earlier age (Bialystok 1991; Hamers & Blanc 2000:105). In the case of Spanish and English, exposure to two typologically different languages may help the bilingual child grasp the contrasting structures more easily and sooner than a monolingual child.

According to Bloom's (1990) cognitive limitation theory, null subject utterances in an overt subject language are expected to increase as VP length increases. This expectation does not receive support in this study, as the results in Table 5 clearly show the opposite trend. Considering only affirmative utterances in the first three MLUw stages, the percentage of overt subjects rises as the number of words in the VP increases. As Table 5 shows, 87.5% overt subjects occur with one-word predicates; this percentage increases gradually as predicates include more words, reaching 97.9% overt subjects with a predicate of four words or more. Rather than being a function of VP length, the results underscore the correlation between overt subject use and the child's more developed language competence reflected in a longer MLUw. The child seems to be matching the English input without showing any effect from Spanish, the other language he speaks.

The obvious next question is whether the child's Spanish evidences any interdependent development. Are subjects expressed in contexts where monolingual speakers would not express them? Discourse related factors must be taken into consideration when evaluating the appropriateness of subject use in Spanish. Previous studies of adult Spanish have shown that the strongest constraint on subject expression is coref-

erentiality: a subject referent coreferential with the subject of the preceding finite verb will rarely be expressed;<sup>12</sup> if the subject is coreferential with an object or an oblique constituent, it also tends to be left unexpressed, though less frequently than in the case of coreferential subjects. Nico's use of subjects does not violate these coreferentiality constraints, as the interactions in (24) to (26) show:

- (24) 1;9:22  
 Dad: *¿Te tomaste la leche?*  
 'Did you drink the milk?'  
 Nico: *Sí, se acabó.*  
 'Yes, (it's) all gone.'
- (25) 1;9:25  
 C: *¿Tienes frío, Nicolás?*  
 'Are you cold, Nicolás?'  
 Nico: *No tiene frío.*<sup>13</sup>  
 Literally: 'not has cold.'  
 'I'm not cold.'
- (26) 1;9:25  
 C: *¿Está arriba el tío? ¿Está durmiendo?*  
 'Is your uncle upstairs? Is he sleeping?'  
 Nico: *No, Bibi. Está duchando.*<sup>14</sup>  
 'No, Bibi. (He) is taking a shower.'

The coreferential subjects in the answers produced by Nico in examples (24) to (26) are appropriately not expressed, even though the overt subject alternative would have been grammatical. From a very early age (20 to 22 months of age, MLUw 2.42), the child shows knowledge of the discourse-pragmatic rules of Spanish. At almost the same age, he produces coreferential subjects in English, in accordance with the rules of this language. Examples (27) and (28) illustrate.

- (27) 1;10:1  
 Mom: Did you see Sebastian sleeping, Nicolás?  
 Nico: He's not sleeping.
- (28) 1;10:28  
 Mom: What are you eating?  
 Nico: I don't know.  
 Mom: What are you eating? [she repeats the question]  
 Nico: I eating luna, mommy. I eating luna. [he laughs]  
 Mom: You are funny, Nico.

---

12. In this context, the probability of an overt subject is low, .34 in data from Los Angeles and Caracas (Silva-Corvalán 2001:157).

13. Nico uses a 3rd person singular verb instead of 1st person in this example and in many other examples. This phenomenon is not studied here.

14. The verb is missing the reflexive marker *se*. The adult form is *Se está duchando*.

In Spanish, subjects are expressed as expected when the subject referent is newly introduced into the discourse, as in example (29), or contrastive, as in (30), and when reference ambiguity may arise if the subject is not expressed, as in (31).

(29) 1;9:1  
*Bibi suena.* [he reports to his dad]  
 ‘Bibi’s blowing her nose.’

(30) 1;10:8  
 C: *Nicolás pintó los huevos.*  
 ‘Nicolas painted the (Easter) eggs.’  
 Nico: *Helen pintó.*  
 ‘Helen painted (them).’

(31) 1;9:16  
 Nico: Where’s *papi*?  
 C: *En el auto de la mamá.*  
 ‘In your mom’s car.’  
 Nico: *Papi se va.*  
 ‘*Papi* is leaving.’

These examples give evidence of early knowledge of the discourse-pragmatic rules of Spanish by a Spanish-English bilingual child, from the very first two-word utterances involving a finite verb and a possible site for subject expression. Affirmations regarding the development of subject use which claim that children’s pragmatic knowledge is deficient in the early stages (Austin et al. 1998), or that children “possess the discourse-pragmatic competence they need for adult-like language use but are unable to access it” (Grinstead 2004:68), do not find support in this study.

## 6. Discussion and conclusion

In this study, we set up as one of our goals to determine how a child acquiring English and Spanish simultaneously develops knowledge of the rules of subject use in these two typologically different languages. With respect to the issue of interlinguistic influence, the study leaves no doubt that Spanish and English develop autonomously with respect to subject expression. The child seems to be matching the input he receives in English and Spanish without showing any effect of one language on the other.

Indeed, exposure to two typologically different languages appears to have helped the bilingual child grasp the contrasting structures sooner (and perhaps more easily) than a monolingual child.<sup>15</sup> This conclusion is based on the fact that the child studied, Nico, uses a higher percentage of overt subjects in English from an earlier age than

---

15. Cf. Meisel’s (1990: 18) hypothesis that bilinguals tend to focus more on formal aspects of language and this helps them acquire certain grammatical constructions faster and with fewer errors than many or most monolinguals.

the monolingual American children studied by Valian (1991). The youngest group in Valian's study ranges in age from 1;10 to 2;2, with a mean MLUw of 1.77, and an average use of subjects of 69%. At age 1;5 to 1;8 and MLUw 1.75, Nico's overt use of subjects in English is 77.8%, almost 9 percentage points higher. Furthermore, Nico starts using subjects categorically soon after age 2;2.

The analysis also allows us to verify how subject use relates to the verbal phrase length in English. Table 5 shows that the proportion of expressed subjects rises as the verbal phrase length increases. These results are not what Bloom's (1990) cognitive limitation hypothesis predicts. On the contrary, the results show that this bilingual child's use of overt subjects correlates with linguistic and cognitive development such that longer utterances, which represent a higher level of linguistic and cognitive ability, favor the occurrence of expressed subjects.

Unlike his subject use in English, Nico's Spanish utterances only showed 41.7% to 55.6% of overt subject use throughout the time span examined here. This significant difference underscores the child's understanding from an early age of the difference between Spanish and English in regard to subject use.

Nico's early age use of overt subjects in about forty two percent of his Spanish utterances is higher than the percentages reported for monolingual adult Spanish (see Table 1), and also higher than the percentages reported for child users of null subject languages by Grinstead (2004) and by Bel (2003). Grinstead, for instance, states that null subject language speakers appear to begin using overt subjects later than overt language speakers. This affirmation is not supported by our study, however, since Nico produces subjects in Spanish from the very beginning of verb production. But Grinstead himself offers evidence against his observation that subjects appear late in null subject languages when he reports that overt subject production by Catalan, Spanish and Italian children averages under 25% before age 2, a clearly standard percentage of subject expression in adult Spanish in Madrid, for instance, as shown in Table 1.

Nico's percentage of overt subjects in Spanish before age 2 ranged between 42% and 56%; that is, about 20 percentage points more frequent than in the children studied by Grinstead. This higher frequency of overt subjects in Nico's Spanish could be interpreted to be the result of English grammar influencing Spanish grammar, and that some type of interdependent development is taking place in Nico's process of language acquisition (cf. Paradis & Navarro 2003).

But the facts do not support this conclusion. Indeed, it may be the case that Nico's higher frequency of overt subjects in Spanish is a reflection of the high frequency of overt subjects in adult Chilean Spanish (see Table 1). More likely, however, the higher frequency is due to the fact that the child often uses the third person singular form of verbs for all singular persons; he needs to express the subject, therefore, to clarify its referent, as in example (35). The verb in this example is marked for 3rd person



singular, but the subject is the speaker, *Kiko*, which needs to be expressed so that the listener may correctly interpret the utterance.<sup>16</sup>

- (32) 1;9:23  
*Kiko quiere banana.*  
 'Kiko wants banana.'

This explanation is supported by the types of expressed subject in Spanish. Of 155 expressed subjects, 75.5% are nominals, whose expression is more often required because they tend to convey new information; 14.2% are pronouns, and demonstratives constitute 10.3%. The frequency of nominals and pronouns in English is almost exactly the opposite: of 250 expressed subjects in English, 74.4% are pronouns,<sup>17</sup> 14.4% are nominals, and 11.2% are demonstratives. These differences also point to autonomous development of the two language systems.

Contrary to Grinstead's (2004) hypothesis, Nico's early use of overt subjects in Spanish indicates that either the topic/focus position is available to him or that subjects in Spanish are not realized in this position, while other constructions may be. WH-questions, for instance, start appearing more regularly at stage 2; only one is recorded at stage 1 (*¿Dónde e luna?* 'Where is the moon?'), and the first fronted object is recorded at stage 5, but without the required correferential object clitic.

In regard to subject use in Spanish, then, there does not exist an immature interface between grammar and the discourse-pragmatic domain. Subjects are expressed in contexts where monolingual speakers would also express them: contrastive and focal subjects are expressed, and coreferential subjects are not. The child shows knowledge of the discourse-pragmatic rules for subject use in Spanish, and of the syntactic rules for subject expression in English.

Though thorough and exhaustive, this study focuses on only one bilingual child. The big methodological problem that this poses is the question of individual differences in acquisition. Since there exists a proven amount of normal interindividual variation, this case study would be wrong to extend the conclusions to every case of Spanish-English bilingual acquisition. More studies are needed that will include infants with comparable bilingual acquisition histories as well as comparable research methodologies. The child in this study has given evidence that the language faculty is capable of analyzing two target systems in ways that lead to full differentiation of syntactic and pragmatic rules. The role of each input language is crucial in the development of the language-specific structures.

---

16. See Footnote 14.

17. Including 31 tokens of *it*, used as an expletive a few times in the example *it's raining*.

## References

- Austin, J., Blume, M., Parkinson, D., Lust, B. & Núñez del Prado, Z. 1998. Interactions between pragmatic and syntactic knowledge in the first language acquisition of Spanish null and overt pronominals. In *Theoretical Research on Romance Languages: Selected papers from the Twenty-sixth Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*, J. Lema & E. Trevino (eds.), 35–51. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bayley, R. & Pease-Álvarez, L. 1997. Null pronoun variation in Mexican-descent children's narrative discourse. *Language Variation and Change* 9: 349–371.
- Bel, A. 2003. The syntax of subjects in the acquisition of Spanish and Catalan. *Probus* 15: 1–26.
- Bentivoglio, P. 1987. *Los sujetos pronominales de primera persona en el habla de Caracas*. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela.
- Bialystok, E. 1991. Metalinguistic dimensions of bilingual language proficiency. In *Language Processing in Bilingual Children*, E. Bialystok (ed.), 112–140. Cambridge: CUP.
- Bloom, P. 1990. Subjectless sentences in child language. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21: 491–504.
- Cameron, R. 1993. Ambiguous agreement, functional compensation, and non-specific *tú* in the Spanish of San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Madrid, Spain. *Language Variation and Change* 5: 305–34.
- Cameron, R. & Flores-Ferrán, N. 2003. Perseveration of subject expression across regional dialects of Spanish. *Spanish in Context* 1: 41–65.
- Cifuentes, H. 1980–81. Presencia y ausencia del pronombre personal sujeto en el habla culta de Santiago de Chile. *Homenaje a Ambrosio Rabanales. Boletín de Filología de la Universidad de Chile*, XXXI: 743–752.
- Deuchar, M. & Quay, S. 2000. *Bilingual acquisition: Theoretical implications of a case study*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- De Houwer, A. 1990. *The acquisition of two languages from birth: A case study*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Enríquez, E. V. 1984. *El pronombre personal sujeto en la lengua española hablada en Madrid*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Flores-Ferrán, N. 2002. *A sociolinguistic perspective on the use of subject personal pronouns in Spanish narratives of Puerto Ricans in New York City*. Munich: Lincom.
- Genesee, F. 1989. Early bilingual development: One language or two? *Journal of Child Language* 16: 161–79.
- Genesee, F., Nicoladis, E. & Paradis, J. 1995. Language differentiation in early bilingual development. *Journal of Child Language* 22: 611–631.
- Grinstead, J. 2004. Subjects and interface delay in child Spanish and Catalan. *Language* 80: 40–72.
- Hamers, J. F. & Blanc, M. H. A. 2000. *Bilinguality and bilingualism*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Hyams, N. 1986. *Language acquisition and the theory of parameters*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Köppe, R. 1996. Language differentiation in bilingual children. *Linguistics* 34: 927–954.
- Matos Amaral, P. & Schwenter, S. 2005. Contrast and the (non-) occurrence of subject pronouns. In *Selected Proceedings of the 7th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, D. Eddington (ed.), 116–127. Somerville MA: Cascadilla.
- Meisel, J. 1989. Early differentiation of languages in bilingual children. In *Bilingualism across the lifespan: Aspects of acquisition, maturity and loss*, K. Hyltenstam & L.K. Obler (eds.), 13–40. Cambridge: CUP.
- Meisel, J. 1990. Grammatical development in the simultaneous acquisition of two first languages. In *Two first languages: Early grammatical development in bilingual children*, J. Meisel (ed.), 5–22. Dordrecht: Foris.

- Montanari, S. 2003. Lexical and pragmatic differentiation in early trilingual development. Ms., University of Southern California.
- Morales, A. 1986. *Gramáticas en contacto*. Madrid: Playor.
- Müller, N. & Hulk, A. 2001. Crosslinguistic influence in bilingual language acquisition: Italian and French as recipient languages. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 4: 1–21.
- Paradis, J. 2000. Beyond ‘One system or two?’: Degrees of separation between the languages of French-English bilingual children. In *Cross-linguistic Structures in Simultaneous Bilingualism*, S. Döpke (ed.), 175–200. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Paradis, J. & Navarro, S. 2003. Subject realization and crosslinguistic interference in the bilingual acquisition of Spanish and English. *Journal of Child Language* 30: 1–23.
- Ranson, D. L. 1991. Person marking in the wake of /s/ deletion in Andalusian Spanish. *Language Variation and Change* 3: 133–52.
- Serratrice, L., Sorace, A. & Paoli, S. 2004. Crosslinguistic influence at the syntax-pragmatics interface: Subjects and objects in English-Italian bilingual and monolingual acquisition. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 7: 183–205.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1982. Subject variation in spoken Mexican-American Spanish. In *Spanish in the United States: Sociolinguistic aspects*, J. Amastae & L. Elías-Olivares (eds.), 93–120. New York NY: CUP.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1996. *Language contact and change: Spanish in Los Angeles* (paperback edn.). Oxford: Clarendon.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 2003. Otra mirada a la expresión del sujeto como variable sintáctica. In *Lengua, variación y contexto*, F. Moreno Fernández, F. Gimeno, J. A. Samper, M. L. Gutiérrez, M. Vaquero & C. Hernández (eds.), 849–860. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Taeschner, T. 1983. *The sun is feminine. A study on language acquisition in bilingual children*. Berlin: Springer.
- Valian, V. 1991. Syntactic subjects in the early speech of American and Italian children. *Cognition* 40: 21–81.
- Volterra, V. & Taeschner, T. 1978. The acquisition and development of language by bilingual children. *The Journal of Child Language* 5: 311–326.

## Interpreting mood distinctions in Spanish as a heritage language

Silvina A. Montrul

University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign

This chapter focuses on the mental representation of mood in Spanish heritage speakers (2nd generation immigrants of Spanish background living in the US). A variety of studies have amply documented the loss and/or incomplete acquisition of subjunctive mood in these speakers (Merino 1983, Lipski 1993, Silva-Corvalán 1994, 2003; Lynch 1999). These studies analyzed production data and showed that subjunctive morphology is replaced by indicative in cases where the use of subjunctive or indicative is variable and subject to different semantic or pragmatic implications. The goal of this study is to go *beyond* production of morphological forms and probe into the *interpretations* bilinguals assign to sentences with indicative and subjunctive in obligatory and variable contexts. The study assumes the theoretical framework of generative grammar by which mood is represented as a functional category MoodP in Spanish. Subjunctive morphology carries the feature [+ MOOD], which is crucial for the interpretation of the morphology. We know that bilinguals have difficulty producing subjunctive morphology in speech. If MoodP is absent from the bilinguals' grammars, then they should have difficulty with the interpretation of mood morphology as well. Monolingual and bilingual heritage Spanish speakers completed a task testing recognition of subjunctive in obligatory contexts and a judgment task which tested interpretation of subjunctive in variable contexts. The task tested relative clauses, and adverbial clauses with *cuando* and with *de manera que*. Results showed a correlation between recognition of indicative/subjunctive morphology and semantic interpretations. Those bilinguals whose apparent loss of Spanish subjunctive mood was most pronounced in the morphological recognition task had difficulty discriminating between indicative and subjunctive sentences in the sentence conjunction judgment task, suggesting that the feature [+ MOOD] was not operational. In short, it appears that the loss of a functional category involves loss of morphophonology and semantic features.

### 1. Introduction

One of the features of Spanish as a heritage language spoken in the US is the apparent simplification of the verbal inflectional system. A variety of sociolinguistic studies of

Spanish-English language contact have amply documented the loss or simplification of the tense-aspect and mood system in Spanish heritage speakers of both Mexican and Caribbean background (Merino 1983; Lipski 1993; Silva-Corvalán 1994, 2000, 2003; Zentella 1997; Lynch 1999; Martínez Mira 2005). Such simplification is most notable in speakers who were exposed to Spanish and English since birth or in early childhood (2nd and 3rd generation speakers). Most of these studies analyzed (spontaneous and elicited) *production* data and showed that subjunctive morphology is replaced by indicative in cases where the use of subjunctive or indicative is obligatory, but more so in cases when subjunctive selection is optional or variable, subject to different semantic or pragmatic implications. This overuse of indicative for subjunctive is taken as an indication of language attrition or incomplete L1 acquisition, depending on the author.

If some aspect of grammar is incompletely acquired in L1 acquisition or lost in childhood bilingualism, one would expect such loss or incomplete acquisition to be manifested both in production, and in interpretation or comprehension, of that grammatical feature. Except for the Montrul (2002) study, which included both production and comprehension measures to investigate potential attrition/incomplete acquisition of tense-aspect distinctions in Spanish heritage speakers, there have been no studies on mood loss or simplification focusing on interpretative skills. To fill this gap, the goal of this study is to go *beyond* productive ability with morphological forms and probe into the *interpretations* these bilinguals assign to sentences with indicative and subjunctive forms. By investigating whether bilinguals not only produce or fail to produce, but also understand or fail to understand the meanings of mood morphology, we can obtain a more comprehensive picture of the mental representation of mood selection in Spanish heritage speakers. With this information, we will also be in a better position to determine how serious or dramatic the extent of subjunctive loss in bilingual speakers really is in given grammatical contexts, which can, in turn, inform pedagogical practices in language classrooms.

Thus far, studies of Spanish-English language contact have largely been the domain of sociolinguistics. Following Montrul (2002), this study is informed by linguistic theory as applied to first and second language acquisition and uses an experimental methodology.

## 2. Linguistic background: Mood

Spanish expresses modality in the grammar by means of inflectional morphology for mood (indicative vs. subjunctive). The syntactic, semantic and pragmatic rules that govern the use of indicative vs. subjunctive mood selection in Spanish are complex, and I will focus on two main aspects of mood selection in this paper for reasons of simplicity. (For more in depth treatments of the Spanish subjunctive see, Pérez Saldanya 1999; Ridruejo 1999; Haverkate 2002, among others). A frequent distinction made in studies of bilingual use of subjunctive is that between obligatory and optional (or vari-

able) uses of subjunctive in Spanish clauses, which appear to be differentially affected in bilingual grammars. The first fact is that the use of subjunctive or indicative depends on the lexical meaning of the subordinating verb. In the case of volitional predicates, as in (1), or of other nominal expressions, as in (2), subjunctive is grammatical, while in the example in (3), indicative (rather than subjunctive) is obligatory.

- (1) *Quiero que vengas/\*vienes.* *subjunctive*  
 I want that you come-SUBJ/\*come-INDIC  
 'I want you to come.'
- (2) *Es importante que tengas/\*tienes cuidado.* *subjunctive*  
 it is important that you have-SUBJ/\*have-INDIC care  
 'It is important that you be careful.'
- (3) *Creo que \*sea/es verdad.* *indicative*  
 I believe that it \*is-SUBJ/is-INDIC true  
 'I believe it is true.'

The second fact is that, in many other cases, subjunctive selection is optional and grammatical, except that the difference between indicative and subjunctive carries a difference in meaning. One example is the case of restrictive relative clauses in which the choice of subjunctive or indicative varies as a function of presupposition: with indicative the presupposition of the embedded clause is asserted, whereas with subjunctive there is no presupposition, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. *Busco un estudiante que habla japonés.* *indicative-presupposition*  
 I am looking for a student that speak-INDIC Japanese  
 'I am looking for a student that speaks Japanese.'
- b. *Busco un estudiante que hable japonés.* *subjunctive-no presupposition*  
 I am looking for a student that speak-SUBJ Japanese  
 'I am looking for a student that may speak Japanese.'

Following Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), Cinque (1999), and Poletto (2000) in the generative tradition, I assume that the grammatical category mood falls within the range of Universal Grammar phenomena. As such, mood is encoded in a functional category MoodP (higher than TP, or tense) where the formal feature [+MOOD] (or –REALIS, depending on the analysis) is checked through subjunctive morphology. Indicative clauses are assumed not to project MoodP. In English, this functional category is not instantiated since this language does not grammaticalize mood. This theoretical assumption is important in the context of the study that will be described in this chapter because having full linguistic knowledge of mood implies not only being able to produce the correct mood morphology in a given syntactic, semantic and pragmatic context, but also being able to understand or interpret the meanings of that morphology, even when production may turn out to be faulty.

### 3. L1 acquisition and loss of subjunctive

A variety of studies in the sociolinguistic tradition have amply documented the loss or simplification of the subjunctive mood system in adult 2nd and 3rd generation Spanish heritage speakers as a result of language shift across generations (Lipski 1993; Silva-Corvalán 1994, 2003; Lynch 1999; Martínez Mira 2005). For example, Silva Corvalán (1994) noted that these speakers of lower proficiency in Spanish, frequently substituted the present indicative for the present subjunctive in obligatory contexts, as in (5) after the verb *esperar* que ‘hope.’

- (5) Example from Silva Corvalán (1994:42, ex. (33))  
 I hope *que no me toca* (PI) *la misma problema* (exp.: *toque* PS) (D39, f28, 3, ELA42)  
 ‘I hope I don’t run into the same problem.’

Speakers also use indicative exclusively in variable contexts, as shown in (6):

- (6) *Quizás vengo mañana* (= *venga* (PS))  
 Maybe I come (PI) tomorrow  
 ‘Maybe I come tomorrow.’

Silva-Corvalán (2000) summarizes the percentage use of subjunctive in Los Angeles bilinguals, as shown in Table 1. As can be seen, the use of subjunctive (and its replacement by the indicative) decreases dramatically by generation, and this is typically taken as a sign of a simplified linguistic system due to language attrition or loss.

In this study, as in previous ones (Montrul 2002, 2004), I contend that what looks like simplification or loss in adult heritage speakers could indeed be characterized as incomplete L1 acquisition, especially when referring to the grammars of speakers born and raised in the US, and exposed to Spanish and English simultaneously before age 5. In order to understand how and why the mood system is simplified in the Spanish of heritage speakers, it is important to understand first how mood is acquired by children learning Spanish as a first language in a monolingual context.

By age 2, when inflectional morphology is still developing, monolingual Spanish-speaking children already produce subjunctive morphology in imperatives, purpose clauses and other adverbial clauses (López Ornat 1994). Yet, the acquisition of all the semantic nuances of subjunctive spans several years – until children are 7 or 8 year old – according to Blake (1983), and even until age 13, according to Collentine (2003). If subjunctive is obligatory and grammatical in certain syntactic contexts, while variable in others, one could assume that children acquire first those syntactic/semantic contexts in which subjunctive mood is reliably obligatory and more frequent in the

**Table 1.** Frequency of subjunctive use in Los Angeles bilinguals (from Silva Corvalán 2000)

|         | Obligatory context | Optional context |
|---------|--------------------|------------------|
| Group 1 | 93.8%              | 30.9%            |
| Group 2 | 75%                | 23.3%            |
| Group 3 | 52.5%              | 12.4%            |

Note: Group = generation

input. Blake found that there seems to be a developmental order, according to which subjunctive is mastered first in indirect commands, then in adverbial clauses, then in relative clauses, and lastly in sentential complements. But, as Pérez-Leroux (1998) noted, the developmental pattern attested by Blake cannot be solely derived from optionality of subjunctive in the input since subjunctive is optional in adverbial clauses (2nd stage) and mostly obligatory in sentential complements (last stage). It appears that there are other cognitive/developmental factors that contribute to the acquisition of subjunctive by children. Pérez Leroux tested monolingual Spanish children's knowledge of presupposition in subjunctive relative clauses in an oral elicitation task (ages 3;5–6;11), and found that only the children who passed a cognitive test produced subjunctive relative clauses. In these cases, ability to produce subjunctive was correlated with the children's ability to entertain false beliefs, and this improved significantly with increased age.

If the acquisition of subjunctive in monolingual children spans so many years, especially when these children receive rich input (in quality and quantity) from their family and social surroundings and through literacy at school, it is not surprising that the full spectrum of uses of subjunctive fail to develop in bilingual children, who receive less input and use the language more infrequently than monolingual children. It has been documented that in the United States bilingual children of Spanish heritage never fully acquire subjunctive morphology or, those who do, later lose it.

One such study is Merino (1983), who reports the results of two experiments on language loss in Spanish-speaking children of Mexican origin attending an English school. The first study tested 41 Spanish-English bilingual children ranging from kindergarten to 4th grade (5–10 years old). The children were administered comprehension and production tests in Spanish and English. The results showed steady chronological development between kindergarten and the upper grades in English (in both comprehension and production), but a significant decline in Spanish comprehension in 3rd and 4th grade. Performance in the older children dropped dramatically in Spanish production, while comprehension remained stable. The children had significant difficulty with the subjunctive and conditional verb forms, where most errors occurred in the production test. The 4th graders performed at the level of the kindergarteners with the use of the subjunctive, indicating stagnation or loss of linguistic abilities in this area. A second study was conducted two years later with 32 children of the original sample. The children were again administered the Spanish and English tests of production and comprehension. The results showed that performance in English continued to improve for all the children, while performance in Spanish deteriorated significantly. 50% of the children showed loss of some sort, while another 25% did not show any progress. One of the most dramatic differences in performance between the first and second administration of the tests was, again, with the use of the subjunctive.

The other recent study documenting loss and incomplete acquisition of the subjunctive and other verbal morphology in bilingual children is Silva-Corvalán (2003), who compared the results of the bilingual adults she studied in Silva-Corvalán (1994)



with those of 7 pre-school children (ages 5;1–5;11) who acquired Spanish from birth; and English, either from birth or later. The analysis of the spontaneous production of all these children showed that the children were at a fairly similar stage of development of the Spanish tense-mood-aspect system, regardless of language dominance and home language. With respect to the use of the subjunctive, Silva-Corvalán noted several differences that appeared to correlate with degree of exposure to Spanish. For example, the two children who spoke only Spanish at home used preterite, imperfect, and present subjunctive, as the adult monolingual who was used for comparison purposes did, and they were beginning to use imperfect subjunctive. By contrast, the children from bilingual and English-only homes did not use imperfect subjunctive. In fact, the two children from an English-only home did not use the present subjunctive at all in the recordings corresponding to ages 5;5 and 5;6. Since we saw that in monolingual acquisition the complexity of subjunctive use is mastered quite late, the question that arises is at what age did these bilingual children acquire the tenses they were using when they were 5;1 to 5;6 years old. As Silva-Corvalán states, it is possible that when bilingual US-born children start kindergarten, they have not yet acquired the complete Spanish TAM system. To answer this question, Silva-Corvalán examined the data from the two children studied longitudinally from age 2;10 living in an English-speaking home, and observed very little progress in almost 3 years, since the children's verb system throughout all the ages seemed incomplete, as compared with monolingual children of the same age. When the children were 5 years of age, no other new forms were consistently used beyond those acquired by age 2;10–2;11. One of the children produced sporadically imperfect subjunctive forms before age 5;6, but after this age, all simple and compound subjunctive forms were absent in the data. Indeed, the two children's tense-mood-aspect system at age 5;6 appeared to be further reduced than the system they had acquired by age 3;0–3;3, when the present subjunctive was attested in their speech. These findings suggest that the processes of simplification and loss attested in the adult systems are most likely the consequence of an interrupted process of "normal" acquisition of Spanish between the ages of 3;0 and 5;0, when more intensive exposure to another language, English in this case, reduces Spanish input.

A feature of all the studies described above is that inferences about the seemingly simplified mood systems of heritage speakers are based solely on production data, as observed from spontaneous language use or from elicited production (via translation, sentence completion, etc.). But if a grammatical category like mood is entirely lost from the grammar, one would expect heritage speakers to have trouble interpreting or understanding the semantic and pragmatic nuances of mood morphology as well, even if they are not asked to produce it. Silva-Corvalán appears to disagree. When stating that Los Angeles bilinguals have a simplified mood system, she claimed that

this statement applies to Spanish language *production* [sic]. Indeed, I have enough evidence to assume that most of the bilingual speakers at the lower levels of the Spanish proficiency continuum *understand* (emphasis mine) the meaning of these tense forms as they are used by their interlocutors. (Silva-Corvalán 1994: 26)

Note that this impression is theoretically and empirically viable. We know that in L2 acquisition studies variability in morphological production does not necessarily mean impairment at the level of formal features (Prévost & White 2000) that one needs in order to interpret grammatical morphology. That is, L2 learners have been shown to produce optional tense and agreement morphology on verbs, yet they know the syntactic distribution of tense and agreement as manifested in other aspects of the grammar (Lardiere 1998). The opposite situation is also possible. Montrul and Slabakova (2002) showed that L2 learners of Spanish produced and recognized tense-aspect markers in Spanish (the preterite/imperfect contrast), yet they had difficulty understanding subtle meaning differences between these two past forms in interpretation tasks. This dissociation between productive and receptive skills is also possible in the grammars of heritage speakers, who are early bilinguals. In a series of recent studies, I have stressed the similarities in linguistic outcomes between L2 learners and heritage speakers (Montrul 2005), so it is entirely possible that the morphological variability typical of adult L2 learners also occurs in heritage speakers with incomplete knowledge of the language.

In conclusion, existing studies on the loss of Spanish subjunctive in adult bilingualism have focused on the correct or incorrect (oral and written) production of subjunctive morphology in obligatory and variable contexts. To date, no study has clearly determined whether simplification of mood morphology also occurs in receptive skills, at the level of recognition and interpretation.

#### 4. The study

The goal of this study is to test whether adult heritage speakers *understand* the meanings of the subjunctive in obligatory and in variable contexts. (Although production data has been gathered from some speakers, it will not be discussed in this study due to space limitations.) The question is whether indeed, as Silva-Corvalán noted, a simplified mood system is just a feature of the bilinguals' production, and whether bilinguals are still able to *interpret* the different meanings of subjunctive and indicative sentences. If the functional category MoodP and the feature [+MOOD] are still active in their grammars, the prediction is that bilinguals will be able to have target-like interpretations despite inaccurate performance on morphology. Inability to produce and understand mood morphology is stronger evidence for lack or loss of the functional category MoodP.

Participants were 20 bilingual heritage speakers of Spanish from different backgrounds (mostly from Mexico, and others from Colombia, Peru, Puerto Rico). Fourteen of these speakers were enrolled in a *Spanish for bilinguals* class at the University of Illinois, while the other 6 were taking other basic Spanish language classes. Their mean age was 20.1. The control group consisted of 15 monolingually-raised native speakers of Spanish from different Spanish-speaking countries. All were international

students residing in the US at the time of testing, and were recent arrivals. Their mean age was 25.8.

All participants were first administered a background questionnaire (with questions about age, place of birth, linguistic background, etc.), and the vocabulary and cloze parts of a standardized Spanish proficiency test (DELE, *Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera*) to establish their levels of proficiency in the language. The main experimental tasks were a Morphology Recognition Task and a Sentence Conjunction Judgment Task. The goal of the Morphology Recognition Task was to test knowledge of subjunctive and indicative forms in obligatory contexts. Participants were presented with a short passage and asked to choose one of two forms (subjunctive or indicative) of the verb in some sentences, based on whether the target verb was embedded or not, and, if it was embedded, based on the subordinating verb or expression. An example is shown below in (7).

- (7) Doctor Raúl: Ud. sabe que yo (1) *consumo* / *consuma* más de diez cigarrillos al día. Ud. sabe que (2) *fumo* / *fume* lo mismo ahora que hace quince años. Y por eso no creo que mi mala salud en estos momentos (3) *es* / *sea* una consecuencia del tabaco. Qué (4) *cree* / *crea* Ud.?  
 ‘You know that I **consume** more than ten cigarettes per day. You know that I **smoke** the same now as fifteen years ago. And therefore I don’t think that my poor health at this time is a consequence of the tobacco. What do you **think**?’

The task included 10 verbs in the subjunctive and 10 in the indicative. Responses were scored for accuracy (1 or 0 points) and submitted to statistical analysis. Due to a typographical error in one of the sentences, one of the verbs for subjunctive had to be discarded and we were left with 10 indicative and 9 subjunctive verbs.

The second task was a Sentence Conjunction Judgment task following the exact same format of the task designed by Montrul and Slabakova (2002) to test tense/aspect. This task specifically focused on the interpretation of subjunctive/indicative morphology in variable contexts, or when the use of indicative or subjunctive carries a different meaning. Participants were presented with randomized minimal pairs of sentences and were asked to indicate on a scale ranging from -2 (contradictory) to 2 (logical) whether each sentence made sense or not, as shown in (8)–(10). Because one of the aims of this study was to test speakers with low proficiency level in the language, the sentences were limited to testing present indicative and subjunctive and no other tenses. The test also used adverbials which were likely to be known by the bilinguals.

The task tested 20 adverbial clauses: 10 with *cuando* ‘when’ in habitual contexts, as in (8) and 10 with *de manera que* ‘such that,’ as in (9). The task also included 10 relative clauses, as in (10). Half of the sentences (15) were in the indicative and the other half (15) were in the subjunctive.

- (8) a. *Cada año, Ana se alegra cuando le umentan el sueldo.* logical  
 b. *Cada año, Ana se alegra cuando le umenten el sueldo.* contradictory  
 ‘Every year, Ana is happy when her salary is increased.’  
 -2     -1     0     1     2

- (9) a. *El profesor siempre explica ese teorema de manera que todos los estudiantes lo entienden, pero unos pocos estudiantes no lo entienden.* contradictory  
 b. *El profesor siempre explica ese teorema de manera que todos los estudiantes lo entiendan, pero unos pocos unos estudiantes no lo entienden.* logical  
 ‘The professor explained the theorem such all students understand it, but some students don’t understand it.’
- (10) a. *Necesito un libro de cuentos para niños que tiene ilustraciones de Miró, pero no sé si hay uno.* contradictory  
 b. *Necesito un libro de cuentos para niños que tenga ilustraciones de Miró pero no sé si hay uno.* logical  
 ‘I need a children’s book with illustrations by Miró, but I don’t know if there is one.’

A total of 45 test sentences were presented in randomized order. 15 of these sentences were distracter items, consisting of logical and contradictory sentences irrespective of mood. These were included to make sure that participants understood the task. If participants cannot discriminate between logical and contradictory sentences in general, then we cannot conclude that it is because they do not understand mood.

## 5. Results

### 5.1 Group results

I will start by presenting the overall results by groups: monolinguals versus bilingual heritage speakers. Table 2 shows the percentage accuracy on the Spanish Proficiency Test and on the Morphology Recognition Task. As can be seen, while the monolinguals performed comparably high on both tasks (close to ceiling), the bilinguals’ accuracy scores were much lower on both tasks. The differences between the monolinguals and the bilinguals were statistically significant for the Proficiency test (One-way ANOVA:  $F(1,34) = 36.341, p < 0.0001$ ) and for the Morphology Recognition Task (One-way ANOVA:  $F(1,34) = 25.292, p < 0.0001$ ).

Let us now look at the overall results of the Sentence Conjunction Judgment Task to see whether bilinguals discriminate between logical and contradictory sentences depending on the verbal form. Mean judgment scores for each sentence on this task were submitted to statistical analysis (ANOVA with repeated measures), with sentence type

**Table 2.** Mean percentage accuracy on proficiency test and the morphology recognition task (standard deviations in parentheses)

|   | Monolinguals (n = 15) |        | Bilinguals (n = 20) |        |
|---|-----------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| Proficiency Test<br>(max = 50)            | 98%                   | (1.08) | 67.9%               | (5.49) |
| Morphology Recognition Task<br>(max = 19) | 98.8%                 | (0.79) | 78.9%               | (2.49) |

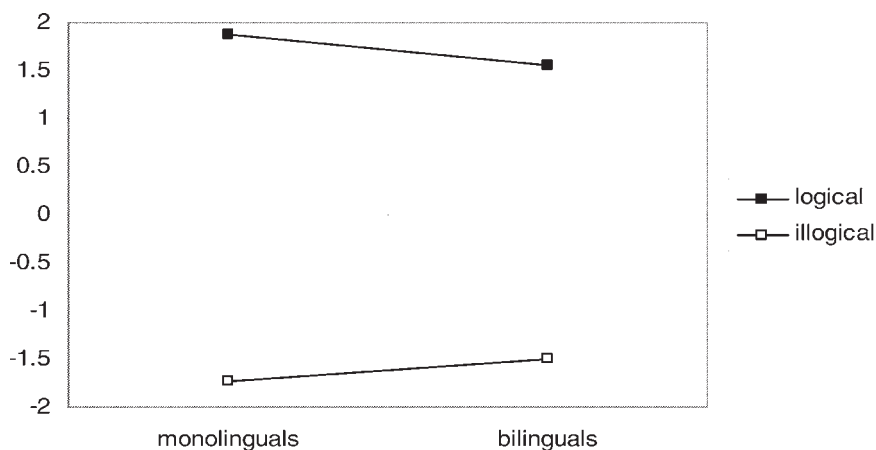


Figure 1. Mean responses on distracters

and mood as the dependent variables and group (monolinguals vs. bilinguals) as the between factor. Results showed a main effect for group (monolinguals were different from bilinguals), sentence type, and mood, as well as significant interactions. Here we are interested in the sentence type by mood interaction, or the distinction between indicative and subjunctive in all sentence types. These differences were further pursued by using paired sample t-tests within groups.

Figure 1 presents the results of the distracter sentences, which were included to ascertain that bilinguals could do the task. As the figure shows, the two groups of speakers discriminated statistically between logical and contradictory sentences (*monolinguals*:  $t(14) = 42.374$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ; *bilinguals*:  $t(19) = 18.243$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ), a sign that they indeed understood the task. We are now in a position to examine the results of the experimental sentences to see whether bilinguals understand the mood morphology of the verb, which turns sentences into logical or contradictory. If they do, we expect to find the same response pattern as with the distracter items, where the points for logical and contradictory sentences are far apart in the graph, close to the 2 and -2 points.

Figures 2, 3 and 4 display the results by condition: adverbial clauses with *cuando* (Figure 2), adverbial clauses with *de manera que* (Figure 3), and restrictive relative clauses (Figure 4). As can be seen, the monolinguals' patterns of responses on these sentence types is exactly like the pattern on the distracter sentences. That is, for the monolinguals, the mean rating scores are far apart on opposite sides of the scale, indicating a robust, statistically significant, difference between subjunctive and indicative sentences in the three conditions at a  $p < 0.0001$ , according to paired-sample t-tests.

The results of the bilinguals are quite different. In Figure 2 (adverbial clauses with *cuando*) and Figure 4 (relative clauses), we see that the responses for logical and contradictory sentences are both on the positive side of the scale, whereas the mean responses come together near the 0 mark for adverbial clauses with *de manera que* (Figure 3). Although for the bilinguals there was a statistically significant difference between sub-

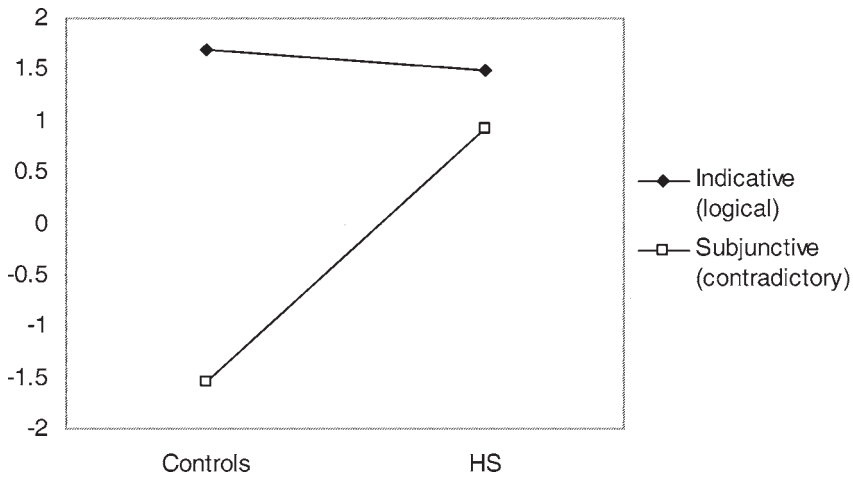


Figure 2. Sentence conjunction judgment task. Mean responses on adverbial clauses with *cuando*

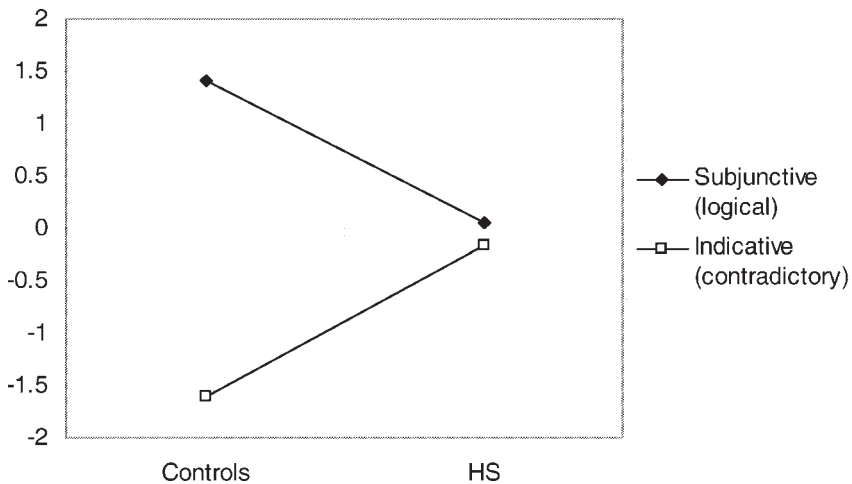


Figure 3. Sentence conjunction judgment task. Mean responses on adverbial clauses with *de manera que*

junctive and indicative in sentences with *cuando* ( $t(19) = 2.381, p < 0.028$ ), there was no difference whatsoever in sentences with *de manera que* ( $t(19) = -.886, p < 0.387$ ) or restrictive relatives ( $t(19) = -.226, p < 0.823$ ). In fact, these results show that the bilinguals as a group, unlike the monolinguals, do not discriminate semantically between the indicative and subjunctive verbal forms as tested in the sentence conjunction judgment task. Let us now look more closely at individual differences within the bilinguals, like proficiency.

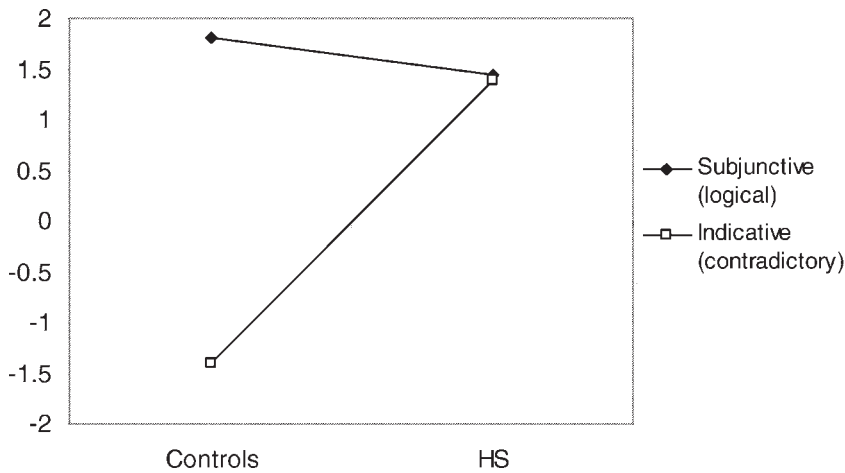


Figure 4. Sentence conjunction judgment task. Mean responses on restrictive relative clauses

## 5.2 Results by Proficiency

In recent work (Montrul 2004, 2005), I have found that the most marked evidence of linguistic simplification, language loss, or grammatical variability in Spanish heritage speakers comes from those speakers with the lowest proficiency in the language. By contrast, speakers who are advanced or as proficient as native speakers rarely show signs of linguistic change in their grammars. For that reason, even when the group results failed to show discrimination of subjunctive and indicative in the main tasks, it may be the case that higher proficiency speakers can make the distinction. Thus, based on the individual results of the proficiency test, bilinguals who scored above 80% were classified as advanced and those who scored below 80% were classified as intermediate. As it turned out, of the 20 bilinguals, there were 9 advanced and 11 intermediate.

Next, I looked at the results of the morphology recognition task by mood, or accuracy on subjunctive and indicative. Since this task was very easy and required participants to make one of two choices, the probability for chance performance (50%) was quite high. In order to consider that participants reliably recognized the difference between subjunctive and indicative in obligatory contexts, 80% accuracy on this task was required. Individual results showed that 7 of 9 (77.7%) of the advanced bilinguals scored above 80% accuracy on indicative and subjunctive in this task, whereas 9 of 11 (81.8%) intermediate bilinguals did not meet the 80% accuracy criteria with indicative and subjunctive. Indeed, there was a very high positive correlation between the results of the Proficiency Test and those of the Morphology Recognition Task ( $r = .85$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), as the scatter plot in Figure 5 shows.

Figure 6 shows the accuracy scores on subjunctive and indicative in obligatory contexts by proficiency level, as tested in the Morphology Recognition Task. A 2-factor ANOVA showed a main effect for Mood (indicative higher than subjunctive  $F = (2,$

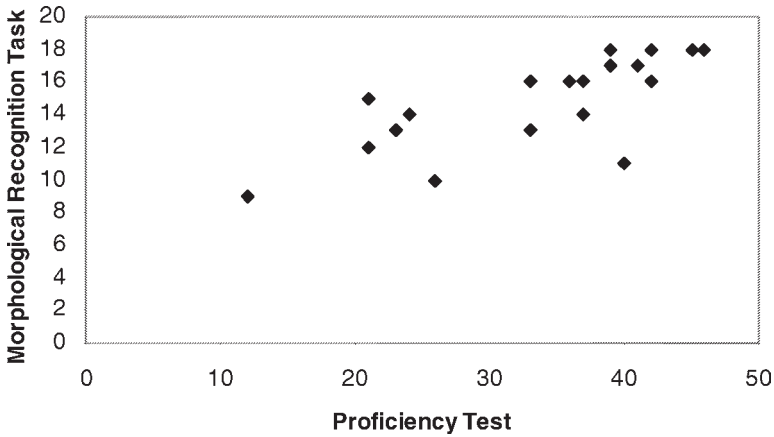


Figure 5. Correlation between Morphological Recognition Task and Proficiency Test

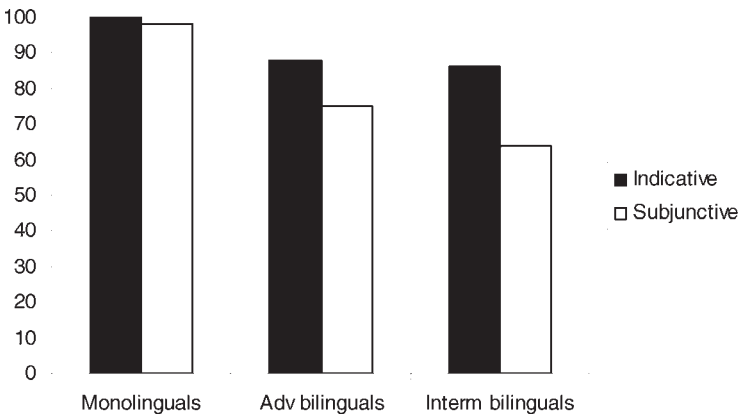


Figure 6. Morphological Recognition Task. Percentage accuracy on indicative and subjunctive by proficiency group

32) = 9.117,  $p < 0.005$ ), and for proficiency (monolinguals better than bilinguals, advanced better than intermediate bilinguals  $F = (2, 32) = 30.871, p < 0.0001$ ). While the monolinguals were equally accurate on subjunctive and indicative, the bilinguals were more accurate on indicative than on subjunctive. The intermediate bilinguals scored only 67% accurate on subjunctive.

Based on these results, it is possible to conclude that the advanced speakers display more reliable knowledge of subjunctive in obligatory contexts than the intermediate speakers. Given this finding, will they show more discrimination than the intermediate bilinguals with subjunctive/indicative morphology in variable contexts? The results of the Sentence Conjunction Judgment Task by proficiency level are displayed in



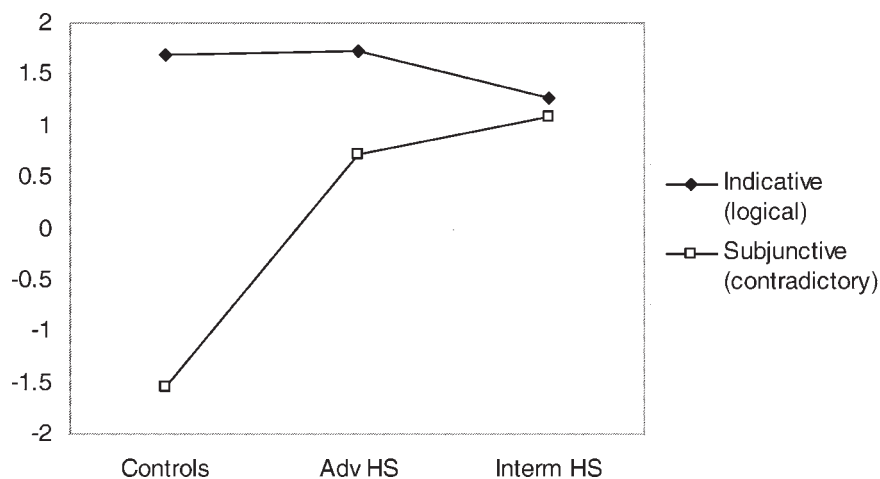


Figure 7. Sentence Conjunction Judgment Task. Mean responses on adverbial clauses with *cuando* by proficiency

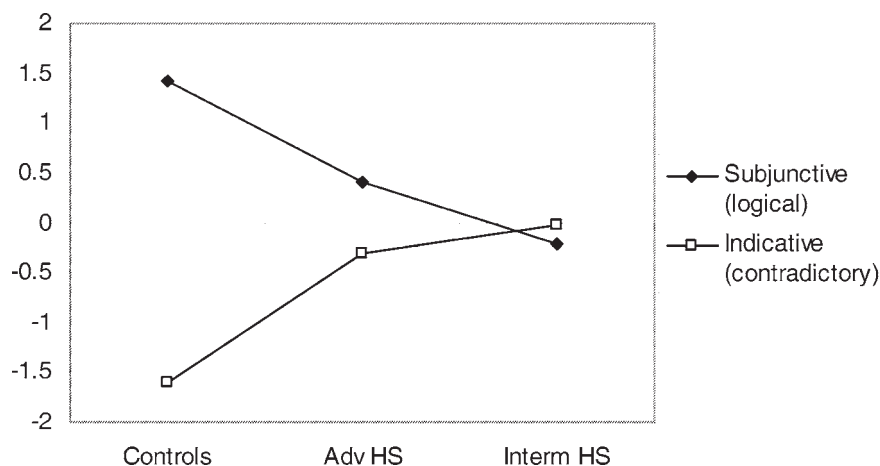


Figure 8. Sentence Conjunction Judgment Task. Mean responses on adverbial clauses with *de manera que* by proficiency

Figure 7 (adverbial clauses with *cuando*), Figure 8 (adverbial clauses with *de manera que*) and Figure 9 (restrictive relative clauses).

As with the overall results, the intermediate heritage speakers did not discriminate between logical and contradictory sentences as a function of mood in any of the clauses. Although there were signs, albeit weak, of some possible discrimination by the advanced group, the advanced bilinguals showed a statistically significant difference between indicative and subjunctive only with *cuando* clauses ( $t(8) = 2.592, p < 0.032$ ), but no difference with *de manera que* (Figure 8) or relative clauses (Figure 9).

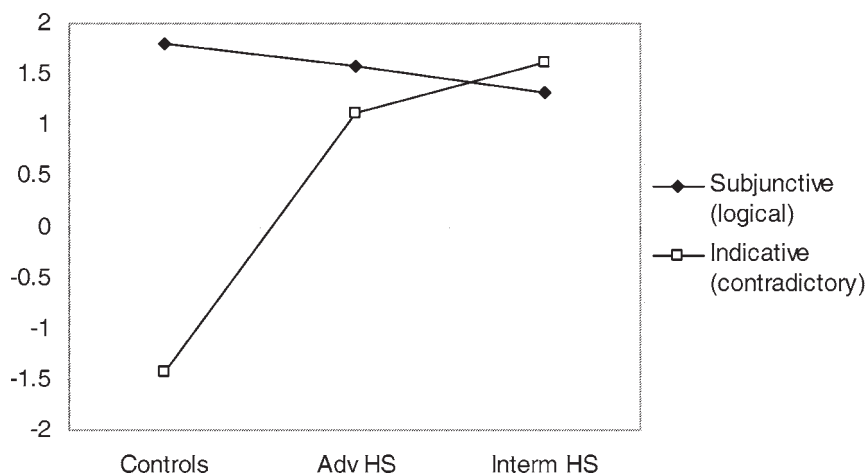


Figure 9. Sentence Conjunction Judgment Task. Mean responses on restrictive relative clauses by proficiency

### 5.3 Individual results

Since the overall results by group and by proficiency failed to show clear signs of semantic discrimination between indicative and subjunctive sentences for the bilinguals, an individual subject analysis was performed to see whether at least some individuals were able to discriminate between the two verb forms. Paired samples t-tests were performed on the results of each subject (see appendix). Results showed that except for 1 (subject # 12), all the subjects in the monolingual group showed statistically significant contrast between indicative and subjunctive in all conditions. By contrast, only 1 subject from the bilingual group (subject # 208, advanced) discriminated statistically between indicative and subjunctive in all three conditions. All others did not.

## 6. Conclusion

Unlike Silva-Corvalán's impression that heritage speakers understand mood morphology despite inaccurate production, and contrary to findings in Montrul (2002) on tense-aspect morphology in heritage speakers, the results of this experimental study show that 2nd generation speakers, who may recognize the use of subjunctive versus indicative in obligatory contexts, do not necessarily have the ability to discriminate semantically between subjunctive and indicative in variable contexts, when there is a subtle meaning difference.

In general, those bilinguals who had problems with the subjunctive-indicative morphological distinction in the recognition task also had problems with semantic interpretations of subjunctive in the interpretation task. Although oral production data

for some speakers was also collected, and these speakers failed to produce subjunctive in many required contexts as previous studies have found, these results could not be presented in detail. Nonetheless, I believe the results of the recognition and interpretation tasks still demonstrate that adult heritage speakers have not fully acquired subjunctive in childhood, and whatever was acquired at an early age was lost as a result of reduced input and language disuse, as the study by Silva-Corvalán (2003) with young children clearly attested.

Recall that Merino (1983) tested bilinguals children's productive and comprehension skills in Spanish and English, but it was in the Spanish production measure where the bilingual children manifested the most dramatic signs of language loss, especially with regard to the subjunctive. From what Merino reported, comprehension skills were not very affected in the 4th graders, although they ceased to develop in comparison with English. By contrast, if language attrition manifests itself in productive skills first, this study shows that by the time bilinguals reach young adulthood, interpretation skills can also be gradually affected. A difference between the results of this study and the impressions expressed by Silva-Corvalán (1994) on the loss of the meanings of subjunctive can be attributed to the two methodologies used in the studies. Silva-Corvalán's observations were based on the use of language in natural interactions, in situations where speakers could use a rich context to help them interpret the meaning of a form. By contrast, the results of this study are based on the presentation of context-independent sentences in an experimental situation.

From the theoretical perspective assumed here, the conclusion is that the loss of the functional category mood involves loss of morpho-phonology and semantic features, implying loss at the level of linguistic competence, not just access to that competence. In this sense, variability in morphological production entails impairment at the level of formal linguistic features as well. Admittedly, however, the results of this experiment are limited because only three structures with subjunctive were tested. It is possible that heritage speakers retain the subjunctive in other structures that have not been tested in this experiment. With this caveat in mind, the pedagogical implications of these findings are that since heritage speakers seem to have lost the category mood in certain grammatical contexts, they will have to learn the subjunctive forms and meanings in the classroom, just like typical L1-speaking L2 learners of Spanish. At least for this grammatical category, early exposure to the language was not sufficient to show recognition of subjunctive in variable contexts later in young adulthood. It is an open question what type of instruction and exposure is best to acquire advanced proficiency with the command of subjunctive in these speakers.

## References

- Blake, R. 1983. Mood selection among Spanish-speaking children, ages 4 to 12. *The Bilingual Review* 10: 21–32.
- Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads. A crosslinguistic perspective*. New York NY: OUP.

- Collentine, J. 2003. The development of subjunctive and complex syntactic abilities among foreign language learners of Spanish. In *Spanish Second Language Acquisition*, B. Lafford & R. Salaberry (eds.), 74–97. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Giorgi, A. & Pianesi, F. 1997. *Tense and Aspect: From semantics to morphosyntax*. Oxford: OUP.
- Haverkate, H. 2002. *The Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics of Spanish Mood*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lardiere, D. 1998. Case and tense in the fossilized steady state. *Second Language Research* 14: 1–26.
- Lipski, J. 1993. Creoloid phenomena in the Spanish of transitional bilinguals. In *Spanish in the United States*, A. Roca & J. Lipski (eds.), 155–173. Berlin: Mouton.
- López Ornat, S. 1994. *La adquisición de la lengua española*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- Lynch, A. 1999. The Subjunctive in Miami Cuban Spanish: Bilingualism, contact, and language variability. PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- Martínez Mira, M. I. 2005. Mood Simplification: Adverbial clauses in heritage Spanish. PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Merino, B. 1983. Language loss in bilingual chicano children. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology* 4: 277–294.
- Montrul, S. 2005. Second language acquisition and first language loss in adult early bilinguals: Exploring some differences and similarities. *Second Language Research* 21(3): 199–249.
- Montrul, S. 2004. Subject and object expression in Spanish heritage speakers: A case of morpho-syntactic convergence. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 7(2): 125–142.
- Montrul, S. 2002. Incomplete acquisition and attrition of Spanish tense/aspect distinctions in adult bilinguals. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 5(1): 39–68.
- Montrul, S. & Slabakova, R. 2002. The L2 acquisition of morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the aspectual tenses preterite and imperfect. In *The Acquisition of Spanish Morphosyntax. The L1/L2 Connection*, A.T. Pérez-Leroux & J. Liceras (eds.), 131–149. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Pérez-Leroux, A. T. 1998. The acquisition of mood selection in Spanish relative clauses. *The Journal of Child Language* 25: 585–604.
- Pérez-Saldanya, M. 1999. El modo en las subordinadas relativas y adverbiales. In *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Vol. 2, I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), 3252–3322. Madrid: Espasa.
- Poletto, C. 2000. *The Higher Functional Field*. Oxford: OUP.
- Prévost, P. & White, L. 2000. Missing surface inflection or impairment in second language acquisition? Evidence from Tense and Agreement. *Second Language Research* 16: 110–133.
- Ridruejo, E. 1999. Modo y modalidad. El modo en las subordinadas sustantivas. In *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Vol. 2, I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), 3209–3252, Madrid: Espasa.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 2003. Linguistic consequences of reduced input in bilingual first language acquisition. In *Linguistic Theory and Language Development in Hispanic Languages*, S. Montrul & F. Ordóñez (eds.), 375–397. Somerville MA: Cascadia.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 2000. *Sociolingüística y pragmática del español*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1994. *Language Contact and Change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford: OUP.
- Zentella, A.C. 1997. *Growing Up Bilingual*. Malden: Blackwell.

## Appendix

Table 1. Monolingual speakers' individual results on the Sentence Conjunction Judgment Task by condition

| Subject | Prof | MRT  | Cuando clauses  |                  |          | de manera que clauses |                  |          | Relative clauses |                  |         |
|---------|------|------|-----------------|------------------|----------|-----------------------|------------------|----------|------------------|------------------|---------|
|         |      |      | indic-<br>ative | subjunc-<br>tive | p value  | indic-<br>ative       | subjunc-<br>tive | p value  | indic-<br>ative  | subjunc-<br>tive | p value |
| 1       | 0.9  | 1    | 1.8             | -1.8             | 0.001    | -1.4                  | 1.4              | 0.019    | -0.4             | 1.8              | 0.04    |
| 2       | 0.92 | 1    | 1.6             | -1.2             | 0.025    | -1.6                  | 0.6              | 0.074    | -1.8             | 2                | 0.001   |
| 3       | 1    | 1    | 1.8             | -2               | 0.0001   | -1.8                  | 1.4              | 0.001    | -1.8             | 2                | 0.0001  |
| 4       | 1    | 0.94 | 1.8             | -2               | 0.0001   | -2                    | 1.4              | 0.005    | -1.6             | 2                | 0.0001  |
| 5       | 1    | 1    | 2               | -2               | 0.0001   | -2                    | 2                | 0.0001   | -2               | 2                | 0.0001  |
| 6       | 1    | 0.94 | 1.8             | -1.8             | 0.0001   | -2                    | 1.2              | 0.016    | -1.2             | 1.8              | 0.018   |
| 7       | 1    | 1    | 1.6             | -2               | 0.001    | -2                    | 2                | 0.0001   | -2               | 2                | 0.0001  |
| 8       | 0.98 | 1    | 2               | -2               | 0.0001   | -2                    | 2                | 0.0001   | -2               | 2                | 0.0001  |
| 9       | 0.96 | 1    | 0.8             | -1.4             | 0.029    | -1.2                  | 1.4              | 0.003    | -0.8             | 1.2              | 0.075   |
| 10      | 1    | 1    | 1.8             | -1.2             | 0.018    | -0.6                  | 1.2              | 0.07     | -1.2             | 1                | 0.004   |
| 11      | 1    | 1    | 2               | -2               | 0.0001   | -1.8                  | 2                | 0.0001   | -1.2             | 2                | 0.001   |
| 12      | 0.94 | 1    | 1.2             | 0.8              | 0.641 ns | -1                    | 0.4              | 0.242 ns | -1.2             | 1.8              | 0.04    |
| 13      | 1    | 1    | 1.8             | -2               | 0.001    | -1.8                  | 1.4              | 0.004    | -1.8             | 2                | 0.001   |
| 14      | 1    | 0.94 | 1.8             | -2               | 0.001    | -2                    | 1.4              | 0.04     | -1.6             | 2                | 0.05    |
| 15      | 1    | 1    | 2               | -2               | 0.0001   | -2                    | 2                | 0.0001   | -2               | 2                | 0.0001  |

Table 2. Bilingual heritage speakers' individual results on the Sentence Conjunction Judgment Task by condition

| Subject<br>advanced | Prof | MRT  | Cuando clauses   |                  |         | de manera que clauses |                  |         | Relative clauses |                  |         |
|---------------------|------|------|------------------|------------------|---------|-----------------------|------------------|---------|------------------|------------------|---------|
|                     |      |      | indic-<br>cative | subjunc-<br>tive | p value | indic-<br>ative       | subjunc-<br>tive | p value | indic-<br>ative  | subjunc-<br>tive | p value |
| 201                 | 0.78 | 0.95 | 0.6              | 0.6              | 1       | -0.4                  | -0.4             | 1       | 0.6              | 0.4              | 0.828   |
| 203                 | 0.9  | 0.95 | 2                | 0.8              | 0.178   | 1                     | 0.6              | 0.778   | 2                | 1.8              | 0.374   |
| 204                 | 0.84 | 0.84 | 2                | 0                | 0.089   | -0.4                  | -0.4             | 1       | 2                | 2                | 1       |
| 206                 | 0.78 | 0.89 | 2                | 2                | 1       | 0.4                   | 0.4              | 1       | 2                | 2                | 1       |
| 208                 | 0.84 | 0.95 | 1.8              | -1.4             | 0.001   | -2                    | 2                | 0.001   | -2               | 2                | 0.001   |
| 211                 | 0.82 | 0.89 | 2                | 2                | 1       | 0.6                   | 2                | 0.184   | 1.8              | 2                | 0.374   |
| 217                 | 0.84 | 0.95 | 1.8              | 0.2              | 0.078   | -0.4                  | -0.8             | 0.587   | 1.2              | 1                | 0.621   |
| 218                 | 0.92 | 0.95 | 1.6              | 0.4              | 0.109   | 0                     | 1.8              | 0.07    | 1.2              | 1.6              | 0.477   |
| 219                 | 0.8  | 0.58 | 1.8              | 2                | 0.374   | -1.6                  | -1.6             | 1       | 1.2              | 1.4              | 0.621   |
| intermediate        |      |      |                  |                  |         |                       |                  |         |                  |                  |         |
| 202                 | 0.48 | 0.74 | 0.8              | 0.8              | 1       | -0.6                  | -1.4             | 0.242   | 2                | 1.4              | 0.374   |
| 205                 | 0.46 | 0.68 | 1.2              | 0.8              | 0.374   | -0.2                  | -0.4             | 0.621   | 1.4              | 1.2              | 0.704   |
| 207                 | 0.42 | 0.63 | 0.8              | 1.2              | 0.178   | 0.6                   | 0.6              | 1       | 0.8              | 0.8              | 1       |
| 209                 | 0.66 | 0.84 | 1                | 2                | 0.266   | 0                     | 0.4              | 0.74    | 2                | 2                | 1       |
| 210                 | 0.74 | 0.89 | 1.8              | 0                | 0.088   | -0.6                  | -0.2             | 0.749   | 2                | 1.6              | 0.374   |
| 212                 | 0.74 | 0.74 | 1.8              | 1                | 0.294   | 1.2                   | 0                | 0.178   | 1.2              | 0.4              | 0.477   |
| 213                 | 0.24 | 0.47 | 1.4              | 0.4              | 0.23    | 0.4                   | -0.2             | 0.741   | 2                | 1.4              | 0.374   |
| 214                 | 0.42 | 0.79 | 0.2              | 0.8              | 0.607   | 0.2                   | 0.4              | 0.847   | 1.4              | 0.6              | 0.294   |
| 215                 | 0.52 | 0.53 | 1.6              | 1.2              | 0.688   | 0.8                   | 0.8              | 1       | 1                | 1.2              | 0.749   |
| 216                 | 0.72 | 0.84 | 1.4              | 1.75             | 0.604   | -1                    | -1.2             | 0.833   | 2                | 2                | 1       |
| 220                 | 0.66 | 0.68 | 2                | 2                | 1       | -1.2                  | -1.2             | 1       | 2                | 2                | 1       |

## Anglicismos en el léxico disponible de los adolescentes hispanos de Chicago

Francisco Moreno-Fernández

Universidad de Alcalá – Instituto Cervantes

The degree of English present in the available lexicon of adolescent first and second generation Hispanics in Chicago is analyzed. Available lexicon is defined as (1) the sum of words that speakers have in their mental systems and (2) whose use is conditioned by a particular topic. Given the English environment in which these youth live and are educated, we hypothesize that their Spanish would show a notable number of English lexical loans. The author elicited available lexicon by asking the teens to list words by association within 22 different semantic fields. These include, the human body, clothing, parts of the house, food and drink, school, transportation, means of heating and cooling interior spaces, etc. In turn, the frequency of the words was calculated to arrive at a statistical index of availability. Of the 20 words most commonly listed in each of the semantic fields, only 26 (6.5%) were Anglicisms, indicating that the Spanish lexicon of these young U.S. Latinos is sufficiently solid to permit communication about general topics. A greater number of English words were present in more esoteric fields such as “means of heating and cooling interior spaces,” which is to be expected given that this field is not part of the everyday experience of most teenagers. There were no significant differences related to gender or even to generation; it was the participants’ level of Spanish, defined by the level of Spanish course in which they were enrolled, that showed the greatest correlation with the presence of English lexical items.

### 1. Introducción

El estudio del léxico disponible, siempre interesante, adquiere una dimensión especialmente atractiva cuando se analizan situaciones de lenguas en contacto. Se conoce como léxico disponible al conjunto de palabras que los hablantes tienen en el lexicón mental y cuyo uso está condicionado por el tema concreto de la comunicación, a diferencia del léxico básico, formado por las palabras más frecuentes con independencia del tema tratado (López Morales 1979). Cabe suponer, pues, que la disponibilidad léxica de los hablantes de situaciones de contactos puede ofrecer palabras de, al menos, dos lenguas y que podría hacerlo bien discriminando las unidades léxicas pertenecientes a una u otra lengua, bien con distinto grado y tipo de mezcla de sendos repertorios.

El objetivo principal de este estudio es analizar la disponibilidad léxica en el español de adolescentes de origen hispano de la ciudad de Chicago, prestando especial atención a hispanos de primera y segunda generación con edades comprendidas entre los 15 y los 17 años. En general, estos son hablantes que manifiestan un buen dominio del inglés, pero que, en gran medida, conservan el español como lengua familiar. Nuestro fin específico es averiguar el nivel de presencia del inglés en el léxico disponible de estos hispanos, en la hipótesis de que el español de estos jóvenes puede acusar notablemente la influencia del inglés, llevando, por ejemplo, a un uso notable del préstamo léxico.

El análisis que ahora se presenta tiene un carácter experimental, puesto que pretende, a propósito del objetivo marcado, descubrir los obstáculos teóricos y metodológicos más sobresalientes para abordar una investigación de mayor amplitud y profundidad sobre la disponibilidad léxica en el español de Chicago.

## 2. Antecedentes

Este trabajo aspira a integrarse en la larga serie de estudios que conforman un ambicioso proyecto de análisis de la disponibilidad léxica, cuyo objetivo es elaborar diccionarios de léxico disponible para diversas áreas del mundo hispánico (López Morales 2001). Aunque la historia, la más remota y la más reciente, se ha explicado ya en diversas publicaciones (López Chávez 1992; Carcedo 1998; Samper 1998; López Morales 2001), resulta imprescindible recordar algunos de los aspectos fundamentales de los estudios del léxico disponible en el mundo hispánico:

- a. El origen de esta línea de investigación estuvo en las propuestas hechas para la elaboración de *Le Français Élémentaire*, publicado en 1954 a raíz de una iniciativa de la UNESCO. Los trabajos pioneros correspondieron a Georges Gougenheim y René Michéa (Michéa 1953; Gougenheim et al. 1964; Gougenheim 1967) y tuvieron continuación en los de Mackey (1971a y b).
- b. El estudio del léxico disponible de la lengua española fue abordado por López Morales en los años setenta, pero su impulso definitivo llegó desde principios de los años noventa, por obra del propio López Morales y con las aportaciones de otros investigadores, como López Chávez (López Chávez y Strassburger 1991; López Chávez 1993)
- c. Las investigaciones de disponibilidad se han situado tradicionalmente en el ámbito de la lingüística aplicada y específicamente de los análisis del léxico en personas de edad escolar, principalmente adolescentes y, en menor medida, niños.
- d. La base teórica de estos estudios ha estado en la primacía concedida al principio de disponibilidad sobre el principio de frecuencia, entendiendo disponibilidad como la disposición de unas unidades léxicas en el lexicón mental del hablante a propósito del tratamiento de temas específicos en el discurso.

- e. La base metodológica de los análisis ha estado constituida por la aplicación de pruebas asociativas, realizadas mediante la escritura de listas de palabras, y su análisis estadístico.

Las investigaciones desarrolladas en múltiples comunidades del mundo hispánico han ido dando cuenta de la naturaleza del léxico disponible de cada área estudiada (desde Chile hasta México, desde Aragón a Las islas Canarias), así como de la diversidad de aplicaciones de los principios teóricos de la disponibilidad y de su dimensión metodológica (Hernández 2002), aplicaciones que recorren los ámbitos de la lingüística aplicada a la enseñanza de lenguas, de la psicolingüística, de la adquisición del léxico, de la dialectología, de la sociolingüística, de la etnografía o de la lexicografía (Borrego 2000; Butrón 1989; Cañizal 1991; Carcedo 2000; Gómez Molina y Gómez Devís 2004). En lo que se refiere al análisis de los préstamos o transferencias léxicas a propósito del estudio de la disponibilidad, deben destacarse los antecedentes de Orlando Alba (1999) para los anglicismos en el español de la República Dominicana y de López Morales (1999a, 1999b) para los anglicismos en Puerto Rico, así como el trabajo de Gómez Molina y Gómez Devís (2004), para el español de Valencia (España), dada la convivencia de catalán y español en esa comunidad de habla. No hay precedente, sin embargo, en el estudio del léxico disponible en el español de los Estados Unidos.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. Perfil hispano de Chicago

Junto a Florida, California y Nueva York, el área de Illinois – y específicamente de Chicago – es de las que ha contado con un mayor número de hispanos a lo largo de las últimas décadas, lo que quiere decir que la presencia de la lengua española, más allá de su estatus y de su uso social, resulta familiar desde hace tiempo, sobre todo desde los años cincuenta, aunque siempre haya sido el inglés la lengua predominante (Canfield 1979–1980; Valdés y Torada 1997; Judd 2003). La población hispana de Chicago se situaba alrededor de las 35.000 personas a lo largo de la década de los cincuenta; y alcanzaba la cifra de 200.000 en la década de los setenta (Pierce 1975).

El componente hispano de la ciudad de Chicago ha estado claramente dominado por la gente de origen mexicano. Hacia 1920 Chicago fue la principal ciudad receptora de mexicanos fuera del Suroeste de los Estados Unidos: entonces llegaron cerca de 20.000 y el número fue creciendo ininterrumpidamente, como se desprende del gráfico 1, donde se presenta una serie temporal con datos procedentes del censo.

Como complemento de estos datos, cabe decir que México es el país de origen de la mayoría de los residentes en Chicago nacidos en el extranjero (47%), seguido de lejos por Polonia (11%).

---

1. Los resultados de esta investigación se presentaron en 2004. Con posterioridad a esa fecha se han publicado otros estudios (Sancho 2006).



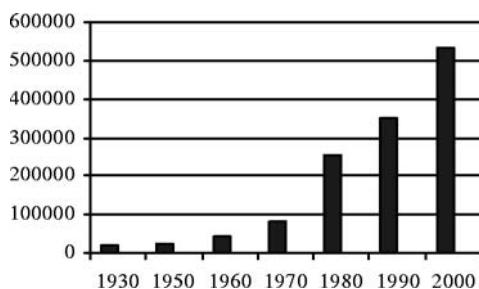


Gráfico 1. Progresión de presencia mexicana en Chicago

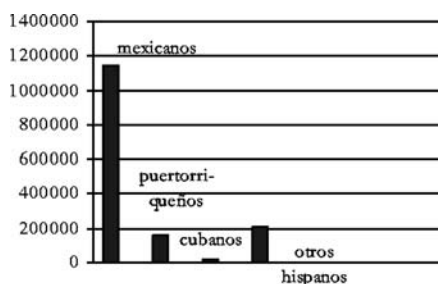


Gráfico 2. Número de hispanos en Illinois por procedencia, según el Censo 2000 (The Brookings Institutions 2003)

Desde una perspectiva más general, el Censo del año 2000 arroja para la ciudad de Chicago una población total de 2.896.016 habitantes, de los cuales 753.644, esto es, un 26.02%, aparecen catalogados como hispanos. Si se tiene en cuenta el área metropolitana, Chicago es la tercera ciudad de los Estados Unidos por número absoluto de hispanos, con 1.498.507 de un total de habitantes de 9.157.540 (Moncada y Olivas 2003:29). Entre ellos, como queda dicho, los de origen mexicano son los más numerosos (74.9%), pero destacan también los de origen puertorriqueño (10.9%), como se ve en los datos del gráfico 2, correspondiente al Estado de Illinois. En el grupo de “otros hispanos” destacan los colombianos, los ecuatorianos, los dominicanos y los guatemaltecos. Los cubanos apenas sobrepasan el 1%.

Todo esto quiere decir que, cuantitativamente, la lengua de origen de los hispanos, el español, tiene capacidad para ocupar un espacio notable dentro de la vida social de la comunidad. Un 26% de la población es la proporción más alta de las minorías de la ciudad y ese peso demográfico puede contribuir, como lo está haciendo, a que las actitudes lingüísticas hacia el español sean cada vez más positivas. De hecho, según los datos de un estudio de mercado encargado por el periódico “La Raza” de Chicago en 2002, el 71% de los hispanos prefiere comunicarse solamente en español y el 87% habla español en casa. Otros datos de interés son que, entre los hispanos que han conseguido su graduación en una universidad, el 61% habla español en el hogar y que el 96% de

todos los hispanos se sentiría más inclinado a comprar marcas que se anuncien en español.

Por otra parte, la alta proporción de hispanos de Chicago nacidos fuera de los Estados Unidos permite entender que el mantenimiento del español como lengua familiar presente una respetable solidez, lo que no significa que no se produzcan desplazamientos (Potowski 2004). Los hispanos suelen estar alfabetizados en español y no inglés y el 81% de ellos declaran que son capaces de leer bien o muy bien. Por edad, los hispanos tienen una media más baja que los no hispanos: prácticamente la mitad tiene menos de 26 años y el 76% tiene menos de 40. En el plano de la caracterización geolingüística, es evidente que los rasgos mayoritarios y más claros del español hablado en Chicago coinciden con los del español de México, especialmente de los Estados del Norte de México, de donde procede la mayor parte de la población de este origen.

En consecuencia, el perfil presentado para los hispanos de Chicago revela que los adolescentes cuyo léxico disponible nos proponemos descubrir pertenecen a un grupo demográficamente amplio, con una media de edad baja, mayoritariamente mexicano y en una buena proporción nacidos en México, por lo que sus índices de conservación y de uso familiar de la lengua son muy elevados.

#### 4. Bases de la investigación y objetivos

Como se ha anticipado, el análisis que nos proponemos abordar concede primacía al principio de la disponibilidad sobre el principio de la frecuencia léxica y entiende la disponibilidad como el índice que refleja la capacidad de recurrir a unas unidades léxicas dispuestas para su uso en el lexicón mental, a propósito del tratamiento de temas específicos en el discurso. El léxico disponible se distingue del léxico básico en que este se obtiene mediante el recuento de las unidades de un texto o un corpus determinado. La conjunción del léxico disponible y del léxico básico da lugar al léxico fundamental de un grupo o una comunidad determinados (Morales 1986). Para llegar a los índices de disponibilidad se recurre a la aplicación de pruebas asociativas, realizadas mediante la escritura de listas palabras, y a su posterior análisis estadístico. Estas pruebas serían igualmente útiles si se trabajara desde una concepción fundamentada en redes cognitivas de competencia léxica (Jackendoff 2002; Pinker 1999).

En los antecedentes de que disponemos, la mayor parte de los análisis del léxico disponible se han realizado sobre hablantes que viven el final de su adolescencia y que se encuentran en la frontera entre los estudios medios y los estudios superiores. Aunque no hay limitaciones teóricas para realizar este tipo de investigación sobre otros grupos de hablantes, lo cierto es que el de los adolescentes constituye un ámbito idóneo para plantear objetivos y conseguir resultados relativos a la adquisición y el aprendizaje del léxico. Por otra parte, al tratarse de pruebas escritas realizadas con unas técnicas muy estrictas en cuanto a tiempo, espacio e instrumentos, la escuela o el centro de enseñanza secundaria ofrece un entorno ideal para conseguir una rigurosa recolección de materiales. En el caso de Chicago, a estos factores se añade el interés de analizar el

léxico de un sector de población hispana integrado por hablantes de primera y segunda generación y en los que la convivencia con la lengua inglesa ha podido experimentarse en distintos niveles, dada la competencia en inglés de estos hablantes.

El proceso de investigación supone la elección de un centro de enseñanza, bien por su localización, carácter público o privado y entorno, bien por el perfil social de sus alumnos. Los rasgos que suelen tenerse en cuenta en estos alumnos son su sexo/género, su edad – generalmente correlacionada con el curso seguido –, el nivel cultural de los padres u otros factores, como la generación a la que pertenecen, en el caso de los inmigrantes, las lenguas que hablan o sus niveles de competencia lingüística, en contextos de multilingüismo. Es claro que la elección de estos factores dependerá en definitiva de los objetivos marcados para cada investigación.

Una vez elegidos los hablantes objeto de la investigación, se les pide la realización de unas pruebas que consisten en lo siguiente. Tras rellenar la ficha de datos personales, se pide a los alumnos, reunidos en un local, que procedan a anotar en forma de lista las palabras que se les vayan ocurriendo en relación con un tema que el investigador va proponiendo a todo el grupo. En la mayor parte de los estudios, los informantes han de escribir todas las palabras que puedan en un tiempo de reacción determinado (2 minutos). Los temas propuestos, llamados “centros de interés” tienen un número variable, pero comúnmente oscilan entre 16 y 20 (ejemplo: el cuerpo humano, la ropa, partes de la casa, muebles de la casa, comidas y bebidas o la cocina y sus utensilios).

Una vez completada la elaboración de las listas, se procede a su codificación y análisis estadístico, en el que destaca especialmente la consecución del coeficiente de disponibilidad léxica, mediante la aplicación de un algoritmo *ad hoc* propuesto por López Chávez y Strassburger (1991). La disponibilidad léxica se calcula combinando dos magnitudes: el número de informantes que mencionan una determinada palabra y el lugar en que cada palabra es mencionada por cada uno de los informantes. De esta forma, el coeficiente o índice de disponibilidad de una palabra será alto si muchos hablantes la anotan en su lista y si la palabra se anota en las primeras posiciones de esa lista. Por otro lado, el análisis estadístico permite también conocer la simple frecuencia de las palabras y calcular la disponibilidad en correlación con las variables predeterminadas, esto es según el centro de estudios y las características de los hablantes. Para los cálculos estadísticos, en el mundo hispánico suele utilizarse un programa informático llamado “LexiDisp” (Moreno-Fernández et al. 1995).

En la investigación realizada sobre hablantes hispanos de la ciudad de Chicago, nos hemos propuesto como objetivos específicos los siguientes:

1. Conocer el léxico utilizado por jóvenes hispanos de primera y segunda generación en la ciudad de Chicago.
2. Conocer la presencia de léxico de la lengua inglesa al elaborar listas de palabras en lengua española.
3. Conocer el nivel de aparición de formas léxicas originadas en la mezcla del español y del inglés.

4. Conocer los usos léxicos de los jóvenes hispanos de Chicago según su sexo/género, nivel de competencia en español y su generación como inmigrantes.

Como se anunciaba en la introducción, este estudio tiene un carácter experimental, por lo que se realizará en un solo centro educativo, si bien puede atribuirse cierto nivel de representatividad dentro de la comunidad de referencia.

#### 5. Estudio de una escuela secundaria de Chicago. Cuestiones metodológicas

El estudio experimental del léxico disponible de Chicago se ha planteado a partir de la investigación de los hispanos de una Escuela Secundaria del Distrito Escolar de la Ciudad de Chicago. Lógicamente, el requisito imprescindible que había de cumplir la escuela elegida, para poder ser útil a nuestros fines, era el de incluir entre su alumnado jóvenes hispanos. Un posible criterio para la elección del centro podría haber sido encontrar la escuela con mayor porcentaje de hispanos e instalada en el barrio más poblado por hispanos de la ciudad. En este caso, como se desprende del Cuadro 1, la elección debería haber recaído en la escuela “Benito Juárez”, localizada al sur de la ciudad, en un barrio de fuerte composición hispana, con una proporción de hispanos del 96,1% en 2004.

Sin embargo, esta opción acabó descartada porque la elevada proporción de hispanos aleja a la escuela de lo que es la realidad común de la ciudad de Chicago. Si observamos el Cuadro 1, el promedio de hispanos en las escuelas del Distrito Escolar de la Ciudad de Chicago es del 36,1%, por encima del 26% de la población general, lo que a su vez se explica por la baja media de edad de la minoría hispana. Este dato nos hizo pensar que la escuela de nuestro estudio debería acercarse a ese promedio general de la ciudad de Chicago, para así reunir datos más generalizables para el entorno. Por esta razón, la elección final recayó en el centro “Sullivan High School”, situado en la mitad Norte de la ciudad. La escuela Sullivan contaba en 2004 con 1147 estudiantes, de los cuales el 32,4% era de origen hispano, en su inmensa mayoría mexicanos.<sup>2</sup> Las pruebas léxicas se realizaron a los alumnos que cursaban como asignatura “Español para hispanohablantes”, impartida en tres niveles. De esta manera, prácticamente todos nuestros informantes debían ser nativos y competentes en español.

Las variables de post-estratificación que se tuvieron en cuenta para su posterior análisis fueron el sexo/género de los jóvenes, el curso (12º, *senior*, o 11º/10º, *junior/sophomore*), su generación como inmigrantes (1ª generación y 2ª generación) y el nivel sociocultural de los padres (Nivel Bajo: obreros/temporeros/empleados de baja cualificación sin estudios. Nivel Medio: empleados cualificados con estudios prima-

---

2. Agradecemos la colaboración de los profesores de español de la Escuela Sullivan de Chicago, así como la labor de apoyo e intermediación de Kim Potowski, Profesora de la Universidad de Illinois en Chicago (UIC). En la recolección de los materiales, prestó su ayuda y dedicación María del Mar Martín de Nicolás.

**Cuadro 1.** Escuelas Secundarias de Chicago con mayor porcentaje de hispanos, con indicación de porcentaje de alumnos pertenecientes a familias con ingresos bajos y de alumnos con baja competencia en inglés. Fuente: 2004 Illinois School Report Card

| Escuela Secundaria                       | % Hispanos | % con baja competencia en inglés | % con bajos ingresos |
|--|------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Benito Juárez                            | 96.1       | 15                               | 96.1                 |
| Kelvin Park                              | 93.6       | 15                               | 90.9                 |
| Kelly                                    | 89.4       | 13.2                             | 94                   |
| Farragut Career Academy                  | 83.4       | 14.2                             | 98                   |
| Gage Park                                | 56.8       | 7.8                              | 96.1                 |
| Kennedy                                  | 42.4       | 13.9                             | 82                   |
| Lane Tech                                | 43.1       | 0.4                              | 60.3                 |
| Prosser                                  | 44.67      | 10.2                             | 89.8                 |
| Senn                                     | 40.1       | 21.9                             | 94.1                 |
| Sullivan                                 | 32.4       | 13.5                             | 93.4                 |
| Distrito Escolar de la Ciudad de Chicago | 36.1       | 14.1                             | 85.2                 |

**Cuadro 2.** Caracterización de hablantes según variables analizadas

| Centro: "Sullivan High School" – Distrito Escolar de la Ciudad de Chicago |                         |          |
|---|-------------------------|----------|
| Número de informantes: 48   |                         |          |
| Sexo/Género   | Hombres                 | 24 (50%) |
|   | Mujeres                 | 24 (50%) |
| Curso   | <i>Senior</i>           | 18 (36%) |
|   | <i>Junior/Sophomore</i> | 30 (64%) |
| Generación de inmigrantes   | Primera gen.            | 33 (66%) |
|   | Segunda gen.            | 15 (44%) |
| Nivel social de los padres  | Medio                   | 17 (34%) |
|   | Bajo                    | 17 (34%) |
|   | Sin calificar           | 14 (28%) |
| Nivel de Español  | I                       | 20 (40%) |
|   | II                      | 12 (24%) |
|   | III                     | 16 (32%) |

rios. Nivel sin calificar). Las edades oscilaban entre los 17 años (*senior*) y los 15 años (*sophomore*) Para comprender la ausencia de padres con nivel sociocultural alto, solo hay que valorar que el porcentaje de alumnos con ingresos bajos de la escuela es del 93.4%. La categoría "Sin calificar" se debe a que no se pudo obtener la información adecuada, por razones diversas y, en algún caso, imprevisibles. También se ha manejado como variable el nivel del curso de español para nativos que los jóvenes seguían en la escuela: todos ellos tienen el español como lengua materna, pero no todos lo manejan con el mismo dominio. La recogida de las listas de palabras se realizó en la escuela Sullivan el 4 de junio de 2003. El perfil de los hablantes hispanos que realizaron las pruebas se presenta en la ficha del Cuadro 2.

Para la recopilación de materiales, se prepararon unos cuadernillos de tamaño folio en los que aparecía, en primer lugar, la ficha de los datos personales del informante, a continuación unas preguntas sobre dominios de uso del inglés y el español, así como sobre sus actitudes lingüísticas. Seguidamente aparecían 20 páginas, correspondientes a los 20 centros de interés que se propusieron. Cada página tenía un rótulo con el nombre del centro de interés y, debajo, columnas de líneas en blanco para que los informantes pudieran anotar las palabras que se les ocurrieran relacionadas o asociadas con el campo. Los centros de interés que se propusieron fueron los siguientes:

1. El cuerpo humano
2. La ropa
3. Partes de la casa
4. Los muebles de la casa
5. Comidas y bebidas
6. Objetos colocados en la mesa para la comida
7. La cocina y sus utensilios
8. La escuela (muebles y materiales)
9. Calefacción, iluminación y medios de airear un recinto
10. La ciudad
11. El campo
12. Medios de transporte
13. Trabajos del campo y del jardín
14. Los animales
15. Juegos y distracciones
16. Profesiones y oficios
17. Los colores
18. Vida y familia
19. Salud y enfermedades
20. Árboles y plantas.

Una vez reunidas todas las listas de todos los informantes, se pasaron a un formato apto para su tratamiento estadístico. Esto supuso fijar una serie de criterios para no considerar como palabras distintas aquellas que deberían ser identificadas como únicas, dada la naturaleza léxica de la investigación. Así, se anotan exactamente de la misma forma las palabras que en las listas aparecen con distinta ortografía, ya sea por error ortográfico (p.e. *lavadora* y *labadora*) o porque se traten de alternativas válidas (*biquini* – *bikini*); las palabras que, siendo iguales, aparezcan con distinto género y número (*gato* – *gata*, *hermano* – *hermanos*), a menos que puedan tener significados léxicos diferentes; las palabras que reciban algún tipo de modificación morfológica que no produzca alteración de su significado léxico (*perro* – *perrito*); y finalmente las palabras que forman parte de lexías y alternan en su uso con ellas de modo variado (*baño* – *cuarto de baño*).

El protocolo de edición de los materiales léxicos donde se recogen los criterios que se acaban de citar está pensado para comunidades monolingües y se ha aplicado

sin dificultades en multitud de estudios de disponibilidad del mundo hispánico (Sampér 1998), incluidos nuestros materiales de Chicago. Ahora bien, cuando se trata de hablantes bilingües, en los que es previsible el uso ortográfico en más de una lengua o la aparición de transferencias léxicas, la cuestión adquiere tintes algo diferentes. Un primer hecho que constatamos es la aparición de dobles léxicos español-inglés (*león – lion*), con la misma referencia semántica. En estos casos, se ha mantenido cada una de las palabras, con la grafía de la lengua de procedencia y se ha calculado la disponibilidad para cada una de ellas. Cuando se trata de palabras del inglés, las hemos encontrado españolizadas en su ortografía, con la ortografía de lengua de procedencia o soluciones con distinto grado de mezcla. En todo caso, para la edición de los materiales se ha hecho uso de la grafía normativamente correcta de cada lengua.

En los materiales léxicos que aquí se van a presentar, los anglicismos aparecen en cursiva, pero esto no siempre ha resultado fácil de aplicar porque algunas palabras del inglés y del español coinciden en su ortografía (*doctor, golf, taxi, rodeo, zoo*), por lo que, para usar o no la cursiva, se ha tomado como referencia la lengua de las palabras que las preceden y las suceden en la misma serie.

En lo que se refiere a otros problemas más específicos, hemos tomado las siguientes resoluciones:

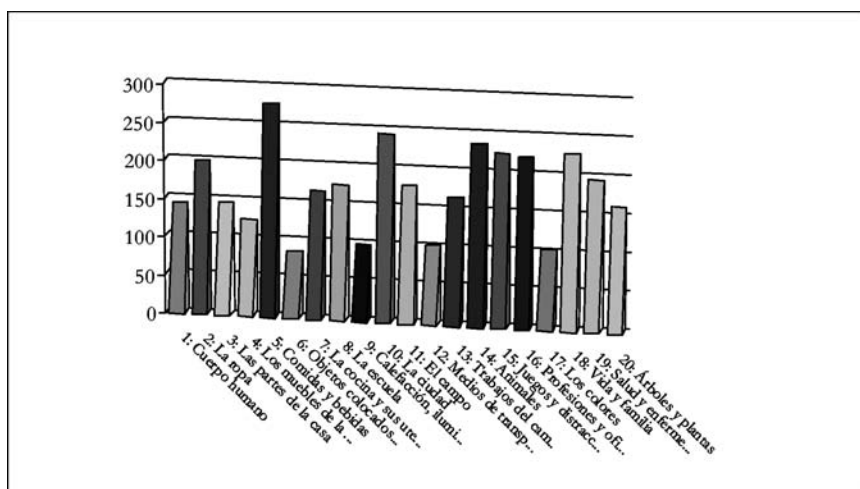
- en caso de que una forma no reciba la acentuación esperada en español, antes de editarla en su forma correcta, se valora si la solución aparecida es válida en inglés: en el caso de la palabra *cáncer*, si el informante utiliza el acento, no hay duda de que la ha empleado en español, pero si no lo utiliza, puede tratarse de un simple error ortográfico o puede haber hecho uso de la palabra en inglés, que, naturalmente, no lleva acento (ing. *cancer*).
- en caso de que aparezca un sintagma con una palabra en español y otra en inglés, se respeta la ortografía de cada una de las lenguas (p.e. *short falda; sal y pepper*);
- en los casos de nombres propios, tanto en español como en inglés, se pospone un asterisco para su más fácil identificación;
- las siglas en inglés se adaptan al uso más frecuente en esta lengua (p.e. *TV* ‘televisión, televisor’, *A/C* ‘aire acondicionado’).

Tras la edición de los materiales se procedió al uso de la aplicación informática “Lexi-Disp”, que nos permitió conocer el número total de palabras (3393), reunidas por centro de interés, lo que se reproduce en el Cuadro 3 y en el Gráfico 3.

Como se aprecia a simple vista, el centro de las comidas y bebidas es el que ha proporcionado listas más largas, seguido de la ciudad y de los animales. El programa estadístico nos ofrece los índices de disponibilidad de todas las palabras recopiladas y nos permite comenzar a cumplir los objetivos marcados para la investigación.

**Cuadro 3.** Número de palabras por centro de interés

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1: Cuerpo humano  | 139 |
| 2: La ropa  | 195 |
| 3: Las partes de la casa                                | 141 |
| 4: Los muebles de la casa                               | 120 |
| 5: Comidas y bebidas                                    | 273 |
| 6: Objetos colocados en la mesa para comer              | 81  |
| 7: La cocina y sus utensilios                           | 162 |
| 8: La escuela   | 171 |
| 9: Calefacción, iluminación y medios de airear un lugar | 94  |
| 10: La ciudad   | 240 |
| 11: El campo  | 174 |
| 12: Medios de transporte                                | 97  |
| 13: Trabajos del campo y del jardín                     | 161 |
| 14: Animales  | 233 |
| 15: Juegos y distracciones                              | 221 |
| 16: Profesiones y oficios                               | 218 |
| 17: Los colores   | 99  |
| 18: Vida y familia                                      | 224 |
| 19: Salud y enfermedades                                | 192 |
| 20: Árboles y plantas                                   | 158 |



**Gráfico 3.** Número de palabras por centro de interés

## 6. El anglicismo en el léxico disponible en Chicago

El análisis de los materiales léxicos reunidos ofrece muchas alternativas. Por ejemplo: las 20 palabras más disponibles de los 20 veinte centros de interés nos presentan un panorama de usos lingüísticos de tintes claramente hispánicos, con muchos elemen-



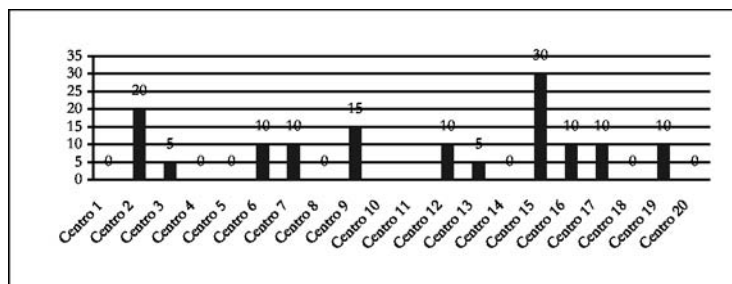


Gráfico 4. Porcentaje de anglicismos en las 20 palabras más disponibles, por centro de interés

tos compartidos con otras hablas hispánicas. En este léxico se encuentran voces del español general, la gran mayoría, y voces de procedencia geográfica más limitada, sobre todo de México, dado el origen familiar de nuestros jóvenes hispanos. Valgan como muestra las palabras más disponibles de nuestros centros de interés: 1: *mano, pie, cabeza*; 2: *pantalón, camisa, blusa*; 3: *baño, cocina, cuarto (de baño)*; 4: *mesa, cama, silla*; 5: *taco, soda, frijoles*; 6: *plato, cuchara, tenedor*; 7: *refrigerador, estufa, plato*; 8: *libro, lápiz, escritorio*; 9: *lámpara, aire acondicionado, foco*; 10: *carro, edificio, gente*; 11: *árbol, animal, pasto*; 12: *carro, avión, tren*; 13: *sembrar, plantar, regar*; 14: *perro, gato, pájaro*; 15: *basketball, fútbol, soccer*; 16: *maestro, doctor, abogado*; 17: *rojo, azul, negro*; 18: *hermano/a, tío/a, amor*; 19: *cáncer, sida, tos*; 20: *rosa, pino, clavel*.

La cantidad de anglicismos que se han identificado en el total de las 400 palabras de más alta disponibilidad (las 20 primeras de cada centro) es de 26, lo que supone un 6,5% del total. Por centros de interés, las proporciones de anglicismos se presentan en el Gráfico 4.

Esos anglicismos a menudo aparecen en dobles, con palabras correspondientes del español, y frecuentemente están menos disponibles que estas últimas. Más adelante entraremos en otros detalles sobre los anglicismos. Baste añadir, por ahora, la significación etnolingüística de este tipo de pruebas, que ponen ante el observador, por medio del léxico, algunas de las pautas de vida y conducta más relevantes de los hablantes, en este caso, los jóvenes hispanos de Chicago. Conocemos el origen de sus familias, algo de sus hábitos alimenticios, de su entorno vital, de las dificultades que experimentan en sus entornos familiares, las enfermedades que más les preocupan y otros hechos característicos de la edad. No en vano la palabra *sexo* aparece mencionada en 5 centros de interés: como procedimiento para conseguir calor, como elemento de la vida de la ciudad, como juego y distracción, como parte de la vida y la familia y relacionada con la salud y las enfermedades.

Pero, una correcta aproximación al anglicismo en el léxico disponible de Chicago exige atender a todas las palabras recopiladas en los cuestionarios y no solo a las 20 más disponibles. Por eso hemos hecho un recuento de todas las formas identificables como anglicismos y hemos obtenido sus frecuencias relativas.

El promedio general de anglicismos es del 15%, con especial mención para el centro de los medios de transporte y de los procedimientos de calefacción e iluminación. Ahora bien, si atendemos a su disponibilidad, observamos que la posición relativa que los anglicismos ocupan en el conjunto del léxico recopilado es aún más discreta de lo que revela la simple frecuencia.

1. En el cuerpo humano los anglicismos aparecen a partir de la posición 52 en la lista de léxico disponible correspondiente.
2. En la ropa, las primeras 50 palabras incluyen 5 anglicismos y las siguientes 50 incluyen 13.
3. En las partes de la casa, prácticamente todos los anglicismos entran en dobles en los que aparecen como menos disponibles.
4. En los muebles, los anglicismos aparecen a partir de la posición 32.
5. En las comidas y bebidas, las tres cuartas partes de los anglicismos aparecen a partir de la posición 150.
6. En los objetos de la mesa para la comida, todos los anglicismos forman doblete con palabras del español, que muestran mayor disponibilidad.
7. En la cocina, dos tercios de los anglicismos aparecen a partir de la posición 50.
8. En la escuela, que se desarrolla principalmente en inglés, el 75% de los anglicismos aparecen entre las posiciones 50 y 100.
9. En la calefacción y la iluminación, los anglicismos están más homogéneamente distribuidos, pero a menudo tienen alternativa en español.
10. En la ciudad, solo comienzan a aparecer anglicismos con cierta frecuencia a partir de la posición 35 y muchos de ellos también forman dobles.
11. En el campo, casi todos los anglicismos aparecen a partir de la posición 59.
12. En los medios de transporte, los anglicismos más disponibles entran en doblete y los menos disponibles ocupan posiciones superiores a la 60 (*hitch hiking, roller blading*).
13. En los trabajos del campo, los pocos anglicismos que hay se emparejan con palabras del español que están más disponibles, con unas pocas excepciones, como *grow* o *weed-mota* y algún caso especial, como *you crops get*.
14. En los animales, todos los anglicismos sin excepción son alternativos a los vocablos del español, mucho más disponibles.
15. Los juegos y distracciones presentan anglicismos en posiciones elevadas, pero a menudo también tienen alternativa o tienen denominaciones fonéticamente similares en las dos lenguas: de hecho la ortografía en inglés podría esconder en muchos casos una pronunciación españolizada.
16. En las profesiones y oficios, el 90% de los anglicismos aparecen a partir de la posición 50.
17. Los colores más usuales aparecen en español; una vez completada la nómina cardinal surgen las alternativas en inglés.
18. La vida y la familia ofrece el 90% de los anglicismos a partir de la posición 50 y generalmente para crear dobles léxicos.

19. En la salud y las enfermedades, a excepción de las siglas y de *flu*, todos los anglicismos aparecen más allá de la posición 47.
20. En los árboles y las plantas encontramos anglicismos sin que aparezca siempre la correspondiente palabra española (*oak tree, maple, coconut tree*), pero la mayoría de ellos también aparecen a partir de la posición 50.

En algunos casos, el inglés es la única lengua utilizada para elaborar las listas de los centros de interés. En este sentido, es obligado señalar que uno de los informantes, un chico de 11° curso, nacido en México (de primera generación, por tanto), de padres mexicanos y que cursaba español en nivel 1, dio prácticamente todas sus respuestas en inglés y, confesó, en el cuestionario de uso de las lenguas, que tenía el español como lengua materna, pero que solo la utilizaba para hablar con sus padres; para todo lo demás usaba el inglés y se sentía más cómodo en inglés. En otro caso, un chico de 11° curso, de segunda generación y que cursaba español en nivel 3, de padre guatemalteco y madre salvadoreña, solía anotar sus series completas bien en español bien inglés, presumiblemente porque podía sentirse más cómodo en una lengua o en la otra según el tema de que se tratara. Son estos casos algo especiales, pero dignos de tenerse en cuenta, por su relevancia cualitativa.

Pero, para entender bien el uso del anglicismo entre estos jóvenes hispanos, junto a la frecuencia y la disponibilidad generales, hemos de prestar atención al comportamiento de los hablantes según las variables de naturaleza social e individual fijadas de antemano. Hemos hecho un análisis estadístico de los anglicismos de nuestros cuestionarios según el sexo, la generación y el nivel de español cursado en la escuela. Los resultados se reflejan en un gráfico de medias, donde cada variante de cada variable se sitúa según la media de apariciones de anglicismos (localizada mediante puntos) y donde también se muestra el grado de varianza de cada una de esas variantes, según sea la longitud de la línea.

En el gráfico se aprecia con claridad la escasa distancia que hay en la media de anglicismos entre muchachos y muchachas, así como en la desviación de su uso, aunque la media es más alta en ellos que en ellas. En el caso de la generación, la posición relativa de la medias tampoco está muy distante, sobresaliendo ligeramente la frecuencia de los anglicismos en la segunda generación, mientras que los jóvenes hispanos de primera generación muestran conductas más dispares entre sí. Sí observamos diferencias estadísticamente significativas ( $F\text{-Ratio}=26.99$ ;  $P=.0$ ) según el nivel del curso de español de los hispanos, aunque muchos de ellos sean de primera generación: cuanto menor es su nivel de español, más intenso es el uso del anglicismo en el léxico disponible, que cae progresivamente en los niveles II y III, aunque entre ellos no existan diferencias demasiado llamativas. Estos datos nos hacen ver que es el nivel de conocimiento de la lengua y no tanto el hecho de haber nacido o no en los Estados Unidos lo que propicia una mayor presencia del inglés. La conclusión que de ello se deriva apunta claramente a la importancia del sistema educativo y, específicamente, a la función que cumplen los cursos de español para hispanohablantes.

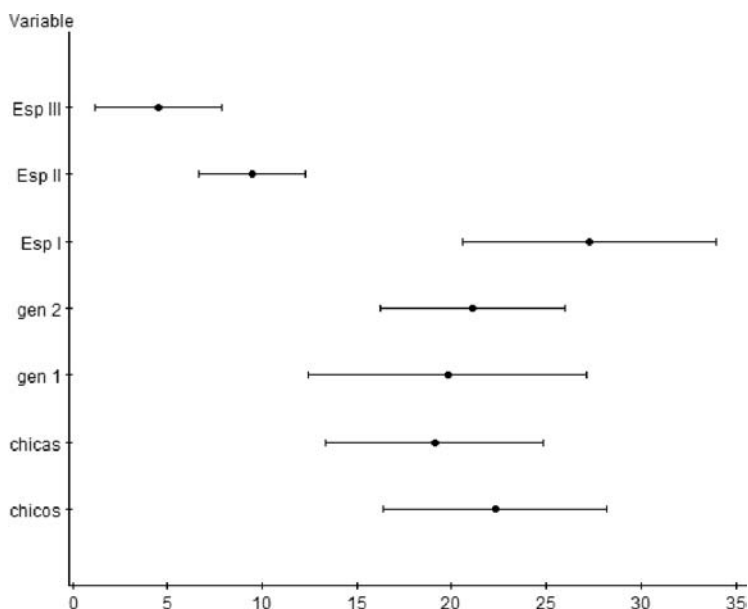


Gráfico 5. Gráfico de medias para la disponibilidad de anglicismos. Variables sexo/género, generación y nivel de español

Tras la información de tipo socioléxico, es importante mencionar que nuestras listas de palabras disponibles también han incluido formas que pueden caracterizarse como mezcladas, inexistentes como tales en cada una de las lenguas de origen y, por lo tanto, consecuencia directa de la situación de lenguas en contacto que se vive en la ciudad de Chicago. Las expresiones de este tipo que se han podido identificar son las siguientes: *short falda*, *sal y pepper*, *carne de mix*, *forka* ‘tenedor’, *fútbol-soccer*, *yarda* ‘patio’, *yardero* ‘jardinero’, *mojar plantas*, *bofes* ‘autobuses’, *troca* ‘camión’, *traylero* ‘camionero’, *roofero* ‘techador’, *azul bay*, *verde dark*, *daysis planta*. No obstante, la proporción de formas morfológicamente, sintagmáticamente o semánticamente híbridas registradas en el léxico de los hispanos de Chicago es muy baja (0.4%). Estas soluciones se encuentran tanto en muchachos como en muchachas, sobre todo de segunda generación, pero también aparecen en hispanos jóvenes de primera generación. Por lo demás, los datos son muy escasos como para hacer una estadística fidedigna.

## 7. Conclusiones

El léxico disponible de los jóvenes hispanos de Chicago muestra una base fundamental y ampliamente hispánica, que comparte sus características con el léxico de otros ámbitos hispanohablantes. El conjunto del material léxico reunido podría servir como guía para fijar los objetivos de enseñanza del léxico español a anglohablantes en

Chicago. Pensemos que, solamente con las 20 palabras más disponibles de cada centro de interés, se estaría en condiciones de proponer un léxico esencial, compuesto principalmente por sustantivos. Pero es que el total del léxico reunido casi alcanza las 3400 unidades, por lo que estos listados también podrían utilizarse como referencia en la programación de los cursos de español para nativos que ofrecen las universidades. Sería de enorme interés que estudios como este pudieran realizarse en otras comunidades estadounidenses con presencia amplia y estable de población hispánica. Esto permitiría ir obteniendo una información muy valiosa sobre el léxico disponible y reunir materiales aprovechables para la enseñanza del español en los EE.UU., tanto por áreas geográficas específicas como en su conjunto.

En estas páginas se ha prestado una atención muy especial a las formas léxicas disponibles pertenecientes a la lengua inglesa. Hemos querido comprobar la intensidad de su presencia, su disponibilidad general y su correlación con algunos parámetros extralingüísticos, como la generación o el nivel de conocimiento del español. De todo ello se ha podido concluir que la presencia del inglés, dada la naturaleza bilingüe de los hablantes y dado el entorno anglosajón en que se mueven, es baja o muy baja cuando hacen uso de la lengua española. Podría pensarse que es natural que aparezcan mayoritariamente palabras españolas cuando se habla español; claro que sí, pero también podría pensarse que estos hablantes son el caldo de cultivo ideal para una penetración de la lengua inglesa y una hibridación lingüística que no hemos detectado en un nivel especialmente significativo. Posiblemente, en un uso discursivo de la lengua sería esperable la aparición, ya no solo de formas léxicas en inglés, sino de procesos de alternancia de lenguas, condicionados por factores como el tema de conversación, los interlocutores y el contexto comunicativo, aunque por el momento lo demostrado es que el léxico español de estos jóvenes es lo suficientemente amplio y sólido como para permitir la comunicación en esta lengua, fuera de situaciones comunicativas específicas.

El proceso de penetración del anglicismo según nuestros datos sociolingüísticos se muestra algo más avanzado en los muchachos y en la segunda generación, pero no parece que el sexo/género o la generación sean los factores determinantes de su aparición, sino el dominio que los hablantes tienen de la lengua. Todos nuestros informantes son hablantes nativos de español, pero, al margen de la generación, su conocimiento y uso de la lengua es variable. Los anglicismos son más frecuentes en aquellos jóvenes hispanos que cursan español en el nivel más bajo de los que ofrece su Escuela Secundaria para hablantes nativos.

Finalmente, como hechos lingüísticos más llamativos, merece destacarse la abundancia de dobles léxicos español-inglés, con una mayor disponibilidad general para la forma del español, y la presencia casi insignificante de soluciones mezcladas, en cualquiera de sus manifestaciones. Como es natural por la demografía, el español de estos hispanos de Chicago se inscribe en la órbita geolectal del español de México.

## References

- Alba, O. 1999. Densidad de anglicismos en el léxico disponible de la República Dominicana. En *Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de ALFAL*, tomo II, 853–865. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria.
- Borrego, J. & Luncal, C.F. 2000. Léxico disponible: aplicaciones a los estudios dialectales. IV Congreso de Lingüística general, abril de 2000, Cadiz (en prensa).
- Brookings Institution, The. 2003. *Chicago in Focus: A profile from Census 2000* <http://www.brookings.edu/es/urban/livingcities/Chicago.htm> (enero-2005).
- Butrón, G. 1989. Aspectos sociolingüísticos de la disponibilidad léxica. *Asomante* 1/2: 29–37.
- Canfield, D. L. 1979–1980. El español en Chicago. *Boletín de la Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española* 4/5: 28–30.
- Cañizal Arévalo, A. 1991. Redes semánticas y disponibilidad léxica en el español de escolares mexicanos. En *El español de América*, C. Hernández et al. (eds.), 631–637. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León.
- Carcedo González, A. 1998. Tradición y novedad en las aportaciones hispánicas a los estudios de disponibilidad léxica. *Lingüística* 10: 5–68.
- Carcedo González, A. 2000. Índices léxico-estadísticos y graduación del vocabulario en la enseñanza de E/LE (aspectos culturales). En *Nuevas perspectivas en la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera*, M. Franco Figueroa et al. (eds.), 175–183. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz.
- Farr, M. (ed.). 2003. *Ethnolinguistic Chicago. Language and literacy in the city's neighborhoods*. Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gómez Molina, J. R. y Gómez Devís, M. B. 2004. *La disponibilidad léxica de los estudiantes preuniversitarios valencianos*. València: Universitat de València.
- Gougenheim, G. 1967. La statistique de vocabulaire et son application dans l'enseignement des langues. *Les langues modernes* 61 : 137–144.
- Gougenheim, G., Michéa, R., Rivenc, P. & Sauvageot, A. 1964. *L'élaboration du Français élémentaire. Étude sur l'établissement d'un vocabulaire et d'une grammaire de base*. Paris: Didier.
- Hernández Muñoz, N. 2002. Cuestiones metodológicas sobre los estudios de disponibilidad léxica. V Congreso de Lingüística General, León, marzo de 2002 (en prensa).
- Jackendoff, R. 2002. *Foundations of Language. Brain, meaning, grammar, evolution*. Oxford: OUP.
- Judd, E. L. 2003. Language policy in Illinois: Past and present. En *Ethnolinguistic Chicago. Language and literacy in the city's neighborhoods*, M. Farr (ed.), 33–49. Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- La Raza. 2002. *Chicago 2002 Sales Kit*. Chicago.
- López Chávez, J. 1992. Alcances panhispánicos del léxico disponible. *Lingüística* 4: 26–124.
- López Chávez, J. 1993. *El léxico disponible de escolares mexicanos*. México: Alhambra Mexicana.
- López Chávez, J. Y Strassburger, C. 1991. Un modelo más para el cálculo de disponibilidad léxica individual. En *La enseñanza del español como lengua materna*, H. López Morales (ed.). Río Piedras: Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- López Morales, H. 1979. *Dialectología y sociolingüística: Temas puertorriqueños*. Madrid: Hispanova.
- López Morales, H. 1999a. *Léxico disponible de Puerto Rico*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- López Morales, H. 1999b. Anglicismos en el léxico disponible de Puerto Rico. En *El Caribe hispánico: perspectivas lingüísticas actuales. Homenaje a Manuel Álvarez Nazario*, L.A. Ortíz López (ed.), 147–170. Vervuert-Iberoamericana.
- López Morales, H. 2001. Tendencias del léxico disponible en Hispanoamérica. *Revista de Occidente* 240: 5–24.

- Mackey, W.C. 1971a. *Le sondage dans les enquêtes de disponibilité*. Quebec: CIRB.
- Mackey, W.C. 1971b. *Le vocabulaire disponible du français*. Paris: Didier.
- Michéa, R. 1953. Mots fréquents et mots disponibles. Un aspect nouveau de la statistique du langage. *Les langues modernes* 47: 338–344.
- Moncada, A. y Olivas, J. 2003. *Hispanos 2000*. Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias.
- Morales, A. 1986. *Léxico básico del español de Puerto Rico*. San Juan de Puerto Rico: Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española.
- Moreno-Fernández, F. et alii. 1995. Cálculo de disponibilidad léxica: El programa Lexidisp. *Lingüística* 7: 243–249.
- Pierce, B. L. 1975. *A History of Chicago*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Pinker, S. 1999. *Words and Rules. The ingredients of language*. New York NY: Perennial.
- Potowski, K. 2004. Spanish language shift in Chicago. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 23(1): 87–116.
- Samper Padilla, J.A. 1998. Criterios de edición del léxico disponible. *Lingüística* 10: 311–333.
- Sancho, M. 2006. Disponibilidad léxica de los hispanos en EE.UU. Cuadernos Cervantes de la Lengua Española 63: 22–31.
- Valdés, S. & Torada, N. 1997. *La lengua española en los Estados Unidos*. La Habana: Editorial Academia.

PART II

Education and policy issues





## Teaching Spanish in the U.S.

### Beyond the one-size-fits-all paradigm

Maria M. Carreira

California State University, Long Beach

Current approaches to foreign language teaching can be characterized as one-size-fits-all. This is true in the sense that within a given class or instructional level, uniform learning objectives, activities, pacing, and assessment tools are in place for all students. Such approach is not well suited to teaching Spanish to bilingual Latinos who present divergent academic and linguistic backgrounds.<sup>1</sup> Needed for such students is a means to configure Spanish-language instruction along individual learner specifications. An overview of Latino demographics indicates that bilingual Latinos study Spanish in different instructional contexts, depending on where they go to school. Typically, those attending schools with a sizable Latino population study the language in specialized Spanish-for-native-speakers (SNS) classes. Others study in classes with non-native students. Regardless of the type of the class, when bilingual Latino students are enrolled in Spanish-language courses, learning inevitably takes place in the context of a mixed-ability language classroom. Demographic realities being what they are, such classrooms may be on the way to becoming the norm, rather than the exception in Spanish-language programs throughout the country. Predicated on the notion that teaching should be responsive to student differences and reach out to learners at their own level of readiness, Differentiated Teaching (Tomlinson 1999, 2003) is designed to deal with the very type of mixed-ability issues that arise when teaching Spanish to bilingual Latinos. Additionally, this approach represents an effective way to address issues of equity and access to learning – key considerations when dealing with Latino students. Following Tomlinson’s work, this paper explores five instructional strategies that support instruction in mixed-ability classes, including: (1) stations; (2) centers; (3) agendas; (4) learning contracts; and (5) multiple-entry journals/reading logs. In addition, it presents samples of differentiated activities for use in mixed-ability Spanish classes.

---

1. Throughout the paper, I will use the terms “bilingual Latino”, “native (Spanish) speaker” and “heritage language speaker/learner” interchangeably. Likewise, the terms “second-language learner”, traditional student, and “non-native (Spanish) learner” carry the same meaning.

## 1. Mapping the geography of Spanish-language teaching in the U.S.

Significant concentrations of Hispanics are no longer confined to a few regions such as Southern California or the Southwest, or only a few cities like New York and Miami. Instead, in the coming years Hispanic population growth will most impact communities that had relatively few Latinos a decade ago. (Suro 2002:2)

Though Latinos constitute 14% of the total U.S. population, their demographic presence varies widely from one state to another. With an overall population that is 42.1% Latino, New Mexico is the nation's most "Latino state", followed by California, Texas, Arizona, and Nevada, with overall Latino populations of 32.4%, 32%, 23.5%, and 19.7% respectively. In all, five states account for 70% of the U.S. Latino population: California, Texas, New York, Florida, and Illinois (Guzmán 2001).

Overwhelmingly, Latinos are urban dwellers: over 90% live in metropolitan areas. As shown in Table 1, in all but two of the ten largest American cities (Philadelphia and Detroit), the Latino presence amply exceeds the national average of 14%.

At first glance, these facts appear to indicate that the relevance of Spanish for Native Speakers (SNS) is narrowly confined to urban schools in a relatively small number of states. However, this is not so. Many schools in geographic areas with historically low to non-existent Latino populations, have seen a dramatic rise in Latino enrollments over the course of the last decade. Indeed, as shown in Table 2, between 1990 and 2000, seven states saw their Latino population grow by over 200%. Significantly, in all but Nevada, the Latino representation falls well below the 13% national average. In this way, the nation's fastest growing Latino populations are also some of the smallest, proportionately speaking.

The Latino population explosion in the above states (henceforth "rapid-growth" states) has radically altered the landscape of Spanish-language instruction, infusing language programs in these areas with a new crop of students whose linguistic and personal needs differ significantly from those of traditional students. Lacking essential SNS resources and infrastructure (e.g. teacher-training programs, experienced faculty,

Table 1. Ten largest urban areas in total population and in Latino population (Guzman 2001)

| City and state   | Rank by total population | Rank by Hispanic population | Percent Latino (of total population) |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| New York, NY     | 1                        | 1                           | 27.0                                 |
| Los Angeles, CA  | 2                        | 2                           | 46.5                                 |
| Chicago, IL      | 3                        | 3                           | 26.0                                 |
| Houston, TX      | 4                        | 4                           | 37.4                                 |
| Philadelphia, PA | 5                        | 24                          | 8.5                                  |
| Phoenix, AZ      | 6                        | 6                           | 34.1                                 |
| San Diego, CA    | 7                        | 9                           | 25.4                                 |
| Dallas, TX       | 8                        | 8                           | 35.6                                 |
| San Antonio, TX  | 9                        | 5                           | 58.7                                 |
| Detroit, MI      | 10                       | 72                          | 5.0                                  |

**Table 2.** States with at least 200% Latino growth between 1990 and 2000 (Hobbs & Stoops 2002: A34)

|                | % change in Latino population | % Latino in total population |
|----------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Alabama        | 208                           | 1.7                          |
| Arkansas       | 337                           | 3.2                          |
| Georgia        | 300                           | 5.3                          |
| North Carolina | 394                           | 4.7                          |
| South Carolina | 211                           | 2.4                          |
| Tennessee      | 278                           | 2.2                          |
| (Nevada        | 217                           | 19.7)                        |

appropriate pedagogical materials, and administrators with some measure of understanding of the field of SNS), Spanish-language instructors in rapid-growth states face a steep learning curve.

Surmounting existing shortcomings is not a simple matter of adopting the pedagogical practices developed over the years by SNS specialists. This is because such practices have been largely developed to teach Spanish in the context of specialized (SNS) classes. However, as noted earlier, rapid-growth states tend to be areas of low Latino concentration. It follows that Spanish programs in these areas often lack enough students and resources to justify offering separate SNS courses. In this situation, Latinos learn Spanish in classes that are designed for and attended by non-native speakers. Teaching Latinos in the context of these classes presents its own challenges different in many ways from those that arise in SNS classes.

The difficulties associated with specialized SNS classes are fairly well understood (see Valdés 1997; Valdés 2001a; Potowski 2002; Carreira 2003). Among the more prominent ones are those related to the diversity of academic experiences and the range of Spanish-language proficiency levels that native speakers bring to the study of Spanish. In any given class, for example, some students may be fluent speakers of a prestige variety of Spanish while others may only have facility in a contact, rural variety of this language (see Villa 1996; Valdés 1997; Carreira 2002). Likewise, some students may have advanced reading and writing skills in Spanish, while others may be functionally illiterate.

Following Tomlinson (1999), we refer to this as the problem of the mixed-ability (language) classroom. It is important to keep in mind that the term “ability” does not refer to raw or innate talent for language learning, but rather to overall linguistic competence resulting from exposure to the language in both formal and informal settings. As used here, the term encompasses four types of linguistic competences: (1) grammatical (vocabulary, syntax, morphology, etc.); (2) textual (cohesion, rhetorical organization); (3) illocutionary (language functions); and (4) sociolinguistic (sensitivity to dialects, registers, cultural differences, etc.) (see Bachman 1990; Valdés 1997). Because heritage language learners differ from each other with regard to key experiences that bear on the development of these competences, language classes enrolling these students are almost always mixed-ability classrooms.

SNS classrooms thus stand in contrast to those comprised only of learners whose experiences with Spanish are largely circumscribed within a well-defined trajectory of courses, as happens with second-language learners of Spanish. Of course, this is not to say that all second-language learners in a given class manifest the same level of skill. Indeed, in any given foreign-language class there is bound to be some variation with respect to what students are able to do with the language. However, with second language learners this variation is generally a function of individual factors (i.e. aptitude, study skills, motivation, etc.), rather than family background in the language.

Besides specialized SNS classes, Latinos learn Spanish in two other instructional contexts – both representative of a mixed-ability learning environment. As previously noted in our discussion of rapid-growth areas, where the Latino population is proportionately small there may not be enough students in any given school to justify the existence of specialized courses. The challenge in this case lies in teaching Spanish to Latinos within the confines of a “regular” Spanish class. This is a daunting task which involves nothing short of simultaneously reaching native and non-native speakers of Spanish in the same class using materials and methods that were developed for only one such population (in this case, the non-native one). To our knowledge, there are no studies laying out solutions to the challenges that arise in this type of mixed ability language classroom. Yet, as Latino immigration continues to spread to new areas in the U.S., this will become an increasingly common teaching scenario.

The mirror image of the above situation, namely, teaching non-natives where the student population is overwhelmingly native, also represents a mixed-ability language classroom. Such a situation arises in areas of high Latino concentration, as for example, in the city of East L.A. whose population is over 98% Latino. Given these demographics, non-Latino students in this city’s schools wishing to learn Spanish may have no choice but to enroll in classes largely populated by native speakers. Once again, this is a situation that remains unexplored.

The table below represents the three types of instructional programs under which Spanish is currently taught in the U.S. The first two entries correspond to programs enrolling both native and non-native Spanish speakers, while the third corresponds to programs enrolling only non-native speakers of Spanish. Under the first entry are programs that offer separate instruction for native and non-native speakers. Typically, separate instruction is available at the beginning and intermediate language levels. After that, the native and non-native speaker tracks merge together (see Valdés 1997). Under the second category are programs that offer joint instruction for both populations of students at all levels. Included in this category are programs where native speakers represent a minority (2a) as well as a majority (2b) of the enrollments. The final category represents what might be termed a “traditional” Spanish program, that is, a program enrolling students with no family background in the language. Significantly, all categories but this last one are representative of a mixed-ability learning environment.

Originally designed with the third scenario in mind, current approaches to teaching Spanish, both as a foreign language and SNS, are properly characterized as one-

**Table 3.** Current teaching scenarios for Spanish in the U.S.

| Student population  | Type of instruction       | Is Spanish taught in a mixed-ability classroom? |
|---|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Significant numbers of native and non-native students                                  | Separate instruction      | Yes, primarily in SNS classes                   |
| 2. (a) Non-natives greatly outnumber natives<br>(b) Natives greatly outnumber non-natives | Joint instruction         | Yes   |
| 3. Only non-native students   | Traditional (SLA) courses | No  |

size-fits-all. This is true in the sense that within a given class or instructional level, the same learning objectives, activities, pacing, and assessment tools are in place for all students. This state of affairs is not well suited to the other scenarios, all of which involve teaching Spanish in the context of a mixed-ability classroom.

In the first scenario, mixed ability issues manifest themselves primarily in SNS classes, where the bulk of heritage language students are likely to be enrolled (for an overview of such issues see Valdés 1997). However, such issues can arise in SLA classes, notably when Latinos are placed in these courses. Most likely to receive this placement are Latinos whose productive skills in Spanish or command of the written language may not be advanced enough for existing SNS courses. Far from a satisfactory solution, placing low-proficiency Latinos in SLA classes is likely to exacerbate feelings of linguistic insecurity on the part of such students while doing little to build on their linguistic and cultural skills (Carreira 2004). Notwithstanding these and other problems, teachers frequently have no option but to follow this course of action for lack of viable instructional alternatives.

Turning to the joint-instruction scenarios, (2a) depicts the typical situation of programs that have a relatively small number of native speakers. A common way of dealing with native speakers in this situation is to assign them to courses that are more advanced than those intended for non-native speakers of the same age and/or grade level. In this way, a high school freshman may be placed in second or third year Spanish classes, and a first-year college student may be directed to take upper division classes. In the absence of SNS courses, this type of accelerated placement reflects an effort on the part of schools to provide challenging work for bilingual Latinos and it constitutes a de-facto recognition of the special skills that these students bring to the language classroom.

Notwithstanding these merits, accelerated placement is not without problems. At the secondary level, it often means that Latino students run out of courses to take before their senior year. As a case in point, a Latino student I recently interviewed was placed into the Advanced Placement (AP) language class as a sophomore and AP literature the following year. Much to this student's disappointment, during his freshman and senior year of high school, he was unable to study Spanish – his favorite subject in school – for a lack of courses. A more fundamental flaw of this type of accelerated

placement is that it is premised on the erroneous assumption that heritage language learners are similar, for all practical purposes, to advanced SL learners.

The second of the joint-instruction contexts (2b) depicts a situation where Latinos, as opposed to non-native speakers, constitute the bulk of enrollments in joint classes. Little, if anything, is known about how instruction proceeds in this situation. Be that as it may, just because Latinos are the dominant presence in this learning scenario, it does not necessarily follow that instruction is oriented along the principles of SNS. Indeed, at Los Angeles City College, where Latinos constitute the overwhelming majority of students, course catalogue descriptions and textbook selections (*Mosaicos* (Prentice Hall) for beginning levels and *Avanzando* (Wiley) for intermediate) are indicative of an SLA orientation. A similar situation appears to hold in the Houston-area secondary school studied by Valenzuela (1999). Although this school's student population is nearly all Latino, its Spanish-language curriculum follows strict SLA guidelines. As a result, Valenzuela argues, Latino students are deprived of important academic and social opportunities. These issues aside, the point remains that this scenario, which throws together heritage and non-heritage learners, is also representative of a mixed-ability language learning environment, albeit of a different type than the previously cited ones.

Enrolling only second language learners of Spanish, classes within the third type of program are relatively homogeneous in terms of what students know about the language and can do with it. Because they do not constitute a mixed-ability language environment, the one-size-fits-all approach is a possible form of instruction for this learning context. To illustrate this point, we compare second and heritage language learners with respect to the inferences that can be made about their command of a language feature, given an assumed knowledge base. We examine three separate hypothetical cases. Each time, the skills of second language learners (SLL's) are fairly predictable and homogenous, while those of heritage language learners (HLL's) defy generalization.

The above exercise illustrates two major challenges inherent in teaching Spanish to Latinos. One such challenge stems from the lack of correspondence that exists between second and heritage language students with regard to what they know and are

Case 1:

Assumed knowledge base:

Student uses the preterit and imperfect in spontaneous speech with few, if any, errors that interfere with communication.

Question: Is this student likely to be able to spell words such as: *hice* 'I did', *hizo* 'He did', *estuve* 'I was', *hablaba* 'I/he/she was speaking' . . . ?

Answer:

SLL's: Yes, because this level of mastery on the part of a second language learner underlies a great deal of written practice with these verb forms as well as explicit classroom instruction.

HLL's: Impossible to tell. Students who have mastered aspect through natural exposure may or may not know these and other spelling particularities, depending on their level of schooling, familiarity with the written language, etc.

## Case 2:

Assumed knowledge base:

Student can spontaneously use double object pronouns in the spoken language, such as: *Te lo dije* 'I told it to you'; *Voy a explicárselo* 'I'm going to explain it to him/her'; *Me lo tienen que dar* 'They have to give it to me'...

Question: Is this student likely to use *lo* 'it/him' and *los* 'them' as prescribed by textbooks?

Answer:

SLL's: Yes. In SLA classes, the teaching of double object pronouns comes after students have had extensive instruction and practice with direct object pronouns.

HLL's: Not necessarily. Caribbean students with an excellent command of the Spanish pronominal system may use *los* in reference to a *singular* direct object, when the indirect object is plural (e.g. *Se los dije* → 'I told them (that)'). Other dialectal use of pronouns that do not conform to prescriptive grammar include *leísmo*, *laísmo*, *voseo*, and the use of forms such *\*demen* and *\*siéntesen* for *denme* 'Give me' and *siéntense* 'Sit down', respectively.

## Case 3:

Assumed knowledge base:

Student can accomplish a wide variety of communicative tasks and can describe and narrate events in the present, past, and future, organizing thoughts, when appropriate, into paragraph-like discourse (ACTFL Speaking Proficiency Guidelines, Advanced level).

Question: Does the student have comparable abilities in English?

Answer:

SLL's: Yes. In fact, most likely students' skills in English exceed this level of proficiency.

HLL's: Impossible to tell, as HLL's run the gamut proficiency levels in English. Some HLL's are English dominant, while others have minimal skills in English.

able to do with Spanish. As shown, the abilities of former learners are fairly predictable and homogeneous, while those of the latter are not. Given current one-size-fits-all instructional practices, this situation makes it very difficult – if not impossible – to teach both populations at once. Yet, this is precisely what many teachers in joint-instruction programs are called to do. Needed in situations such as this is a means to sustain two lines of teaching in the same class, one, for second language learners that follows SLA methods and practices, and the other for heritage language learners.

A second instructional challenge relates to the linguistic variation that exists between heritage language learners. This variation extends along a number of dimensions, including the competencies mentioned earlier (i.e. grammatical, textual, illocutionary, and sociolinguistic), as well as others: general writing and reading skills, linguistic attitudes, command of English, to name a few. Borrowing a representational scheme from the field of phonology, we might conceive of heritage language learners as a bundle of features, each representing a different point of competency (e.g. command of aspect, mood, vocabulary, reading/writing, register, etc.) In this way, it is possible for a learner with advanced skills in some areas (e.g. phonology, verbal aspect) to lag behind in others (verbal mood, general literacy skills). Likewise, it is possible for two or more learners that are well matched in some competencies, for example, the grammatical, to differ with regard to others, such as the textual.



In practical terms, this means that the broad student classifications around which most foreign-language programs are structured (e.g. beginner, low-intermediate, high-intermediate, and advanced) are of limited utility when it comes to classifying heritage language learners for purposes of instruction. This is so because such classifications differentiate instruction by coursework history. In this way, students with less than a year of coursework are considered beginners; those with more than a year but less two, low-intermediate, etc. Since virtually the only exposure that traditional learners have to Spanish is through coursework, the classifications effectively group together students with roughly similar abilities. However, this is not the case with heritage language students because life experiences equip them very differently. In a very real sense, then, every heritage language learner is a category unto himself/herself. This means that whenever heritage language learners are present in a Spanish class, a mixed-ability classroom ensues. Demographic realities being what they are, such classrooms may be on the way to becoming the norm, rather than the exception in Spanish-language programs throughout the country. Needed therefore, is a means to configure Spanish-language instruction along individual learner specifications. The next section presents an instructional approach that allows teachers to accomplish this goal.

## 2. Instructional practices that support differentiated instruction

In differentiated classrooms, teachers begin where students are, not the front of a curriculum guide. They accept and build upon the premise that learners differ in important ways. . . In differentiated classrooms, teachers provide specific ways for each individual to learn as deeply as possible and as quickly and possible, without assuming one student's roadmap for learning is identical to anyone else's. (Tomlinson 2000:2)

Tomlinson's view of Differentiated Teaching (DT), as quoted above, lays bare the value of this approach to SNS. Predicated on the notion that teaching should be responsive to student differences and reach out to learners at their own level of readiness, DT is designed to deal with the very type of mixed-ability issues discussed in the previous section. Additionally, this approach represents an effective way to address issues of equity and access to learning, key considerations when dealing with Latino students. In focusing on Tomlinson's research, it is not our intention to imply that this is the only, or even the primary, work available on how to teach in mixed-ability classrooms. It is however, one of the most comprehensive, readable, and widely available treatments of this topic – hence the reason behind our decision to highlight this work.

DT falls under the umbrella of “teaching in multilevel classrooms”, a term that covers many different teaching situations all of which involve learners that differ from each other in pedagogically significant ways (for an overview of this topic see Barry & Williams 1991; Shank & Terrill 1995; Hess 2001). Teaching in multilevel classrooms is common in ESL and elementary education and teachers in these fields are trained in multiple strategies or classroom structures that support learning for all students. This

is not the case, however, when it comes to the foreign languages, where one-size-fits-all teaching is the norm. That said, many of the concepts and practices of multilevel teaching are actually familiar to foreign language teachers in one form or another. Still others are easily modifiable for use in foreign language classrooms.

When differentiating instruction, teachers can modify three elements of the curriculum: (1) the content or material; (2) the process or the activities through which students acquire and practice key ideas; and (3) the product, that is, how students demonstrate mastery of the material. In a foreign language class, content can be anything from vocabulary, to grammar, to a higher order skill, such as acquiring a new linguistic register or learning how to analyze a work of literature. Process can also vary significantly, from mechanical activities narrowly focused on accuracy to open-ended ones aimed at increasing communicative competence. As to product, it can range from taking a test, to completing a piece of writing, an oral presentation, portfolio, etc. Both process and product can involve individual as well as group work.

DT offers a wide spectrum of classroom applications for individualizing instruction. In this paper, I will focus on five that are particularly well suited for use in mixed-ability foreign language classes. These are: (1) stations, (2) centers, (3) personal agendas, (4) learning contracts, and (5) multiple-entry journals/reading logs. For each of these, I will first give a short description followed by some general applications to SNS. Following that, I provide concrete sample activities from my own teaching.

## 2.1 Stations

Stations are places in the classroom where students work in groups on assigned tasks. Group work, of course, is a widely accepted instructional practice in the foreign languages. However, while in foreign language classes all groups work on the same task at once, in differentiated classrooms, students are assigned to different tasks, depending on their needs and interests. For example, in the area of pre-reading activities, some stations may serve to familiarize less advanced students with the basic vocabulary and background information to comprehend a reading, while other stations may engage advanced students in more challenging activities such as guessing vocabulary, anticipating topics, and contextualizing the reading within a historical period or genre. As to post-reading activities, they can range from answering simple yes-no questions to open-ended ones that challenge students to entertain counterfactual situations.

A hallmark feature of stations is their flexibility. On any given day, students can participate in a variable number of stations and they can spend a different amount of time at each, according to their needs and interests. Stations also invite variable grouping. In classes consisting of heritage and second language learners, they make it possible to separate these two groups for some tasks and bring them together for others.

## 2.2 Centers

Centers are designated areas that contain materials and activities for student use. They can have a physical location, as in a corner of a classroom, or they can occupy a virtual space, such as in a course's web page. Two types are particularly useful for teaching mixed-ability language classes: interest centers and learning centers. Interest centers give advanced students the opportunity to explore a topic of their interest, such as, for example, the works of a particular writer, a period of history, or a hobby. Learning centers, on the other hand, reinforce or extend mastery of a skill through extra exercises and activities. In language classes enrolling heritage language learners, learning centers are an effective tool for teaching and reinforcing the more mechanical aspects of language, such as orthography, conjugation, accents, etc. They also provide a means to assess students on an ongoing basis, thereby giving teachers the information they need to match instruction to student need. Well-designed centers include a variety of activities and exercises for a range of levels, offer clear instructions, and employ a record-keeping system to keep track of the work accomplished by students.

From the teacher's perspective, learning centers may well be the least labor-intensive instructional strategy for differentiating instruction. Widely available technological tools make it easy to create a battery of computer-graded exercises. Many textbooks even come equipped with websites featuring exercises of this type. Where these tools are not available, center exercises can come with an answer key so that students can grade their own work and monitor their progress.

## 2.3 Agendas

Agendas are personalized lists of exercises and activities that students must complete in a given amount of time, typically, two to three weeks. Teachers may create agendas by picking and choosing from textbook activities or by designing their own. Students can engage in agenda work during a designated class time, as for example, during the last fifteen minutes of class, or when they have finished other work. Having a designated agenda time for the class has the advantage that it gives teachers the opportunity to meet with students who are in need of extra help.

Agendas are particularly useful in classes where all students need a basic overview of the same material, but some students require substantially more practice than others. This is a fairly typical scenario in SNS classes, for example, when it comes to topics involving accents, the gerund, the preterit/imperfect, and the subjunctive.

## 2.4 Learning contracts

Learning contracts are similar to agendas in that they call for students to work on their own. However, contracts offer an extra degree of independence in that they allow students to select their tasks from a list of teacher-generated activities. Well-drafted contracts provide explicit information on the skills to be acquired, the conditions and

rules that students must adhere to while at work, the expected outcomes, and the consequences of completing and not completing the specified work. They also require signatures of agreement to the terms of the contract by teachers and students.

Learning contracts are particularly effective with advanced heritage language learners who want to use their Spanish to explore areas of personal or professional interest. They are useful as well for dealing with heritage language learners in SLA classes on occasions when the content of instruction is not relevant to them (as, for example, when studying the difference between *por* and *para* 'for' or *ser* and *estar* 'to be', areas of the grammar that most heritage language learners have a good command of). On such occasions, learning contracts give heritage language learners the opportunity to pursue independent work. Arguably, the most valuable application of contracts involves newly arrived Latinos. Research indicates that such students often feel disconnected from school and lack access to age-appropriate content matter instruction because of their limited command of English (Fry 2002; Valdés 2001b; Velez 1989). This situation puts them a risk of dropping out school and reduces their chances of attending college. Learning contracts provide a way to engage these students in challenging age-appropriate work from critical areas of the high school curriculum while they are learning English

## 2.5 Multiple-entry journals/reading logs

Multiple-entry journals, or reading logs, are a powerful tool for differentiating reading and writing instruction. Essentially, the strategy invites students to focus on some aspects of a passage while reading and to complete a task afterwards. For example, beginning students may have to write down key phrases at the beginning, middle and end; important words; and main ideas in each paragraph. Once done reading, they would use this information to produce a written summary. More advanced learners, on the other hand, may have to jot down those aspects of the passage that reveal the author's assumptions and his intended audience and subsequently re-write a paragraph from the reading for a different audience, adjusting the language and content as needed. Multiple-entry journals also provide a way to structure peer-editing activities involving students with different sets of skills, such as for example, heritage and second language learners. A sample activity of this type is included in the next section.

## 3. Sample applications of DT in the SNS classroom

This section offers a number of sample activities from an SNS course I teach every semester at California State University. The course, Spanish 250, is the first of two SNS courses in my department. Upon completing the two-course sequence, heritage language students are integrated into the mainstream Spanish curriculum, consisting primarily of literature and linguistics courses. Spanish 250 enrolls students who have

a limited academic background in Spanish but who nevertheless have a high degree of oral fluency in the language and are able to read and write it, albeit with mistakes. The course presents an overview of Spanish grammar and teaches a variety of reading and writing skills. Students work from a course packet as well as from a lengthy collection of online activities. On a typical week, one third of class time (approximately an hour) is designated for DT, with the rest of the time going to traditional instruction mode. In their course evaluation, students frequently identify the time spent on DT as their favorite part of the course. Traditional class time is primarily spent on communicative activities, such as for example, discussing the readings from the course packet, on student presentations, or on task-based group work. Traditional class time also serves to prepare students to engage in differentiated tasks and, upon completion of such tasks, for students to summarize and expand upon the work they accomplished.

### 3.1 Sample station activities

The following post-reading group activities for “Mi nombre” by Sandra Cisneros are listed in increasing order of complexity. Upon completing their assigned task, each station must report to the class on the work accomplished.

*Station 1:* Contesten la siguiente información. Preparen apuntes que les sirvan para resumir sus respuestas ante la clase. [‘Answer the following information. Prepare notes that help you summarize your answers in front of the class.’]

1. ¿Le gusta su nombre a la narradora? ¿Por qué sí/no? Haz una lista de las palabras y frases en el cuento que mejor reflejen su opinión. [‘Does the narrator like her name? Why/why not? Make a list of the words and phrases in the story that best reflect her opinion.’]
2. ¿Quién más en su familia se llamaba Esperanza? ¿Qué tipo de persona era? Usa cinco adjetivos que describan a esta persona. [‘Who else in her family is named Esperanza? What kind of person was she? Use five adjectives that describe this person.’]
3. Cisneros no especifica la edad de la narradora. ¿Hay alguna información en la lectura que sugiera su edad? [‘Cisneros doesn’t specify the age of the narrator. Is there some information in the reading that suggests her age?’]
4. ¿Cómo es la narradora? ¿Qué aspectos de la lectura nos ayudan a inferir esta información? [‘What’s the narrator like? What aspects of the reading help us infer this information?’]
5. Redacten un pregunta de contenido para dar a la clase. Prepárense a dirigir un diálogo con la clase en torno a la pregunta. [‘Write a content question to ask the class. Prepare to direct a dialogue with the class regarding the question.’]

*Station 2:* Escriban el nombre “Esperanza” en forma vertical, poniendo cada letra en su propia línea. Para cada una de las letras de este nombre escribe un adjetivo que comience con esa letra y refleje la personalidad de la narradora. Hagan lo mismo con el nombre de las otras personas que se mencionan en la lectura. Traten de escoger atributos que verdaderamente capten la personalidad de cada persona. Propongan un nombre de alguna persona famosa para que la clase ofrezca atributos. Dirijan la actividad ante la clase. [‘Write the name “Esperanza” vertically, putting each letter on its

own line. For each of the letters in this name, write an adjective that starts with that letter and reflects the personality of the narrator. Do the same with the names of the other people that are mentioned in the reading. Propose the name of some famous person so that the class can offer attributes. Direct the activity in front of the class.']

*Station 3:* En los países hispanos se acostumbra a tener dos apellidos, el paterno y el materno. ¿Es buena idea para los latinos en los Estados Unidos mantener esta costumbre? ¿Qué ventajas y desventajas presenta la costumbre en este país? ¿Cuáles son las diferentes alternativas que tienen los latinos en los EE.UU. en cuanto a sus nombres? El grupo deberá debatir esta cuestión y más tarde presentar los pros y cons de cada una de las alternativas ante la clase. Después se llevará a cabo una votación para determinar la opinión de la clase sobre las alternativas presentadas. ['In Hispanic countries, it is customary to have two last names, one paternal and one maternal. Is it a good idea for Latinos in the United States to maintain this custom? What advantages and disadvantages does this custom present in this country? What are the different alternatives that Latinos in the U.S. have regarding their names? The group should debate this question and later present the pros and cons of each alternative to the class. Afterward, a vote will be held to determine the opinion of the class about the alternatives presented.']

### 3.2 Sample center activities

1. Usa las oraciones de un periódico o revista de lengua española para determinar si el español usa mayúsculas o minúsculas en cada uno de los siguientes casos. Copia la oración que te sirvió a determinar la respuesta: ['Use the sentences from a Spanish-language newspaper or magazine to determine if Spanish uses uppercase or lowercase letters in each of the following cases. Copy the sentence that helped you determine the answer:']

Ciudades, países; días de la semana; meses del año; estaciones del año; días feriados; nacionalidades; títulos de libros; títulos de artículos ['Cities, countries; days of the week; months of the year; seasons of the year; holidays; nationalities; book titles; article titles']

2. En un periódico o revista busca diez palabras para cada una de estas categorías. ['In a newspaper or magazine look for ten words for each of these categories:']

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Agudas con acento:                     | Agudas sin acento:                        |
| Llanas/graves con acento:              | Llanas/graves sin acento:                 |
| Esdrújulas:                            |   |
| [' <i>Agudas</i> with accent:']        | [' <i>Agudas</i> without accent:']        |
| [' <i>Llanas/graves</i> with accent:'] | [' <i>Llanas/graves</i> without accent:'] |
| [' <i>Esdrújulas</i> :']               |   |

3. Corrige todos los errores en las siguientes oraciones: ['Correct all the errors in the following sentences:']

La niña se pintó sus labios con el creyon de su mama.  
 Está estudiando la física.  
 Quiero ser un poeta.  
 La águila es el símbolo de los EE.UU.  
 Sra. Ruiz llamó hoy por la tarde.  
 Está es la tarea para Lunes?  
 Seres humanos son capaces de grandes logros.  
 Mi hermana es una abogada.

### 3.3 Agendas and learning contracts

At the beginning of the semester, students receive the following listing of activities, each involving an elaboration of a curricular topic. On the third week of the semester they meet with me individually to decide on a course of work. All students must complete a total of four activities. Four different contract options are available, as listed below in increasing order of difficulty.

#### *Contract activities:*

| Producciones 'Productions'  | Conexiones 'Connections'   | Colecciones 'Collections'  |
|---|--|--|
| <p>1. Reescribe el poema "Voces" de Reinaldo Arenas para hacerlo aplicable a la situación de los mexicanos o centro-americanos en California.</p> <p>2. Todos los nombres de pila tienen su propia historia. Algunos provienen de la mitología antigua, otros de personajes bíblicos, aún otros obtienen su significado específico en otra lengua. Consulta una o dos fuentes de información y redacta un escrito sobre tu nombre con la siguiente información: a) lugar de origen, b) significado, c) personajes históricos que llevan el nombre, y d) variantes del nombre.</p> <p>3. Busca una poesía, canción, o escrito corto en español o inglés y rescríbelo en Spanglish, es decir, vuélvelo a escribir mezclando el inglés y el español de manera tal de representar el lenguaje de los latinos en los EE.UU. Considera cuidadosamente cómo puedes</p> | <p>1. Prepara un glosario del vocabulario esencial de un campo de trabajo de interés personal. Utiliza un mapa semántico para identificar los diferentes tipos de palabras de mayor importancia (sustantivos, adjetivos y verbos).</p> <p>2. Entrevista a un profesional latino en tu campo de interés enfocándote en información que te pueda ser útil en tu carrera. Adjunta una biografía de la persona a la entrevista.</p> <p>3. Visita el sitio <a href="http://www.census.gov/pubinfo/www/NEWhispm11.html">www.census.gov/pubinfo/www/NEWhispm11.html</a> y prepara cuatro tablas de información sobre la comunidad hispana en los EE.UU. y otras tablas similares sobre los hispanos en Los Angeles. Redacta una comparación de los resultados.</p> <p>4. Efectúa un breve estudio de organizaciones comunitarias locales que se especializan en ayudar a los latinos. Esto se</p> | <p>1. Prepara una colección de 30 proverbios españoles, organizados según su temática. Para cada uno, explica su significado o uso.</p> <p>2. Prepara una colección de juegos de palabras en español. Incluye trabalenguas, palíndromos, adivinanzas, etc.</p> <p>3. Prepara una colección de 30 dichos de grandes hispanos organizados según su temática. Incluye algunos datos personales de los individuos cuyas palabras has incluido.</p> <p>4. Prepara una colección anotada e ilustrada de 15 poemas de tu preferencia. Incluye una breve biografía de los poetas representados.</p> <p>[1. Prepare a collection of 30 Spanish proverbs, organized by topic. For each one, explain its meaning or use.</p> <p>2. Prepare a collection of word games in Spanish. Include tongue-twisters, palindromes, riddles, etc.</p> |

| Producciones 'Productions'  | Conexiones 'Connections'   | Colecciones 'Collections'   |
|---|--|---|
| <p>combinar el vocabulario y las estructuras gramaticales de las dos lenguas para comunicar una idea o impresión. Adjunta una explicación de tus decisiones.</p> <p>4. Escribe un discurso en español de tres minutos para presentar en la ceremonia de graduación de tu escuela secundaria. Graba tu discurso y entrégalo en forma escrita y oral.</p> <p>[‘1. Rewrite the poem “Voces” by Reinaldo Arenas in order to make it applicable to the situation of Mexicans or Central Americans in California.</p> <p>2. All given names have their own history. Some come from ancient mythology, others from biblical characters, and others get their specific meaning from another language. Consult one or two information sources and write a composition about your name with the following information: a) place of origin, b) meaning, c) historical characters that have the name, and d) variants of the name.</p> <p>3. Look for a poem, song, or short writing in Spanish or English and rewrite it in Spanglish, that is, write it again mixing English and Spanish in such a manner as to represent the language of Latinos in the U.S. Consider carefully how you can combine vocabulary and grammatical structures from the two languages in order to communicate an idea or impression. Attach an explanation of your decisions.</p> <p>4. Write a three-minute speech in Spanish to present at your school’s graduation ceremony. Record your speech and turn it in, in written and oral forms.’]</p> | <p>puede realizar mediante el Web, un periódico local, o inclusive la guía telefónica. Prepara una lista de las organizaciones que has llegado a conocer mediante tu estudio. ¿Dónde se ubican? ¿Cuál es su misión? ¿Tienen páginas electronicas? ¿Necesitan voluntarios? ¿De qué tipo? [‘1. Prepare a glossary of essential vocabulary for a field of work of personal interest. Utilize a semantic map to identify the different kinds of words of greatest importance (nouns, adjectives, and verbs).</p> <p>2. Interview a Latino professional in your field of interest, focusing on information that could be useful to you in your career. Attach a biography of the person to the interview.</p> <p>3. Visit the site <a href="http://www.census.gov/pubinfo/www/NEWhispML1.html">www.census.gov/pubinfo/www/NEWhispML1.html</a> and prepare four tables of information about the Hispanic community in the U.S. and similar tables about Hispanics in Los Angeles. Write a comparison of the results.</p> <p>4. Do a brief study of local community organizations that specialize in helping Latinos. This can be accomplished via the Web, a local newspaper, or even a phone book. Prepare a list of the organizations that you’ve come to know through the study. Where are they located? What is their mission? Do they have web pages? Do they need volunteers? What kind?’]</p> | <p>3. Prepare a collection of 30 sayings of great Hispanics organized by topic. Include some personal data about the individuals whose words you’ve included.</p> <p>4. Prepare an annotated and illustrated collection of 15 poems of your choice. Include a brief biography of the represented poets.’]</p> |



*Contract options:*

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Option 1:<br>Conexiones: Ejercicio 1;<br>Producciones: Ejercicio 1;<br>Colecciones: Ejercicio 1 y 4  | Option 2:<br>Conexiones: Ejercicio 1 o 2;<br>Producciones: Ejercicio 2 o 3;<br>Colecciones: Dos ejercicios, a la elección del estudiante; ['Two exercises, student's choice']                                       |
| Option 3:<br>Conexiones: Ejercicio 1; exercise<br>Producciones: Un ejercicio, a elegir; entre el número 3 o 4<br>['One exercise, choice between number 3 or 4']<br>Colecciones: Dos ejercicios, a la elección del estudiante;<br>['Two exercises, student's choice'] | Option 4:<br>Conexiones: Un ejercicio, a elegir; ['One free choice']<br>Producciones: Dos ejercicios, a elegir; ['Two exercises, free choice']<br>Colecciones: Un ejercicio, a elegir ['One exercise, free choice'] |

**3.4 Multiple-entry journals/reading logs**

The following peer editing options are designed for students with different levels and types of expertise. Students edit three compositions each, following the specifications of their assigned option. In each case, they take note of the elements in the left column as they read, and answer all questions on the right, once done reading.

*Option 1:*

| Elements:   | Questions:  |
|---|---|
| 1. Key nouns (list a minimum of 15):  | 1. Are these nouns spelled and used correctly? If not, what corrections are necessary?                          |
| 2. All forms of the verbs <i>haber</i> , <i>hacer</i> , <i>tener</i> , <i>ir</i> , and <i>ser</i> . | 2. Are these verbs spelled and used correctly? If not, what corrections are necessary?                          |
| 3. Key phrases (list a minimum of 3):   | 3. Are these ideas expressed clearly? Which ones could be stated more clearly?                                  |
| 4. Questions you have as you read;  | 4. What a puzzling passage seems to be saying. Ask your partner if this is what he/she intended to communicate. |

*Option 2:*

| Elements:  | Questions:  |
|--|---|
| 1. Accents: Underlie all words that bear an accent and well as those that do not but should.       | 1. Correct all accentuation errors and explain the mistake to your partner.       |
| 2. Spelling: Underlie all words that are either misspelled or whose spelling you are unsure about. | 2. Correct all spelling errors and explain your correction to your partner.       |
| 3. False cognates: Are there any?  | 3. Offer alternative words.   |
| 4. Questions you have as you read;   | 4. What a puzzling passage seems to be saying. Offer suggestions for improvement. |

*Option 3:*

| Elements:  | Questions:   |
|--|--|
| 1. Key idea of each paragraph:                               | 1. Summarize the key idea of each paragraph and of the entire piece. How do these parts relate to the overall idea of the piece? |
| 2. Connectors:   | 2. Are these used appropriately? Are additional connectors needed? Where?  |
| 3. Overly informal and other inappropriate uses of language; | 3. Explain the problem to your partner. Offer suggestions for improvement.   |
| 4. Questions you have as you read.                           | 4. What a puzzling passage seems to be saying. Offer alternative was of stating the same idea.                                   |

**4. Closing remarks**

Our overview of Latino demographics points to the need for instructional strategies and materials for teaching Spanish in the context of mixed-ability language classes. Three different types of mixed-ability classes emerge from this overview, each with its own peculiarities and challenges: (a) SNS classes, (b) SLA classes enrolling a small number of heritage language learners, and (c) classes enrolling second and heritage language learners, where the latter represent the bulk of enrollments. DT, in conjunction with innovative instructional technology, offers a way to design instruction that is responsive to students in each of these instructional contexts.

Before concluding, it is important to comment on workload issues, a serious and valid concern in the mind of many teachers. Without a doubt, DT is more labor intensive than the current one-size fits all approach to language teaching, not just because of the sheer variety and number of activities involved, but also because of the amount of effort that teachers need to invest in understanding the needs and strengths of each student and designing responsive instruction. This reality must be balanced against the benefits of DT: greater independence for students; a classroom climate that respects and capitalizes on student differences, instruction that address the needs of all students, etc. These valuable elements of learning are not easily achievable under the current one-size-fits-all model of instruction. In evaluating workload issues, it is also important to bear in mind a number of practical considerations. First, the goal is not to differentiate every moment of instructional time but to target a few elements from each lesson for differentiation. Second, rather than trying to do it all at once, teachers should begin the process of differentiation by focusing on a few activities and slowly build up a bank of activities over time. Sharing activities with other colleagues is a good way to build up this bank. Third, by tapping into widely available technological tools, teachers can significantly reduce the time spent on assessment, grading assignments, entering grades, and tracking student progress. Finally, it bears remembering that in its initial stages, the communicative movement in foreign language teaching greatly increased the workload of teachers by requiring that they gain expertise in unfamiliar methods of instruction. Over time, as textbooks incorporated communicative activi-

ties and instructional tips were widely disseminated, communicative teaching ceased to be seen as a heavy work burden and became a main mode of instruction of many foreign language classes. It is easy to imagine a similar situation developing with DT.

In closing, by designing instruction that is responsive to the needs of heritage language learners, Spanish language professionals are well poised to usher in a new era of foreign language teaching where individual learner differences guide and enrich the curriculum.

## References

- Bachman, L. 1990. *Fundamental Considerations in Language Testing*. Oxford: OUP.
- Carreira, M. 2002. The media, marketing and critical mass: Portents of linguistic maintenance. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 21(2): 37–54.
- Carreira, M. 2003. Profiles of SNS students in the twenty-first century: Pedagogical implications of the changing demographics and social status of U.S. Hispanics. In *Mi Lengua. Spanish as a heritage language in the United States*, A. Roca and M. C. Colombi (eds.), 51–77. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Carreira, M. 2004. Seeking explanatory adequacy: A dual approach to understanding the term “Heritage Language Learner”. *Heritage Language Journal* 2(1). Retrieved August 23, 2004 from [www.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=14647](http://www.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=14647).
- Fry, R. 2002. *Latinos in Higher Education: Many enroll, too few graduate*. Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved April 11, 2003 from [www.pewhispanic.org](http://www.pewhispanic.org).
- Guzmán, B. 2001. *The Hispanic Population. Census 2000 Brief, 2001*. Retrieved April 11, 2003 from [www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/briefs.html](http://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/briefs.html).
- Hess, N. 2001. *Teaching Large Multilevel Classes*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Hobbs, F. and Stoops, N. 2002. *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*. U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Special Reports, Series CENSR-4. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Potowski, K. 2002. Experiences of Spanish heritage speakers in university foreign language courses and implications for teacher training. *ADFL Bulletin* 33(3): 35–42.
- Shank, C. & Terrill, L. 1995. Teaching multilevel adult ESL classes. *ERIC Digest* (ED383242).
- Suro, R. 2002. Counting the “Other Hispanics”: How many Colombians, Dominicans, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans and Salvadorians are there in the United States? *The Pew Hispanic Center*. Retrieved on April 11, 2003 from [www.pewhispanic.org](http://www.pewhispanic.org).
- Tomlinson, C. 1999. *The Differentiated Classroom: Responding to the needs of all learners*. Alexandria VA: ASCD.
- Tomlinson, C.A. (2003). *Fulfilling the Promise of the Differentiated Classroom. Strategies and tools for responsive teaching*. Alexandria VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Valdés, G. 1997. The teaching of Spanish to bilingual Spanish-speaking students: Outstanding issues and unanswered questions. In *La enseñanza del español a hispanohablantes*, M.C. Colombi & F.X. Alarcón (eds.), 8–44. Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Valdés, G. 2001a. Heritage language students: Profiles and possibilities. In *Heritage Languages in America*, J. K. Peyton, D. Ranard & S. McGinnis (eds.), 37–80. McHenry IL: Delta Systems/CAL.
- Valdés, G. 2001b. *Learning and not Learning English: Latino students in American schools*. New York NY: Teacher’s College Press.

- Valenzuela, A. 1999. *Subtractive School: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany NY: State University of New York Press.
- Velez, W. 1989. High school attrition among Hispanic and non-Hispanic white youth. *Sociology of Education* 62(2): 119–33.
- Villa, D. 1996. Choosing a ‘Standard’ variety of Spanish for the instruction of native Spanish speakers in the U.S. *Foreign Language Annals* 29(2): 191–200.



## The politics of English and Spanish *aquí y allá*

Lourdes Torres

DePaul University

Discussions of Puerto Rican language practices are inextricably tied to issues of nationalism and political loyalties both in Puerto Rico and the United States. The linguistic behavior and the language ideologies of island and mainland Puerto Ricans are often presented in polarized ways; island Puerto Ricans are defined as fervently loyal to Spanish and mostly uninterested in speaking English and mainland Puerto Ricans are presented as English dominant and unable to communicate in Spanish. A more nuanced analysis suggests that a greater degree of bilingualism exists in both contexts. Recent proposals that seek to promote bilingualism in both settings provide promise for increasing the range of Puerto Rican bilingualism both stateside and on the island.

### 1. Introduction

According to the *Atlas of Stateside Puerto Ricans* (Falcon 2004) there are currently more Puerto Ricans living in the United States (3.9 million) than on the island (3.6 million). This is just the latest development in the evolving story of the Puerto Rican community. The author of the aforementioned study indicates that this development should inspire all Puerto Ricans to engage in serious dialogue about issues that unite and separate this transnational community. However, language politics and attitudes about Spanish and English that speakers confront in the United States and in Puerto Rico constitute a challenge that makes dialogue difficult. In particular, discussions of Puerto Rican language practices are inextricably tied to issues of nationalism and political loyalties in Puerto Rico and the United States. The linguistic behavior and the language ideologies of island and mainland Puerto Ricans are often presented in the media and in academic reports as if they were in opposition; island Puerto Ricans are defined as fervently loyal to Spanish and mostly uninterested in speaking English, while mainland Puerto Ricans are presented as English dominant and unable to communicate in Spanish.

This is a gross simplification of a complex situation. Most surveys, both on the island and in the mainland, find that Puerto Ricans hold very positive attitudes toward bilingualism. Also, a greater range of bilingualism exists among both populations than initially seems to be the case, if we adopt a more inclusive measure of bilingualism than

is usually used in polarized discussions. Depending on how we define bilingualism or even read survey data, we get very different assessments of the level of bilingualism in both communities. Nonetheless, even the most optimistic reading of the data suggests that the number of people who enjoy the benefits of functional bilingualism<sup>1</sup> is not what it could be.

Bilingualism is intimately tied to issues of nationality, politics and economic life in different but related ways in both contexts. In Puerto Rico, given the ignominious history of the imposition of English on the island, and problematic pedagogical practices that have plagued the teaching of Spanish, there is a persistent resistance to acquiring English. In the United States, while rhetoric about the value of multiculturalism and the inevitability of globalization abounds, concurrently monolingualism is promoted and tenaciously enforced particularly when dealing with immigrant and working class populations. In both cases, despite the positive attitudes that most Puerto Ricans hold toward bilingualism, the political and symbolic power of both English and Spanish mitigates against the promotion of a bilingual society. In this essay, I discuss the reasons why bilingualism is such a difficult issue for both island and stateside Puerto Ricans. Then I consider recent proposals that seek to enhance bilingualism in both settings and assess their potential for cultivating a bilingual Puerto Rican nation both stateside and on the island.

## 2. Bilingualism in Puerto Rico

What is the state of bilingualism on the island? Some observers claim that Puerto Rico is almost entirely monolingual, while others claim that the numbers of people who can use both languages is underestimated. Vélez offers a typical statement attesting to the lack of bilingualism on the island:

Yet despite the very noticeable and widespread presence of English, and regardless of the Puerto Ricans' direct contact with English while in the United States, the island is today by and large a monolingual Spanish-speaking society where less than half the population claims the ability to even speak English (2000:6).

On the other hand, Muntaner declares:

Puerto Rico is not a monolingual country. Those who maintain that Puerto Ricans only know one language – the vernacular – are attempting to reduce bilingualism to a narrow definition and exclude and deny the linguistic processes that have been oc-

---

1. Here I am using Beardsmore's maximalist definition of functional bilingualism whereby: "the speaker is able to conduct all of his activities in a given dual linguistic environment satisfactorily. Note that there is no reference to norms in this explanation, since such a speaker may well use patterns that are completely alien to the monoglot reference group and show heavy signs of interference in phonology, morphology, lexis and syntax. However, to the extent that these do not impede communication between speaker and listener they do not get in the way of functional bilingualism" (1982: 13).

curring in the country. A large number of Puerto Ricans, whether they are permanent residents of Puerto Rico or the United States or are among those who travel frequently between both places, are bilingual in different contexts.

(cited and translated by Schweers & Hudders 2000: 70)

One reason for differing assessments is that the bilingualism is a term that is used to cover a wide range of skills (reading, writing, listening, speaking), and different levels of proficiency. The term is just as likely to be used to refer to incipient bilingualism where learners are only beginning to understand (or read) another language, as it is refer to the rare case of amibilingualism where people are equally proficient in two languages in all domains.<sup>2</sup> We also must distinguish between individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism. Individual bilingualism refers to the condition of a person who can communicate in more than one language while societal bilingualism refers to a situation where two or more languages are in contact and some or all community members use more than one language to communicate. Bilingualism is probably best understood as a dynamic phenomenon that exists on a continuum with different degrees of proficiency in the four skills possible across the lifespan. Aside from definitional complexities, another complication concerns the difficulty of measuring bilingualism. There is not any agreed upon convention for measuring bilingualism. In the case of Puerto Rico, most of the information on the linguistic abilities of the community is based on self-assessments of bilingualism that are quite unreliable since there is no consensus among language professionals, let alone laypeople, as to how well one must know the languages they speak in order to be considered bilingual.

The often repeated claim in academic and media accounts of bilingualism in Puerto Rico is that only one quarter of the population is bilingual; this assessment is based on self reporting in the Census. In fact, Census reports tell us that only 23.5% of the population over 18 years of age reported speaking English *with ease* in 1980 and this figure goes up slightly to 27.5% in 1990, and 28.1% in 2000. However, the Census data on language use can be read in a way that focuses on the diffusion of bilingualism on the island and the prevailing positive attitudes toward both languages. The Census reports cite that in 1980, 48.4% of persons over 18 reported speaking *some* English and this figure rises to 53.3% in 1990. If we track Census information over the decades we find that slowly but surely the number of Puerto Ricans on the island who are bilingual *to some degree* continues to increase. If, however, we focus exclusively on the speakers who are completely at ease with both languages then we lose the sense of this rising use of English. Also, most surveys of public opinion find that the population overwhelmingly supports a policy of bilingualism. For example, a 1990 poll found that 77% of the population supported two official languages, 22% supported Spanish only, and only 1% supported English only.

Given that language use and bilingualism are such polarized topics on the island, it is difficult to gauge the level of the use of English outside of the classroom setting. Most

---

2. See Hugo Baetens Beardsmore (1982) for a detailed introduction to bilingualism.



surveys suggest that English is used minimally, except in the work place. A 1993 survey of the population by the Hispania Research Corporation found that over 90% report that they prefer Spanish for all public and private functions. Watching television is the only activity where English is preferred by more than 10% of survey respondents. In this case, 78% prefer to watch television in Spanish and 18% prefer watching English language, cable television. (Torres González 2002:311). According to Roland Soong (1997) 29% of all Puerto Rican homes subscribe to cable television where programs are mostly in English with few Spanish options. Over fifty percent of those with cable television stated that they were “very interested” in programming that was made in the U.S. It is not surprising, then, that cultural elites denigrate cable television as a site of potential erosion of Puerto Rican culture (Morris 1995).

While the Census data and some surveys suggest that the use of English on the island is not pervasive except in a few work places, other sources suggest that there is a trend toward more frequent use of English and of improving English language skills. For example, Fayer (2000) provides evidence of increased bilingualism from three surveys distributed in Puerto Rico in the last three decades (1976, 1987, 1996). Puerto Ricans of different age groups, from across the country anonymously responded to questions about English language use. The most striking finding is the degree to which Puerto Ricans are now engaging with English language mass media. According to Fayer (2000), in 1976 approximately 5% of those surveyed reported watching English language television or movies every day; by 1996 almost half of those surveyed reported doing so. These surveys also suggest that there has been an incremental rise in the number of people who self report their English language skills as good to excellent; also, by 1996 very few people (less than 8%) report that they had no productive or receptive skills in English.

Regardless of the fact that the evidence is mixed, many observers argue that on the island, there is a national consensus in terms of defense of Spanish language and a resistance to English. Despite (or because) of the heavy handed political and educational practices of the U.S. for over a century, according to Vélez (2000), Puerto Rico remains primarily a monolingual society with some bilingual individuals. He concludes that the island is a true Spanish language-maintenance success story (2000:19) and argues that a strong political commitment coupled with the island’s dense population supports deep-rooted Spanish-speaking networks. It is important to understand why this particular reading of the data on language use predominates, when another reading, which recognizes that increasingly more of the population reports speaking and engaging with English, is also possible.

### 3. English and Americanization

It is clear that given the colonial history of Puerto Rico, and the attempts to achieve Americanization through the imposition of English in the schools, especially in the first half of the 20th century, many citizens associate English with United States domi-

nation, while Spanish is associated strongly with Puerto Rican nationality. As Negrón de Montilla (1990), Cabán (1999), and Pousada (1999) have documented, education during that early period of American colonization was primarily focused on turning Puerto Ricans into loyal American subjects. English was the tool American leaders thought would most effectively lead to this desired imperative. When US forces arrived in Puerto Rico less than 10% of all people were literate; therefore, policy makers decided that it would be appropriate to educate the few people who had access to education using English rather than the Spanish vernacular of the population. While Americanization meant that more Puerto Ricans were being educated than ever before, this education was woefully inadequate since it focused mainly on the acquisition of the English language. Over the first forty years of colonization, at least five American and Puerto Rican administrators tinkered with the educational system without any informed pedagogical insight on language acquisition and its connection to learning other content areas; the single-minded goal was the delivery of English as soon as possible. This unstable system, combined with a lack of qualified teachers, and textbooks chosen more for ideological rather than appropriate content, doomed generations of students in the public schools to an inadequate education. The Organic Act of 1947 gave Puerto Ricans the right to elect their own governor who would name the Secretary of Education (previously the President of the United States had appointed this person). The first elected Puerto Rican governor, Luis Muñoz Marín, named Mariano Villaronga as Secretary of Education. Villaronga decreed in 1949 that all education from kindergarten to twelfth grade would be in Spanish. English would be taught in all grades as a second language every day for fifty minutes. This was an important milestone that put an end to the uninformed imposition of English as the language of instruction; unfortunately public education in Puerto Rico remains weak and only those who can access private school secure a quality education.

#### 4. Bilingualism and class

There is no doubt that access to bilingualism in Puerto Rico is directly related to class status. In the first forty years of American control, middle and upper class children received an education, but the majority of the population, especially the rural people, did not have access to schooling. In the second half of the 20th century, and currently, a class based division still exists in Puerto Rico. Poor and working class students are educated in public schools that are mediocre in many respects, including the teaching of English. Middle and upper class students have access to private schools, especially Catholic schools, where the quality of education is higher and the language of instruction is often English. Approximately 20% of Puerto Rican children attend private schools. This dual education system prepares the best students, usually the upper classes, to pursue university study in the United States and assume a higher status

and the best paying jobs on the island. The majority of public school graduates who pursue college do so on the island<sup>3</sup> (Schweers & Hudders 2000).

There is a direct correlation between English language skills and wealth on the island. Puerto Rico is divided into 78 municipalities, and the eight municipalities where over 30% of the population speaks English well are also the wealthiest districts. Guaynabo, which has the highest number of bilingual citizens (39%), is also the municipality with the highest income (Barreto 2001). Likewise, the areas with the fewest bilinguals are the poorest. The children of the wealthiest Puerto Ricans are, by and large, the ones who are becoming bilinguals.

Given over a century of educational policies mandating English instruction, Pousada (2000) investigates why so many students enter college unable to carry out basic communicative functions in English.<sup>4</sup> In her survey, she found intense language ambivalence among the population. She interviewed 30 bilinguals (so identified according to their self designation and Pousada's observations); 23 were born on the island and the other 7 in the United States. Pousada found that the most important variable that determined whether or not people became competent bilinguals was the school they attended. Most of her competent bilinguals attended private schools. They also tended to use both languages in a number of situations, not solely in professional or educational contexts. Pousada claims that the bilinguals in her sample had a more open attitude toward English than the general population, and they felt that English was very useful for travel, and that it opened up greater job opportunities. In essence, bilingualism is a requirement for high status positions in business and government. Of course, regardless of their stated positions on the language policy that should reign in the country, political leaders tend to be bilingual since they belong to the island's elite.

## 5. Language and recent party politics in Puerto Rico

As Torres González (2002), Barreto (2001), and Pousada (2000) argue, all three political parties in Puerto Rico use language as a symbol and tool to promote their particular positions on the political status of the island. For example, the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD) passed a bill proclaiming Spanish the Official Language in 1991, in order to strengthen their case for commonwealth status and to sabotage the case for statehood. Unsurprisingly, the independence party (PIP) united with the PPD

---

3. Interestingly, currently more Puerto Rican students pursue higher education in Puerto Rico than in the United States. In 2000, 24.4% of island based Puerto Ricans had earned a bachelor's degree compared to 9.9% of stateside Puerto Ricans (Falcon 2004), and with its new Bilingual Initiative for Hispanic Students, the University of Puerto Rico is currently recruiting stateside Puerto Ricans to attend island schools.

4. Many universities in Puerto Rico use English language books and the language of instruction could be Spanish or English depending on the courses and institutions.

in support of declaring Spanish the one and only official language of Puerto Rico. They did this despite the fact that most people in their party and across the island supported, and continue to support, the practice of having two official languages. However, this state of affairs did not last very long. The first thing the Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP) did when they regained power in 1993 was to rescind the 1991 Official Spanish Bill and declare that both Spanish and English were the official languages of Puerto Rico. This was a return to the official policy that obtained in Puerto Rico from 1902 to 1991. The PNP was very interested in setting the conditions on the island that would facilitate a push for statehood; they understood that it was unlikely that the Congress of the U.S. would support statehood for a territory with an official language other than English.<sup>5</sup>

In 1997 when the PNP unveiled its *Proyecto del Ciudadano Bilingüe* 'Bilingual Citizen Project', people were skeptical about its stated purpose of promoting bilingualism, since the program clearly focused on enhancing English language training, and only secondarily mentioned the development of Spanish language skills. As is the case with the great majority of bilingual education programs in the U.S., this one also elevated the importance of English and minimized the instrumental and emotional value of Spanish. Such a program was doomed for failure given the allegiance islanders feel toward Spanish. In the document promoting *Proyecto del Ciudadano Bilingüe*, the Puerto Rican Department of Education attributes the failure of the population to learn English to a variety of factors: lack of qualified teachers, a methodology that emphasizes rote memorization rather than communicative competence, and lack of appropriate texts (Departamento de Educación 1987). They do not mention the ambivalent attitudes toward learning English that prevail on the island given the heavy-handed Americanization program. The document provides much evidence about the cognitive, social and economic benefits of bilingualism but fails to indicate that for the majority of Puerto Ricans the improvement of Spanish language skills is a goal equal to or more important than learning English. Basically, all policy statements about language and education promoted by any of the three major parties on the island can be interpreted as attempts to strengthen their political position with respect to the status question. Political interventions around language issues have done little to foster bilingualism on the island. As we shall see, the political landscape has also had a huge impact on promoting obstacles to bilingualism in the United States.

## 6. Multilingualism in the United States

There is a strong rhetoric of multilingualism in the United States, on the one hand, and an equally fierce intolerance of languages other than English, on the other. The

---

5. See Negrón-Muntaner and Grosfoguel (1997) for a discussion of Puerto Rican party politics around language issues in the last decades.

asymmetric relationship between English and Spanish in the United States has a long trajectory, rooted in a history of imperialism, colonialism, and fear of immigration from Latin America.<sup>6</sup> This relationship must be understood within the context of a policy of Americanization aimed at immigrants that is a ubiquitous part of the history of the United States. One site where Americanization is enacted is in the educational system where English is its preferred medium and its most significant symbol. As Zolberg and Long state, since the founding of the country and through the years, language has emerged

... as the single most important element in the construction of national identity, both positively as a communicative instrument shared by members of the nation and as a boundary marker affirming their distinction from others. Thus, as the result of deliberate state action as well as the dynamics of cultural capital, monolingualism became the norm throughout the economy and much of civil society as well (1999:22).

This “norm” has been challenged by the ongoing Latinization of the United States that has occurred as the number of Latin Americans who immigrate to the United States (legally and illegally) has risen and shows no sign of abating. Latino populations, culture, and the Spanish language, have significantly impacted the country at multiple levels ranging from the business world to popular culture; while this transformation is mainly visible in urban areas, it resonates across the land.<sup>7</sup> Spanish has been an important language in the US since its inception and it is the second most significant language in the US today.<sup>8</sup> Businesses have not lost sight of this and spend millions of dollars annually advertising to Latinos in the Spanish language. Spanish language media (television, radio, newspapers, and magazines) enjoys nationwide diffusion and continues to expand. Concurrently, there has been a rise in nativist attacks against Latinos, and specifically the Spanish language, which in the U.S. has become an acceptable target of xenophobic anxiety. In the 1980s and 1990s we witnessed the proliferation of right-wing campaigns and contentious legal battles around issues of the use of Spanish in public life. Although an attempt to make English the official language of the United States failed in 1981 and 1988, currently 24 states have declared English as their official language. New Mexico and Dade County, once officially bilingual sites, lost this status due to challenges by promoters of English-only. In 1998, California voters passed proposition 227 (as well as a string of other anti-immigrant referenda), which

---

6. See Cervantes-Rodríguez and Lutz’s article “Coloniality of power, immigration, and the English-Spanish asymmetry in the United States,” for a detailed analysis of the hegemony that the English language enjoys in the United States. Aparicio (1998) unpacks the power related, conflictive relationship that Anglo and Latinos students have to Spanish/English bilingualism.

7. The concept of the Latinization of the United States has been discussed by numerous scholars, see Mike Davis (2000) for a particularly insightful discussion of this process.

8. Of course, Spanish is also an important global language. It is the world’s third most spoken language, and ranks second in terms of native speakers. Spanish is the mother tongue of over 360 million people in 21 countries.

for all intents and purposes eradicated bilingual education programs in the schools. Other states followed suit, and bilingual education has been sharply curtailed in a growing number of cities and states. English-only legislature has led to a number of state and federal court cases based on illegal enforcement of “English-only” workplace rules. Across the country, Latinos have been fired or reprimanded for speaking Spanish during work breaks and in conversations with Spanish-speaking clients.<sup>9</sup> Generally, then in the U.S. Spanish is acceptable if it is commodified, simplified, and easily accessible to monolingual speakers, otherwise, if the Spanish language is unintelligible to monolingual Americans, and therefore out of their control, it is sanctioned and its speakers are punished. Puerto Ricans, and other Latinos, have organized to resist the anti-Latino/anti-Spanish backlash. For example, Latinos have spearheaded groups such as English Plus that promote bilingualism in the United States.<sup>10</sup>

## 7. Bilingualism and stateside Puerto Ricans

Like Puerto Ricans on the island, most Puerto Ricans in the United States are primarily supportive of the idea of bilingualism but have not had a strong history of enacting bilingualism. English is the dominant language for most second and third generation Puerto Ricans in the United States. Studies that evaluate Spanish language use among Puerto Ricans in the United States generally find that language shift is underway. However, some suggest that there is also a phenomena whereby the Spanish of English dominant speakers is reactivated when such young people assume adult responsibilities such as child rearing and marriage to Spanish-speaking monolinguals or Spanish-dominant bilinguals (Torres 1997; Pedraza 1985; LPTF 1982).

It is undeniable that given the negative perceptions of Spanish and other languages in the United States, Puerto Ricans’ connection to Spanish is complex. Garcia Bedolla (2004) points out that Latinos’ relationship to Spanish is paradoxical because, on the one hand, Spanish may be a symbol of ethnic solidarity, but on the other hand, it is a language that is overtly devalued in United States; additionally, some Latinos’ apparent lack of fluency in the language might lead to the stigmatization of their speech by others in their community.<sup>11</sup> Puerto Ricans, like other Latinos, are aware of the fact that many people criticize the varieties of both English and Spanish that they speak. Like all people, Puerto Ricans do not only speak one language variety; they can control a number of varieties along a continuum of bilingualism, these can include standard

---

9. See Gibson (2004) for an analysis of recent English-only court cases involving language use in the work place.

10. Lapayese (2005) reviews subversive tactics utilized by Latino elementary school teachers to resist English-only policies in bilingual education programs.

11. While García Bedolla’s (2003) study is focused on Mexicans and Mexican Americans, many of the attitudes about language that she describes are similar to those expressed by Puerto Ricans.

Puerto Rican Spanish, working class Spanish, Spanglish, working class English and standard English. Speakers use all or some of the varieties according to the situation and their interlocutors. While from a sociolinguistic perspective all of these varieties are equally valid and useful, purists from all sides pass judgments on nonstandard varieties. Also critiqued by both Anglos and Latin Americans is the practice of code switching. This mixing, which is what some people refer to as “Spanglish” is a natural development in a community that speaks more than one language and is bicultural.

In a recent study (Torres, n.d.) I conducted of 30 second generation Puerto Rican university students in their 20s in Chicago,<sup>12</sup> I attempted to gauge their current linguistic habits and their attitudes about the languages in their lives. The study is based on oral and written work generated in a class called “Puerto Rican Chicago” which explored the history and ongoing challenges of the Puerto Rican community in Chicago. Students engaged in a series of class discussions and writing projects about language practices in their homes and their communities. Of the 30 Puerto Rican Students in the class, 27 were born in Chicago and had at least one Puerto Rican parent; three students had been born in Puerto Rico but came to Chicago as small children. Only two students had attended bilingual programs. All but two students declared that they understand Spanish and two-thirds claim to speak it with various degrees of proficiency. Students who say they speak Spanish fluently remark that they were raised by Spanish monolingual parents or grandparents and many stated that they were taught Spanish by their caretakers who insisted that they speak only Spanish in the home. Those who speak Spanish reported doing so in the home with parents, and sometimes with siblings and friends.

Students are also very aware of and articulate about the significance of the languages in their lives. All but one out of 30 students assert that they want to speak Spanish more fluently and they make various efforts to achieve this goal. They are also aware of the different meanings attached to Spanish in the U.S. and in Puerto Rico. Students who feel they are bilingual are proud that they can speak Spanish. They note that while Spanish is not the most important element of their Puerto Rican identity, it is nonetheless part of their Puerto Rican heritage and useful in a bilingual global economy. Those who do not speak Spanish fluently claim that they are uncomfortable because of this lack of ability. They say that they are embarrassed when other Latinos find out that they can’t speak Spanish or do not speak it with ease. They note that both Spanish monolingual adults and bilingual young people chastise them for not speaking Spanish or for code switching. 80% agreed that you do not have to speak Spanish to identify as Puerto Rican. However, the students understand that people on the island would not agree with this assessment. One bilingual young woman, who was born in Puerto Rico and left the island at the age of six remarks, “The complete knowledge

---

12. Potowski (2004) surveys over 800 Chicago Latino students to investigate language use and attitudes. She finds language shift in progress despite the fact that most Latino students have favorable attitudes about Spanish maintenance. Unfortunately, few of the participants in the study were Puerto Rican students.

of two languages gives me a sense of two cultures and identities, while, unfortunately, making me less Puerto Rican through the perspective of Puerto Ricans living on the island” (Torres, n.d.).

## 8. Spanish and Puerto Rican identity

The aforementioned quote captures a major difference between the island and state-side Puerto Rican communities – the association made between language and national allegiance. Every sociolinguistic survey conducted in the last thirty years in the United States, including those by Pedraza (1985), Zentella (1997), and Torres (1997) finds that U.S. Puerto Ricans overwhelmingly do not tend to link ability to speak Spanish and Puerto Rican identity. Therefore, unlike island residents, there is much evidence that for stateside Puerto Ricans the concept of Puerto Rican identity exists without a mandatory Spanish-speaking component. Apparently this particular reading of Latin American national identity is not limited to Puerto Ricans. In a recent study (Zentella 2002) that surveyed over 1000 Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, 84% of those born in the U.S. and 67% of those born in Latin America agreed that someone could claim Puerto Rican/Dominican identity without knowledge of Spanish. While speaking Spanish is not seen as essential for a Latin American identity, the vast majority of those surveyed endorsed bilingualism as a positive feature. For example in the Torres (1997) study, 90% of the young people surveyed stated that bilingualism was desirable because it connected Puerto Ricans to their culture and increased their access to employment opportunities. Puerto Rican young people value Spanish but claim that it is not the defining quality of their Puerto Ricanness as many assert is the case for island Puerto Ricans.

## 9. Bilingualism and class

English language proficiency is positively correlated with higher earnings. According to a review (Godoy et al. 2001) of quantitative studies in the 1980s and 1990s, a differential of from 12.6 % to 35% in higher earning exists for Puerto Ricans possessing English language skills. English language proficiency has more impact on the island than on the mainland. According to the 1990 Census, those Puerto Ricans on the island who were proficient in English made 25.6% more money than their non-English speaking counterparts. On the mainland, those who were proficient earned 11.61% more than those who aren't. The difference is slightly higher for men. Also, those who spoke English had a higher probability of holding a high status position (a 7.3% difference in Puerto Rico and 6.6% difference stateside) (Godoy et al. 2001). Godoy, Redstone and Barreto (n.d.) suggest that the number of bilinguals in Puerto Rico is low because the people with the best English language skills leave the island for the better opportunities af-



forded to bilinguals in the United States. They found that Puerto Ricans with good to excellent speaking ability in English were 11% to 25% more likely to live in the United States rather than in Puerto Rico. Interestingly the economic differential does not seem to carry over to other quality of life aspects. No relationship was found in any of these studies between English-speaking and other factors such as health, fertility, or divorce.

Class is important when assessing the economic benefits of bilingualism in the United States. As in Puerto Rico, in the United States, bilingualism becomes an asset when it is associated with middle and upper class speakers who have a good education and have access to other types of economic and cultural capital (including the standard language). As Urciuoli (1996) documents in her study of Puerto Rican language practices in New York, poor and working classes speakers understand that the English that they speak is devalued, and considered inferior and incorrect by social and educational institutions. Latinos must possess the “right” kind of standard English, in order for it to translate into upward mobility.

While it would be simplistic and inaccurate to assume that familiarity with standard English alone guarantees economic advancement, it is certainly true that, as most immigrants recognize, lack of English definitely makes economic enhancement difficult. However, when we analyze the benefits of bilingualism, we should not only look at its impact on income. Portes and Rumbaut’s (2002) study of second generation Latinos in San Diego and Miami, found that bilingual teenagers did better in school, had higher aspirations, had better mental health and better relationships with their families than Latino teenagers who were English monolinguals. They were also more likely to have friends from abroad.<sup>13</sup> So bilingualism has broader-reaching advantages than just upward mobility. As stated previously, in all surveys, both on the island and stateside, Puerto Ricans are united in their positive attitudes toward bilingualism. The question that arises is how to affirm and nurture the bilingualism that does exist and build on this foundation to translate positive attitudes into wide scale individual and societal functional bilingualism. In what follows, I will consider the prospects for a more robust bilingual future in Puerto Rico and in the United States.

## 10. Enhancing bilingualism in Puerto Rico

In the last few decades, several creative suggestions have emerged in response to the reductive “one language, one country” line of thinking. Torres González (2002) advocates for the creation of a more realistic model of bilingual education that acknowledges the primary place of Spanish on the island of Puerto Rico. Such a policy was proposed at the national level in 1990, when the PDP was lobbying to make Spanish

---

13. In a follow up study of these same kids in their 20s (Rumbaut (2002) found that 25% reported that they were fluent in Spanish and English while 75% reported being English dominant, but had maintained Spanish to a degree.

the official language of Puerto Rico; the Moreno Rodríguez Language Bill was offered as a compromise measure that recognized two official languages while stipulating that Spanish would be the first official language and English would be the second. This compromise acknowledges the reality of Puerto Ricans' relationship with the United States, while ensuring the primary place of Spanish in the country. However, this strategy failed to win widespread support (Barreto 2001). Similarly, Torres González (2002) calls for an official national policy (and a related educational program) that declares Spanish as the first and most important language of the nation and recognizes at the same time the importance of English as a second language. Such a policy would work to enhance the Spanish language skills of the population, and encourage the learning of English following a model where English is taught as a foreign language. This model is a reflection of how the majority of Puerto Ricans conceives of the status of the two languages. Such a policy might alleviate the ambivalence that many Puerto Ricans feel toward learning English since it accentuates the importance of Spanish, while placing English in a less threatening second place.

Another creative suggestion is to promote a new understanding of English in Puerto Rico. Several scholars (Fayer 2002; Nickels 2005; Stanchich 2000) have noted that the English spoken in Puerto Rico should be recognized as a distinct variety, the way, for example, that Chicano English is. They note that Puerto Rican English has phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical characteristics that are unique and distinctive enough to merit recognition as an indigenous, unique variety. If English were not so strongly identified with the U.S., but rather were interpreted as a native grown variety, it might become more acceptable to the community. In an article entitled, "Whose English is it anyway," Maritza Stanchich asks, "Can Puerto Rican educators and students transcend both the history of U.S. domination and the rhetoric of entrenched political parties, whose leaders, while comprising part of the country's bilingual elite, self-servingly manipulate English language issues" (2000:33). She proposes that a bilingual Puerto Rico could potentially serve as a link between North and South America in a way that is not part of the United States' colonial project if its identity is grounded in the Caribbean. She looks to Caribbean syncretism for a more appropriate linguistic model for Puerto Rico; this strategy involves defining Puerto Rican English in the context of other evolving postcolonial English varieties in the Caribbean. Again, once Puerto Rican English is seen as an indigenous variety linked with other Caribbean English varieties, it acquires a different political significance.

No longer mandating English language instruction in the public schools is another idea that might make English more acceptable on the island. Some teachers and scholars have proposed that if English were offered as an optional rather than mandatory course, students would be more inclined to learn it. There are some signs that young Puerto Rican citizens are becoming more comfortable with English, at least in terms of its expression in popular culture. Bilingual rap and reggaeton, a variety of hip-hop that features Caribbean rhythms, as well as bomba and salsa rhythms, continues to gain in popularity on the island. Reggaeton originated in Puerto Rico in the 80s, traveled to New York in the 90s and is now spreading across urban spaces in the United States. Rap

and reggaeton stars like Daddy Yankee, Ivy Queen, Enemigo and Hurricane G feature both Spanish and English lyrics. Many of these artists have had a bicultural experience and have frequently traveled to and lived in Puerto Rico and the United States. Some claim Puerto Rico as their home base yet experiment with bilingual lyrics. The immense popularity of these artists suggests that bilingual and Spanglish productions are now more acceptable to the island community.

While popular in Latino (Puerto Rican and Chicano) communities in the United States since the sixties, bilingual poetry and performance art is now also gaining a significant following in Puerto Rico. In 2000 “El Colectivo Tonguas” established a bilingual literary and visual arts journal. The collective was formed by students at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, but is open to any emerging writers who want to participate. The editors explain the name of their journal as follows: “The title ‘Tonguas’ combines ‘tongues’ and ‘lenguas,’” indicating the open, multilingual, and inclusive nature of the group’s activities, “idiomas,” and aesthetics. Tonguas begins with the premise that Spanish is at the heart of Puerto Rican identity. At the same time, the collective has also held poet Victor Hernández Cruz’s statement to be worthy: “Bilingualism is not a limitation when it is in the hands of the writers” (English Department, UPR, n.d.). In addition to promoting the creative work Puerto Rican youth, the collective seeks to make more connections with other Caribbean artists and Latino writers in the United States.

Stanchich raises crucial questions when she asks, “Can English one day be seen as an indelible part of Puerto Rico’s inheritance by those vehemently opposed to Statehood? Can hispanophiles stop apologizing for the ‘*anglicismos*’ that they occasionally let slip” (2000: 36)? For bilingualism to thrive, purism on all sides needs to be replaced with an acknowledgement of and respect for all the varieties of Spanish and English. The proliferation of proposals promoting bilingualism, and the rise of multilingual movements in popular culture bode well for fostering an atmosphere that is not only accepting of bilingualism but also of the multiple language varieties that co-exist in Puerto Rican communities.

## 11. Enhancing bilingualism in the United States

Spanish English bilingualism for immigrants is critiqued in the United States as undesirable. Despite a rhetoric of multiculturalism and tolerance, the reality of language politics in the United States is that immigrants are regarded as disloyal and suspect if they publicly endorse bilingualism and seek resources to ensure the maintenance of their heritage languages. English monolingualism is promoted in the schools and enforced by a political climate intensely hostile to immigrant languages. As in Puerto Rico, in the United States, it is the middle and upper classes who become bilingual since they have the resources to place their children in high quality private schools that promote two languages. As Joshua Fishman once wrote, “many Americans have long been of the opinion that bilingualism is ‘a good thing’ if it was acquired via travel (preferably

to Paris) or via formal education (preferably at Harvard) but that it is a ‘bad thing’ if it was acquired from one’s immigrant parents or grandparents” (1966: 122–123).

Despite a long history of language loss in the third generation in the United States, there is new evidence to suggest that Spanish English bilingualism is increasingly becoming an exception to that rule. The work of Linton (2003, 2004), for example, hints at a trend toward an outcome of selective acculturation whereby Latinos are negotiating American society by both learning English and maintaining Spanish.<sup>14</sup> Working with 1990 and 2000 Census data of native born Latinos, she develops a model that identifies the individual and contextual factors that are most likely to lead to bilingualism. Her analysis demonstrates that the most important factor that accounts for bilingualism is residing in an area where there is a critical mass of bilinguals. Living in a place where Latinos have political power also increases the likelihood that Latinos will remain bilingual. Significantly, Linton found that native-born Latinos of Puerto Rican or Cuban ancestry were more likely than other Latinos to maintain Spanish. She reasons that Puerto Ricans have special incentives to maintain Spanish since they have a history of circular migration and they can legally travel to and from Puerto Rico.<sup>15</sup> There are many factors that suggest that Spanish in the U.S. is here to stay given the large and ongoing migration of people from Latin American countries, the long indigenous history that Spanish has in the United States, the increasing political power that Latinos are gaining, and the rising economic power of Spanish-speaking people both in the U.S. and as part of Pan American economic integration. Other factors that bode well for Spanish English bilingualism are the large and growing media available in Spanish including Spanish language books, magazines, newspapers, 24 hour a day Spanish language TV and radio stations and movies. Even Barnes and Nobles and Borders, often offer sections of Spanish language books that include both translated texts and Spanish and Latin American literature. As Zolberg and Woon argue,

...incentives for retaining or learning some Spanish are greater than for most other immigrant languages today or earlier. This is true also for non-Latinos, as indicated by the fact that Spanish is the most widely learned foreign language in American secondary schools and colleges. There is therefore reason to believe that the bilingualization of the United States is becoming an institutional reality, somewhat diffusely at the national level and more concretely in some regions (1999:28).

In the United States, we need to continue to fight against the hostility leveled at multilingualism and immigrants. I believe that Puerto Rican young people do understand the importance of acquiring a workable proficiency in English and Spanish. Although most stateside Puerto Ricans have a view of Puerto Rican identity that does not rest on

---

14. The term selective acculturation comes from the work of Portes and Rumbaut (2001). It is one of three possible outcomes in their proposed typology of immigrant assimilation.

15. Linton suggests that Cubans’ maintenance of Spanish has to do with the high status that this group enjoys within the larger American society. The important point is that each Latino group in the United States has a unique relationship to both Spanish and English.

speaking Spanish fluently, those who speak Spanish well, see it as a source of pride. Other Puerto Ricans who do not speak it with ease, have internalized community attitudes that mark their imperfect command of Spanish as a source of shame. Either way, Spanish remains an important, though not unproblematic, component of Latino identity. Puerto Ricans are aware that Spanish is stigmatized in the U.S. and that they themselves are stigmatized for speaking Spanish. Nonetheless, they overwhelmingly understand and acknowledge that bilingualism is an asset. There is an economic motivation to become bilingual since in many cases this increases one's marketability for employment. More importantly, as transnational citizens, Puerto Ricans need Spanish to move comfortably between the island and the mainland; it is crucial for instrumental and affective reasons.

A policy of English Plus (English Plus Information Clearinghouse (1992), which recognizes the primacy of English in the United States at the same time that it promotes the learning and maintenance of other languages would be a step forward for Puerto Ricans and all citizens. Such a policy would mean that the United States would accept and nurture immigrant languages rather than continue to eradicate such a valuable resource. This idea is clearly at odds with current educational policy on languages in the U.S. In fact, our government's program is painfully contradictory. The United States spends millions annually on language education. Ironically, much of the money goes to rid immigrant children of their native tongues in so called bilingual education programs that strive to improve students' English language skills while they strip them of their native language – and the rest of the funds are spent to enhance “foreign” language studies to improve communication in the competitive global marketplace. This policy is clearly at cross-purposes. Neither approach has been successful in cultivating bilingualism. Therefore, the proficiency of Americans in all languages, including those deemed critical to national security and international trade remain in short supply. Every time an immigrant language is eradicated a national resource is squandered. However, despite the best efforts of English-only groups, Spanish seems poised to survive this onslaught and is securing its place as the second most important language in the United States.

## 12. Conclusion

The current political situations in the United States and Puerto Rico suggest that the promotion of bilingualism in both sites will continue to be an uphill battle. As Torres González points out, an official policy that recognizes the primacy of Spanish as the national language and as the vernacular language, and English as a secondary important language, will probably not happen while Puerto Rico's status remains unresolved (Torres González 2002:6). Likewise, despite the linguistic diversity that exists in the United States, given the hostility to immigrants and their languages, programs like English Plus that promote an additive bilingualism have their work cut out for them. The bad news is that in the current political climate, few resources are allocated toward the

goal of transforming positive attitudes to functional bilingualism for all Boricuas. The good news is that despite strong anti-bilingualism movements in both places, most Puerto Ricans continue to have positive attitudes about bilingualism; also, given factors such as globalization, circular migration, and an evolving multilingual mass media and popular culture, the diffusion of bilingualism is unstoppable.

The next step toward enhancing widespread bilingualism is the vigorous promotion of an open and respectful attitude toward the entire linguistic repertoire of island and stateside Puerto Ricans. This means that we must work to recognize and acknowledge the full range of varieties of Spanish and English that Puerto Ricans speak – this includes formal and informal varieties of both Spanish and English as well code switching. It is time for both island and stateside Puerto Ricans to recognize the bilingual's creativity or the verbal strategies used by speakers with linguistic resources from more than one code; these strategies have in the past been seen as deficiencies rather than as a creative response to communicating in a bilingual/bicultural context. Each variety has its own rich history and its place. The most versatile speakers are those who can negotiate the greatest range of varieties according to shifting contexts and different interlocutors. Island and stateside Puerto Ricans must resist the out-dated notion of “one language, one territory” and embrace a linguistic plurality that respects the complexity of today's world.

## References

- Aparicio, F. 1998. Whose Spanish, whose language, whose power? An ethnographic inquiry into differential bilingualism. *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures* 12: 5–25.
- Baetens Beardsmore, H. 1982. *Bilingualism: Basic principles*. Clevedon: Tieto.
- Barreto, A. A. 2001. *The Politics of Language in Puerto Rico*. Tampa FL: University of Florida Press.
- Cabán, P. 1999. *Constructing a Colonial People: Puerto Rico and the United States, 1898–1932*. Boulder CO: Westview Press.
- Cervantes-Rodríguez, A. M. & Lutz, A. 2003. Coloniality of power, immigration, and the English-Spanish asymmetry in the United States. *Nepantla: Views from South* 4(3): 523–560.
- Departamento de educación, gobierno de Puerto Rico. 1987. Proyecto para formar un ciudadano bilingüe. Retrieved June 2, 2005, from <http://coqui.lce.org/human/proyecto.htm>.
- Davis, M. 2001. *Magical Urbanism: Latinos reinvent the US big city*. New York NY: Verso.
- Eliás-Olivares, L., Leone, E. A., Cisneros, R. & Gutiérrez, J. (eds.). 1985. *Spanish Language Use and Public Life in USA*. Berlin: Mouton.
- English Department, UPR, College of Humanities n.d. Description of journal. Retrieved on June 24, 2005 from <http://humanidades.uprrp.edu/ingles/pubs/tonguas.htm>.
- English Plus Information Clearinghouse (EPIC). 1992. The English plus alternative. In *Language Loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy*. J. Crawford (ed.), 151–153. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Falcón, A. 2004. *Atlas of Stateside Puerto Ricans*. Washington DC: Puerto Rico Federal Affairs Administration.
- Fayer, J. 2000. Functions of English in Puerto Rico. *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 142: 89–102.

- Fishman, J. (ed.). 1966. *Language loyalty in the United States: The maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups*. The Hague: Mouton.
- García Bedolla, L. 2004. The identity paradox: Latino language, politics and selective dissociation. *Latino Studies* 1(2): 264–283.
- Gibson, K. 2004. English only court cases involving the U.S. workplace: The myth of language use and the homogenization of bilingual workers' identities. *Second Language Studies* 22(2): 1–60.
- Godoy, R., Redstone, I., Islam, F., Price, T., Saeed, A. & Tabassum, S. 2001. English proficiency and quality of life among Puerto Ricans: Does it matter? Working Paper, Center for International Development. Retrieved April, 10, 2005 from <http://www.heller.brandeis.edu/sid/downloads/englishpro.pdf>
- Godoy, R., Redstone, I. & Barreto, A. n.d. Social, economic, and political constraints to the use of English in Puerto Rico. Working Paper, Center for International Development. Retrieved April 10, 2005, from <http://www.heller.brandeis.edu/sid/downloads/final.pdf>
- Language Policy Task Force. 1982. Intergenerational perspectives on bilingualism: From community to classroom. Final report to the national institute of education. Research foundation of the City University of New York.
- Lapayese, Y. 2005. Latino/a teacher insurgency and no child left behind: The politics of resistance to English-only policies in urban school classrooms. *Penn GSE Perspectives in Education* 3(3). Retrieved November 15, 2005, from <http://www.urbanedjournal.org>.
- Linton, A. 2003. Is Spanish here to stay? Contexts for bilingualism among U.S. born Hispanics, 1990–2000. *Working Paper No. 81*. The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies. Retrieved March, 25, 2005, from <http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrk81.pdf>.
- Linton, A. 2004. A critical mass model of bilingualism among U.S. born Hispanics. *Social Forces* 83(1): 279–314.
- Morris, N. 1995. *Puerto Rico: Culture, politics, and identity*. Westport CT: Praeger.
- Negrón de Montilla, A. 1990. *La americanización de Puerto Rico y el sistema de instrucción pública*. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad.
- Negrón-Muntaner, F. & Grosfoguel, R. 1997. *Puerto Rican Jam: Essays on culture and politics*. Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Nickels, E. 2005. English in Puerto Rico. *World Englishes* 24(2): 227–237.
- Pedraza, P. 1985. Language maintenance among Puerto Ricans. In *Spanish language use and public life in USA*, L. Elias-Olivares et al. (eds.), 59–71. Berlin: Mouton.
- Portes, A. & Rumbaut, R.G. 2001. *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation.
- Potowski, K. 2004. Spanish language shift in Chicago. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 23(1): 87–116.
- Pousada, A. 1999. The singularly strange story of the English language in Puerto Rico. *Milenio* 3: 33–60.
- Pousada, A. 2000. The competent bilingual in Puerto Rico. *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 142: 103–118.
- Rumbaut, R. 2002. Severed or sustained attachment? Language, identity, and imagined communities in the post-immigration generation. In *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*, W. Cornelius and I. Salehyan (eds.), 43–95. Berkeley CA: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Schweers, Jr., C. W. & Hudders, M. 2000. The reformation and democratization of English education in Puerto Rico. *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 142: 63–87.
- Soong, R. 1997. The cultural role of cable television in Puerto Rico. Retrieved May 13, 2005, from <http://www.zonalatina.com/Zldata18.htm>.

- Stanchich, M. 2000. Whose English is it anyway? Transcending the 'Yankee go home', 'I want my MTV' dichotomy in Puerto Rico. In *Rethinking English in Puerto Rico: Exploring language myths and realities*, L. Fiet, A. Pousada & A. Haiman (eds.), 33–36. San Juan: University of Puerto Rico.
- Torres González, R. 2002. *Idioma, bilingüismo y nacionalidad*. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Torres, L. n.d. *Puerto Ricans in Chicago: Bilingualism and language attitudes*.
- Torres, L. 1997. *Puerto Rican Discourse: A sociolinguistic study of a New York suburb*. Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Urciuoli, B. 1996. *Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican experiences of language, race and class*. Boulder CO: Westview Press.
- Vélez, J. 2000. Understanding Spanish language maintenance in Puerto Rico: Political will meets the demographic imperative. *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 142: 5–24.
- Zentella, A. C. 1997. *Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Malden MA: Blackwell.
- Zentella, A. C. 2002. Latino languages and identities. In *Latinos Remaking America*, M. Suarez-Orozco & M. Paez, 321–338. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- Zolberg, A. & Long, L. W. 1999. Why Islam is like Spanish: Cultural incorporation in Europe and the United States. *Politics and Society* 27(1): 5–38.





# Language attitudes and the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian

## Implications for language planning

Manuel Triano-López

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

This paper explores the importance of acknowledging speakers' attitudes in lexical purification by focusing on Valencian, a dialect of Catalan spoken in the Autonomous Community of Valencia, eastern Spain. The Valencian vernacular is heavily Castilianized at the lexical level, despite more than twenty years of planning aimed at raising the status of Valencian and purging this variety of Spanish borrowings. Throughout this paper, I contend that planners who wish to widen the current scope of the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian should first change speakers' attitudes towards the non-Castilian replacements. Positive attitudes towards these lexical items are expected to strongly correlate with linguistic behavior, i.e., with the use of these lexical replacements. Finally, I advance an attitude-changing construct that local planners could follow should they decide to intensify the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian.

### 1. Introduction: The importance of heeding speakers' attitudes in language planning

A number of scholars have concluded that language planners must account for linguistic attitudes in their design of language policies. For example, Thomason (2001a) argues that speakers' attitudes constitute the main catalyst and barrier to deliberate language-political intervention. Following this line of thought, Thomason (2001b) claims that preservation programs will prove ineffective if community members do not commit themselves to preserving their language. In the same vein, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) point out that the solutions proposed by language planners "must be 'sold' to the population; language change will not necessarily be readily accepted by a population, because language issues are most commonly emotion-laden." Likewise, Amery (2001) warns of corpus-planning measures that do not acknowledge speakers' attitudes. Speakers' attitudes, therefore, may influence the shaping of language policy. In some cases, speakers' attitudes may actually counter or redirect the direction of language policies in ways contrary to the original intentions of the planners.

The view that attitudinal factors determine the success of language policies presupposes a strong relationship between speakers' attitudes and subsequent linguistic behavior. For example, positive attitudes towards a language would contribute to its maintenance, whereas negative attitudes would impede the diffusion of that language (Dressler 1988; Mühlhäusler 1992). However, King (2000) and Choi (2003) have argued that speakers may hold language attitudes that are at odds with their linguistic behavior. For instance, Brudner & White (1979) could not find evidence that attitudes towards Irish strongly correlated with its use. Similarly, Lyon and Ellis (1991) could not conclude that negative attitudes towards Welsh were contributing to its demise. In fact, parents wanted their children to be fluent in Welsh, or at least to learn Welsh at school. Therefore, attitudinal factors may not determine the success of language-maintenance programs. The question remains, however, as to the role of speakers' attitudes in the success or failure of other language-planning goals such as purism.

Based on Thomas (1991), I define linguistic purism as a course of action that seeks to preserve a language from, or purge it of, putative foreign influences or unwanted native items. This paper will explore the importance of speakers' attitudes in lexical purism by focusing on Valencian, a dialect of Catalan spoken in the Autonomous Community of Valencia, eastern Spain.<sup>1</sup> The colloquial register of this variety has been described as heavily Castilianized at the lexical level, despite more than twenty years of planning aimed at raising the status of Valencian and purging this variety of Spanish borrowings, also known as Castilianisms.

In this paper, I will show that attitudes towards Castilianisms are strongly related to their use in the vernacular. Therefore, an increase in the use of the non-Castilian replacements must be preceded by a change in speakers' attitudes towards these terms. Finally, I will discuss how local planners could change these attitudes should they decide to intensify the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian.

## 2. Speakers' attitudes and the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian

According to Wardhaugh (2001), language planners can affect language in two ways: by modifying its status and the rights of its speakers (status planning), or by changing its internal structure (corpus planning). Linguistic purism can be subsumed under both of these orientations. For example, the removal of Castilianisms changes the lexicon of Valencian. However, other puristic measures, such as promoting a language at the expense of others, affect the statuses of the languages involved. For instance, fol-

---

1. Valencian derives from the Catalan brought by settlers after the Kingdom of Valencia was annexed to the Crown of Aragon in the 13th century. Although Catalan dialects still maintain a high degree of mutual intelligibility, each dialect has its own phonological, morphological and lexical features. Wheeler, Yates & Dols (1999) classify the Catalan dialects into two groups: Eastern Catalan and Western Catalan. Valencian belongs to the Western branch, which also includes *catalán noroccidental* 'North Western Catalan' (spoken in western and southern Catalonia, and eastern Aragon).

lowing its independence in 1956, Morocco undertook a policy of Arabization in order to proclaim its Arab-Islamic identity (Marley 2004). Language planners followed this policy by focusing on the replacement of French, the language of the former colonial power, with Modern Standard Arabic.

Although purism is primarily directed at the lexicon (e.g. Castilianisms in Valencian), it can also occur at other linguistic levels (Thomas 1991). For example, a sector of Galician society claims that *gheada* (the replacement of standard Galician voiced velar /g/ with voiceless pharyngeal /ħ/) brings standard Galician closer to Spanish (Recalde 2003). Purism can also operate at the orthographic level, as Turkish showed in 1928. Amid a nationalistic movement against Turkey's Islamic past, Turkish officially abandoned the Arabo-Persian alphabet and adopted the Roman script in its place (Heyd 1954; Lewis 1999).

Thomas (1991) claims that the effects of puristic measures on language behavior (e.g., use of Modern Standard Arabic, avoidance of *gheada*, adoption of the Roman script) largely depends on speakers' attitudes. For example, rejection of proposed native replacements may prevent these terms from taking root in the language. During the fascist period in 20th-century Italy, the *Regia Accademia d'Italia* 'Royal Academy of Italy' published lists of foreignisms accompanied by supposedly native replacements. However, some of these terms (e.g., *barro* for English 'bar') were considered too bizarre to be adopted by the majority of Italian speakers (Dardano 1986). Polomé (1983) reported that English had become the main donor language in the lexical development of Swahili (cf. *leseni* 'license'), despite efforts on the part of local planners. However, Tejnor et al.'s (1971) survey did not yield a strong relationship between Czech speakers' puristic attitudes and their avoidance of borrowings (cited by Thomas 1991). Given these inconclusive findings, Triano-López (2005) focused on the Valencian scenario in order to cast new light on the role of attitudes in purism. Before discussing the results of the study, a brief historical account of language planning in the area is in order.

As the Spanish empire expanded its dominions in the 16th century, the Spanish language became more prestigious, both domestically and abroad. Spanish treatises on government, warfare, and the exploration of the New World enjoyed wide readership, as did the poetry, drama and fiction from the *Siglo de Oro*, i.e., the golden era of Spanish literature in the mid-17th century (Laitin 1989). This increasing recognition of Spanish was accompanied by a decline in status and use of Spain's regional languages. The chronicler de Viciana (1574/1979), for example, wrote that "the Castilian language is getting through the gates of [the Kingdom of Valencian], and all Valencians understand it and many speak it, having forgotten their own language" (my translation).

The arrival of the Bourbon dynasty after the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) accentuated the hegemony of Spanish over these regional languages (Ferrando i Francés & Nicolàs Amorós 1993, Ferrer i Gironès 1985). For instance, Article IV of the Decree of Nueva Planta for Catalonia mandated that Spanish be the only language in *audiencia* 'appeals-court' cases; and in 1768, the Royal *Cédula* of Aranjuez imposed Spanish in the schools.

This tendency persisted during the dictatorships of Primo de Rivera (1923–1930) of Franco (1939–1975). For example, a 1923 royal decree declared Spanish the country's official language and, accordingly, mandated that every person vested with authority speak solely in Spanish at official events (Ferrer i Gironès 1985). Like Primo de Rivera before him, Franco continued solidifying the privileged status of Spanish, particularly during the early years of his regime. For instance, the 1945 Education Act positioned Castilian as the sole language of instruction at school (Marín 1996).

The decentralization of the country after the 1977 democratic elections had linguistic repercussions in the form of normalization. This language-planning orientation seeks to place the officially recognized minority languages at the same level as the dominant language, Spanish. In the Autonomous Community of Valencia, normalization aimed to extend the use of Valencian to include contexts hitherto reserved for Spanish. Most notably, the 1983 Law of Use and Teaching of Valencian declared the teaching of Valencian compulsory at all levels below college (with some exceptions); it heralded a surge in the number of volumes published in Valencian; and it paved the way for the launch of the Valencian-speaking media.

These measures also entailed that the Valencian population was to be exposed to a variety of Valencian that befitted its newly elevated status. In March 2002, the *Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua* 'Valencian Academy of the Language' (AVL), the body entrusted with the codification of Valencian, announced that the Academy aims at recovering "very Valencian" lexical items, such as *bonegar* 'to scold' or *brull* 'noise' (Nadal 2002, March 26, my translation). However, this puristic approach does not entail a complete closure to borrowings, such as the Castilianisms *guapo* 'handsome' or *torero* 'bullfighter.'

Additionally, the AVL intends to revive Valencian words documented in classical literary works (Las Provincias, 2004, June 23). This archaizing orientation was reflected in the AVL pronouncement of March 2002, which approved a set of spelling conventions favored by "classical [Valencian] authors and renowned Valencian lexicographers," such as the retaining of *a* in *traure* 'to take out.'<sup>2</sup>

The Valencian government broaches lexical purism on other fronts. For instance, the *Junta Qualificadora de Coneixements de València* 'Valencian Proficiency Qualifying Board' (henceforth the *Junta*) issues government-sanctioned certificates of proficiency in Valencian. Citizens need these certificates to work in civil service and public teaching positions offered in the Autonomous Community. Preparatory materials for the *Junta* examinations stress the importance of avoiding lexical Castilianisms (e.g. Pellicer & Borràs 2001).

These measures, however, do not seem to have affected colloquial Valencian. Outside of formal contexts, everyday concepts for which Valencian already has a native counterpart, such as words for body parts, items of clothing, food, animals, and

---

2. "Resolución 10/2002, de 4 de abril de 2002, de la Presidencia de la AVL" (2002, April 4).

youth culture, can sometimes be expressed via a Castilian borrowing. Pascual (1999) described the situation as follows:

We may have students who are perfectly capable of filling out forms, writing the owner's manual of an electrical appliance, a complaint letter, or a journalistic article in Valencian; [However, these students] do not know how to say "loaf around" in Valencian or that marine animal that gave its name to a Spielberg movie.

(Pascual 1999, my translation)

As Thomas (1991) claims, linguistic purism can spawn a type of stylistic variation in which the higher register uses the puristically inspired word, and the lower register the borrowing. For example, Kalogjera (1978) noted that borrowings still surface in colloquial Croatian, but they are avoided in writing. The question remains, however, whether this stylistic differentiation was one of the goals of Valencian language planners. In 1998, the Valencian Parliament requested that the *Consell Valencià de Cultura* (CVC) 'Valencian Council of Culture' prepare a report on the sociolinguistic situation of Valencian. The ominous tone of the report indicated that language planning in the area aimed to eradicate Castilianisms (El País 1998, July 14, my translation):

Nowadays, the situation of Valencian is certainly paradoxical: with regard to its official and formal use, notwithstanding the well-known deficiencies in this domain, [the situation is] . . . better than it [has] ever [been] in the last centuries, at least since the Decree of Nueva Planta, [which declared Spanish as the sole official language of Spain] at the beginning of the 18th century. However, with respect to the use [of Valencian] in informal domains, . . . we remain in a situation of linguistic disaffection, with an impoverishment and a Castilianization of everyday speech that are frankly alarming.

More recent research on Valencian shows that the lexical Castilianization of colloquial Valencian still has not waned. López i Verdejo (2004) claims that the younger generations in the agricultural area known as *l'Horta* 'the Orchard Land' know the native lexicon but tend to eschew it in favor of Castilianisms. López i Verdejo (2004) further argues that these Castilianisms pervade all lexical domains. Some of these borrowings, e.g. *polilla* 'moth', coexist with the Valencian counterparts (*arna*), while others, such as *llavero* 'key ring' have taken root in the language at the expense of the Valencian forms, i.e. *clauer*.

Other studies have shown that the use of Castilianisms is linked to speakers' puristic attitudes. In Gómez Molina (2002a, 2002b), individual speakers gave at least two attitudinal reasons for rejecting either Castilianisms or Catalan forms. Castilianisms such as *apellido* 'last name' were not accepted due to their Castilian origin, whereas some Catalan counterparts, e.g. *maduixa* 'strawberry', were rejected because subjects felt that the words derived from the Catalan variety spoken in Catalonia.

In Triano-López's (2005) study, the subjects were high-school students who used Valencian in their daily interactions and had been primarily exposed to Valencian as a classroom vehicle for a minimum of five years. The subjects self-reported on their linguistic behavior (the Castilianization of their colloquial vernacular) and their linguistic attitudes, which were grouped into four attitudinal subcomponents: (1) language loy-

alty, which measured a speaker's commitment to participating in the diffusion of Valencian; (2) lexical loyalty, which measured the subjects' degree of aversion to Castilianisms; (3) speakers' attitudes toward the role of the Valencian government in the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian; and (4) speakers' attitudes toward the role of the Valencian government in the promotion of Valencian.

Results revealed that choice of Castilianisms over Valencian equivalents in the vernacular were strongly correlated with the subjects' degree of aversion to Castilianisms ( $r = -.511, n = 80, p < .01$ ), and with their attitudes towards the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian ( $r = -.487, n = 80, p < .01$ ). Put differently, results showed that (1) low levels of lexical Castilianization in the subjects' vernacular tended to be paired with negative attitudes towards the presence of Castilianisms in the Valencian vernacular; and that (2) the weaker the subjects' endorsement of institutional purism, the more Castilianisms the subjects' vernacular contained.

If attitudes can be shown to guide linguistic behavior in lexical purism, then language-planning bodies have two options: either refrain from purging borrowings that elicit positive reactions on the part of speakers, or change speakers' attitudes first, so that speakers begin to cast the native replacements in a positive light. The next section focuses on the second option: changing attitudes towards certain lexical items so that speakers start using these items more frequently.

### **3. The HSM-MEE interface: A persuasive model aimed at changing linguistic behavior**

Spearheaded by Chaiken and her associates (Chaiken 1980, 1987; Chaiken, Liberman, & Eagly 1989; Chaiken & Maheswaran 1994), the Heuristic-Systematic Model (HSM) proposes an interface between an effortful systematic processing mode and an effortless heuristic mode. In systematic processing, people shape their attitudes by actively attending to persuasive argumentation. In heuristic processing, however, people do not expend great cognitive effort when judging the persuasiveness of a message. In particular, this is the case when they know little about the topic (see jurors example below), when they do not have ample time to process the information, or when the issue or one's judgment is inconsequential.

During heuristic processing, people tackle a certain persuasive message by superficially assessing an array of persuasion cues that trigger heuristics stored in memory (Chaiken 1987). Among these persuasion cues, Chaiken (1987) cites characteristics of the message itself (e.g. its length or number of arguments) and communicator traits (e.g. expertise, likeability, physical attractiveness). Put differently, during heuristic processing, people tend to agree more with messages containing many as opposed to few arguments, with verbose messages as opposed to pithy ones, or with messages based on expert opinion. Examples of persuasion heuristics that can be stored in memory include "Experts' statements can be trusted", "People generally agree with people

they like”, “Length implies strength”, and “Consensus implies correctness” (Chaiken et al. 1989).

For instance, Cooper & Neuhaus (2000) point out that ordinary citizens, in their capacity as jurors, are often asked to reach important decisions based on the highly technical and scientific information. Jurors therefore may be ill-equipped to assess the merit of an expert’s view (Simard & Young 1994). Under these circumstances, jurors will process the courtroom expert’s testimony heuristically (Kovera, McAuliff & Herbert 1999). Their application of heuristic processing will then necessitate a heuristic cue, i.e. the expert communicator, which will allow them to access the heuristic “Experts’ statements can be trusted” stored in memory. Research has shown the influence of expert evidence on jury decisions with respect to eyewitness testimony, rape-trauma syndrome, battered-woman syndrome, and child sexual abuse (Kovera et al. 1999).

Attitudinal changes can also occur in the absence of a persuasive message. According to Zajonc’s (1968) Mere-Exposure Effect (MEE), preference for a stimulus increases with repeated exposures to that stimulus. More than 200 experiments have demonstrated this effect (Weisbuch, Mackie, & Garcia-Marques 2003). For instance, Zajonc & Rajecki (1969) asked respondents to indicate whether words appearing in newspapers at different frequency intervals meant something good or bad on a 7-point scale. The most frequently exposed words obtained the highest ratings, whereas the least exposed words received the lowest scores.

Based on these findings, I hypothesize that the combination of the HSM’s heuristic approach with the MEE could be applicable to a number of language planning situations, including the Valencian scenario. For example, Woolard & Gahng (1990) claimed that changes in language policy in Catalonia from 1980 to 1987 had been followed by significant changes in language attitudes, particularly in the solidarity connotations of Catalan. Woolard & Gahng found that the symbolic value of Catalan as a marker of Catalan identity was waning, which in turn increased its adoption by nonnative speakers. In their discussion of the policies that might have created this attitudinal change, the authors mentioned that young Catalans were hearing more Catalan speech from Castilian-speaking authoritative models such as teachers, politicians, and radio and television announcers.

Woolard & Gahng (1990) did not explain why increasing exposure to the Catalan speech of authoritative sources had led speakers to change their attitudes towards Catalan. Nevertheless, an explanation based on an HSM-MEE interface could be put forth. In other words, the Catalan government was exploiting the experts’-statements-are-valid heuristic and the MEE’s emphasis on frequency of exposure to generate positive attitudes towards Catalan. In turn, these positive attitudes translated into an increase in the use of Catalan.

Similarly, an HSM-MEE interface could help language planners achieve their puristic goals. For the Valencian scenario, I propose that the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian would be more effective if speakers’ attitudes could be changed in response to (1) a consensus among authoritative figures over the lexical replacements



to be endorsed and (2) speakers' recurring exposure to those replacements. The next section will elaborate on this attitudinal approach.

#### 4. The HSM-MEE interface at work in the Valencian scenario

The development of an HSM-MEE interface and its successful application to a particular language-planning scenario necessitate a concerted effort between planners and experts in a variety of fields. For instance, local planners would benefit from the MEE by increasing the likelihood that a large number of Valencian speakers receive frequent exposure to non-Castilianized lexical items. To best accomplish this goal, planners should work in tandem with experts in other fields. For example, sociological data would point to the types of television programs that could best reach certain demographic groups, whereas marketing experts could help the Valencian government offset the expenses incurred in producing and/or purchasing these programs. With regard to the "experts-are-right" heuristic, more specific sociological data indicate that attendance at Catholic liturgical services is dwindling in Spain, a traditionally Catholic country (Galán 2004, September 5). Therefore, Catholic Church officials do not seem to be linguistic experts whose decisions would bear significantly on Valencian speakers' attitudes. Pending further research on this concerted effort between planners and professionals in other fields, the following sections outline the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian through the prism of the HSM-MEE interface.

##### 4.1 Heuristics # 1: Experts are right

Planners can exploit this heuristic by investing people or institutions with authority on linguistic matters. In the Valencian scenario, linguistic expertise could take on at least three different forms: the media, teachers, and language academies / institutes. I now proceed to elaborate on these potential sources of expertise.

Previous research has shown that media content can mold viewers' attitudes. For example, Dowler (2002) concluded that crime-drama viewers favor laxer restrictions on carrying concealed guns. The media's role in shaping people's attitudes is associated with the notion of expertise. News narrators, for instance, assert credibility by reminding viewers that they are "News Specialists" who work for "Eyewitness News," a team of competent and dedicated professionals "On Assignment" to discover the truth (Baym 2000). The influence of the media can also be extended to the linguistic domain. Kioko & Muthwii's (2003) study on language attitudes in Kenya showed that users of English in the media are regarded as influential models.

In the Valencian context, Article 25, Sections 1 and 2 of the 1983 Law of Use and Teaching of Valencian directs the Valencian government to promote the use of Valencian on TV and radio stations, and other forms of government-managed media. In compliance with this article, the Valencian government passed Law 7/1984

of Creation of *Radiotelevisió Valenciana*. Currently, there are two public TV stations broadcasting in Valencian: *Canal 9*, launched in 1989, and *Punt Dos* (formerly known as *Notícies 9*), which started broadcasting in 1997 (Garrido 2003, September 27). The Valencian-speaking audiovisual offer is complemented with radio station *Ràdio 9*.

With regard to teachers, Raviv et al. (2003) argue that the transmission of knowledge in the classroom depends on whether students perceive their teachers as reliable sources of information. Kruglanski (1980) focused on this issue by introducing epistemic authority, i.e. a source that influences significantly an individual's construction of knowledge. Individuals regard information from an epistemic authority as valid, integrating it into their repertoire, and relying on it. Research has shown that teachers' formal knowledge explains why children and adolescents consider teachers as epistemic authorities (Smetana & Bitz 1996).

Language planning in the area has underscored teachers' epistemic authority through Article 23 of the 1983 Law of Use, which directs prospective teachers in the Valencian Autonomous Community to be proficient in Valencian. As of 2002, prospective teachers who did not go through compulsory high-school education in the Autonomous Community of Valencian must demonstrate proficiency in Valencian before applying for a public teaching position. As indicated above, the *Junta* assesses the entrants' knowledge of Valencian by means of its government-sanctioned certificates. Preparatory manuals for the *Junta* examinations, e.g. Pellicer & Borràs (2001), advise their readership to eschew Spanish borrowings. Therefore, the *Junta* accreditation can help enhance students' perceptions of Valencian language teachers as reliable sources of information.

Language academies and other agencies constitute the third type of linguistic expert in the Valencian scenario. Since these institutions count as their members accomplished philologists or renowned writers, they impart an aura of expertise to their dicta. Prior to the establishment of the *Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua* 'Valencian Academy of the Language' in 1998, three linguistic institutions were empowered to issue pronouncements on Valencian.

The first was the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 'Institute of Catalan Studies' (IEC), founded in 1907 by the Provincial Council of Barcelona with the goal of advancing Catalan culture through four sections: historical-archeological, scientific, philological, and philosophical and social sciences. Royal Decree 3118/1976 circumscribes the IEC's sphere of authority to Spain's Catalan-speaking areas. The second linguistic arbiter is the *Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana* 'Inter-University Institute of Valencian Philology' (IIFV), formed by specialists from the universities that grant degrees in Philology in the Autonomous Community of Valencia. Established in November 1994, the IIFV focuses all aspects related to Valencian language and literature, especially those issues that bear on the standardization and normalization of Valencian. The third institution is the *Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana* 'Royal Academy of Valencian Culture' (RAVC), a public institution funded by the *Diputació Provincial*, or Provincial Council, of the city of Valencia. Among its cultural objectives, the RAVC seeks to promote Valencian through manuals and dictionaries. Finally, in Septem-

ber 1998, the Valencian government passed the Law of the Creation of the Valencian Academy of the Language (hereafter the AVL). Title I, Article 3 of the Law grants the AVL powers for determining and elaborating the Valencian linguistic norm.

Although the language institutions are in place, I contend that, from an attitudinal standpoint, a consensus among these language institutions would facilitate a reduction of Castilianisms in the Valencian vernacular. As I show below, such agreement is lacking because of the criticisms levied against the AVL by the other institutions. Moreover, the incumbent Valencian government has contributed to this contentious climate by publicly discrediting the AVL.

#### 4.2 Heuristics # 2: Consensus implies correctness

On March 25, 2002, the AVL declared official the orthographic, grammatical and lexical criteria that the Department of Education had been using in texts and documents since 1983 (Marco 2002, March 26). With this declaration, the AVL aimed to situate Valencian within the Catalan linguistic domain, while accepting its dialectal idiosyncrasies. The pronouncement endorsed dialectal words, such as *bonegar* ‘to quarrel’, *servici* ‘service’, and *brull* ‘noise,’ alongside other, Pan-Catalan lexical items. This approach was reinforced by another pronouncement, dated May 20, 2002, in which the AVL approved a list of lexical doublets, such as dialectal *servici* / pan-Catalan *servei* ‘service.’

The creation of the AVL did not sit well with other linguistic institutions. While the IEC and the IIFV agree with the AVL on including Valencian in the pan-Catalan linguistic domain (El País 2003, December 3), they have challenged the authority of the AVL on a number of occasions. For instance, the IEC defended the acceptance of only one norm for Catalan under the auspices of a single linguistic institution, namely the IEC itself (F, 1999, April 25). Likewise, the IIFV found it “inexplicable” that it had not been called upon to serve as the normative entity (Bono & Beltran 1998, July 1, my translation). For its part, the RACV rejects the AVL’s characterization of Valencian as a dialect of Catalan and contends, like the IIFV, that the policy of admitting Valencian/Pan-Catalan doublets obstructs the normalization of Valencian (Ducajú 2004, May 22). The degree of opposition to the AVL’s policies is such that the President of the RAVC announced that the RACV would rather relinquish its public funds than start writing in Catalan (Garcia 2002, March 28).

The controversy surrounding the standardization of Valencian has been stoked by the incumbent *Partido Popular*. In creating the AVL, the government was to invest this institution with enough credibility as to obtain the acquiescence of other language guardians. In fact, Article 5 of the Law of the Creation of the AVL states that the AVL’s decisions bind all institutions under the Autonomous Valencian Government, the educational system, the media, and publicly funded entities, such as the RAVC. For instance, before the AVL’s first pronouncement in March 2002, the *Palau de la Música* ‘Palace of Music’ had been using the RAVC’s rules, which included Castilianisms, such as *acontenyiment* ‘event’ (cf. Spanish *acontecimiento*) instead of *es-*

*deveniment* (Levante-EMV, 2001, October 30). After the AVL's pronouncement, the Palace announced its compliance with the official norm (G. & Europa Press 2002, March 27). However, the AVL cannot penalize those institutions that run afoul of its directives. Moreover, the Valencian government has adopted a lax attitude towards the RACV. When the RACV refused to abide by the AVL's first pronouncement, the Valencian government announced that this institution would continue qualifying for public funds, regardless of the norm to which it adhered (Levante-EMV 2002, April 15).

In June 2002, a cadre of 20 translators working for the Administration denounced having received pressure to exclude certain words from official publications (Ducajú 2002, June 25). For example, the AVL endorses the pan-Catalan *endemà* 'the next day', together with two Valencian dialectal variants: *sendemà* and *después-demà*. Despite this official endorsement, the translators pointed out the absence of the pan-Catalan equivalents from the *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana* 'Official Diary of the Valencian Government,' in which all laws are published before their entry into force.

Similarly, high-school teachers of Valencian complained in 2002 of pressure from the Department of Education to eliminate *català* 'Catalan' from one of the college entry examinations (Garcia 2002, June 15). The teachers also claimed that Education replaced certain words on test day without previous consultation. For instance, the pan-Catalan *meitat* 'half' was replaced with the genuinely Valencian *mitat*, even though both terms had been approved by the AVL (Bono 2002, June 14).

Apart from this unwillingness to use certain pan-Catalan terms, the government has publicly endorsed Castilianisms that the AVL has not approved. In March, 2002, the web portal of the *Institución Ferial Alicante*, a trade show overseen by the Department of Development, contained several Castilianisms, such as *enfortalitzat* 'strengthen', after Spanish *fortalecer*, and *màrmol* 'marble', after Spanish *mármol* (Moltó 2002, March 3).

On some occasions, members of the ruling party have unequivocally voiced their opposition to the AVL. For instance, the spokesman for the area of Linguistic Policy of the PP said that including Valencian in the Catalan linguistic domain was illegal "non-sense" (Europa Press 2004, June 22, my translation). In 2003, the incoming President of the County Council of Valencia opined that the AVL could not promote the unity of Catalan (Ferriol 2003, July 29).

To recapitulate, I contend that, from an attitudinal standpoint, Valencian speakers would view the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian more favorably if language experts worked more collaboratively. Such a unified front, however, is presently lacking. Furthermore, by publicly disavowing the AVL's authority and pronouncements, the Valencian government has intensified this institutional dissension.

#### 4.3 The role of the MEE

Thus far, the attitudinal approach to the lexical de-Castilianization of Valencian has focused on the HSM. In other words, planners can persuade Valencian speakers to reduce the number of Castilianisms in their speech by (1) investing people or in-

stitutions with authority on linguistic matters and (2) fostering a consensus among these language experts. However, I also hypothesized that the MEE constitutes an integral component of the attitudinal approach. Based on this effect, I hypothesize that preference for (and subsequent use of) the non-Castilian lexical replacements would increase with repeated exposures to those terms. Put differently, once language experts have agreed upon the non-Castilian lexical replacements, speakers must be given ample opportunity to be exposed to these items.

Nevertheless, the Valencian government has not maximized the use of the media and schools as outlets for the dissemination of the non-Castilian replacements. First of all, Article 23 of the 1983 Law of Use allows teachers with insufficient proficiency in Valencian to receive linguistic training while they continue fulfilling their duties. Some school parents' associations reacted vehemently against this policy. In the province of Elx, for example, the local parents' association announced that they would start making periodic check rounds to verify the bilingual skills of their children's teachers (S. 2000, September 1). In 1999, Valencian citizens filed with the region's ombudsman's office 373 complaints regarding the teachers' bilingual proficiency (Hernández 2000, October 3). In his October 2000 report, the Valencian ombudsman attributed these complaints to a "possible shortage" of linguistically qualified teachers (Hernández 2000, October 3).

In April 2002, the Department of Education announced for the first time that candidates taking a competitive examination for a teaching position below the college level would be required to demonstrate proficiency in Valencian by means of written and oral tests (Ruiz 2002, April 26). Despite this linguistic requirement, the Department of Education assigned 1,207 bilingual teaching posts for the 2002–2003 academic year without assessing the new teachers' proficiency in Valencian (Arabí 2002, August 8). The measure affected 30,000 elementary and primary school students enrolled in bilingual programs.

Although the linguistic requirement is now enforced, the measure has not maximized students' access to the Valencian speech of qualified bilingual teachers. In 2002, the Department of Education held that possession of a B.A. degree in Valencian Philology would meet the requirement, whereas the equivalent degree in Catalan Philology would not. The President of the University of Valencia countered that the Valencian Philology degree had never been conferred (Raga 2002, April 27). In March 2004, the Supreme Court of the Autonomous Community of Valencia ruled that the B.A. degree in Catalan Philology demonstrates the requisite proficiency in Valencian. However, the Department of Education posted the 2004 teaching openings without exempting Catalan Philology majors from the proficiency examination (Bueno 2004, May 8).

With regard to the role of the media, repeated exposure to television broadcasts has been shown to change linguistic behavior. For instance, Muhr (2003) concluded that recent increases in German German television viewership are catalyzing a shift from Austrian German to German German. By creating two public Valencian-speaking TV channels, the Valencian government seems to have recognized the influence of the media on viewers' linguistic behavior. However, both Valencian-speaking channels are

beset by low audience figures (Garrido 2002, January 4; Levante-EMV 2002, February 2).<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the percentage of programs broadcast in Valencian by *Canal 9* had decreased to 30% by September 2003 (Garrido 2003, September 27). This percentage may actually hide a much less frequent use of Valencian, since by “program broadcast in Valencian” the government means a program in which the host begins by addressing his/her audience in Valencian (Levante-EMV 2003, October 9). Furthermore, the figures do not take into the programs’ potential to reach as many Valencian-speaking households as possible. For examples, movies shown on *Canal 9* in prime time are not usually dubbed into Valencian (Levante-EMV 2003, October 9). In fact, the incumbent *Partido Popular* voted against a bill that pushed for broadcasts in Valencian during prime time (P. 2000, May 30). In sum, the MEE directs Valencian planners to provide speakers with frequent exposure to non-Castilian lexical replacements. However, some of the language policies adopted actually limit the level of exposure to these terms.

## 5. Conclusions

As Triano-López (2005) showed, the increasing lexical Castilianization of the Valencian vernacular is strongly related to speakers’ attitudes. More specifically, low levels of lexical Castilianization in the subjects’ vernacular tended to be paired with negative attitudes towards the presence of Castilianisms in the Valencian vernacular. Furthermore, as the Castilianization of the speakers’ vernacular decreased, their support of institutional purism tended to become more robust.

These results, therefore, direct planners to heed speakers’ attitudes as a prerequisite to the success of lexical purism. Applied to the Valencian scenario, local planners might adopt two courses of action. The first one would entail a flexible approach to purism through the endorsement of those Castilianisms that have achieved social integration, i.e., acceptance and use by community members (Poplack & Sankoff 1984). Local planners should begin this approach by gathering a vast corpus of Valencian speech revolving around a wide range of topics. The degree of social integration of the Castilianisms found in the corpus could then be determined through frequency of use and acceptability tests. Therefore, planners could consider as candidates for dictionary status those Castilianisms which surfaced in the speech of a representative

---

3. The government-run radio station *Ràdio 9* is also experiencing a steep decline in its audience (Maroto 2000, May 1). Although *Ràdio 9* pulled the heavily-Castilianized *Chiqui-Nou* off the airwaves in 1998 (Bono 1998, May 12), the radio station still airs programs which feature Castilianisms that the AVL has not endorsed. After having listened to *Ràdio 9* programs for about three weeks during the summer of 2002, I managed to compile a list of Castilianisms such as *peces* ‘fish’ (pl.), *desquiciat* ‘crazy,’ *cuernos* ‘horns,’ *tirano* ‘tyrant,’ *ridicle* ‘ridicule,’ and *hazmerreir* ‘laughingstock.’ Radio announcers adhering to the AVL’s stance would have used the standard equivalents, namely *peixos*, *trastornat*, *banyes*, *tirà*, *ridicul*, and *rialla*, respectively.

sample of Valencian speakers and which were judged by native speakers to be proper designations.

Alternatively, local planners could change speakers' attitudes in order to achieve a higher level of lexical de-Castilianization. In the event that planners decide to adopt the second route, I proposed that current attitudes towards the de-Castilianization of their Valencian vernacular could be changed by integrating Zajonc's (1968) Mere-Exposure Effect (MEE) into the Heuristic-Systematic Model (HSM) of persuasion (Chaiken 1980, 1987; Chaiken et al. 1989). Two principles would result from combining the two frameworks:

- 1: Consensus must exist among language experts (the media, teachers, and academies/institutes) over lexical replacements.
- 2: The Valencian government must provide speakers with frequent exposure to the agreed-upon lexical replacements.

However, the Valencian government has hindered the formation of positive attitudes towards the de-Castilianization of Valencian by (1) widening the division between the AVL and other linguistic institutions and (2) failing to benefit from the influence of schools and the media on shaping speakers' attitudes.

Future studies could explore whether some Castilianisms are more easily replaced than others. Given the animosity between Catalan nationalists and a sector of Valencian society, Triano-López (2005) hypothesized that Valencian speakers will adopt the replacements to targeted Castilianisms more readily when there is some degree of formal resemblance between the two sets. In other words, replacements such as *à nec* 'duck,' which does not resemble its Castilianized counterpart *pato*, will tend to be rejected because Valencian speakers may perceive these words as deriving from the Catalan spoken in Catalonia.

Further research could also address whether the HSM-MEE interface constitutes a yardstick against which to gauge the success of other language-planning goals. Since lexical purism involves changes in the corpus of a language, future studies could explore whether the HSM-MEE interface could assist planners in successfully implementing other corpus-planning measures, such as graphization, codification, and modernization (Ferguson 1968). For instance, Elkhafaifi (2002) claims that discord among the official Arab language agencies hampers the lexical modernization of Arabic. Likewise, Choi (2004) notes that dissension<sup>4</sup> over the standardized spelling of Guaraní, Paraguay's co-official language along with Spanish, adversely affects the use of this language. These examples seem to highlight the importance of reaching a consensus among language experts.

---

4. The conflict pits the "traditionalists," who espouse a pure, de-Castilianized spelling system for Guaraní, against the "modernists."

## References

- Amery, R. 2001. Language planning and language revival. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 2: 141–221.
- Arabí, F. 2002, August 8. Educación adjudica 1.207 plazas de programas bilingües sin pedir el certificado de valenciano. *Diario Levante*. Retrieved August 10, 2002, from <http://www.levantemv.es/levhoy0288/levante2.html>.
- Baym, G. 2000. Constructing moral authority: We in the discourse of television news. *Western Journal of Communication* 64: 92–111.
- Bono, F. 1998, May 12. Ràdio 9 suprime el programa secesionista “Chiqui-Nou”. Vol. March 20, 2004. *Diario El País*. Retrieved March 20, 2004, from LEXIS-NEXIS Academic database.
- Bono, F. 2002, June 14. Educación cambia el valenciano de la selectividad. *Diario El País*. Retrieved August 7, 2004, from LEXIS-NEXIS Academic Database.
- Bono, F. & Beltran, A. 1998, July 1. Los vaivenes del Institut de Filologia. *Diario El País*. Retrieved September 30, 2003, from [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es).
- Brudner, L. & White, D. 1979. Language attitudes: Behavior and intervening variables. In *Sociolinguistic Studies in Language Contact: Methods and cases*, W. F. Mackey & J. Ornstein (eds.), 51–68. The Hague: Mouton.
- Bueno, V. 2004, May 8. Convocadas las oposiciones de enseñanza que no eximen del valenciano a Filología Catalana. Vol. May 8, 2004. *Diario Información*. Retrieved May 8, 2004, from [www.diarioinformacion.com](http://www.diarioinformacion.com).
- Chaiken, S. 1980. Heuristic versus systematic information processing and the use of source versus message cues in persuasion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 39: 752–66.
- Chaiken, S. 1987. The heuristic model of persuasion. In *Social Influence: The Ontario symposium*, M.P. Zanna & J.M. Olson (eds.), 3–39. Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Chaiken, S., Liberman, A. & Eagly, A. H. 1989. Heuristic and systematic information processing within and beyond the persuasion context. In *Unintended Thought*, J.S. Uleman & J.A. Bargh (eds.), 212–52. New York NY: Guilford Press.
- Chaiken, S. & Maheswaran, D. 1994. Heuristic processing can bias systematic processing: Effects of source credibility, argument ambiguity, and task importance on attitude judgment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66: 460–73.
- Choi, J. K. 2003. Language attitudes and the future of bilingualism: The case of Paraguay. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 6: 81–94.
- Choi, J. K. 2004. La planificación lingüística y la revaloración del guaraní en el Paraguay: Comparación, evaluación e implicación. *Language Problems & Language Planning* 28: 241–59.
- Cooper, J. and Neuhaus, I. M. 2000. The ‘Hired Gun’ effect: Assessing the effect of pay, frequency of testifying, and credentials on the perception of expert testimony. *Law and Human Behavior* 24: 149–71.
- Dardano, M. 1986. The influence of English on Italian. In *English in Contact with Other Languages: Studies in honor of Broder Carstensen on the occasion of his 60th birthday*, W. Viereck & W.D. Bald (eds.), 231–52. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- de Viciana, R. M. 1574/1979. *Libro de alabanzas de las lenguas hebrea, griega, latina, castellana y valenciana*. Valencia: Librerías París-Valencia.
- Dowler, K. 2002. Media influence on attitudes toward guns and gun control. *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 26: 235–47.
- Dressler, W. U. 1988. Language death. In *Linguistics: The Cambridge survey*, F.J. Newmeyer (ed.), 184–92. Cambridge: CUP.



- Ducajú, M. 2002, June 25. Veinte técnicos lingüísticos de la Administración piden que los oriente la AVL sin 'intrusiones'. *Diario Levante-EMV*. Retrieved June 26, 2002, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- Ducajú, M. 2004, May 22. El Institut Interuniversitari afirma que la Acadèmia «no es necesaria» para la filología. *Diario Levante-EMV*. Retrieved May 22, 2004, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- El País. 1998, July 14. Un dictamen muy esperado. *Diario El País*. Retrieved September 12, 2003, from [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es).
- El País. 2003, December 3. El Interuniversitari alerta contra la distinción absurda del valenciano. *Diario El País*. Retrieved December 3, 2003, from [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es).
- Elkhafaifi, H. M. 2002. Arabic language planning in the age of globalization. *Language Problems & Language Planning* 26: 253–69.
- Europa Press. 2004, June 22. El PP califica de "barbaridad" pretender que se reconozca la unidad del idioma. *Diario Levante-EMV*. Retrieved June 22, 2004, from <http://www.levante-emv.com/>.
- F., J. 1999, April 25. El IEC reclama la competencia normativa sobre el valenciano. *Diario El País*. Retrieved September 11, 2003, from [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es).
- Ferguson, C. A. 1968. Language development. In *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, J. A. Fishman, J. Das Gupta & C. A. Ferguson (eds.), 27–35. New York NY: Wiley.
- Ferrando i Francés, A. & Nicolàs Amorós, M. 1993. *Panorama d'història de la llengua*. Valencia: Tàndem Edicions.
- Ferrer i Gironès, F. 1985. *La persecució política de la llengua catalana: Història de les mesures preses contra el seu ús des de la Nova Planta fins avui*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.
- Ferriol, J.C. 2003, July 29. Giner advierte a la Acadèmia que debe ser fiel al pueblo y no facilitar 'la unidad de la lengua'. vol. July 29, 2003. *Diario Las Provincias*. Retrieved July 29, 2003, from [www.lasprovincias.com](http://www.lasprovincias.com).
- G., A. & Europa Press. 2002, March 27. Agricultura y el Palau de la Música se resitúan y acatan el pacto mientras Giner guarda silencio. *Diario Levante-EMV*. Retrieved March 27, 2002, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- Galán, L. 2004, September 5. España deja de ser (tan) católica. *Diario El País*.
- García, A. 2002, June 15. Educación censura palabras de la prueba de selectividad elaborada por las universidades. *Diario Levante-EMV*. Retrieved June 18, 2002, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- García, A. 2002, March 28. La RACV seguirá con las normas del Puig y Lladró critica la Academia "de la barretina". *Diario El Levante*. Retrieved March 28, 2002, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- Garrido, L. 2002, January 4. Mazón pide que cesen Villaescusa y Reig tras el fracaso de Nochevieja. *Diario El País*. Retrieved October 12, 2003, from [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es).
- Garrido, L. 2003, September 27. Sólo el 30% de la programación de Canal 9 se emite en valenciano. *Diario El País*. Retrieved October 3, 2003, from [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es).
- Gómez Molina, J. R. 2002a. Norma i ús en el valencià central: Nivel lèxic. *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana* 16: 169–94.
- Gómez Molina, J. R. 2002b. Préstamos léxicos del castellano en el valenciano central: Inserción, evaluación y actualización. In *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española, Valencia, 31 de enero-4 de febrero de 2000*, M.T. Echenique & J. Sánchez, 1739–64. Valencia: Gredos.
- Hernández, M. 2000, October 3. Saura denuncia la falta de formación de los profesores de líneas en valenciano. *Diario LEVANTE-EMV*. Retrieved January 28, 2001, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- Heyd, U. 1954. *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*. Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society.
- Kalogjera, D. 1978. On Serbio-Croatian prescriptivism. *Folia Slavica* 1: 388–99.
- Kaplan, R. B. & Baldauf Jr., R. B. 1997. *Language Planning: From practice to theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- King, K. A. 2000. Language ideologies and heritage language education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 3: 167–84.
- Kioko, A. N. & Muthwii, M. J. 2003. English variety for the public domain in Kenya: Speakers' attitudes and views. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 16: 130–45.
- Kovera, M. B., McAuliff, B. D. and Hebert, K. S. 1999. Reasoning about scientific evidence: Effects of juror gender and evidence quality on juror decisions in a hostile work environment case. *Journal of Applied Psychology* 84: 362–75.
- Kruglanski, A.W. 1980. The field of cognitive social psychology: Cognitive pluralism and irrationalism reconsidered. Paper presented at Symposium on New Developments in Attributions Theory, Oxford.
- Laitin, D. D. 1989. Linguistic revival: Politics and culture in Catalonia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31: 297–317
- Las Provincias. 2004, June 23. La AVL recuerda al IEC que prioriza las formas genuinas. *Diario Las Provincias*. Retrieved July 5, 2004, from <http://servicios.lasprovincias.es/valencia/pg040623/prensa/noticias/Politica/200406/23/VAL-SUB-164.html>.
- Levante-EMV. 2001, June 15. De Miguel debuta en valenciano para defender el uso de la lengua en TVV. *Diario LEVANTE-EMV*. Retrieved June 17, 2001, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- Levante-EMV. 2001, October 30. El Palau de la Música mantiene la ortografía de la RACV en sus programas pese a la creación de la Acadèmia. *Diario LEVANTE-EMV*. Retrieved October 30, 2001, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- Levante-EMV. 2002, April 15. El PP asegura que mantendrá las ayudas a Lo Rat Penat y RACV. *Diario Levante-EMV*. Retrieved April 15, 2002, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- Levante-EMV. 2002, February 2. Tele 5 lideró la audiencia en enero y Canal 9 volvió a ser la menos vista. *Diario Levante-EMV*.
- Levante-EMV. 2003, October 9. La lengua té una reserva india a TVV. *Diario Levante-EMV*. Retrieved October 9, 2003, from [www.levante-emv.com](http://www.levante-emv.com).
- Lewis, G. L. 1999. *The Turkish Language Reform: A catastrophic success*. Oxford: OUP.
- López i Verdejo, V. 2004. *El parlar de l'Horta de València dins del dialecte apichat*. Valencia: Real Academia de Cultura Valenciana.
- Lyon, J. and Ellis, N. 1991. Parental attitudes towards the Welsh language. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 12.239–251.
- Marco, E. 2002, March 26. La Academia Valenciana de la Lengua entierra el secesionismo lingüístico. *Diario La Vanguardia*. Retrieved March 26, 2002, from [www.lavanguardia.es](http://www.lavanguardia.es).
- Marín, M. J. 1996. Language planning in the Valencian Autonomous Community. In *Watching One's Tongue: Aspects in Romance and Celtic languages*, M.N. Craith (ed.), 37–57. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Maroto, V. 2000, May 1. Ràdio 9 pierde el 60% de oyentes con la gestión del actual director. *Diario El País*. Retrieved September 20, 2003, from [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es).
- Marley, D. 2004. Language attitudes in Morocco following recent changes in language policy. *Language Policy* 3: 25–46.
- Moltó, Ezquiel. 2002, March 3. 'Desficaci' en la web. *Diario El País*: Retrieved September 18, 2003, from [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es)
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1992. Preserving languages or language ecologies? A top-down approach to language survival. *Oceanic Linguistics* 31: 163–80.
- Muhr, R. 2003. Language change via satellite: The influence of German television broadcasting on Austrian German. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 4: 103–27.
- Nadal, L. 2002, March 26. La Acadèmia de la Llengua declara oficial el valenciano de la Generalitat. *Diario Las Provincias*. Retrieved March 26, 2002, from [www.lasprovincias.com](http://www.lasprovincias.com).

- P., D. 2000, May 30. Los populares consideran "excluyente" la propuesta de EU, respaldada por el PSPV. *Diario LEVANTE-EMV*. Retrieved May 28, 2002, from www.levante-emv.com.
- Pascual, V. 1999. Reptes de l'educació bilingüe al País Valencià. Paper presented at Primeres Jornades de l'Institut Europeu d'Immersion, Alacant, Maig, 1999.
- Pellicer, J. E. & Borràs, J. R. 2001. *Apte 2, Nivell mitjà: Models autocorrectius per a l'obtenció del certificat de la Junta Qualificadora*. Valencia: Marca Editorial Mil999.
- Polomé, E. C. 1983. Standardization of Swahili and the modernization of Swahili vocabulary. In *Language Reform: History and future*, I. Fodor & C. Hagège (eds.), 53–77. Hamburg: Buske.
- Poplack, S. & Sankoff, D. 1984. Borrowing: The synchrony of integration. *Linguistics* 22: 99–135.
- Raga, C. 2002, April 27. El rector Tomás pide al Consell que se reconozca el título de Filología Catalana. *Diario Las Provincias*. Retrieved April 27, 2002, from www.lasprovincias.com.
- Raviv, A., Bar-Tal, D., Raviv, A., Biran, B. & Sela, Z. 2003. Teachers' epistemic authority: Perceptions of students and teachers. *Social Psychology of Education* 6: 17–42.
- Recalde, M. 2003. The Castilianist theory of the origin of the gheada revisited. *Estudios de Sociolingüística* 3: 43–74.
- Ruiz, J. 2002, April 26. El Consell excluye la licenciatura en filología catalana de la aptitud lingüística. *Diario LEVANTE-EMV*: Retrieved April 26, 2002, from www.levante-emv.com.
- S., J. M. 2000, September 1. Las APAs exigen titulados en línea en valenciano. vol. January 28, 2001. *Diario Información*. Retrieved January 28, 2001, from www.diarioinformacion.com.
- Simard, L. S. & Young, W. G. 1994. *Daubert's gatekeeper*: The role of the district judge in admitting expert testimony. *Tulane Law Review* 68: 1457–75.
- Smetana, J. G. & Bitz, B. 1996. Adolescents' conceptions of teachers' authority and their relations to rule violations in school. *Child Development* 67: 1153–72.
- Tejnor, A. et al. 1971. *Cizí slova v českém jazyce*. Prague: Ústam pro výzkum veřejného mínění.
- Thomas, G. 1991. *Linguistic purism*. London: Longman.
- Thomason, S.G. 2001a. *Language Contact*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Thomason, S.G. 2001b. Speakers' attitudes in language change, contact-language genesis and language preservation. *Estudios de Sociolingüística* 2: 13–26.
- Triano López, M. 2005. The Attitude-behavior Relationship in the Context of Lexical Purification. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University Bloomington.
- Wardhaugh, R. 2001. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (4th edn.). Malden MA: Blackwell.
- Wheeler, M., Yates, A. & Dols, N. 1999. *Catalan: A comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Weisbuch, M., Mackie, D.M. & Garcia-Marques, T. 2003. Prior source exposure and persuasion: Further evidence for misattributional processes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 29: 691–700.
- Woolard, K.A. & Gahng, T.J. 1990. Changing language policies and attitudes in autonomous Catalonia. *Language in Society* 19: 311–30.
- Zajonc, R.B. 1968. Attitudinal effects of mere exposure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 9:1–27.
- Zajonc, R.B. and Rajecki, D.W. 1969. Exposure and affect: A field experiment. *Psychonomic Science* 17: 216–17.

## Are Galicians bound to diglossia?

### An analysis of the nature, uses and values of standard Galician

Verónica Loureiro-Rodríguez

University of California – Davis

Galician is a minority Romance language spoken in the northwestern Spain, where it shares co-official status with Spanish. Over the centuries, the status of Galician has changed due to the political situations within Spain, ultimately affecting speakers' attitudes and the use of both languages. Spanish has always enjoyed high status while Galician has been considered a non-standard and much stigmatized dialect since the 15th century to Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975). Due to its rural economy, the native language of Galicia remained a linguistic variety principally used by lower-class rural dwellers. Democracy (1978) transformed the linguistic conditions of Galicia, elevating the status of Galician to that of "language" and declaring it co-official with Spanish. This paper will analyze the legal language used to refer to Spanish and Galician in the Spanish Constitution, the Autonomy Statute of Galicia, and the Law of Linguistic Normalization. In addition, I will examine the relatively new construct of "standard" Galician and its use in school curriculum, public institutions, and the media. Finally I will analyze speakers' attitudes towards "standard" Galician as well as their linguistic choices in Galician society: Spanish, "standard" Galician, and the local dialects. The theoretical background for this paper relies on the idea of (1) diglossia (Ferguson 1959; Fishman 1967; Fernández 1978), an embedded phenomenon in the socio-linguistic history of Galicia; (2) the intermingled concepts of language revitalization (Fishman 1991; Del Valle 2000), and (3) language identity (Fishman 1991; Shannon 1995; Lécoures 2001). The data are drawn from ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic studies of Galician and Spanish (Rei-Doval et al. 1996; Del Valle 2000; Ramallo 2000; Beswick 2002), and observations from my own continuing ethnolinguistic research of the region (2002–2004). Recent standardization efforts have attempted to extend "standard" Galician to formal contexts meant to confer linguistic prestige. Having a Galician standard would allow citizens to converge into this variety instead of Spanish, avoiding the common Spanish/Galician diglossia. Furthermore, the standardization movement has tried to reinforce Galician identity and attract the loyalty of speakers. But, "standard" Galician has become a source of diglossia in and of itself. Speakers may shift into "standard" Galician because they consider it more appropriate and higher in status than the local varieties. This may

lead to a more traditional diglossic society where speakers who are not competent in standard Galician shift into Spanish in formal contexts. These ramifications will be discussed in light of the ethnographic data.

## 1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the nature of the standardized form of Galician and its role in Galician society. I will analyze the legal discourse of the Spanish Constitution, the Autonomy Statute of Galicia, and the Law of Linguistic Normalization in order to demonstrate how this legislation regulates the use of both Galician and Spanish. Then I will evaluate the usage of standard Galician in the school curriculum, public institutions, the media, and everyday speech in Galician society. The theoretical background of this paper relies on the idea of diglossia, an embedded phenomenon in the socio-linguistic history of Galicia, and on the intermingled concepts of language revitalization (Fishman 1991; Del Valle 2000) and language identity (Fishman 1991; Shannon 1995; Lécours 2001). I have collated data both from previous studies (Del Valle 2000; Ramallo 2000; Beswick 2002; Rei-Doval et al. 1996), and from my own field work in Ortigueira (Province of A Coruña) during the months of December, 2002, and January, July, August, and December, 2003. My data consist of recordings of spontaneous conversations, and field observations.

## 2. Theoretical framework

### 2.1 Diglossia: The sociolinguistic legacy of Galicia

Over the centuries, the status of Galician language has been changing due to the political changes that Spain has undergone. These changes have played a crucial role in speakers' attitudes towards both Galician and Spanish.

Galician language and literature entered a period of decline at the end of the 15th century. This period, known as *Os Séculos Escuros* 'The Dark Ages', ended in the 18th century, and it was triggered by the arrival of the Castilian nobility. During the formation of the early Spanish state, Spanish became consolidated and codified, which exacerbated the diglossic situation.<sup>1</sup> Galician was considered inappropriate for educational and "high" culture uses, thus causing its decline within the upper classes of society and relegating it exclusively to oral use – which also brought dialectalization – within the home and in informal contexts among the lower classes.

---

1. The term "diglossia" was first introduced in sociolinguistics by Ferguson (1959) to refer to the relationship between high/low varieties of the same language; but its use was later expanded to refer to the co-existence of different languages in a relationship of functional specialization (Fishman 1967; Timm 1980). It is in this latter sense that the term "diglossia" is used here.

The barring of Galician from the linguistically prestigious areas typically reserved for cultural matters (i.e., administrative, religious and literary affairs) coincides with a time when the Romance languages were beginning to replace Latin as languages of culture. No Galician grammars or dictionaries were to appear until as late as the 19th century, when the first book entirely written in Galician was printed (Hermida 2001).

Therefore, the Galician language was maintained up until the 19th century as the primary means of communication among a rural and uneducated population. These conditions led to the stigmatization of the Galician language and its association with the very factors that helped maintain it: isolation, illiteracy, rurality and poverty. Despite the continued use of the Galician dialects by the rural lower class, their linguistic consciousness was Castilianized,<sup>2</sup> and Galician became sociologically a rustic form of Spanish in Galicia (O'Rourke 2003). Consequently, these deep-seated language ideologies concerning both Spanish and dialectal Galician have been prevalent until extremely recently.

The nationalist movement of the 19th century was conceived to promote and unify the Galician language and culture, to reinforce Galician identity, and to react against the Spanish centralist government. Nationalists promoted and developed grammars and dictionaries, attempted to create a literary standard, used Galician in literary works and public events, and studied other cultural phenomena such as Galicia's political history and folkloric traditions, essential aspects of defining a collective Galician identity. Despite these achievements, during this period, the situation of Galician [dialects] suffered a series of negative changes. Linguistic habits of the Spanish-speaking higher social classes began to filter down into the middle classes as well. Mirroring the language shift that had taken place during the Middle Ages, the middle classes sought to gain social prestige and advance within society by speaking Spanish and abandoning Galician. Furthermore, Galician came to be even more discredited and undermined, being labeled as the dialect of ignorant, rural people and for the root cause of the backwardness of the region.

Franco's dictatorship (1936–1975) put an end to expectations for regional autonomy and linguistic unification in Galicia. The compulsory use of Spanish in both education and the media was introduced, and the only area of traditional linguistic research allowed throughout the dictatorship was dialectal study (Beswick 2002). Despite being considered a non-standard and much stigmatized dialect -note that even its oral use was forbidden during the beginning of Franco's dictatorship- Galician did not disappear. To the contrary, it thrived during all those years among the rural lower class, while Spanish became the sole means of communication among urban high and middle classes. Nevertheless, rural dwellers showed a tendency, still fairly apparent nowadays, to regard their language as inferior or not useful. Research con-

---

2. In 1230, Ferdinand II became king of Castile and Leon, including the Kingdoms of Galicia and Asturias. A former kingdom, Castile gradually merged with its neighbors to become the present Kingdom of Spain. "Castilian" Spanish refers nowadays to the variety of standard Spanish spoken in Spain.

ducted during the 1970's (Paz Andrade 1970; Ruiz-Fuentes & Vilarinho 1977) shows that the rural lower class tended to use Spanish in formal and official contexts. At the same time, many of these speakers still use the word *castrapo* (which means 'mixture' of Galician and Spanish) when asked to name what language they spoke. During Franco's dictatorship, it was extremely common for parents and elders to speak Galician among themselves, but to use Spanish when talking to children, compromising intergenerational transmission of the vernacular. Given that Galician was denied avenues for formal expression and even not even considered a real language by the Franco government—despite his own Galician origin - most people considered it not worth learning. Parents wanted their children to learn the “appropriate” language so as to be able to deal with any situation that required either a formal or informal use of the language. Generally speaking, Spanish continued to enjoy a higher prestige even among Galician speakers, and its hegemony was broadly accepted even among the members of the rural community. All these language attitudes reflect a profoundly embedded diglossic ideology that has been, and still is, in many cases, transmitted to the younger generations (Roseman 1995). Understandably, this situation has led to a progressive loss of Galician speakers. Recent data shows that only 28% of young Galicians, ages 16–25, list Galician as their L1, in contrast to 81% of older adults, 65+ (Rei-Doval et al. 1996).

The beginning of the post-Franco democracy brought a drastic change in the language condition in Galicia, with the Spanish Constitution (1978) declaring both Galician and Spanish official languages. Galician started to be used in formal written and oral contexts in schools, colleges, and in the broadcast media. However, these governmental modifications did not necessarily entail a change in language attitudes and choices. As in any multilingual society, the current language situation in Galicia<sup>3</sup> is very diverse: some speakers use only one of the two languages as a means of communication (38.7% Galician and 10.6% Spanish, according to the Rei-Doval et al. (1996); some switch depending on their interlocutor's language choice; and still others use Galician only in familiar contexts, showing a diglossic behavior that disfavors intergenerational transmission (Loureiro-Rodríguez 2005).

Although enjoying the same official status, there are still significant differences in the use of both languages, which confirms that bilingualism, even if promoted by the political institutions, does not imply equality of functions. Even today, Galician continues to lose speakers, especially among the younger generations.

## 2.2 The functional and social revitalization of Galician

Considering that the minimum documentation that must be obtained to revitalize an endangered language is a grammar, a dictionary, and a body of texts (Hinton 2003),

---

3. According to the census released by the Instituto Galego de Estatística ('Galician Statistics Institute') in 2005, Galicia has 2,760,179 inhabitants.

Galician began from a very favored position in the revitalization process. When Galician became a co-official language, it already had a fairly large body of literature, going back to the 12th century, in spite of the prohibitions during the following centuries. What was left, then, was to codify a standard variety and to create a comprehensive dictionary that would include as many lexical variations in the dialects as possible.

However, the fact that the Galician language has been historically considered inferior, even among the majority of its own speakers, has made the functional and social revitalization process more challenging. Since diglossia seems to be deeply rooted in the society, the revitalization of Galician has turned into an internal struggle against the status quo of the embedded diglossia.

Ineffective or infrequent intergenerational transmission of Galician is a significant problem deriving from this diglossic situation. As we have seen, it is still common for Galician-speakers to speak Spanish to their children, due to a feeling of inferiority about their L1, and a sense that it is useless. This situation aggravates the revitalization attempts, since any language will die if its transmission across generations does not take place (Fishman 1991).

Furthermore, the traditional compartmentalization of Spanish and Galician has been broken as a “result of modernization and the concomitant expansion of networks of interaction and social mobility, and of the officialization of Galician without the de-officialization of Spanish” (Del Valle 2000: 116). The outcome of this co-officialization is that Galician speakers might be confronted with a certain context where they have to choose between the two competing languages.

In sum, any language revitalization process will be fruitless without the adequate support of the speakers and the institutions. As Fennell claims (1980: 39):

It [a minority language] can be saved only by itself: and then only if its members acquire the will to stop it shrinking, acquire the institutions and financial means to take appropriate measures, and take them.

### 2.3 Galician as a symbol of identity: Loyalty and conflict

The term “linguistic normalization” is of particular importance in Spain. It refers to the process of increasing the number of speakers and users of the minority languages in Spain (i.e., Galician, Basque, and Catalan) and users of the language, as well as empowering these languages in order for them to satisfy the communicative needs of a modern society (Cobarrubias 1987; Mar-Molinero 2000).

The introductory paragraph of the Law of Linguistic Normalization, which was passed by the Galician regional government in 1983, puts emphasis on the significance of revitalizing the vernacular, and stresses the idea of collective identification with Galician by making use of expressions such as *personalidade colectiva* ‘collective personality’, *nosa identidade* ‘our identity’, or *identidade común* ‘common identity’. It also describes the Galician language as a *creación colectiva* ‘collective creation’, and even as a *forza espiritual* ‘spiritual strength/power’ that unifies the community. The open-



ing words of the Law of Linguistic Normalization summarize the philosophy behind the normalization process: to try to revitalize an endangered language and enhance its prestige by asserting the language as a source of communal identity.

One of the paragraphs of the Law of Linguistic Normalization was challenged in the Constitutional Court by the Spanish government that ruled that it was illegal because it stated that all Galicians had the right and the duty to know their language (Hermida 2001). Therefore, Galicians today have the right, but not the duty, to know their language, but it is a duty to know Spanish.

We have seen how the historical development of institutional changes in Spain over the centuries has determined the relationship between Galician and Spanish. Traditionally, Spanish has enjoyed a dominant position in Galicia and speakers of Galician tend to take the devalued characteristics of their language, which is a common occurrence in situations of linguistic hegemony (Shannon 1995). However, in such contexts of political unification and centralization, the culture and language of a minority might be used to articulate or reinforce the regional identity (Lécours 2001). Thus, in the 19th century, the regionalist movement was conceived to promote and elevate the prestige of the culture and language of Galicia, while reacting against the Spanish centralist government and the Spanish language. A century later, the democratic government has tried to restore the status of the Galician language by standardizing and institutionalizing it, but this has not stopped the Galician nationalists from reacting against the Spanish language by considering it foreign and belonging to a dominant community.

For both Galician nationalists and the proponents of language planning, the starting point is a situation of language shift and conflict. In order to correct this situation, laws were passed to grant Galician citizens the legal right to use their language and the institutional resources to learn its standard variety. Nevertheless, the adopted legislation imposes on Galicians the obligation to know and use Spanish in their relations with non-Galician institutions (del Valle 2000). The subordinated status of territorial co-officiality of Galician in the institutional Spanish framework – i.e. the fact that Galician is co-official with Spanish, not the official language of Galicia – makes it very difficult to neutralize the influence of the dominant language on Galician speakers.

In sum, it is not enough for a language to be associated with governmental autonomy in order to maintain its status: the will of people plays a significant role (Shannon 1995). The awareness of the symbolic value of the language plays an essential role in its use, and it ultimately determines the recognition of the language by its speakers. Thus, Galician will not become legitimate and convey any authority until Galician speakers themselves, regardless their political orientation, accord it a higher value and until they develop more language loyalty, recognizing the use of Galician as a symbol of identity (Fishman 1991). Ultimately, as a consequence of the acknowledgement of their language, resistance towards Spanish may result among Galician speakers.

### 3. The nature and purpose of the standard norm

Integrating the ideas of language and state, the third article of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 states that Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State,<sup>4</sup> and then declares the co-official status of the other Spanish languages.<sup>5</sup> In similar manner, the fifth article of the Autonomy Statute of Galicia adopted in 1981 declares that the proper language of Galicia is Galician.<sup>6</sup> Although the legal discourse in each case seems to perpetuate a monoglossic culture, Del Valle claims that this policy “was designed to protect individual rights” (2000: 122).

The new status of co-official language made it necessary to create a standardized variety of Galician. The normalization intended to adapt to formal and informal contexts a language that had been relegated exclusively to familiar settings, and to confer it prestige in order to attract the loyalty of both new learners and native speakers, in order to facilitate its revitalization. Having a standard language would also allow Galicians “to converge into their own language instead of into Spanish” (Del Valle 2000: 121), which would inhibit the extended diglossic behavior.

The normalization process gave rise to two opposing approaches to constructing the ideal standard: the isolationist vs. the reintegrationist (or *lusista*) approach (Siguán 1992). The type of Galician labeled as isolationist has been proposed by scholars and language activists who have taken a conciliatory line with regard to the Spanish state. In practical terms, this means using elements of vernacular dialects and a Castilian orthography in their version of standard Galician.

In contrast, those favoring the reintegrationist approach reject the Spanish state along with the Spanish language (the Castilian variety), and consider Galician more closely related to Portuguese than to Spanish, which motivates using Portuguese orthography as a model for standardized Galician. The reintegrationists believe that remaining closer to Portuguese will guarantee Galician’s independence from Spanish. Although the isolationist approach, defended by the *Instituto da Lingua Galega* ‘Institute of Galician Language’, has been largely adopted by the regional government, reintegrationist proposals regarding orthography have been taken into consideration in the latest changes to the standard (July, 2003). This “reintegration” of Portuguese orthography in Galician has significant symbolic import for the society because it establishes a clear linguistic border with Spanish.

Ultimately, it is necessary for the lexical and morphosyntactic components of the standardized norm to be less influenced by Spanish and closer to the real spoken varieties of Galician. For instance, López Varcárcel considers standard Galician “artificial,

---

4. *El castellano es la lengua oficial del Estado.* (‘Castilian Spanish is the official language of the State.’)

5. *Las demás lenguas españolas serán también oficiales en las respectivas Comunidades Autónomas de acuerdo con sus Estatutos.* (‘The other Spanish languages shall also be official in their respective Autonomous Communities in accordance with their Statutes.’)

6. *A lingua propia de Galicia é o galego.* (‘The language proper to Galicia is Galician.’)

alien and full of serious errors” (cited in del Valle 2000: 122) – and changes are needed so that speakers can relate to it and see it as a real symbol of regional identity.

#### 4. Standardized Galician: Uses and reactions

##### 4.1 Educational system

According to the 5th article of the Autonomy Statute,<sup>7</sup> the regional government, the Xunta de Galicia, must guarantee the use of both Galician and Spanish as well as to promote the use of Galician at public, cultural and information levels.

The Law of Linguistic Normalization establishes that the study of Galician is compulsory in non-university levels (Law of Linguistic Normalization, art. 14).<sup>8</sup> An expansion of this Law (decree 135/83) further states that at least two other subjects are to be taught in Galician. In those subjects, teachers should make sure that students use Galician when writing and speaking. Also, during elementary and primary schooling, while assuring that students acquire the other official language, teachers must use in class the predominant L1 of their students, taking into account the language of the area. Consequently, article 13<sup>9</sup> of the Law of Linguistic Normalization acknowledges the linguistic diversity of Galicia by stating that children have the right to receive instruction in their mother tongue.

As can be seen, an outdated monolingual educational system is slowly trying to become bilingual. Ideally, after the completion of their studies, students would reach an “additive bilingualism” (Pérez Pereira 1994; Rojo 1995), that is, they would be able to use both languages and be equally competent in the same contexts. This goal is being implemented by teaching different subjects in both languages. In this manner, Galician is not merely a language class, an adornment to the overall curriculum. However, as Rojo (1995) states, material difficulties and social prejudices towards Galician and its usefulness do not give away easily, slowing down the reform process.

---

7. *Os poderes públicos de Galicia garantirán o uso normal e oficial dos dous idiomas e potenciarán o emprego do galego en tódolos planos da vida pública, cultural e informativa, e disporán os medios necesarios para facilita-lo seu coñecemento.* (‘The Government of Galicia will guarantee the official use of both languages and will promote the use of Galician in any public and cultural domain. The Government will also provide the necessary means in order to ensure the knowledge of Galician.’)

8. *A lingua galega é materia de estudo obrigatorio en tódolos niveis educativos non universitarios. Garantirase o uso efectivo deste dereito en tódolos centros públicos e privados.* (‘The study of the Galician language will be compulsory in all non-university levels. Its use will be guaranteed in all public and private schools.’)

9. *Os nenos teñen dereito a recibi-lo primeiro ensino na súa lingua materna.* (‘Children have the right to be instructed in their mother tongue during primary schooling.’)

In my opinion, the first step should be to help the students reverse the negative characterization of Galician as a Low variety (or even as a dialect). The school curriculum should reinforce children's language identity and create an appropriate learning environment. Acknowledging that both Spanish and Galician are both valid means of communication in any context, and that speaking one or the other is an individual choice, might ameliorate the sense of diglossia both inside and outside of the classroom.

Nevertheless, social prejudices are not the only difficulty with which the educational system has to deal. Even though the Law of Linguistic Normalization states that students have the right to be educated in their L1 and that teachers must take into account the language of the community, it is standard Galician that is formally taught, not the dialectal varieties. Since standard Galician differs in various grammatical, lexical and phonetic aspects from these spoken varieties, teaching standard Galician might also cause confusion among the Galician-speaking children. This might also lead children to conceive their home variety as not appropriate, ultimately relegating the mother tongue to informal and/or familiar settings. Once again, we are face-to-face with the problem of diglossia, but this time of a quite different nature, since it is standard Galician and not Spanish that constitutes a source of diglossic divisions. That is, diglossia now is found between the standard variety of Galician (H) and the dialectal varieties (L).

#### 4.2 Governmental uses

Another way to confer prestige on the standard is by using it in official, administrative and legal contexts. According to the sixth article<sup>10</sup> of the Law of Linguistic Normalization, citizens have the right to use Galician, written and orally, when dealing with the Galician public administration. In addition, public institutions have to promote the use of the Galician language when interacting with the citizens, and local corporations must also follow the Xunta's linguistic prescriptions. Moreover, passing a written test in standard Galician is one of the criteria for applying for jobs, as stipulated by the regional government.

---

10. 1. *Os cidadáns teñen dereito ó uso do galego, oralmente e por escrito, nas súas relacións coa Administración Pública no ámbito territorial da Comunidade autónoma.* ('Galician citizens have the right to use Galician in their verbal and written communications with the Public Administration inside the territory of the Autonomous Community [Galicia]') 3. *Os poderes públicos de Galicia promoverán o uso normal da lingua galega, oralmente e por escrito, nas súas relacións cos cidadáns.* ('The Galician government will promote the use of verbal and written Galician in its interactions with Galician citizens.') 4. *A Xunta dictara as disposicións necesarias para a normalización progresiva do uso do galego. As Corporacións Locais deberán facelo de acordo coas normas recollidas nesta Lei.* ('The Xunta will pass the necessary resolutions in order to accomplish the progressive normalization of the use of Galician. Local corporations will follow suit in accordance with this Law.')

Nevertheless, the use of Spanish in these contexts is overwhelming. In my data, the only instance of Galician being used in official contexts comes from functionaries working in university offices. No examples of the usage of the vernacular have been found in other official workplaces such as courthouses, local administrative centers, or even at city halls. It is certainly ironic that the use of Galician language at these places is being encouraged and promoted by posters and brochures, when most of the time the workers do not speak it on the job, even when they are addressed in Galician. Last December, I spoke Galician in Ortigueira courthouse and in the city hall only to be responded to in Spanish by officials who are natives of the area.

All the documentation for the Galician public administration must be published in both Galician and Spanish in the *Diario Oficial de Galicia* (Law of Linguistic Normalization, fifth article<sup>11</sup>). The presence of Spanish in the legislative writing is justified by the co-official status of both languages. However, Galician's co-official status also shows that the regional government is not completely independent from the central government; likewise, the vernacular language does not enjoy total autonomy either.

### 4.3 Media

The eighteenth article<sup>12</sup> of the Law of Linguistic Normalization states that Galician will be the customary language used on radio and television, and in other means of public communication for which the Galician institutions are responsible.

Up to the present moment there is no daily newspaper entirely written in Galician – except for the annual editions that are released the day of the *Día das Letras Galegas* ‘Galician Language Day’. However, some newspapers (*El correo gallego*, *La voz de Galicia*) often report local news in standard Galician, although letters to the editor and personal ads are normally written in Spanish. In contrast, Galicians are witnessing an increase in the publication of original novels and specialized magazines published in standard Galician.

The standard has also been introduced in radio and television, which may influence language use and attitudes more than the written media. The private and public radio stations broadcast only in Galician, as does the Galician television channel (TVG) – with the exception of a few advertisements. The TVG started its programming in 1985, using only standard Galician. This was rather shocking for a population that

---

11. *As leis de Galicia, os Decretos lexislativos, as disposicións normativas e as resolucións oficiais da Administración Pública galega publicaranse en galego e castelán no Diario Oficial de Galicia.* (‘Laws, decrees, and judicial and official resolutions of the Galician Public Administration will be published in Galician and Spanish in the *Diario Oficial de Galicia*.’)

12. *O galego será a lingua usual nas emisoras de radio e televisión e nos demais medios de comunicación social sometidos a xestión ou competencia das institucións da Comunidade Autónoma.* (‘Galician will be the customary language for radio stations, television and other means of social communication administered by the institutions of the Autonomous Community [Galicia].’)

was not accustomed to this variety. In my data there are numerous speakers who have reported feeling estranged from the standard variety on television, mainly because of lexical terms that are not found in these speakers' local variety. One person told me that she felt that people's intonation on television often sounded unnatural and affected. This same phenomenon is reported by Beswick (2002), who blames it both on the Spanish influenced standard and on the Spanish native speaker status of most of the presenters and actors. Beswick also wonders if this speech "will impact extremely heavily on the pronunciation of those members of the younger generation who receive little other Galician input in their everyday lives" (2002:265).

Nevertheless, the trend of using solely the standard on television is changing. Currently there are several sitcoms that, in addition to representing a wider range of social contexts, use local varieties as a primary mean of communication, looking for a closer connection with the audience. In this way, Galician may capture speakers' loyalty because it is easier for the speakers to identify themselves with those characters who speak their own variety or a variety close to their own. Hearing their local variety coming from recognizable characters on television may encourage them to speak more in Galician.

However, these sitcoms have a sociolinguistic weakness. Alongside the characters speaking the local varieties, it is common to find others who speak the standard and usually belong to a higher socioeconomic class and live in or come from the city. This diglossic differentiation between the standard and the local varieties is parallel to what Galician society has already experienced with Spanish during the last century. Once again, standard Galician may constitute its own source of diglossia producing a rural-urban division within Galicia.

#### 4.4 The standard among the older and younger speakers

The perpetuation of diglossia in response to Standard Galician can be seen in the common statement made by older Galician speakers of Galician that they speak *castrapo* 'mixture'. This can be interpreted as a reflection of the embedded diglossic ideology that older rural dwellers have transmitted to their children (Roseman 1995). However, I have found several examples in my data that show the impact of standard Galician on this idea of speaking *castrapo*. The three examples I wish to analyze come from natural conversations where the speakers clearly stated that they spoke *castrapo* because it was neither Spanish nor Galician. When asked why they considered that they did not speak Galician, they immediately answered that it was not the proper Galician *como o da televisión* 'like the one on television' or *o que che ensinan na escola* 'the one taught at school'.

It is a fact that the use of Galician among the youngest generations is decreasing dramatically. The main reasons for the continuing loss of speakers are the vast presence of the Spanish language in the cities (Ramallo 2000), and the ineffective promotion and use of Galician by influential public and private organizations (Monteagudo 2000). In spite of this pessimistic situation, some researchers (Beswick 2002; Ramallo 2000) have

faith in Galician's revitalization because of noticeable changes in the sociolinguistic attitudes among the youngest citizens who have begun to recognize the standard as a symbol of ethnic identity, although they might not even be Galician speakers.

In my own data, I have also found examples of young people who have chosen to use Galician as their only language. They are clearly moved by nationalistic political ideologies and/or by their attempt to reinforce their ethnic identity and reject the sociolinguistic and political hegemony promulgated by the central government (Loureiro-Rodríguez 2005). The variety of Galician that they are using is heavily influenced by the standard. For instance, it does not have the typical phonetic feature of the "gheada",<sup>13</sup> which is totally absent in the standard. Also, some of the lexical items that they use are not the ones found in their local dialect. These speakers have more in common than their political orientation; they have also received formal instruction in the standard since the beginning of their schooling, which probably accounts for the standard-like characteristics of their speech.

## 5. Conclusions

The process of normalization of Galician was triggered by many factors, mostly sociolinguistic or socio-political in nature. As part of the revitalization process, the abundant dialectal variation was honed so as to produce a standard variety. Likewise, a legal context was developed to raise the social status of Galician. The attempts to promote its use throughout the media and other public institutions also aim to give the vernacular the necessary prestige to make citizens identify themselves with the language and with all that it culturally represents, the ultimately guarantee for its survival.

Nevertheless, multiple issues arise from what constitutes the current real use and values of the standard. First, the use of the standard in the classroom may contribute to creating diglossic situations inside and outside of this environment. In those classrooms where the majority language is Galician, it is the standard and not the dialectal variety that is being taught. As a consequence, children may feel that the standard is more appropriate than using their own dialect. Furthermore, the fact that the standard is the variety most frequently used on radio and television, and the only one used in formal and legal contexts, increases this new diglossic phenomenon. Adherence to the standard avoids a shift to the values and domains associated with the Spanish language, but it creates a new diglossic situation in which standard Galician constitutes the high variety and the local dialects the low variety.

This new diglossic dynamic is not likely to occur among the older speakers who have not received any formal instruction in standard Galician, and for whom the standard sounds somewhat foreign because it does not include phonetic and lexical

---

13. *Gheada* consists of pronouncing /g/ as /x/ or /h/: Ex. "gato" without *gheada* [ˈgato] vs. with *gheada* [ˈħato/ˈxato].

characteristics of the majority of the dialects. However, there is a new generation of younger speakers who, under the influence of current nationalist political ideologies, may opt for the standard in contrast to their local dialect.

In sum, the standard must be promoted as a linguistic symbol of identity without disregarding the dialectal varieties. This has to be done with more effective and nuanced language planning strategies. If the revitalization process aims to elevate and institutionalize standard Galician as the most valuable variety, then Galician speakers are doomed to relive their diglossic past once again.

## References

- Beswick, J. 2002. Galician language planning and implications for regional identity: Restoration or elimination? *National Identities* 4(3): 257–271.
- Cobarrubias, J. 1987. Models of language planning for minority languages. *Bulletin of the CAAAL* 9: 47–70.
- Del Valle, J. 2000. Monoglossic policies for a heteroglossic culture: Misinterpreted multilingualism in modern Galician. *Language & Communication* 20: 105–32.
- Fennell, D. 1980. Can a shrinking linguistic minority be saved? Lessons from the Irish experience. In *Minority Languages Today: A selection from the papers read at the first International Conference on Minority Languages held at Glasgow University from 8 to 13 September 1980*, E. Haugen, J. D. McClure & D. Thomson (eds.), 32–40. Edinburgh: University Press.
- Ferguson, C. A. 1959. Diglossia. *Word* 15: 325–340.
- Fishman, J. A. 1967. Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without bilingualism. *The Journal of Social Issues* 23: 29–38
- Fishman, J. A. 1991. *Reversing Language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hermida, C. 2001. The Galician Speech Community. In *Multilingualism in Spain: Sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of linguistic minority groups*, M.T. Turell (ed.), 110–140. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hinton, L. 2003. Language revitalization. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 23: 44–57.
- Instituto Galego de Estatística. <http://www.ige.eu/>
- Lécours, A. 2001. Regionalism, cultural diversity and the state of Spain. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 22(3): 210–226.
- Loureiro-Rodríguez, V. 2005. Género, identidad e ideología en la Galicia diglósica. *Tinta Annex 2005*. Santa Barbara CA: University of California.
- Mar-Molinero, C. 2000. *The Politics of Language in the Spanish-Speaking World*. London: Routledge.
- Monteagudo Romero, H. 1999. *Historia social da lingua Galega: Idioma, sociedade e cultura a través do tempo*. Vigo: Galaxia.
- Monteagudo Romero, H. 2000. Quinze ans de la Loi de Normalisation Linguistique en Galice (1983–1998). Notes pour un bilan. *Le galicien et la sociolinguistique galicienne: À la conquête de la reconnaissance sociale de la langue*. *Lengas. Revue de sociolinguistique* 47: 131–158.
- O'Rourke, B. 2003. Conflicting Values in Contemporary Galicia: Attitudes to 'O Galego' since Autonomy. *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 16(1): 33–48.
- Paz-Andrade, V. 1970. *La marginación en Galicia*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores.



- Pérez-Pereira, M. 1994. Adquisición na primeira e segunda linguas: Bases psicolóxicas e psicopedagóxicas. In *Didáctica da lingua en situacións de contacto lingüístico*, B. Silva-Valdivia (ed.), 33–72. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Ramallo, F. F. 2000. Rétention et reproduction du galicien. *Le galicien et la sociolinguistique galicienne: À la conquête de la reconnaissance sociale de la langue. Lengas. Revue de sociolinguistique*: 97–118.
- Rei-Doval, G., Domínguez Seco, L., Fernández Ferreiro, M., Fernández Ramallo, F., Recalde Fernández, M., Fernández, Rodríguez, M. A. & Rodríguez Neira, M. A. 1996. *Actitudes lingüísticas en Galicia: Compendio do III volume do Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia*. A Coruña: Real Academia Galega, Seminario de Sociolingüística.
- Rojo, G. 1995. La situación lingüística gallega. In *Las lenguas de España: Ciclo de conferencias en Sevilla, 7, 8, 9 y 10 de marzo de 1995*, 205–228.
- Roseman, S. R. 1995. 'Falamos como falamos': Linguistic revitalization and the maintenance of local vernaculars in Galicia. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 5(1): 3–32.
- Ruiz-Fuentes R. & Pérez Vilarino, J. 1977. *Vivir en Galicia*. Madrid: Ediciones Felmar.
- Shannon, S.M. 1995. The hegemony of English: A case study of one bilingual classroom as a site of resistance. *Linguistics and Education* 7: 175–200.
- Siguán, M. 1992. *España plurilingüe*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Timm, L. 1981. Diglossia old and new: A critique. *Anthropological Linguistics* 23:156–167.

PART III

**Pragmatics and contact**



## Addressing peers in a Spanish-English bilingual classroom<sup>1</sup>

Janet M. Fuller, Minta Elsmann and Kevan Self

Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

This paper employs data from elementary school children in a bilingual classroom to examine the applicability of two models for bilingual speech: the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton 1993; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001) and Sequential Approach (Auer 1988, 1995; Li Wei 1988). The majority of the switches can be explained within either model, but each approach stresses different aspects of bilingual discourse. While the Markedness Model is preferred by these authors because it sheds light on social identities, in cases of codeswitching as the unmarked choice, it cannot account for individual switches. In such interactions, we show how the additional application of the Sequential Approach can be used to shed light on the conversational structure of bilingual discourse.

### 1. Introduction

The present paper examines the linguistic performance of 4th and 5th grade children in terms of two different approaches to research on conversational codeswitching, the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton 1993; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001), and the Sequential Approach (Auer 1984, 1995; Li Wei 1998). We will illustrate how both of these models can be involved in a comprehensive analysis of codeswitching in the bilingual classroom.

Within the Markedness Model, language choice is said to index social roles and the relationships between speakers. The assumption of this model is that there is one relatively unmarked, or expected, code for every interaction. The unmarked choice may not be immediately obvious to all of the interlocutors (requiring exploratory code choices); in other cases, the unmarked choice may be intrasentential codeswitching (referred to as codeswitching as an unmarked choice by Myers-Scotton). In addition,

---

1. We would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for many helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

the unmarked code may change within a single conversation as the topic or the salient identity of the interlocutors changes, creating a sequence of different code choices, each unmarked for the changing situational factors within the interaction.

Selecting the unmarked, or expected, language choice for an interaction means embracing the expected 'RO set' for that interaction, that is, the set of rights (R) and obligations (O) which follow from the role relationship between the interlocutors. For example, in the bilingual classroom studied in this research, if the teacher in English instruction asks a student a question in English, and the student responds in English, the student is accepting the RO set of her/himself as an English learner and a student, and the teacher's role as the authority figure in the classroom. In other words, the use of the unmarked choice reinforces the status quo in terms of role relationships. On the other hand, if the student were to answer an English question in Spanish, an analysis within the Markedness Model would claim that s/he is negotiating a new RO set in the interaction. The student might be indicating an unwillingness to fulfill his/her role as an English learner, or be challenging the teacher's authority. The specific interpretation of the selection of an unmarked choice is dependent on the individuals and the social context, but the model explains switches in code choice as changes (or attempted changes) in the role relationships of the interlocutors. Thus, within this model code choices are rational choices made by speakers to build and portray their social roles and identities.

The Sequential Approach, on the other hand, is a conversation analytic approach which views codeswitching as a contextualization cue. Macro-social values are not attributed to codes unless they are 'demonstratively relevant' to the participants (Li Wei 1988: 163); therefore, without direct evidence from the conversation that the code choice is tied to social identity, this link is not part of the analysis. The Sequential Approach distinguishes between participant-related codeswitching, in which speakers make code choices related to the preferences and proficiencies of their interlocutors, and discourse-related codeswitching, in which contrasts in language choice contribute to the structural organization of codeswitching. Our primary interest in this analysis is in discourse-related codeswitching. When analyzed as this type of codeswitching, language choice shares many of the same functions as changes in volume or pitch, pauses, and other aspects of spoken language which carry pragmatic or procedural meaning. That is, the switch in code provides information about how to process the content of the utterance, e.g. marking it as a dispreferred response or a change in conversational focus.

Within this framework, the example given above (a student's Spanish response to a teacher's question in English) would be analyzed somewhat differently than within the Markedness Model. A student's choice of Spanish in response to an English question from the teacher would be seen as a contextualization cue. In the scenario presented here, an interpretation within the Sequential Approach could be that the switch in language is a cue that the speaker is giving a non-preferred answer; another possible interpretation (one that will appear later in the analysis of the data for this paper) is

that the student may be using the contrast between codes to emphasize his/her answer, i.e. make it stand out from the answers provided by his/her peers.

These two interpretations exemplify persistently different perspectives on language choice. Within the Markedness Model, language choice is seen as a matter of social identity; within the Sequential Approach, code choice is seen as primarily a matter of conversational structure. (This is not to say that social identity is deemed irrelevant to researchers who work within the Conversation Analytic paradigm; see for example Garfanga 2001 and Auer 2004. However, they hold that such motivations for code choice should only be integrated into an analysis when they are made explicit by the interlocutors within the interaction being analyzed.)

We will argue that these two aspects of codeswitching may both be relevant in the analysis of codeswitching data. We apply the Markedness Model because it provides an explanation of codeswitching which utilizes social information derived from ethnographic fieldwork. However, we also use the Sequential Approach, because we find that our data show that language choice can be used to structure conversation, in particular when codeswitching itself is the unmarked choice.

One finding in this study which fits best with the use of the Markedness Model is found in the analysis of the speech acts of directives and disagreements, which are performed in Spanish at overall rates of 73% and 64%, respectively. This tendency of the speakers to use Spanish for these speech acts speaks to sociopragmatic meaning of code choice as it is presented in the Markedness Model. However, using contrasting codes to perform these speech acts, which also happens in these data, fits well within the Sequential Approach. The applications of both of these models will be discussed in more detail in the analysis sections below.

A particular weakness in the Sequential Approach is that it does not offer any explanation at all for situations in which there is no switch in language, while the Markedness Model explains this as the acceptance of the RO set represented by the language choice. However, if we stay within the Markedness Model, we cannot account for individual switches in situations in which codeswitching itself is the unmarked choice. The Sequential Approach can be used to illuminate the rationale for such choices, and in such cases complements the Markedness Model.

Because of the respective foci of these two models, they have been presented by their proponents as representing explanations for codeswitching which rely on different underlying assumptions about the nature of language choice. We suggest that even within an analysis which views codeswitching as a social phenomenon and language choice as a means of constructing social roles and identity, language choice can also be used as a contextualization cue and thus is not *only* social in its functions in discourse. As we will show, application of both of these models provides us with both a sociopragmatic and structural analysis of conversational codeswitching.

## 2. Data and methodology

The data for this research were collected by one of the authors (henceforth ‘the researcher’) in a combined 4/5/6 grade bilingual classroom (students aged 9–12) in a small rural public school in southern Illinois during the 2003–2004 academic year. (For reasons beyond the researcher’s control, most of her involvement was with the 4th and 5th grade children, so this study will focus solely on the children in those grades who were present in the classroom for the entire academic year.)

Due to a large number of native speakers of Spanish with limited English proficiency in the school district, this school is required by state law to offer bilingual education for students in grades K-6. All of the children in the program are native speakers of Spanish (the vast majority of them are from Mexico) and speak English at varying degrees of proficiency. The teachers in the 4/5/6 grade classroom during the year of the data collection were both bilingual. The English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher was a native speaker of English and the teacher for the Spanish half of the curriculum was a native speaker of Colombian Spanish. English instruction was provided in the morning, covering language arts, science and some social studies and Spanish instruction in the afternoon covered language arts, math, and social studies.

The researcher was present in the classroom twice a week, once in the morning and once in the afternoon. When the entire class was participating in teacher-led activities, she observed and took notes on classroom interactions. Much of the time, however, the students were divided into groups according to grade to work on different assignments, and in these cases she functioned as a classroom aide, working with one group of students while the teacher worked with another. In these small group settings, the researcher also made audio recordings of the children. Thus in the recordings analyzed here, references to ‘teacher-fronted’ research actually involve the researcher leading group work, and not the classroom teacher.

The perspective taken in this research is that all language use must be viewed as situated speech; that is, no certain setting is inherently more “natural” than another. Instead, all discourse must be analyzed in terms of the context in which it occurs. It is undeniable that the presence of the researcher influenced the language choice patterns of the children. However, the researcher, acting as a teacher’s aide, was a part of the classroom setting, not a distraction from it. This analysis thus investigates the language use patterns by these children in this classroom setting while doing academic tasks; it does not argue that these language use patterns are representative of their speech in another setting or for other tasks.

The present study analyzes recordings made between October 2003 and January 2004 and includes data from four fourth graders (two boys and two girls) and three fifth graders (all boys). These data were selected to represent the language use by these seven children during the middle of the year, aiming at a synchronic as opposed to a diachronic analysis of their codeswitching patterns. There were, unfortunately, no comparable recording available from the 6th graders from this period of time. These three recordings of the 5th grade boys are the only recordings made during the tar-

get time period which include all three participants. The three recordings involving the fourth graders were selected out of the six interactions recorded during the target period as those which provided the best data of all four fourth graders. However, as is often the case with data sets involving naturally occurring data, the amount of speech collected from each participant varies widely, making comparison across speakers difficult.

These audio tapes were transcribed and the transcripts were reviewed. The transcripts were then coded for speaker, language choice, and the language of the previous utterance. The previous utterance was defined as the utterance to which the speaker is responding, which is not necessarily in the immediately preceding turn. Additionally, each turn was coded for being peer-directed, adult-directed, or both; only peer-directed turns were analyzed for this paper. Unintelligible comments, or those that could not reliably be attributed to a certain speaker, were not included in the quantitative analysis.

The quantitative results from these six conversations will be presented to provide a general overview of the language choices made in the classroom. Examples from the transcripts will then be discussed in terms of both the Markedness Model and the Sequential Approach.

### 3. Analysis

#### 3.1 The 4th graders

An overview of the three conversations involving the 4th grade children is presented in Table 1. The quantitative analysis, which will be presented below, involves only those children who were present the entire school year, Miguel, Antonio, Dora and Lucia (all names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the speakers). Another 4th grader, Raquel, left at the end of October and was only present for the first recording, thus data from her are not considered in this analysis.

Some qualifications about the participants in X403 and X406/407 are needed. In X403, although Dora is present for the most part (she leaves briefly at the beginning of the tape to take Lucia, who was sick, to the office so she can go home), she contributes very little to the conversation. In X406/407, the main participants are Antonio and Dora; although Miguel and Lucia are also present, they are sitting somewhat farther away and most of their utterances can be heard only when they leave their seats and pass the area where Antonio and Dora are working.

Tables 2 and 3 give overviews of the language choices made by these four children when looked at by conversation (Table 2) and by individual speaker (Table 3). Since the number of turns which involved both languages (labeled 'CS', for intrasentential codeswitching, on the tables) is small in all cases, we focus on the contrast between use of Spanish and English.



Table 1. Overview of the 4th grade data

| Conversation | Participants                    | Language of instruction | Description of activities  |
|--------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| X402         | Miguel, Antonio, Dora and Lucia | English                 | Reading from their English book with the researcher              |
| X403         | Miguel, Antonio and Dora        | English                 | Working on a social studies worksheet with the researcher        |
| X406/407     | Antonio, Dora, Miguel and Lucia | Spanish                 | Working on a math assignment with assistance from the researcher |

Table 2. Overall use of English v. Spanish by conversation, 4th graders (Peer-directed turns only)

| Type of activity            | Conversation # | % English turns | % Spanish turns | % CS turns  |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Teacher-fronted: reading    | X402           | 69% (70/102)    | 29% (30/102)    | 2% (2/102)  |
| Groupwork: worksheet        | X 403          | 11% (5/46)      | 85% (39/46)     | 4% (2/46)   |
| Individual: math assignment | X 406/407      | 35% (99/284)    | 60% (171/284)   | 5% (14/284) |
|                             | Totals         | 40% (174/432)   | 56% (240/432)   | 4% (18/432) |

It is interesting to note that although conversation X406/407 was the only recording of what is officially Spanish instruction, it does not contain the most Spanish. This is a clear indication that language choice is dependent on interactional or discourse factors, and not institutional language norms concerning what language should be used for the study of specific subjects. In this case, a major factor influencing language choice is the language proficiency of the researcher, who was present for all three interactions. Because English is her dominant language, the children often addressed her in that language unless they were doing a task that explicitly required using Spanish, i.e. reading a Spanish text.

However, one pattern which can be seen in these data is that in the one interaction that involved a teacher-fronted participant structure, X402, the students adhered most to the institutional norm of speaking English while involved in an English language assignment. Yet in the two situations in which the students are working on assignments on their own, with the consultation of the researcher but not in a lesson led by her (i.e. in X403 and X406/407), they were more likely to speak Spanish among themselves, regardless of the language of the assignment. Note that they actually spoke more Spanish in X403, when they were working on a worksheet in English, than they did while involved in doing their math assignment from a Spanish-language textbook in X406/407. The teacher-fronted nature of the interaction in X402, combined with the fact that the 'teacher' (in these data, the researcher acting as a classroom aide) was English dominant, apparently led to increased adherence to the language norm which

was explicit for the interaction. In contrast, in X403 and X406/407, the informal nature of the interactions seems to have led to more codeswitching. This is representative of the general classroom norms observed; while the teachers did sometimes make explicit reference to code choice during teacher-fronted instruction, and requested use of the target language, student discussion in group- or pair-work was not subject to this constraint. A similar pattern was found by Potowski (2004) in her research on a dual language classroom.

Although both the Markedness Model and the Sequential Approach require analysis of transcripts, and not merely numbers of turns in each code, the numbers in Table 2 do suggest an interpretation through the Markedness Model. Namely, it appears that in teacher-fronted interactions, the students adopt the role of English learners and show their acceptance of that role with their code choices. In informal learning situations, however, their code choices reflect more focus on their role with relation to their peers, and this RO set calls for the use of Spanish.

The data in Table 3, however, show that this is not all that is happening. There is also quite a bit of individual variation in terms of who speaks which language to their peers. Because Lucia is underrepresented in this corpus, and analyses of her speech in other conversations have shown a high rate of English use, especially when talking to Dora, we believe these figures do not offer a representative depiction of her overall discourse patterns. However, the high rate of Spanish use by Miguel, despite his relatively low number of turns, is a finding which is supported by other analyses (e.g. Fuller 2004; Fuller & Elsmann 2005; Self 2005). In these data, he uses English only four times with his peers.

Another critical question to be addressed is how the languages are used in juxtaposition with each other. Table 4 shows individual language choices with respect to the language of the previous utterance. (Keeping in mind that these are only utterances directed at peers; utterances directed at adults, i.e. the researcher and the teacher, are not included in this analysis and do show quite different patterns.) We see that Miguel, who speaks little English with his peers, never initiates use of English; all four of his English turns are responses to other English utterances. Although Antonio speaks English at a much higher rate, in his case it is also almost exclusively used in response to an English utterance by a peer; only once does he initiate English use himself. Dora and Lucia, on the other hand, respond to Spanish utterances of their peers with English at rates of 8% and 18%, respectively. Again, these figures provide the basis for an explanation about language choices in terms of the Markedness Model. Within this

**Table 3.** Overall use of each language by individuals, 4th graders (peer-directed turns only)

| Speakers | % Spanish turns | % English turns | % CS turns   |
|----------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Lucia    | 72% (28/39)     | 28% (11/39)     | 0            |
| Dora     | 47% (101/213)   | 44% (94/213)    | 8% (18/213)  |
| Antonio  | 51% (74/144)    | 38% (55/144)    | 10% (15/144) |
| Miguel   | 74% (25/34)     | 12% (4/34)      | 15% (5/34)   |

**Table 4.** Languages choices in terms of the language of the previous utterance, 4th graders

|                                | Lucia           | Dora            | Antonio        | Miguel         |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Spanish in response to Spanish | 82 %<br>(23/28) | 85%<br>(86/101) | 79%<br>(57/72) | 72%<br>(18/25) |
| Spanish in response to English | 7%<br>(2/28)    | 12%<br>(12/101) | 17%<br>(12/72) | 25%<br>(5/25)  |
| Spanish in response to CS      | 11%<br>(3/28)   | 3%<br>(3/101)   | 4%<br>(3/72)   | 8%<br>(2/25)   |
| English in response to English | 73%<br>(8/11)   | 90%<br>(85/94)  | 96%<br>(53/55) | 100%<br>(4/4)  |
| English in response to Spanish | 18%<br>(2/11)   | 8%<br>(8/94)    | 2%<br>(1/55)   | 0              |
| English in response to CS      | 9%<br>(1/11)    | <1%<br>(1/94)   | 2%<br>(1/55)   | 0              |

**Table 5.** Language of directives and disagreement, 4th graders

| Functions            | %           | % in response to Sp | % in response to Eng |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Spanish Directives   | 74% (31/42) | 81% (25/31)         | 19% (6/31)           |
| Spanish Disagreement | 63% (19/30) | 79% (15/19)         | 21% (4/19)           |
| English Directives   | 26% (11/42) | 0                   | 100% (11/11)         |
| English Disagreement | 37% (11/30) | 9% (1/11)           | 91% (10/11)          |

approach, we can say that the unmarked choice for peer interaction is Spanish, but that Lucia and Dora make more choices which indicate they are making bids for different RO sets; other research with these data are underway which explore their construction of bilingual identities (see Fuller 2004; Fuller & Elsmann 2005 for preliminary analyses).

Table 5 presents another aspect of these data: the language choices made for directives and disagreements. Directives were defined as utterances which functioned to tell a peer what to do, either directly or indirectly. Disagreements were defined as utterances which expressed a contrasting position to the proposition expressed in a previous utterance. A commonly occurring disagreement turn was the use of *¡a que sí!* 'yes it is!' or *¡a que no!* 'no it's not!', but also longer utterances outlining the basis for the disagreement, e.g. *Es veinticuatro no (vein)tisiete, A-* 'It's twenty-four and not twenty-seven, Antonio'.

There are two significant patterns to be seen in the data in Table 5. First, disagreements and directives tend to be issued in Spanish, although these speech acts are also carried out in English on occasion. The lack of categorical use of Spanish for these speech acts is significant; it is not the case that these students give orders and argue in Spanish because they lack the linguistic skills to do so in English. We must assume motivations other than proficiency. Second, contrast does *not* appear to be used to mark these speech acts; most of them are performed in the language of the previous turn. This is especially relevant for disagreements, where contrast between codes

would nicely parallel the contrast between propositions, but these children do not use such linguistic contrasts to underscore their disagreement turns. Although some disagreements do involve a switch in language and are thus open to a Sequential Analysis interpretation (such as (2), below) this is not the majority pattern; overwhelmingly, these speech acts are carried out in the language of the preceding utterance. Thus, while both models can adequately explain these isolated examples, the Markedness Model seems to also find support in the quantitative analysis because Spanish appears to index the roles taken during disputes between peers (e.g., roles of adversaries within the peer group). Nonetheless, we advocate the use of both models to explain these data, as shown below.

Examples (1) and (2) illustrate how language choice plays a role in disagreements and directives. In (1), Dora has (jokingly) accused Lucia of breaking a bone in her finger, which Lucia denies; the entire conversation is in Spanish. This fits neatly with a Markedness Model analysis, in which we can make the claim that the unmarked choice for peer interactions is Spanish, especially those not dealing with academic tasks. The Sequential Analysis does not shed any light on the unchanging code choice.

- (1) X407
- 1 D: *Mira. (.) Aquí tienes hueso. (.) Fíjate (.) Se te rompió este dedo.*  
'Look. Here you have a bone. Pay attention. You broke this finger.'
  - 2 L: *N::o::?*  
'No'
  - 3 D: *Porque/*  
'Because'
  - 4 L: *(Y/o no.)/*  
'I didn't.'
  - 5 D: */yo no. /(2) Se te rompieron. (.) (xxxxxxx)*  
'I didn't. You broke them. (xxxxxxx).'
  - 6 L: */xxx xxx/ xxx xxx rompieron.*  
'xxx xxx xxx broke them.'
  - 7 D: *Blah. {laughs}*
  - 8 L: *{laughs} No se me rompieron.*  
'I didn't break them.'
  - 9 D: *A que sí.*  
'Yes you did.'
  - 10 L: *(Que no).*  
'No I didn't.'

In (2), Dora is telling Antonio to use his own math book, not hers; apparently his is in his desk across the room. Dora's complaint is originally directed at the researcher and is uttered in English, the unmarked choice for addressing that interlocutor. Dora then continues on in English when she addresses Antonio. This choice can be interpreted as a bid to keep the researcher involved in the interaction, and/or an attempt to forgo her usual peer role with Antonio and invoke a more authoritative position for herself. Antonio's disagreement response in Spanish shows his resistance to Dora's attempt to focus on something other than a peer relationship, and his teasing answer that he can't

see his book from across the room ignores both the obvious implicature of Dora's utterance – that he should go and get his own book – and the sociopragmatic implicature that this is not a playful interaction between peers. A Sequential Analysis approach is also relevant for this example, as Antonio's lack of compliance with Dora's code choice emphasizes his disagreement with her in a straightforwardly sequential manner. However, if we wish to argue that the choice of English in line 1 is socially meaningful we must turn to the Markedness Model. An analysis in terms of the sequentially occurring code choices does not address the issue of social meaning of individual choices; this model focuses on conversational structure, and not the indexing of speaker roles. Within the Markedness Model, we can interpret Dora's code choice as a bid of solidarity with the researcher, and perhaps a more official tone of her complaint; Antonio's Spanish reply as an index of their shared student identity, and marks the exchange as a more playful encounter.

## (2) X406

- 1 D: He never (.) He never lets me count. He has his own book? (.) And he, Antonio, you have your own book.
- 2 A: *Sí, pero no (se mira ya)*  
'Yeah, but you can't see it [from here].'
- 3 D: But you have your own book

However, the Markedness Model cannot so easily account for the example in (3). Here, in an excerpt from X403, Antonio and Miguel are working on a multiple choice worksheet with the researcher (R). Antonio switches to Spanish (lines 5 and 19), presumably to get the attention of the researcher. Although addressing the researcher in Spanish is a marked choice – both because of her dominance in English and because the rest of the interaction and the task are in English – we see that she answers him in line 21, so the use of Spanish to get attention is not an ineffective strategy. It is difficult to interpret this choice as a bid for a new RO set in this interaction; Antonio clearly wants the attention of the researcher in her role as a teacher to help him in his role as a student.

## (3) X403

1. M: {reading} The main purpose of the expedition was to, to find /out/
2. A: /Oh! C! / C! / C! /
3. R: Which was what?
4. M: es ta bl, (frieded)
5. A: C! (.) ¡La C!  
'The [letter] C!'
6. R: establish friendly relationships with the Indians. /Is that what it says?/
7. M: / Yeah. /
8. A: Yeah, and trade, uhm,
9. M: Trade
10. A: and (ways) (.) and and trade with the Indians
11. R: Wait a second. It says here the main purpose of the expedition was to find a
12. water route across the continent to the Pacific Ocean.
13. A: water /route?/

14. R: /Is that one of 'em?/  
 15. M: No.  
 16. D: A  
 17. M: Oh, yeah. They are all 'A's.  
 18. R: I know. That's funny.  
 19. A: *Pero tambien la, la 'C' 'ta bien, ¿verdad?*  
 'But also [letter] C is correct, right?'  
 20. M: Si:=  
 'Yes'  
 21. R: Is that also, is that also one of the [answers]?

If we look at this excerpt in terms of sequential turns, Antonio's choice to speak Spanish begins to make more sense – it serves to emphasize his contribution. His utterances in lines 2, 5, and 19 are also produced with relatively loud volume. In line 2, he seeks to cut to the chase and provides an answer before Miguel has even finished reading the question; when the researcher does not respond favorably, and Miguel begins to select a different answer ('establish friendly relationships with the Indians,' which was apparently answer B), he repeats his choice and switches to Spanish in line 5. After further discussion of the question and the decision that the answer is A, 'find a water route across the continent to the Pacific Ocean,' Antonio again brings up the possible validity of answer C. Again, he makes this contribution in Spanish, although in the meantime he has participated in the discussion of the merits of the other answers in English. This switch makes sense as a contextualization cue: it focuses the listener on the fact that this contribution is in contrast with the previous discussion in terms of content, and signals that he is questioning the agreed-upon answer.

Overall, an analysis within the Markedness Model provides an explanation which integrates important aspects of the social context of this classroom, there also appear to be examples of codeswitching which are not easily explained as social negotiation. For these cases, the Sequential Approach applies.

### 3.2 The 5th graders

The data from the three 5th grade boys (Vicente, Felipe, and Jesus) show some very different patterns of language use than those from the 4th graders, namely Spanish dominance of one boy (Jesus) and high levels of use of English of the other two. This can easily be explained in terms of preference and proficiency: Vicente and Felipe have both lived in the U.S. for a number of years and are fluent in English, while Jesus had only lived in the U.S. for 4–6 months at the time of these recordings. There is no reason to believe that the small age difference (one year) between the two groups of children is responsible for the differences in the data; instead, we suggest that the difference constellation of speakers can be used to explain these differences.

Table 6 gives a description of the data for the 5th graders, while Table 7 shows the rates of English and Spanish use for each conversation. The data presented in Table 7 show that there is a fairly uniform rate of English use – about half of the discourse

Table 6. Overview of the 5th grade data

| Conversation # | Participants           | Recording during instruction in . . . | Description   |
|----------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| M501           | Vicente, Felipe, Jesus | English                               | V and F working together on one computer, J at an adjacent desk, the researcher in the background |
| M503           | Vicente, Felipe, Jesus | English                               | Reading and playing games with the researcher   |
| M506           | Vicente, Felipe, Jesus | English                               | Reading with the researcher   |

Table 7. Overall use of English v. Spanish by conversation, 5th graders (Peer-directed turns only)

| Type of Activity     | Conversation # | % English turns  | % Spanish turns  | % CS turns      |
|----------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Playing on computers | M501           | 49%<br>(64/131)  | 40%<br>(53/131)  | 11%<br>(14/131) |
| Teacher-fronted      | M503           | 57%<br>(110/193) | 37%<br>(72/193)  | 6%<br>(11/193)  |
| Teacher-fronted      | M506           | 47%<br>(16/34)   | 53%<br>(18/34)   | 0               |
|                      | Total          | 54%<br>(190/358) | 40%<br>(143/358) | 7%<br>(25/358)  |

Table 8. Overall use of each language by individuals, 5th graders (peer-directed turns only)

| Speakers | % Spanish turns | % English turns | % CS turns   |
|----------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| V        | 30% (42/138)    | 65% (90/138)    | 4% (6/138)   |
| F        | 37% (66/177)    | 52% (93/177)    | 10% (18/177) |
| J        | 81% (35/43)     | 16% (7/43)      | 2% (1/43)    |

(47–57%) is in English in all three conversations. However, the data in Table 8 show that this generalization is misleading when the data are shown according to individual speakers. While Jesus uses Spanish 81% of the time, Antonio and Felipe use Spanish only 30% and 37% of the time, respectively.

Table 9 shows that while English utterances are more likely to be in response to an English utterance by a peer for all three boys, Spanish utterances appear fairly equally in response to both Spanish and English previous utterances. Again, the Markedness Model provides us a framework within which we can make some sense of these quantitative data. Because of what is clearly a great deal of switching back and forth between languages for Vicente and Felipe, we can posit that codeswitching may be the unmarked choice for interactions between these boys. We will return to this point in the discussion of individual examples.

**Table 9.** Languages choices in terms of the language of the previous utterance, 5th graders

|                                | Vicente     | Felipe      | Jesus       |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Spanish in response to Spanish | 49% (19/39) | 47% (30/64) | 55% (16/29) |
| Spanish in response to English | 51% (20/39) | 53% (34/64) | 49% (13/29) |
| Spanish in response to CS      | 0           | 0           | 0           |
| English in response to English | 75% (64/85) | 81% (74/91) | 71% (5/7)   |
| English in response to Spanish | 21% (18/85) | 19% (17/91) | 29% (2/7)   |
| English in response to CS      | 0           | 0           | 0           |

**Table 10.** Language of directives and disagreement, 5th graders

| Functions/Language   | %           | % in response to Sp | % in response to Eng |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Spanish Directives   | 73% (24/33) | 29% (7/24)          | 71% (17/24)          |
| Spanish Disagreement | 67% (10/15) | 70% (7/10)          | 30% (3/10)           |
| English Directives   | 27% (9/33)  | 67% (6/9)           | 33% (3/9)            |
| English Disagreement | 33% (5/15)  | 40% (2/5)           | 60% (3/5)            |

Table 10 shows that for the 5th graders, like the 4th graders discussed above, Spanish tends to be used for directives and disagreements. In fact, the overall percentages here are remarkably similar to the 4th grade data, indicating that this pattern may hold for all of the children in the classroom. However, in the case of the 5th graders, there is much more use of contrastive languages for these speech acts, especially in the case of directives. This means that the claim that Spanish indexes the role taken on when issuing directives or disagreeing with one's peers is weakened; instead, it seems that a *switch* in language choice is used to mark directives. Thus, both elements of code choice for indexing particular roles (as would be argued within the Markedness Model) and alternation as indicative of speaker stance (as the analysis could be within the Sequential Approach) could be used to explain the patterns shown in Table 10. Again, we must turn to a more qualitative analysis to investigate the applicability of these models.

An example of the use of Spanish for disputes is shown in (4). In this interaction, the researcher is supposed to read out of a textbook with the children, so she is trying to determine where they left off in the book in their last lesson. Felipe and Vicente begin by responding to her questions in English (lines 1–10), but when they digress into a debate between the two of them, they switch to Spanish (line 11). This argument is not a serious one, and is apparently resolved by the laughter in line 20; in line 22, Vicente tells the researcher, in English, what page they are on. However, it must be noted that some of the boys' argumentative turns (lines 13, 15, 17, and 18) are in English, namely *ya-huh*, a variant of *uh-huh* (meaning *we did too*). In line 13, the first time this occurs, it is no doubt triggered by Felipe's use of *uh-uh* (meaning *no*) in line 12; *ya-huh* is the opposite of this. As we have noted, these two boys employ a great deal of codeswitching in their interactions with each other, and this example illustrates how English is embedded in what begins (in line 11) as a Spanish dispute.



- (4) M503
- 1 R: So you just read the first page.  
 2 F: Yeah.  
 3 V: No, wait, w/e read/  
 4 F: /No, we/ read that,  
 5 V: We read this too.  
 6 R: You read that (.) about the middle ear. (.) The, the ear trumpet.  
 7 F: Yeah. We d/idn't/  
 8 R: {reading a heading in the text} /How/ loud is /your world?/  
 9 V: /And, and,/ and this.  
 10 F: No.  
 11 V: /A *que sí*./  
 'Yes [we did].'  
 12 F: /Uh-uh,/ a *que no*.  
 'Uh-uh, no [we didn't].'  
 13 V: Ya – huh.  
 14 F: No:  
 15 V: Ya-huh.  
 16 F: (*Ése*), *no*.  
 'Not that.'  
 17 V: Ya-huh.  
 18 F: {imitating V} Ya-huh.  
 19 V: Ya-huh.  
 20 {both laugh}  
 21 F: *Ah, yo, yo soy éste*. {pointing to a picture in the book}  
 'Oh, I, I'm this one.'  
 22 V: {to R} We're right this.  
 23 R: Ahh, o.k.

The switches in this example are best explained with a combination of the Markedness Model and the Sequential Approach. Within the Markedness Model, the boys are switching into peer roles when they switch into Spanish-English codeswitching; also, as mentioned earlier, the Markedness Model provides the added benefit of accounting for the choice of English by the boys up until line 11, namely, they are indexing the RO set of student-teacher interaction during English instruction. Within the Sequential Approach, we can analyze this as participant-related code-switching: Felipe and Vicente use codeswitching as an unmarked choice in their peer conversation.

However, looking at the turns in this exchange sequentially, we see that the boys construct a nicely symmetrical sequence of choices, despite the superficially oppositional stances they assume. In lines 11 and in the second half of 12, they perform the Spanish oppositional turns *a que sí* 'did too!' and *a que no* 'did not!'. The first half of Felipe's turn in 12, (*uh-uh*, meaning 'did not') triggers Vicente's response of *ya-huh* (meaning 'did too') in line 13, forming an adjacency pair that is the English equivalent of the *a que sí/a que no* exchange from lines 11 and 12. In lines 14 through 17, Felipe continues to articulate his position that they had not read the page in question, using Spanish, while Vicente neatly shows his disagreement with his choice of the opposing

language, English. This sequence ends when Felipe imitates Vicente's *ya-huh* in line 18, essentially giving in to Vicente in both content and language choice. The lack of seriousness of this exchange is highlighted by the fact that Vicente gives an echoing *ya-huh* in line 19, and both boys laugh. An analysis of these data within the Sequential Approach nicely illuminates how their use of code choice constructs their (playfully) oppositional positions. Thus, although the Markedness Model does hold some advantage in shedding light on the non-switching in lines 1–11, the Sequential Approach nicely explains the 'codeswitching as an unmarked choice' section of this excerpt.

In (5), we see another common use of Spanish among the 5th grade boys: translating for Jesus. Because Felipe and Vicente speak English much better than Jesus, they frequently perform unsolicited translations of English utterances, such as the one shown in this example.

(5) X503

1 R: O.k. So. First of all, what are these people doing.

2 V: {singing} traff/icat/ion.

3 R: /O.k./ (.) Jesus, what are they doing.

4 F: Making noises? (3) *Qué están haciendo, Jesús?*

'What are they doing, Jesus?'

Again, both models are adequate for explaining this type of switch. An analysis within the Markedness Model focuses on the switch in RO sets for Felipe (from student-teacher to peer role relationships), while the Sequential Approach simply indicates that the speaker switches codes when speaking to addressees with differences language preferences. The advantage of the Markedness Model for these examples is that it brings in the aspect of social identity and social role, tying language choices in to social behavior in general, while the Sequential Approach is more descriptive.

However, within the Markedness Model, there is also what is called 'codeswitching as an unmarked choice', in which it is expected that speakers will switch back and forth between languages within an interaction. For examples of this type, we can see the advantage of applying both of these models concurrently. The Markedness Model provides a coherent social model for explaining this switching behavior: codeswitching as an unmarked choice occurs among bilingual peers who which to index a dual identity. In this setting, speakers use both codes to index a bilingual, Mexican-American identity. Such codeswitching occurred in this classroom increasingly as the year progressed, most notably in the language of Dora and Lucia in the second half of the academic year (see Fuller 2004; Self 2005), but also in the speech of Felipe and Vicente, as we have seen in (4) above. In example (6), these two boys are playing a computer game together. As the computer game itself is in English, much of the terminology for the game (e.g. *rocket coins*) is used in that language, leading to intrasentential codeswitching (see line 1). Further, there seems to be a pattern in this interaction of using English for suggestions and agreements and Spanish for disputes, as can be seen in lines 5–10 of this example. Again, both models offer plausible explanations for this behavior: within the Markedness Model, the switches indicate a shift in alignment between speakers, and

within the Sequential Approach, language switches would be seen as contextualization cues for these different functions. However, in line 11 of this example, Vicente switches mid-sentence to English, without changing addressee or the function of his utterances. How can this be interpreted?

- (6) M501
- 1 F: / *llevamos* four rocket coins/  
'we've got...'
- 2 V: Game: Rocket xxx
- 3 F: ¡*¡ira!*  
'Lookit!'
- 4 {Boys giggle}
- 5 V: How ('bout) we go right here.
- 6 F: Oh yeah.
- 7 Computer voice: Are you ready to play a xxx?
- 8 F: One more xxx *aquí para que (agarremos) más que* Sixth grade. *Ahí no va.*  
'...here so that (we pick up) more than Sixth grade. It doesn't go there.'
- 9 V: *Claro que sí.*  
'Of course it does.'
- 10 F: *Claro que no*  
'Of course it doesn't.'
- 11 V: *Ten* this one. Go right here.  
'Take...'

It is difficult to see how the Markedness Model could account for the switch in 11, beyond the general explanation that the boys are using codeswitching as an unmarked choice in this interaction. While this explanation is an important one for understanding the social motivations behind language choice, it does not explain this particular mid-utterance switch, which cannot be said to index a change in role relationship. In this case, the Sequential Approach provides an explanation: this switch serves to emphasize Vicente's command, the language choice marking it as distinct from the preceding turns. This is a classic discourse-related switch as discussed in the literature on the Sequential Approach and can be explained as contributing to the structure of the conversation, although not the speaker role or identity.

#### 4. Conclusion

In these data, Spanish is often selected for use between peers, a predictable outcome among children who all have Spanish as their dominant language. However, even the lowest proficiency English speaker (Jesus) uses English with his peers 16% of the time, and Vicente, one of the higher proficiency speakers, uses English 65% of the time when addressing his peers. Thus, a simple correlation between speaker proficiency and language choice does not explain these data. Our interpretation suggests that much of the switching can be explained in terms of language use to index and negotiate roles and stances within the conversation, i.e. within the Markedness Model, and that this

social aspect of language choice is essential to understanding the codeswitching patterns in these exchanges. However, we acknowledge that language choice may also be used as a contextualization cue, and sequential conversational structure rather than choice of a particular code may carry interactional meaning. In particular, this pattern seems to prevail in interactions in which codeswitching is the unmarked choice, and the negotiation of identity is already taken care of by the use of two languages in the overall interaction. Within such stretches of bilingual discourse, individual choices can be analyzed sequentially as markers of conversational structure.

## References

- Auer, P. 1988. A conversation analytic approach to code-switching and transfer. In *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives*, M. Heller (ed.), 187–214. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Auer, P. 1995. The pragmatics of code-switching. In *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*, L. Milroy & P. Muysken (eds.). Cambridge: CUP.
- Auer, P. 2004. A postscript: Code-switching and social identity. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37: 403–410.
- Fuller, J. M. 2004. 'Will you be my best friend?' Ethnic identity, gender and language choice in a bilingual classroom. Paper presented at NWAWE 33, Ann Arbor MI.
- Fuller, J. M. & Elsmann, M. 2005. Codeswitching in the classroom: Identity and language choice. Paper presented at the 5th International Symposium on Bilingualism, Barcelona, Spain.
- Gafaranga, J. 2001. Linguistic identities in talk-in-interaction: Order in bilingual conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33:1901–1925.
- Li W. 1988. The 'why' and 'how' questions in the analysis of conversational code-switching. In *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, interaction and identity*, P. Auer (ed.), 156–179. London: Routledge.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 1993. *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Myers-Scotton, C. & Bolonyai, A. 2001. Calculating speakers: Codeswitching in a rational choice model. *Language in Society* 30: 1–28.
- Potowski, K. 2004. Student Spanish use and investment in a dual immersion classroom: Implications for second language acquisition and heritage language maintenance. *Modern Language Journal* 88: 75–101.
- Self, K. 2005. Talk and identity in the bilingual classroom. Paper presented at the 5th International Symposium on Bilingualism, Barcelona, Spain.



## Style variation in Spanish as a heritage language

### A study of discourse particles in academic and non-academic registers

Ana Sánchez-Muñoz

University of Southern California<sup>1</sup>

This paper examines the style and register variation in heritage language speakers of Spanish at the college level, specifically, the use of discourse markers across situations. Of particular interest in this study is the analysis of the marker *como* 'like', which seems to be spreading in the same way as the marker *like* in American English (Sankoff et al. 1997), adopting some of its functions that *como* has never been previously reported to have in the Spanish literature. The results of this study show that the choice of discourse markers, their distribution, and relative frequency varies across registers. This indicates that bilinguals understand the difference among registers in their non-dominant language and the fact that academic language is characterized by a variety of features not present in informal interactions.

#### 1. Introduction

Despite the number of studies on situations of language contact and attrition in bilingual Spanish-English communities in the U.S., there has been relatively little attention paid to differentiation of registers and styles by the speakers of these communities in their non-dominant language. The purpose of this paper is to study the oral production of bilingual heritage language speakers of Spanish (henceforth, HLS) in different situations of use in order to examine whether there are register and style differences reflected in the speech of HLS. In particular, this paper concentrates on one linguistic feature: discourse particles, which are analyzed across different registers and styles produced by bilingual HLS.

---

1. The author is indebted to Carmen Silva-Corvalán for her insightful comments and continued support. Many thanks are also due to my colleagues at the USC Departments of Linguistic and Spanish for their helpful comments and questions and to an anonymous referee.

Although HLS usually start acquiring Spanish at home, they become gradually dominant in English, among other factors, as a result of formal education in English; the higher prestige of English in most bilingual communities in the U.S. (Silva-Corvalán 1994:9); contact with English-speaking children on the playground or in the streets (Sankoff et al. 1997); and exposure to English through television and other media.

Since knowledge of register is learned from interaction with members of one's speech community, a narrowing of the stylistic range may be a function of the limit of the speaker's linguistic activities (Finegan & Biber 1994:337–9). At the same time, as the linguistic repertoire in English expands to include an increasing number of domains, the functional use of the home-based language is restricted to fewer domains, until it is ultimately limited to the home and family domain. A family, homebound language is characterized by a casual, conversational speech style, used with familiar interlocutors to a restricted set of topics focused on everyday life (Dressler 1991:101–2). For most HLS, Spanish is mainly used just with family and close friends as an oral informal variety. On the other hand, English is the language for most social interactions as well as the language in which they have been accustomed to think and learn in school (Silva-Corvalán 1994; Valdés 1995).

According to some researchers (Dressler 1991), languages in situations of linguistic stress – such as situations of language attrition and language loss – become essentially monostylistic in that they are restricted, as Dressler specifies, 'to a very casual style used with very familiar dialogue partners about restricted topics in routine speech situations' (1982:326). Since Spanish in many bilingual communities in the U.S. is largely restricted to home and family interactions, the present study asks whether the Spanish spoken by HLS in the U.S. is becoming a monostylistic variety. In order to determine whether Spanish as a heritage language is undergoing this sort of restriction it is necessary to study different levels and styles of language used by HLS so as to explore and analyze the linguistic resources that these speakers may have across registers and situations of use.

This paper focuses on the study of some connectors and punctors. The collection of data in different situations of use will allow us to study some of the language features produced by HLS and investigate the possibility of variation depending on the register and the level of formality, as specifically reflected in the use of discourse particles. This study concentrates on the data produced in three situations: 1) conversations, 2) interviews, and 3) class presentations.

## 2. Working assumptions: Register and style

It is not easy to define such concepts as register, dialect, style or genre. The term *register* has been used as a cover term to refer to language varieties associated with particular social situations. Following this usage of the term, 'register' in this paper refers to situationally defined varieties (Biber 1995; Finegan 2004).

The term *style* refers to intra-speaker variation that reflects the individual's internalization of broader social distributions of variation (Eckert & Rickford 2001). Stylistic variation results from the fact that different people express themselves in different ways, and that the same person may express the same idea quite differently when addressing different audiences, using different modalities, or tackling different tasks (Bell 1984). In this paper, the focus is on one aspect or dimension of style: *formality*. Accordingly, the term 'style' is used in this paper to refer to the varying level of formality of each of the different registers.

### 3. Discourse particles

Discourse particles or markers have been defined differently by different researchers. Some researchers consider that discourse particles signal or mark relationships across utterances (Torres 2002:65), and may have grammatical functions as well (Aaron 2004:162). Other researchers include punctors and other semantically 'empty' items within the classification of discourse particles. According to Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999:4057), discourse particles are linguistic items with no syntactic function at the sentence level, which serve, depending on their morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties, as a guide for the interpretation of utterances. The speaker adds these particles to reduce the cognitive effort required from the hearer to interpret the utterance, by signaling which inference reflects more accurately the speaker's meaning.

Speakers vary in their choice of discourse particles depending on the register and the style of the communicative situation (Cortés 1998; Martín Zorraquino & Montolío 1998). For this reason, the study of discourse particles produced by HLS in situations with various degrees of formality provide interesting data for the analysis of register/style variation in Spanish as a heritage language. Furthermore, Sankoff et al. (1997) point out that discourse particles are of particular interest because they constitute an aspect of the language not explicitly taught in school and, in this way, they may be an accurate indicator of the speaker's linguistic ability in different registers.

This paper includes the analysis of a number of discourse particles, namely the connectors *como* 'as/like'; *so, así que* 'so', and *entonces* 'so/then'; and the fillers or punctors *I mean, you know, I don't know* in English and *este* 'uhm', *sabes* 'you know', *no sé* 'I don't know' in Spanish.

#### 3.1 *Como* 'as/like'

The focus of this study is on the word *como*, which may have a wide variety of functions in Spanish. Furthermore, the use of the word *como* by HLS seems to be calquing some functions from the equivalent 'like' in American English, which *como* does not traditionally have in monolingual varieties.



### 3.1.1 Classification of *como* 'like' in the Spanish literature

The word *como* 'like' is one of the most productive in Spanish (Moreno Ayora 1991; Santos Río 2003). Furthermore, some authors point to an ongoing extension of the functions of *como* (Moreno Ayora 1991:8). *Como* has been classified as an adverb, conjunction or preposition in the Spanish literature. *Como* is also used in different expressions in combination with other words such as *que* 'that' or *si* 'if'. The following list summarizes the uses that *como* may have according to Spanish grammarians:

1. As an adverb, *como* may be used: (a) to express the way or manner of something (e.g. *hazlo como te digo*, 'do it as I tell you'); (b) as a comparative to convey the idea of equivalence, similarity or likeliness (e.g. *es rubio como el oro*, 'he's blond as gold'); (c) as exemplifier to introduce an instance, it has the meaning of 'such as' or 'like' (e.g.: *los genios como Einstein* 'geniuses such as Einstein'); (d) with the meaning of 'rather' or 'approximately', often followed by a numeric expression (e.g.: *llevo aquí como una semana*, 'I've been here for about a week'). Furthermore, *como* is used as a marker of non-equivalence, looseness or approximation in other contexts even without a following numeric expression (Santos Río 2003:258), which is also a common use of English *like* (Schourup 1985).

2. As a conjunction, *como* may be used as a causative connector with the meaning of 'since' or 'because'. It often follows the causal conjunction *porque* 'because', thus acting as a redundant causative marker (e.g.: *como llueve tanto no podemos salir*, 'since it's raining so much, we can't go out').

3. As a preposition, *como* may precede an NP and it has the meaning of 'acting as', 'in the position of', 'functioning as' (e.g.: *asiste a la boda como testigo*, 'he's attending the wedding as a witness').

### 3.1.2 Particular uses of *como* by HLS

Apart from the standard functions of *como* listed above, the data analyzed in this paper shows two additional uses which are, to the best of my knowledge, not discussed in Spanish grammars or studies on *como* in Spanish. These are *como* used as a quotative and as an empty punctuator:

1. Quotative *como* introduces reported speech or a direct quotation. There have been many studies of English *like* that focused on the quotative use of this marker to introduce reported speech (e.g., Blyth et al. 1990; Ferrara & Bell 1995; Romaine & Lange 1991):

- (1) She said, 'what are you doing here?' And I'm *like*, 'nothing much,' y'know. I explained the whole... weird story. And she's *like*, 'Um... Well, that's cool'. ([sic] Romaine & Lange 1991:227)

The use of *como* as a quotative in Spanish has not been reported in the Spanish literature but it occurs in HLS discourse, as illustrated in 2. The code included in square

brackets indicates that the example is taken from my recorded data and it refers to the speaker's initial (D, W, C, L, J, or G), sex (female or male), age and situation of use (C: conversation, I: interview, P: presentation):

- (2) *Me dijo que preguntó algo y ellos como 'de qué estás hablando.'*  
 [C, f20, I]  
 'She told me that she asked, she asked something and they [were] *like* "what are you talking about."'

2. As an **empty punctor** *como* has no semantic content and it is similar to the expletive use of *like* in American English. Punctor *like* is considered by some English grammarians 'colloquial' and even 'vulgar' just a meaningless interjection or hesitation device (Wilson 1993).

The examples in 3 and 4 illustrate the use of *como* 'like' as a punctor in the Spanish of HLS:

- (3) *Los blancos nunca tienen como intercambio con muchos otros grupos.*  
 [L, m19, I]  
 'Whites never have *like* interaction with many other groups.'
- (4) *Ahora tienen trabajos pa bilingües, porque están haciendo como entrevistas pero... como de salud o algo. Y necesitan gente que habla español.*  
 [L, m19, C]  
 'Now they have jobs for bilinguals, because they are doing like interviews but... *like* about health or something. And they need Spanish speakers.'

The use of *como* in (3) as well as the first *como* in (4) does not correspond to any of the uses identified in the literature. In (3), *como* is not used with an approximative value; rather, *como* is used here as an empty punctor since the speaker is stating that there is no interaction (and not 'something like interaction'). In the same way, with the first *como* in (4) the speaker does not mean 'something like interviews' because earlier in the conversation the speaker says that he is applying for the bilingual position that he refers to, and he has scheduled his interview already; therefore, he is sure that they are conducting job interviews and not 'something like an interview'. Nevertheless, it is sometimes difficult to tell apart *como* uses as an approximation marker or as a punctor. For example, in (4) one could argue that the second *como* (i.e. *como de salud o algo*, 'like about health or something') is used in an approximative sense further emphasized by the following expression *o algo* 'or something', as if the speaker were not quite sure of the nature of the interviews and thinks it is something related to health. Therefore, all the examples of *como* in my data that had been classified as approximative or punctors were further checked by a second independent Spanish speaker to ensure reliability of the analysis. This independent rater was asked to classify the examples of *como* as approximative if he thought *como* conveyed an idea of approximation or as a punctor if no such interpretation seemed possible. There was a high percentage of agreement between both raters and the few instances in which there was disagreement were not included in the quantitative analysis.

Other studies of bilingual varieties in contact with English have reported similar findings. For example, Sankoff et al. (1997) find that *comme* ‘as, like’ in Montreal French is used as an empty punctuator, a use not found in monolingual French varieties. They mention the possibility of transfer from American English *like*, which is commonly used as a punctuator. Since neither quotative nor punctuator *como* have been reported in monolingual varieties of Spanish, it may be the case that these uses are transferred from similar uses of *like* in colloquial American English.

### 3.1.3 *So, así que and entonces*

It has been observed that bilingual varieties in contact with English incorporate English-origin *so* in their oral discourse (Aaron 2004; Lipski 1994), often phonetically adapted and realized as [so] without gliding. *So* has two equivalents in Spanish: *así que* and *entonces*. The literature identifies the following functions for these connectors:

1. As consecutive connectors, *así que* and *entonces* express the ‘consequence of an action, circumstance and quality’ (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999: 4099–108). They introduce or follow a deduction or conclusion as the English connector *so* (Aaron 2004; Torres 2002). The following examples illustrate this use of *así que* in (5), *entonces* in (6), and *so* in (7):

- (5) *Había mucho racismo así que sus padres sólo permitían que hablaran inglés.* [W, f20, P]  
‘There was a lot of racism *so* her parents let her speak only in English.’
- (6) *Entré a USC con créditos de AP y de otras clases que tomé en un colegio, entonces ya estoy tomando mis clases para mi especialidad.* [C, f20, I]  
‘I came to USC with AP credits and with credits from other courses that I took in a college, *so* I’m already taking the courses for my major’.
- (7) *Según los Estados Unidos es la la... el país de la oportunidad so por qué no brindarles la oportunidad a otra gente de otros países.* [D, f19, I]  
‘According to the United States, it’s the ... the country of opportunity, *so* why not give the opportunity to other people from other countries’.

2. *So, así que* and *entonces* can be used to mark discourse progression as illustrated in (8):

- (8) *Fue el día 28, el martes, el tráfico estaba bien pesado. So yo iba entre los carros, siempre manejo entre los carros en las horas de tráfico.* [J, m20, C]  
‘It was last Tuesday, the 28th, traffic was very heavy. *So* I was going between the cars, I always drive between cars during rush hour’.

3. *So* can also end an utterance, leaving an often implicit utterance unexpressed (as in (9)). Typically, the utterance ends in a mid-tone, pending intonation, which reinforces the sense of an implicit ending left unsaid. According to Aaron (2004: 167), this use of *so* is not shared by *entonces*. However, there are several examples in my data that show that both *entonces* (as in (10)) and *así que* (as in (11)) can end an utterance in the same way as *so* in English:

- (9) *Me gustaría que ganara Kerry porque él quiere pasar una ley para los estudiantes que no tienen papeles y mi hermana no es... es indocumentada, so-*. [D, f19, I]  
 'I'd like that Kerry wins because he wants to pass a law for undocumented students and my sister isn't... she's undocumented, *so-*'.
- (10) *Y pelean [las pandillas salvadoreñas] también contra los mejicanos y eso es algo yo creo que mucho más irónico porque son hispanos, entonces-*. [C, f20, I]  
 'And they fight [Salvadorian gangs] also against Mexicans and that is something I think much more ironic because they are all Hispanic, *so-*'.
- (11) *Porque si eres mamá tú te vas a dar cuenta cuando tu hija... Y si dices que no es que no conoces a tu hija y mi mamá y yo éramos muy cercanas así que-*. [W, f21, I]  
 'Because if you're a mother you're going to know when your daughter... And if you say no is because you don't know your daughter and my mum and I were very close *so-*'.

### 3.2 Punctors

Punctors, also known as fillers, are a class of particles that are characteristic of informal, casual production. The punctors included in this analysis are classified into: (a) English-origin punctors: *you know*, *I don't know* and *I mean*, which are produced in Spanish discourse; and (b) Spanish punctors: *sabes*, 'you know', *no sé* 'I don't know', *o sea*, 'that is', *este* 'uhm'. Following Vincent and Sankoff (1992) and Sankoff et al. (1997), these words considered punctors are desemanticized, that is, they have lost their original meaning. As discourse particles, *you know*, *I mean*, *I don't know* are different from the original verbal expressions of a verb of thinking or feeling, followed by the complementizer *que* 'that' (i.e. 'you know that', 'I mean that', 'I don't know that'):

- (12) *Así que primero la edad, segundo, I don't know, era el primer hombre que llevó a mi novio a Hooters you know tienen una relación así, así que cómo voy a dejar a mi novio para andar con él you know.* [W, f20, C]  
 'So first the age, second *I don't know*, he was the first man that took my boyfriend to Hooters *you know* they have such a relationship, so how could I leave my boyfriend to go with him *you know*'.

*You know* and *I don't know* are used in (12) as punctors. For example, with the use of *I don't know*, speaker W is not indicating that she does not know that [he] was the first man that took her boyfriend to Hooters; rather, she is saying that he indeed was that man. Thus, *I don't know* is used as a filler here.

## 4. Hypotheses

In general, it is hypothesized that HLS will vary their use of discourse particles across situations. More specifically, with respect to the particles investigated in this study, it is hypothesized that:

1. HLS will vary their use of the particle *como* ‘as/like’ across situations. In particular, I expect that more informal situations will show an increase of the ‘non-canonical’ uses of *como* in Spanish, namely *como* as a quotative and punctor. Furthermore, the literature claims that *como* used with the value of approximation is more frequent in casual registers (Moreno Ayora 1991; Santos Río 2003); therefore, I expect the approximative use of *como* (followed by a numeric expression or not) to be higher the less formal the situation is.

2. HLS will vary their use of English-origin *so* in Spanish producing it less frequently the higher the level of formality. I expect that *así que* and *entonces* will be used more frequently in the presentations and interviews, and occurrences of *so* will be higher in the conversations.

3. HLS are expected to produce an overall lesser number of punctors in the presentations.

## 5. Methodology

### 5.1 Speakers

The participants in this study are six Mexican-American HLS, three women and three men who are bilinguals, with Spanish as the home language. Participants were asked to fill out a biographical and language background questionnaire to ensure the homogeneity of the sample. The questionnaire was designed to obtain personal information from the speakers about the amount and quality of formal education in Spanish and about their patterns of use of Spanish (i.e. at home, at work, etc.). In order to ensure that the subjects’ level of Spanish proficiency was as homogeneous as possible, only speakers who had a comparable amount of formal education as well as informal contact with the language were selected for this study.

The characteristics of the speakers are the following: They have been born and raised in the U.S. but were exposed to Spanish before age 5. All participants are attending college and they are taking advanced Spanish courses. Finally, all HLS have taken Spanish language courses in high school; however, none of the speakers who participated in this study took part in a complete bilingual education program. English was the only language of instruction at the schools that speakers attended and formal instruction in Spanish came only later during the high-school years.

### 5.2 Data collection

After selecting a homogeneous sample of speakers, individual data collecting sessions were set up with each speaker. There were a total of three recording sessions per speaker according to the different communicative situations: (1) class oral presenta-

tion; (2) interview; (3) conversation. These situations range in a scale from more to less formal:

1. *Class presentations* are a type of academic register in which the speaker is required to address an audience with the primary purpose to inform. This represents the most formal of the three situations analyzed in this study. Presentations are normally planned and offer the possibility of careful production. Furthermore, in the academic setting, the student is not only informing the audience but also he or she is expected to display his/her competence, ability and mastery of the subject. Although classroom presentations are directed to a relatively large, non-participating audience, the main addressee of the presentation is, however, the instructor, who will evaluate the speaker's performance (Valdés & Geoffrion-Vinci 1998:447). The length of the presentations ranged from 7 to 20 minutes.

2. *Interviews* are produced face to face with interaction possible between interlocutors. This register is primarily informational in purpose and only secondarily inter-personal (Finegan 2001:249). The interviews were designed to address a variety of topics that did not include personal topics or the narration of personal experiences. Instead, more abstract, 'serious' subjects and controversial topics were discussed (such as the war in Iraq, illegal immigration in the U.S., etc.). These were thought to elicit a type of register more formal than a conversation between friends but less formal than the presentations. The length of the interviews ranged from 45 to 65 minutes.

3. *Conversations* are also produced face to face, but with more interaction between interlocutors. This register typically has affective purposes with greater involvement of the participants and it is concerned with inter-personal relations as well as the exchange of personal information (Finegan 2001:248). The conversations were recorded by the speakers themselves, without the researcher being present during the recordings. The purpose of this arrangement was to avoid or, rather, minimize the effect that the researcher could have had on the speakers, thus obtaining a conversation situation as natural and casual as possible (cf. Bell 1984). The students recorded themselves conversing with friends, mainly with classmates who were also participants in this study. Although this situation was free, speakers were given some general guidelines about the topics that they could talk about during the recording, such as high school anecdotes, opinions on school or common current courses, leisure activities, plans for the future, etc. Conversations recorded by HLS ranged from 30 to 45 minutes.

A total of approximately six hours of conversations are analyzed in this study. The duration of the recordings was: (1) an average of 12 minutes for the presentations; (2) an average of 50 minutes for the interviews; and (3) an average of 35 minutes for the conversations. The data were transcribed by two native speakers of Spanish: the researcher and an independent transcriber who served as inter-rater for the purpose of ensuring reliability.

## 6. Results

The amount of recorded material varied for each situation. In analyzing and reporting the results here, discourse particle use was normalized to 4,000 words, which corresponds to approximately one hour of audio-recorded material for each situation.

### 6.1 *Como*

Figure 1 gives the rates of use of *como* by individual speaker in the three situations of use analyzed in this paper. The columns include the functions of *como*, which are classified as: (1) *como* in standard uses, that is, the uses discussed in the literature; (2) approximative uses of *como*, which is also a standard use; and non-standard uses of *como* found in HLS discourse, namely (3) quotative *como*, and (4) *como* as punctor. The approximative use of *como* is analyzed separately even though it is a standard use recognized in the literature in order to test claims that approximative *como* is characteristic of informal registers (Santos Río 2003); therefore, it is important to examine the difference, if any, in the use of approximative *como* across registers.

As Figure 1 shows, quotative and punctor uses of *como* are higher in the conversation than in the interview or the presentation. The presentation has the lowest percentages of use of punctor *como*, 5.8%, as opposed to 10.1% in the interview and 23.2% in the conversation and, furthermore, there are no occurrences of quotative *como* in presentations.

When direct speech is present speakers may use an overt introducer such as *como* or a null or zero introducer (Ferrara & Bell 1995). Therefore, the use of *como* as a quotative depends on whether speakers include direct speech in their discourse. In my data, the lack of quotative *como* is not due to a lack of possible contexts in which *como*

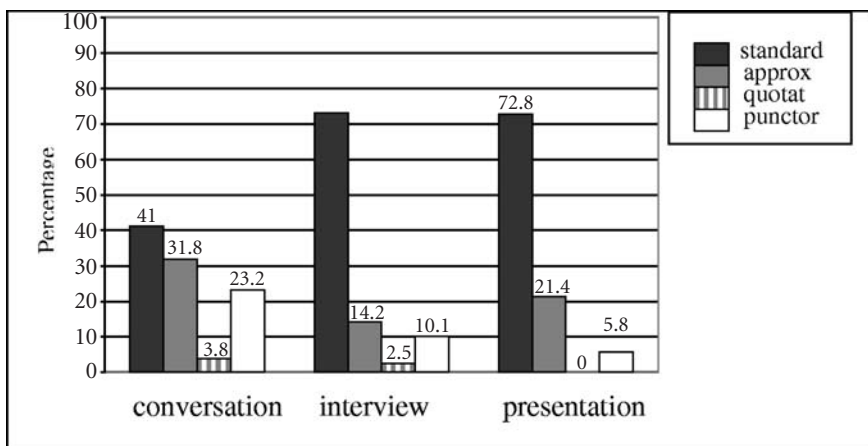


Figure 1. Use of *como* across registers

**Table 1.** Frequency of introducers of direct quotations used by HLS in each register

|              | <i>como</i> | %     | <i>decir</i> | %     | 'null' | %     | Total | %    |
|--------------|-------------|-------|--------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|------|
| Conversation | 1.5         | 28.3% | 2            | 37.7% | 1.8    | 34%   | 5.3   | 100% |
| Interview    | 1.1         | 10.9% | 8.1          | 80.2% | 0.9    | 8.9%  | 10.1  | 100% |
| Presentation | 0           | 0%    | 1            | 20.8% | 3.8    | 79.2% | 4.8   | 100% |
| Total        | 2.6         | 12.8% | 11.1         | 55%   | 6.5    | 32.2% | 20.2  | 100% |

as quotative could have occurred since there are several instances of direct quotations in the presentations. However, speakers choose other ways to introduce direct quotations in the presentations such as the verb *decir* 'say'. In the same way, all speakers produced direct quotations during the interviews, although not all of them used *como* as an introducer of direct speech. Table 1 shows the frequency and percentages of direct quotations in each situation and the use of *como*, *decir* or null introducers.

Table 1 shows that *como* is less frequent as an introducer of direct speech than *decir* 'say' or a null introducer. *Como* as a quotative is more frequent in the conversations (28.3%) than in the interviews (10.9%) and, furthermore, it does not occur in the presentations, thus confirming our initial hypothesis that *como* as quotative and punctuator would be less frequent in formal contexts. Taking the entirety of audio-recordings of each the interview and the conversation situations, we find 41 direct quotations in the conversations and 25 in the interview. Out of this total of 66 direct quotations, 10 are introduced by the particle *como*, 4 in the interviews and 6 in the conversations. Thus, a total of 15% of the direct quotations were introduced by *como*. This appears to be a recent development of the discourse particle *como* that has not been reported in previous studies.

## 6.2 *So, así que* and *entonces*

HLS use the connector *so* from English in their Spanish discourse as well as the equivalent connectors in Spanish *entonces* 'so, then' and *así que* 'so'. The hypothesis tested is that *so* will be more frequent in the conversations than in the interviews and the presentations. The reason for this hypothesis is that HLS will probably pay more attention to their speech in formal registers and, therefore, will try to avoid non-standard features such as the use of *so*; especially, in a formal classroom presentation in Spanish where students are expected to show their competence and mastery of both the content (i.e. the subject) and the form of the presentations (Spanish academic language) (Valdés & Geoffrion-Vinci 1998). Figure 2 shows the results for *so*, *así que* and *entonces* across registers.

There is an overall higher percentage of *so* across situations. However, *so* is not more frequent in conversations than in interviews as predicted and, furthermore, there is a higher percentage of *so* in interviews than both *así que* and *entonces*, which also contradicts expectations. Yet, if we look at the use of these three connectors by indi-



vidual HLS, it seems that the choice of *so*, *así que* and *entonces* depends more on the speaker's preference rather than on register considerations.

### 6.3 Punctors

Figure 3 illustrates the percentage of use of the punctors analyzed in this paper. No punctors are used in presentations. Spanish punctor *no sé* 'I don't know' is the most frequently used in both conversations and interviews. Most of the occurrences of *sabes* 'you know' are produced in the conversation situation with only 9% in the interview in the formal form (*sabe* 'you [formal] know'). Also, *este* 'uhm' is only produced in

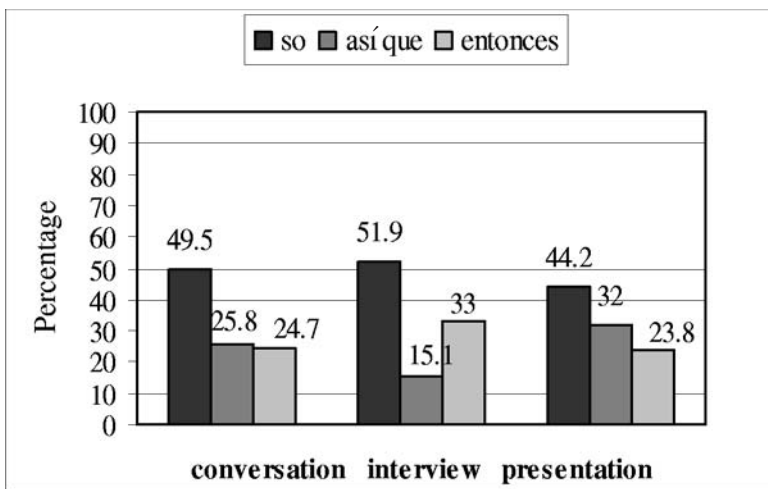


Figure 2. Percentage of use of *so*, *así que* and *entonces* by registers

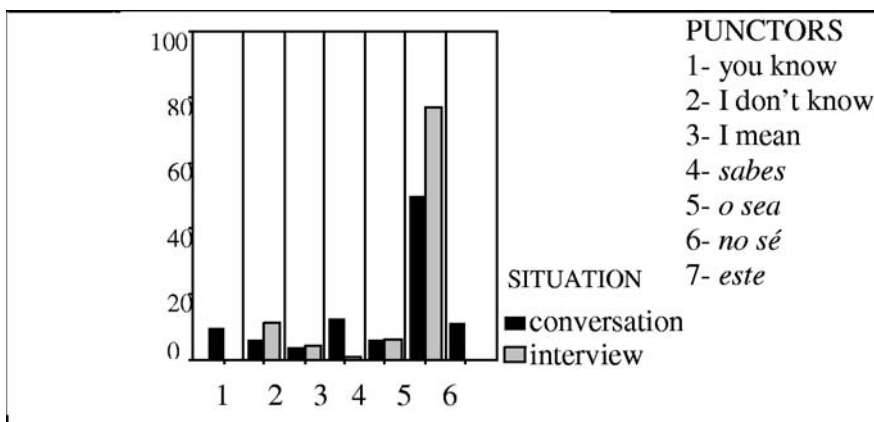


Figure 3. Use of punctors across situations

the conversations. Of the English punctors, *you know* occurs only in the conversation but *I don't know* and *I mean* are produced in both conversations and interviews. Chi-square tests indicate that the differences observed are statistically significant ( $\chi^2=39.825$  (6),  $p<.001$ ).

## 7. Discussion

The results show that HLS use some of the discourse particles studied differently across registers. This evidence suggests that the participants in the present study are aware of register distinctions in the sense that they attempt to produce what they consider appropriate discourse according to the formality of the situation and whether they are required to produce academic or non-academic registers. For example, there are fewer non-standard uses of *como* in the presentations and no punctors are produced in that situation. Let us look at each of the discourse particles in detail.

### 7.1 Use of *como* by HLS

This study shows interesting results regarding the use of *como* by HLS. Especially, that the use of the word *como* by HLS seems to be calquing some functions from the equivalent *like* in American English, which *como* does not traditionally have in monolingual varieties.

It was predicted that HLS would vary their use of *como* across situations. Furthermore, we expected that non-standard uses of *como* would be more likely to occur in casual registers such as the conversation situation in this study. Specifically, these non-standard uses are the quotative and punctor uses of *como*, which have not been described in the Spanish literature and seem to be characteristic of the Spanish of HLS.

Considering the entirety of conversations and interviews 15% of the direct quotations in this study are introduced by *como*. This is a very interesting development of the discourse particle *como*, which has not been studied in monolingual or bilingual varieties of Spanish. However, we considered the possibility that *como* introducing direct speech is not likely to occur in a class presentation not because of the Spanish proficiency of a HLS but rather because of the nature of academic presentations. Direct speech is characteristic of narrations of personal experience stories (Ferrara & Bell 1995) and direct quotations are one of the strategies that speakers often use for dramatic effects, to make the story come alive (Silva-Corvalán 1994:66). In contrast, presentations are primarily informational in purpose, directed to a non-interactive audience, therefore direct quotations are less frequent and rather indirect speech is preferred to report someone else's words. Nevertheless, the reason for the absence of *como* as a quotative in the presentations is not due to a lack of contexts where quotative *como* could have been produced. Table 1 shows that there are instances of direct quotations in the class presentations and, therefore, it was possible for HLS to choose

*como* as an overt introducer. However, none of the direct quotations in the presentations are introduced by *como*. Instead, HLS use a null introducer or the verb *decir* 'say' to introduce direct speech.

There have been very few studies on the academic production of HLS in Spanish. One of the studies that have looked at the academic production of HLS is the study by Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998), who analyze class oral presentations by HLS in Spanish. Their study, however, does not analyze discourse particles in detail nor do they mention the uses of *como* as quotative. Therefore, we cannot compare the results of this paper with previous studies, which may also be a further indication that this is a recent innovation in Spanish as heritage language and it may take time for this use to be recognized in the literature.

Sankoff et al. (1997) studied Montreal French in contact with English and also found the usage of French *comme* 'like' as introducer of reported speech, which is not found among monolingual varieties of French. Sankoff et al. (1997) report an average of 14% of quotative *comme*, which is similar to the percentage of quotative *como* in the present study (15%). Sankoff et al. say that this use of *comme* is a recent feature in Montreal French and they suggest that it may be transferred from the quotative use of *like* in American English (p. 208). This may also be a likely explanation for the patterns observed in my study since no monolingual variety of Spanish has been shown to use *como* as an introducer of direct speech.

The use of *como* as a punctator is also a characteristic of the Spanish discourse of HLS that has not been found in other varieties of Spanish. The results of this study confirm the hypothesis that punctator use of *como* is more frequent in the conversations (23.2%) than in interviews (10.1%), and it is even less frequent in the presentations (5.8%). Sankoff et al.'s (1997) study reports that the most frequent use of *comme* 'like' among English dominant bilinguals in Montreal French is as a desemanticized punctator. Their results indicate a total average of 35% of *comme* punctator use in their data. The example in (13), taken from their paper (p. 205), illustrates this use:

- (13) *Comment est-ce que je peux comme prendre un petit promenade après?*  
'How can I *like* take a little walk afterwards?'

This use of *comme* as a punctator is a recent development in Canadian French that seems to be increasing among younger speakers (Sankoff et al. 1997; Vincent & Sankoff 1992). Moreover, Sankoff et al. (1997) compare data collected in 1984 with the data recorded in 1993–1994 for their study. The authors report a 22.3% increase of use of punctator *comme* from 1984 to 1993.

My data show a lower percentage than the 35% of punctator *comme* reported in Sankoff et al. (1997). It may be possible, however, that the use of Spanish *como* as a punctator is also a recent development in the Spanish of bilingual communities in the U.S., which may be increasing among HLS in the same direction of *comme* in Montreal French. Furthermore, it is also possible that the use of *como* as a punctator in the Spanish of HLS may be due to transfer from the use of *like* as punctator in English, as Sankoff et al. (1997:209) propose for the development of punctator *comme* in Montreal

French. Sankoff et al. (1997), however, do not differentiate among registers or levels of formality and, therefore, we do not know if bilingual Montreal speakers vary their use of punctor *comme* depending on the type of register. The data analyzed in the present study provides evidence that HLS use *como* as a punctor differently across registers. As we can see in the results illustrated in Figure 1, the use of *como* as a punctor decreases as the formality of the situation increases. This is an interesting finding that suggests HLS's awareness of the features that characterize different registers and their ability to use discourse particles differently depending on the requirements of the situation.

Finally, the results confirm the hypothesis that approximative *como* occurs more frequently in more informal registers. The results show that *como* with an approximative meaning is more frequent in the conversations (31.8%), than in the interviews (14.2%) and presentations (21.4%). Overall, *como* as an approximative particle is frequently used by HLS.

## 7.2 Use of *so*, *así que* and *entonces* by HLS

One of the characteristics of the Spanish spoken by HLS in the U.S. is the incorporation of single-word loanwords from English produced with Spanish morphology and pronunciation (Silva-Corvalán 1994). *So*, from English, is commonly inserted in spoken Spanish discourse and adapted to Spanish phonology (pronounced [so], without gliding) (Silva-Corvalán 1994:171).

English *so* has two possible equivalents in Spanish: *así que* 'so' and *entonces* 'so/then'. All three forms (*so* and Spanish *así que* and *entonces*) occur in the data analyzed in this paper. Results showed that there is great variation in the use of these three discourse particles by the HLS participating in this study. For instance, 94% of the total occurrences of *así que* correspond to speaker W and 80% of the total production of *entonces* to speaker C. These results do not confirm the hypothesis that the greater attention paid to speech in formal registers, especially, in a formal classroom presentation in Spanish, will result in HLS' avoidance of non-standard features such as the use of *so*.

Several studies have investigated whether *so* is replacing the Spanish forms *así que* or *entonces*. For example, Aaron (2004) examines the use of *so* and *entonces* in New Mexican Spanish. Aaron's study shows that both perform the same discourse functions with the same relative frequency and she concludes that there is no evidence of specialization. On the other hand, Silva-Corvalán (1994) observes the frequent use of *so* in Los Angeles Spanish and mentions that it is a loan that replaces the Spanish conjunction *así que* (p. 171). In my study, the results of the use of *so*, *así que* or *entonces* by HLS show that there is no variation across registers and it appears that the choice of connector depends mainly on the speaker's preference.

A possible explanation for the variation in HLS' use of *so*, *así que* and *entonces* may be related to the amount of daily use of Spanish. Some researchers have observed that the speakers who more frequently insert English function words like *so* into Spanish speak primarily English (Lipski 1994, 2004). For example, Lipski (2004:15) says

that Spanish bilingual speakers who employ *so* insertion normally spend more time each day speaking English than Spanish. Although the speakers in the present study completed a language background questionnaire to make sure that all participants had similar patterns of use of Spanish, it is nevertheless possible that some of the HLS speak Spanish somewhat more frequently on a daily basis than others.

### 7.3 Use of punctors by HLS

Many studies have pointed out the correlation between punctors or fillers and informal oral production (e.g.: Cortés 1998; Valdés & Geoffrion-Vinci 1998; Martín Zorraquino 1998). It was hypothesized that punctors would be less frequent in presentations, due to the characteristics of this register. The results confirm this hypothesis since HLS do not use punctors in the presentations (Figure 3).

However, there is no significant difference between the total production of punctors in the conversation and in the interview. Of the seven punctors analyzed in this study, *no sé* 'I don't know' is by far the preferred punctor with a total of 65.4%. However, there are important individual differences in the use of English-origin punctors. Most of the occurrences of the English punctors were produced by speaker W (91%). Speaker L is responsible for just one token of *I don't know* in the conversation and speaker D used *I mean* twice in the interview. The Spanish punctors *sabes* 'you know' and *o sea* 'I mean' are evenly used across speakers in the conversation and interview situations, whereas *este* 'uhm' only occurs in the conversations.

These results do not totally coincide with Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci's (1998) study of the oral production of HLS in academic settings (university class presentations). The authors report that HLS use fillers, which they call 'disfluency markers' (p. 479), in class presentations. In particular, the speakers of Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci's study produce *este* quite frequently, whereas *este* in the data analyzed here only occurs in the conversations. Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998) analyze data from class presentations only. The difference between their study and the present paper is likely related to differences in the data analyzed. When Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998) report on the use of punctors, they include autobiographical presentations of the speakers, in which they talk about their background and interests (p. 479). This type of text is more likely to include punctors than the presentations in my data in which no personal information is included.

The data presented here shows that HLS use English punctors *you know*, *I don't know* and *I mean* in Spanish. The insertion of English punctors in bilingual varieties in contact with English is well-established and many studies have observed this feature (Lipski 1994; Sankoff et al. 1997; Silva-Corvalán 1994). For example, Sankoff et al.'s (1997) study of Montreal French also observes the production of English-origin *you know* in French discourse, as illustrated in (14) (Sankoff et al. 1997: 199):

- (14) *C'est comme, you know on était des jeunes, on avait dix onze ans.*  
'It's like, *you know* we were young, we were about ten, eleven years old'.

However, not many studies on bilingual varieties have analyzed punctator variation across situations of use or degrees of formality (for example, Sankoff et al. 1997 study interviews; Valdés & Geoffrion-Vinci 1998 focus on presentations), and therefore we cannot compare the results reported in the present paper to the use of punctors in different registers by other HLS. In any case, the results of this paper show that speakers do not use punctors in the presentations, as it was predicted. This may suggest the awareness of HLS of the differences between formal academic speech and other registers.

## 8. Conclusions

The goal of this paper has been to explore HLS' use of discourse particles in different situations in order to find out whether register and style differences are reflected in the speech of speakers' non-dominant language. Overall, the results of the use of the discourse particles analyzed across different registers in this study suggest that HLS vary their production of certain particles according to the situation.

First, HLS produce uses of *como* 'like' as quotative and punctator more frequently in informal registers. These non-canonical uses are an innovation of the variety spoken by HLS, which has not been illustrated in the Spanish literature. The possibility of transfer from the quotative and punctator functions of English *like* is suggested. Second, HLS do not produce punctors in the presentations, which agrees with the view that the presentation is recognized as a more formal register with features different from casual spoken registers. This evidence suggests that HLS are able to modify their Spanish depending on the exigencies of the register even when their linguistic resources may be more limited in their non-dominant language. The results also indicate that HLS differ in the use of some discourse particles. On the one hand, *so*, *así que* 'so' and *entonces* 'so/then' did not vary across registers but rather across speakers and, on the other hand, there is also great variation in the use of punctors. In this case, the hypothesis that English punctors would be more frequent in conversations is not confirmed either since variation in this feature seems to depend on individual speakers' use rather than register requirements.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that the data analyzed here may be insufficient to arrive at wide generalizations. Be that as it may, the results presented in this paper suggest that speakers are aware of register and style differences in their non-dominant language and this is reflected in the variation of the use of some discourse particles. Nevertheless, more work remains to be done on the register and style differentiation of heritage languages. As Biber (1995) has pointed out, distinctive indicators of register are rare and the different distribution of the same linguistic feature can distinguish among registers. Therefore, future studies on HLS need to examine a greater variety of linguistic features as well as a wider range of registers.

## References

- Aaron, J. E. 2004. 'So respetamos un tradición del uno al otro'. *So* and *entonces* in New Mexican bilingual discourse. *Spanish in Context* 1: 161–179.
- Bell, A. 1984. Language style as audience design. *Language in Society* 13(2): 145–204.
- Biber, D. 1995. *Dimensions of Registers Variation: A Cross-linguistic Comparison*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Blyth Jr., C., Recktenwals, S. & Wang, J. 1990. I'm like, 'say what?!' A new quotative in American oral narrative. *American Speech* 65(3): 215–27.
- Bosque, I. & Demonte, V. (eds.). 1999. *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Cortés Rodríguez, L. 1998. Marcadores del discurso y análisis cuantitativo. In *Los Marcadores del Discurso: Teoría y Análisis*, M. A. Martín Zorraquino & E. Montolío Durán (eds.), 142–160. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Dressler, W. U. 1982. Acceleration, retardation, and reversal in language decay? In *Language Spread*, R. L. Cooper (ed.), 321–336. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press.
- Dressler, W. U. 1991. The sociolinguistic and patholinguistic attrition of Breton phonology, morphology, and morphophonology. In *First Language Attrition*, H. W. Seliger & R. M. Vago (eds.), 99–112. Cambridge: CUP.
- Eckert, P. & Rickford, J. (eds.). 2001. *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Ferrara, K. & Bell, B. 1995. Sociolinguistic variation and discourse function of constructed dialogue introducers: The case of *be + like*. *American Speech* 70(3): 265–290.
- Finegan, E. & Biber, D. 1994. Register and social dialect variation: An integrated approach. In *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, D. Biber & E. Finegan (eds.), 315–47. Oxford: OUP.
- Finegan, E. 2001. Register variation and social dialect variation: The register axiom. In *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, P. Eckert & J.R. Rickford (eds.), 235–268. Cambridge: CUP.
- Finegan, E. 2004. American English and its distinctiveness. In *Language in the USA: Themes for the Twenty-first Century*, E. Finegan & J.R. Rickford, 18–38. Cambridge: CUP.
- Lipski, J. M. 1994. *So* in bilingual Spanish: from code-switching to borrowing. Unpublished paper presented at the XV Symposium on Spanish and Portuguese Bilingualism (November), Rutgers University, New Brunswick NJ.
- Lipski, J. M. 2004. Code-switching or borrowing?: No sé *so* no puedo decir, *you know*. Paper presented at the WSS2 (April), SUNY Albany.
- Martín Zorraquino, M. A. & Montolío, E. (eds.). 1998. *Marcadores del Discurso: Teoría y Análisis*. Madrid: Arco-Libros.
- Martín Zorraquino, M. A. & Portolés Lázaro, J. 1999. Los marcadores del discurso. In *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), 4051–4213. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Moreno Ayora, A. 1991. *Sintaxis y Semántica de Como*. Málaga: Librería Ágora.
- Romaine, S. & Lange, D. 1991. The use of *like* as a marker of reported speech and thought: A case of grammaticalization in process. *American Speech* 66(3): 227–79.
- Sankoff, G. et al. 1997. Variation in the use of discourse particles in a language contact situation. *Language Variation and Change* 9: 191–217.
- Santos Río, L. 2003. *Diccionario de Partículas*. Salamanca: Luso-Española de Ediciones.
- Schourup, L. C. 1985. *Common Discourse Particles in English Conversations: 'Like', 'Well', 'Y'know'*. New York NY: Garland.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1994. *Language Contact and Change*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Torres, L. 2002. Bilingual discourse particles in Puerto Rican Spanish. *Language in Society* 31: 65–83.

- Valdés, G. 1995. The teaching of minority languages as academic subjects: Pedagogical and theoretical challenges. *The Modern Language Journal* 76: 301–328.
- Valdés, G. & Geoffrion-Vinci, M. 1998. Chicano Spanish: The problem of the ‘underdeveloped’ code in bilingual repertoires. *The Modern Language Journal* 82(4): 473–501.
- Vincent, D. & Sankoff, D. 1992. Punctors: A pragmatic variable. *Language Variation and Change* 4: 205–216.
- Wilson, K. G. 1993. *The Columbia Guide to Standard American English*. New York NY: Columbia University Press.





## “Baby I’m sorry, te juro, I’m sorry”

### Subjetivización versus objetivización mediante el cambio de código inglés/español en la letra de una canción de bachata actual

Linda Ohlson

Universidad de Gotemburgo

Focusing on code switching in the Spanish-English lyrics of *bachata* songs, we find that speakers/singers use code switching stylistically to achieve the effect of subjectification. According to Bürki (2003:91), subjectification, in contrast to objectification, occurs when speakers achieve a degree of increased or decreased emotional involvement by switching from one language to another. In other words, a degree of identification with or distance from may be indexed and brought about by an expressive code switch. These types of switches are investigated here.

#### 1. Introducción

El cambio de código (de aquí en adelante CdC) en las letras de canciones es la rama más reciente de los estudios sobre el empleo de dos o más lenguas en un solo episodio comunicativo. Tanto los aspectos estructurales como funcionales del CdC en la lengua hablada han sido analizados por una gran cantidad de lingüistas desde los años 60.<sup>1</sup> El uso de diferentes idiomas en los textos escritos es un campo mucho menos trabajado, aunque su estudio está aumentando.<sup>2</sup> Al referirse al CdC en las letras musicales, Picone (2002:193) señala que, cuando se trata de arte y diversión, la canción contemporánea ocupa un lugar central en la creación de la cultura globalizada. El autor plantea que la presencia del CdC en la música internacional popular y en World Music es una

---

1. Algunos de los estudios más importantes son (Gumperz 1982; Heller 1988; Jacobson 1998, 2001; Lipski 1985, 2004; McClure 1981; Milroy et al. 1995; Muysken 2000; Myers-Scotton 1992, 1993, 2001; Otheguy 1989; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980, 1988; Sánchez 1983; Silva Corvalán 1994; Valdés-Fallis 1976b; Zentella 1982, 1997).

2. Cf. por ejemplo (Callahan 2002, 2004; Gross 2000; Keller 1976; León Jiménez 2003; Lipski 1982; Mezei 1998; Montes-Alcalá 2001; Schendl 1996, 1997; Valdés-Fallis 1976a).

dinámica nueva y audaz, digna de ser investigada en profundidad. Sin embargo, los estudios del CdC en este ámbito son muy escasos.

El CdC en la literatura se basa en un deseo consciente de yuxtaponer las lenguas para obtener algún tipo de efecto especial que, al suponer, no se puede conseguir expresando lo mismo en un solo código (Lipski 1985:73). Sánchez (1983:141) apunta que intentos anteriores de establecer una relación entre la lengua empleada y el tema de conversación han fracasado. Podemos mencionar el ejemplo de los chicanos bilingües, para quienes todos los temas de conversación, estén relacionados con la experiencia chicana o no, se presentan en los dos idiomas. Sánchez (1983:141) insiste en que la razón del cambio de lenguas yace tanto en el *efecto* que el hablante desea producir como la *función* que cumple el cambio en el acto de habla. Zentella (1997:92) declara que los hablantes bilingües de El Barrio (East Harlem en Nueva York) no cambian de lenguas solo porque sea este el modo de hablar de la comunidad a la que pertenecen, sino porque conocen cómo usar el CdC para *finés comunicativos especiales*. Según Gumperz (1982:90), ‘el CdC ... es un fenómeno pragmático y tal vez estilístico, en el que secuencias verbales son reunidas en unidades contrastables.’<sup>3</sup>

A nuestro entender, el CdC, tanto en la lengua hablada y escrita como en letras de las canciones, cumple ciertas funciones pragmáticas que pueden identificarse tras diversos análisis detallados. Al tiempo que el CdC ejerce estas funciones, su empleo en el texto produce efectos estilísticos que no pueden conseguirse mediante el uso de una sola lengua. El propósito del presente estudio es analizar las funciones pragmáticas que cumple el CdC y los efectos estilísticos que éste crea en las letras, enfocando la función de la subjetivización versus la objetivización.

## 2. El cambio de código en letras de canciones

Hasta donde hemos llegado a conocer a fecha del presente escrito, esto es, junio de 2005, solo se han realizado cuatro artículos que se centran en el CdC acaecido en textos musicales. A continuación presentamos brevemente dichos estudios.

Bentahila y Davies (2002) indican dos formas obvias en las que las letras de canciones se contrastan con la lengua hablada. Esta última se caracteriza, en primer lugar, por la espontaneidad con la que se presenta, mientras que las letras están constituidas por discursos premeditados, preparados y revisados. El participante en una conversación cambia de código de forma espontánea y posiblemente inconsciente, mientras que para el autor de las letras, la alternancia de idiomas es la herramienta con la que consigue obtener algún tipo de efecto especial. En segundo lugar, la lengua hablada tiene un carácter íntimo ya que normalmente se dirige exclusivamente a los participantes de la conversación. Las letras de una canción, en cambio, están compuestas para

---

3. La traducción es nuestra. El original dice: ‘Switching ... is a pragmatic or perhaps stylistic phenomenon in which verbal sequences are chunked into contrastable units.’

un público más amplio y desconocido, que asiste a un concierto en vivo o escucha las canciones directamente desde el disco. Tal como apuntan Bentahila et al., el hablante, en general, solo se vale del CdC en su discurso cuando sabe que todos los participantes de la conversación son bilingües. Sin embargo, en el caso del CdC en letras musicales, el público puede estar constituido asimismo de hablantes monolingües.

Picone, (2002) cuyo foco de interés ha sido el lenguaje hablado en la Louisiana francoparlante, se centra en el estudio del CdC en letras de canciones, entendiendo la alternancia de lenguas como una fuerza elocutiva en relación con la construcción de una identidad étnica. Ofrece ejemplos del CdC inglés/español e inglés/francés/imitación de criollo louisiano.

El artículo de Sarkar et al. (2005) constituye el inicio de un proyecto más amplio referente al estudio del CdC en las letras del rap de Montreal. Aquí los autores se limitan a dar ejemplos de algunas instancias del CdC y a identificar sus funciones en el nivel léxico-oracional, es decir, en los cambios de lexemas sencillos o expresiones fijas. Reconocen que es el cambio en la lengua hablada el que más interés despierta en los lingüistas, pero argumentan que el estudio de la alternancia premeditada y artística en la poesía o la música puede asimismo brindar una mayor comprensión de la función del cambio en la identidad lingüística y cultural de la sociedad bilingüe o multilingüe.

Stolen (1992) estudia el género de canciones ocasionales como un medio de comunicación escrito exclusivo, a través del cual un compositor bilingüe puede expresar su identidad social y *etnocultural*. En su corpus se trata el CdC inglés/danés en las letras compuestas por la secretaria de una asociación americana-danesa en Seattle. Stolen identifica varias funciones pragmáticas y estilísticas de la alternancia en dichas letras, entre ellas la variación estilística, la creación de una atmósfera de humor, el juego con el lenguaje, la elaboración de la métrica y la rima y la expresión de la experiencia étnica compartida.

Existen también algunos estudios cuyo foco central no son las funciones o los efectos del CdC en textos cantados pero que, de una manera u otra se acercan al tema. Cepeda (2000) analiza, entre otros temas, cómo el español, siendo el marcador principal de la identidad latina en los EE.UU., es representado en las letras de la música popular por los *no latinos* y los que se identifican como tales, en relación con la gran incidencia de lo *latino* en las nuevas tendencias de la moda en la industria actual. Muysken (1990) estudia cientos de letras con CdC español/quechua y constata que, debido a las funciones poéticas y expresivas de la lengua en las canciones, se pueden encontrar en ellas casos más extremos de CdC que en la lengua hablada. Sin embargo, el centro de su estudio no son las funciones del CdC en las letras, sino la coherencia gramatical. Greene y Henderson (2000) examinan cómo la manera de expresar anhelo y deseo en la música actual del Oeste influye en la música de Nepal. Comentan brevemente cómo el uso del inglés en las letras nepaleses crea una sensación de distancia, lo cual hace que se recurra al exotismo, al amor y al deseo. Señalan igualmente que el uso del CdC con inglés sirve para llamar la atención del oyente. Larkey (2000) estudia el empleo del alemán o el inglés en la música popular alemana y menciona brevemente el CdC. El autor afirma que éste produce, en las letras, el efecto de in-

clusión o exclusión de un grupo particular en el público. Finalmente, Mitchell (2000) se concentra en la elección de un idioma u otro, y discute brevemente el uso de una combinación del inglés, francés y una lengua senegalesa para abrir la música hacia un público más amplio.

Como podemos constatar, en el campo del CdC en las letras de canciones queda mucho por hacer. Ninguno de estos estudios presenta un análisis verso a verso de las funciones pragmáticas y de los efectos estilísticos de los CdC en una letra de la manera en la que nos proponemos hacer aquí.

### 3. Corpus – el grupo bachatero *Aventura*

El conjunto musical *Aventura* está formado por cuatro hombres nacidos entre los años 1979–1982, que crecieron en el condado del Bronx en Nueva York. Dos de los integrantes del grupo nacieron en EE.UU. de padres dominicanos, otro es de padre dominicano y madre puertorriqueña, y el cuarto llegó a EE.UU. procedente de la República Dominicana a los catorce años.<sup>4</sup> Tal como expresa el título de su segundo disco, *We Broke the Rules* ‘Rompimos las reglas’, producen una música totalmente original que rompe con el estilo de la bachata clásica. No sólo la música es innovadora, sino que también el contenido de las letras se aleja de la temática clásica bachatera de la amargura y el desprecio (Cf. Pacini Hernandez 1995). Asimismo, el CdC español/inglés es una característica innovadora para el ámbito de este estilo musical, ya que, hasta donde llegan nuestros conocimientos, *Aventura* es el único grupo bachatero que no canta exclusivamente en español. Entre las 48 canciones que constituyen la producción de los primeros cuatro discos del grupo, hemos elegido para el presente estudio la letra de la canción titulada *I’m Sorry* del disco *Love & Hate* (2003), debido a que es una de las pocas que contiene una cantidad equilibrada de inglés y español.

### 4. Marco teórico

El presente estudio forma parte de un proyecto de tesis doctoral en la que se analizan las funciones pragmáticas y los efectos estilísticos del CdC en diez letras de canciones de diferentes artistas.<sup>5</sup> Para realizar el análisis partiremos de las funciones del CdC encontradas en los siguientes estudios:

---

4. <http://www.muevamueva.com/comunidad/dominicana/bachateros/grupo/aventura>. (11/09/2003).

5. La defensa de la tesis está fechada para el 26 de mayo del 2007 en la Universidad de Gotemburgo (Göteborg University), Suecia. El título de la tesis es “‘Soy el brother de los lenguas’ – El cambio de código en la música popular contemporánea de los hispanos en los Estados Unidos”.

- Discurso hablado: Appel y Muysken (1987), Fantini (1978), Gumperz (1982), Sánchez (1983), Valdés-Fallis (1976b) y Zentella (1982, 1997).
- Discurso escrito: Bürki (2003), Callahan (2004), Keller (1997), Montes-Alcalá (2000), Pfaff y Chávez (1986) y Valdés-Fallis (1976a, 1977).
- Discurso cantado: Bentahila et al. (2002), Picone (2002), Sarkar et al. (2005) y Stolen (1992).

El objetivo de nuestra tesis es averiguar si las funciones del CdC identificadas en estos estudios se hallan igualmente en las letras que nos proponemos analizar. Asimismo, pretendemos mostrar la existencia de otras funciones de la alternancia de lenguas en las letras, no encontradas en los estudios previos. Por cuestiones de espacio no es posible discutir todas las funciones y efectos del CdC que hallamos en la letra que seleccionamos para la presente presentación. Por tanto, aquí nos limitaremos a la discusión acerca de la función que resulta más característica para el uso de las dos lenguas en la letra: la *subjetivización* versus la *objetivización*.

En la función de la subjetivización versus la objetivización, el cambio entre lenguas demarca “aspectos subjetivos de otros más bien objetivos y [añade] de esta manera un matiz emocional mediante la lengua. En otras palabras, las lenguas sirven de herramienta para expresar identificación o distanciamiento” (Bürki 2003:91). Asimismo, Gumperz (1982:80) indica que el contraste entre los dos idiomas puede surgir en aspectos tales como “habla sobre acciones o habla como acción, *el nivel de participación en el enunciado / distancia del mismo por el hablante*, si el enunciado refleja una opinión o un conocimiento, si el enunciado se refiere a un instante específico o si posee la autoridad de hecho generalmente conocido.”<sup>6</sup> Habitualmente, para hablantes de primera o segunda generación de inmigrantes, la lengua del país de origen (en este caso el español) encarna el código *de nosotros* (*we-code*), que funcionaría como el código de la subjetivización, mientras que la lengua de la sociedad en la que viven (en nuestro caso el inglés) ejerce el papel del código *de ellos* (*they-code*) que sirve para expresar distanciamiento. Tal como indica Keller (1997:291), la dicotomía clásica conlleva el uso del código *de nosotros* para enamorarse, enfadarse, divertirse y para la vida familiar etc. y el *de ellos* para el comercio, la enseñanza y las responsabilidades públicas en general.

## 5. Subjetivización versus objetivización en la letra de una bachata actual

Si bien el empleo de las dos lenguas en la letra de la canción *I’m Sorry* (*Aventura, Love & Hate* 2003), no constituye un esquema regular, la disposición es tal que, a pesar de la utilización del inglés en el título y en el diálogo introductorio, resulta muy difícil,

---

6. La traducción y el énfasis son nuestros. El original dice: ‘*the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact.*’

o incluso imposible, designar una lengua como la predominante. Antes del comienzo de la letra de la canción, y acompañado del sonido de una guitarra, se puede escuchar un diálogo hablado entre un hombre y una mujer. (Por cuestiones de espacio no lo presentamos aquí.) Por las frases *Anthony get your hands off me* ‘Anthony no me toques’ y *Celia will you please hold on* ‘Celia por favor espera’, enunciadas por la fémina y el varón respectivamente, se dan a conocer los nombres de los personajes. El diálogo se emite íntegramente en inglés y presenta la escena de la canción: Anthony le ha sido infiel a Celia, lo cual hace que ella se muestre enfadada y/o decepcionada con él. Él le pide que deje de comportarse de esa forma tan dolida, pero Celia no quiere hacerle caso y responde diciendo que no la toque y que se vaya. Al final de la conversación, ella lo desafía preguntándole qué es lo que tiene que decir en su defensa: *What you’ve got to say, what?* y Anthony le comienza a cantar.

- (1) *I know I played you I know I messed up*
- (2) *That was retarded* es la verdad
- (3) Fallé mi cielo pero te quiero
- (4) Perdóname *please take me back*
- (5) *Every man on this planet at least had to screw up once*
- (6) \*JC\* Pero eso no indica que me deberías dejar
- (7) *And the thought of you leaving my life makes me wanna cry*
- (8) \*JC\* Merezco otra oportunidad
- (9) \*JC\* *Please*
- (10) Si no me perdonas es mejor morir
- (11) *y I am only human and I feel like shit*
- (12) *And even though I messed around*
- (13) \*Coro\* yo te amo
- (14) No entiendo por qué dicen cuando uno es infiel
- (15) y que el hombre no quiere a su mujer
- (16) *I wasn’t faithful that makes me a dog*
- (17) \*Coro\* *But I still love you*
- (18) *Baby I’m sorry* te juro *I’m sorry*
- (19) Mírame a los ojos \*Coro\* te amo
- (20) *Your friend is just hatin[g] she knows that I love you*
- (21) *She probably just wants me* \*Coro\* Te amo

\*Hablado\*

- (22) *Yeah, I even won’t say who it is*
- (23) *You know*
- (24) *Forget those moments it’s you I’m lovin[g]*
- (25) *A new beginning should come for us*

- (26) Sé que fui infiel pero también  
 (27) fue la primera y última vez  
 (28) No soy loco yo sé lo que hice fue una traición  
 (29) \*JC\* Pensemos en la reconciliación  
 (30) *She means nothing to me* tú mandas en mi corazón  
 (31) \*JC\* Yo no vuelvo a jugar con este amor  
 (32) \*JC\* *Please* mami  
 (33) *You are my wifey and I am your man*  
 (34) *Let’s just start all over* piénsalo bien  
 (35) Empecemos de nuevo este amor si en verdad me amas  
 (36) Pero si tú te vas *don’t say good bye*  
 (37) *You are part of me and I don’t want to die*  
 (38) Pensando bien dos veces no puedo morir  
 (39) \*Coro\* Sin ti ya estoy muerto

\*Hablado\*

- (40) *Mikey, don’t hurt [th]em*  
 (41) *Let me find out*  
 (42) *Take me back*<sup>7</sup>

Comenzamos dirigiendo nuestra atención a los dos primeros versos (1–2). En ellos podemos apreciar que a través del inglés el personaje expresa la situación en la que se encuentra, esto es, la realidad dura de haberle fallado a su novia y de haber provocado el malestar de ésta. El objetivo del hablante (Anthony) es conseguir que su error sea perdonado y para ello se distancia de la culpa cometida valiéndose del código que indica la objetivización: *played you* ‘te engañé’, *messed up* ‘me equivoqué’, *That was retarded* ‘Eso fue estúpido’. La parte que aparece en español en el verso (2) constituye una ruptura del marco narrativo en forma de una *valoración* o *evaluación* (Cf. Bürki 2003:91) del enunciado en inglés, esto es, Anthony abandona el relato sobre el error que ha cometido, para hacer una evaluación del mismo. Al valerse del código de la subjetivización para evaluar su locución, manifiesta un nivel alto de compromiso con el enunciado, que engloba un reconocimiento de su desliz. En los versos (3–4), podemos observar el uso del español para exponer la subjetivización, para introducir el lenguaje amoroso que expresa los sentimientos de Anthony por Celia: *mi cielo pero te quiero* y manifestar el deseo y la meta del protagonista: que Celia lo perdone y regrese con él: *perdóname*. El enunciado en inglés en el verso (4) constituye una *traducción no exacta* de la locución precedente y sirve para reforzar la súplica. En estudios del CdC en la lengua hablada, figura frecuentemente el uso de la alternancia de lenguas para reforzar el enunciado. Dicho uso de las dos lenguas funciona como una variante de las estrate-

7. La transcripción de la letra es nuestra.



gias que emplea el hablante monolingüe para reforzar el enunciado, como hablar en voz más alta o repetir el enunciado de forma idéntica o ligeramente modificada (Cf. Fantini 1978: 290, 297).

El comienzo de la segunda estrofa (verso 5) está marcado por la introducción del resto de los instrumentos: el bongó, el bajo, la güira metálica y los sintetizadores. En el verso (5) el inglés representa nuevamente la objetivización. En este punto, Anthony se vale de esta lengua para hablar sobre la acción en palabras generales, presentándose el enunciado casi como una excusa: “todos los hombres meten la pata alguna vez, yo no soy el único, todos lo hacen y es algo que tiene que pasar.” Además, *screw up* posee la doble interpretación de ‘equivocarse’ o ‘desviarse’ en el sentido casi pasivo y de ‘errar de forma imperdonable’ de una manera más activa. El enunciado equivalente en español, ‘meter la pata’, carece de esta ambigüedad, por lo que al expresar el error cometido en este idioma, el actor se vería obligado a admitirlo. El verso (6) constituye una rogativa indirecta dirigida a la interlocutora. Dicha plegaria se ve reforzada por el traslado al español, el código de la subjetivización que implora directamente a los sentimientos y la compasión de la mujer. Asimismo, la variación del cantante refuerza igualmente la rogativa formulada. \*JC\* indica que esta parte es recitada por Juan Carlos de León, un artista invitado en esta composición. Nosotros entendemos que mediante un reemplazo de la voz *no marcada*, es decir, la del cantante principal (Anthony Santos), que hasta este momento ha interpretado toda la letra, a una voz diferente, puede crearse igualmente el efecto de refuerzo o de *énfasis* de lo que se está expresando. El timbre de JC dista mucho del de Anthony Santos, por lo que es inevitable percibir que es otra persona la que canta. A continuación se repite la misma estructura: la lengua inglesa expresa la situación real, esto es la objetivización (7), y la española la subjetivización, con una rogativa indirecta (8), ‘regresa conmigo’, reforzada por la voz de un intérprete diferente. En cuanto a los versos (6 y 8), recitados por JC en español, e intercalados con el inglés de los versos (5 y 7) cantados por Anthony Santos, se puede identificar un contraste entre afirmaciones y enunciados que muestran una clara intención de influir sobre el comportamiento de la interlocutora mediante el español, el código de la subjetivización.

En la tercera estrofa (10–17) se sigue aplicando el mismo patrón. El español presenta la subjetivización con un lenguaje amoroso que intenta contribuir a la consecución de la meta de Anthony (10), es decir, que su amada regrese. El inglés conlleva la objetivización expresando la situación real (11–12), valiéndose de un lenguaje *fuerte*, *shit* ‘mierda’, mientras que la hispana es empleada para enunciar los sentimientos de Anthony, que se refuerzan por el cambio de lengua y por la participación del coro (13). Además, la voz *shit* es un *expletivo* (Cf. Zentella 1997: 97) que, a nuestro parecer, gozaría de una mayor fuerza, es decir, sería más antiestético, si su uso hubiera acaecido en español. Dicho de otra manera, *shit* es un modismo tan frecuente, usado en tantos contextos, que en ciertas situaciones lingüísticas, como en el lenguaje informal de los jóvenes, ha perdido su fuerza expresiva y su sentido de palabra malsonante. La voz puede emplearse para expresar casi cualquier cosa, tanto buena como mala. Así, por ejemplo, la frase *the shit* tiene el significado de ‘great’, y junto con *man* ‘hombre’, *shit*

puede expresar simpatía o sorpresa.<sup>8</sup> La expresión no tiene un equivalente en español. La palabra *mierda* sería mucho más fuerte y la frase *me siento muy mal, muy deprimido* tampoco convocaría el mismo significado.

En toda la canción hay nueve instancias cantadas por el coro. Tres de ellas constituyen partes de las estrofas (13, 17 y 39) y el resto pertenece al estribillo, que se repite tres veces (18–21). De estas nueve instancias, solamente una está en inglés (17). Todas transmiten el mismo mensaje, la suma del argumento básico de Anthony, ‘te amo.’ El empleo del español en ocho de las nueve instancias cantadas por el coro incrementa la relevancia de esta lengua en la letra y la sitúa a ras del inglés, que tiene un rol importante, ya que se utiliza, como ya se ha expuesto, en el título y en el diálogo introductorio.

Otro dato interesante es la cuestión de quiénes son los que dicen *cuando uno es infiel y que el hombre no quiere a su mujer* (14–15). Si la segunda parte del verso (14) y el verso (15) constituyen una *cita* (Cf. Bürki 2003:90) en la lengua original, el enunciado pertenecería a la comunidad hispana, quizás los padres y amigos de Celia. En tal caso, el cambio al inglés en los versos que siguen (16–17) marcaría un distanciamiento hacia esta comunidad que juzga a Anthony. El personaje principal admite que su infidelidad le hace una mala persona, pero insiste en que aun así ama a su novia.

Identificamos nuevamente el empleo del código de la objetivización para la referencia al desliz en el verso (16). El inglés produce otra palabra *fuerte*: *dog* ‘perro’. Al igual que *shit* en la estrofa anterior, la voz tabú *dog* posee connotaciones diferentes en los dos idiomas. Según el diccionario en inglés/sueco, Norstedts Ordbok (2000), en la jerga del inglés americano, el vocablo *dog* tiene, por un lado, el significado de ‘basura’ o ‘marrana’, (traducciones nuestras de las palabras suecas *skröp* y *subba*) es decir, de ‘una persona mala’, y por el otro lado, es un vocativo con un significado parecido a ‘hombre’ o ‘tipo’, (traducciones nuestras de las palabras suecas *karl*, *prick* y *gynnare*). Asimismo, según Smitherman (1994), *dog* es un pronombre que sirve para “dirigirse a alguien o saludar a alguien en general, pero ya no exclusivamente a un hombre.” El vocablo posee, igualmente, el significado de ‘hombre promiscuo que, según algunas mujeres *will fuck anythang* (‘follaría cualquier cosa’)’ (la traducción es nuestra). De la misma manera, en *The Rap Dictionary*, además de los significados de ‘persona fea’ u ‘hombre que no trata bien a las mujeres’, se sugieren los significados de ‘vocativo no ofensivo’ y ‘amigo’.<sup>9</sup> No obstante, entre sus muchas acepciones, *perro* denota la idea de ‘persona despreciable’ (DRAE), ya que al ser asignado a un individuo, siempre posee una connotación negativa. Y aquí, en el caso de (16) *that makes me a dog* ‘eso me hace un perro’, no cabe duda de que la frase implica una imagen negativa del hombre infiel. Sin embargo, ha de notarse que *dog*, con el significado de pronombre informal, se encuentra en varias ocasiones en las letras de *Aventura*. Con esto queremos hacer

8. La traducción es nuestra. <http://www.urbandictionary.com/>. (23/06/2005).

9. La traducción de los significados es nuestra. [http://www.rapdict.org/Main\\_Page](http://www.rapdict.org/Main_Page). (23/06/2005). Cf. también ([http://the\\_yz.tripod.com/dictionary](http://the_yz.tripod.com/dictionary)) y ([www.urbandictionary.com](http://www.urbandictionary.com)).

presente que la voz tabú *dog* pierde fuerza semántica al ser expresada en inglés y no en español, ya que *perro* es despectivo y connota siempre desprecio y, por lo que el uso del inglés en este punto produce un *efecto eufemístico*. Tal y como ha quedado indicado en el verso (17) tenemos la única instancia cantada por el coro en inglés. En este punto surge un cambio de roles en las lenguas, y por primera vez en la letra, los sentimientos de Anthony se manifiestan en el inglés. El empleo de esta lengua puede ejercer la función de *traducción / reiteración* (Cf. Callahan 2004:72) de la parte cantada por el coro al final de la estrofa anterior (13). De esta manera, el argumento básico de Anthony se refuerza no solo por la repetición (anteriormente ha aparecido en los versos 3 y 13) y por el cambio del inglés al español en los versos (11–13), sino también por la repetición del mismo enunciado en las dos lenguas. Además, el verso (17) está directamente relacionado con lo anterior, (16) *I wasn't faithful that makes me a dog* 'No fui fiel, eso me hace un perro', y al continuar en la misma lengua, el inglés sirve como un *marcador de transición* (Cf. Sánchez 1983:154) que permite al oyente seguir el razonamiento: 'fui infiel, pero todavía te amo'. Ahora bien, a nuestro modo de ver, la repetición de un mismo enunciado en una letra musical, primero en un idioma y después en otro, puede, además de reforzarlo, realizar una función *estilística de variación* (Cf. Stolen 1992:225–6). Una letra que repite la misma oración o frase muchas veces corre el riesgo de resultar poco elaborada o imaginativa. No es el caso de *I'm Sorry*, cuya letra posee una riqueza lingüística relativamente alta en el sentido de que hay muy poca repetición de frases u oraciones. Así, por ejemplo, podemos comparar el número de repeticiones del estribillo en esta canción (tres repeticiones) con las veces que aparece el estribillo repetido en la canción *La película*, del mismo disco (en total, veintitrés veces).

La siguiente estrofa (18–21) constituye el estribillo, que como acabamos de mencionar, se repite tres veces en la canción. El título de esta última aparece, como es de esperar, en esta parte. En (18) *te juro* cumple la función de *elaboración*, de manera semejante a *es la verdad* en el verso (2). En este punto, el empleo del código de la subjetivización refuerza el mensaje y marca un alto grado de compromiso por parte del hablante con su enunciado. Conforme a la estructura identificada, el papel del español es desarrollar la argumentación y la rogativa de Anthony y manifestar sus sentimientos (19 y 21). El inglés relata la situación real (20–21) cumpliendo su función de la objetivización. Conviene señalar que las referencias a *la otra*, o sea, a la persona con la que Anthony fue infiel, aparecen precisamente en este idioma (20–21). Recordemos que el objetivo de Anthony es que su error sea perdonado y, por consiguiente, se distancia de éste y del sujeto de aquella culpa, valiéndose del código que indica la objetivización. El uso del inglés para referirse a la otra mujer puede también cumplir una función de *creación de un personaje ficticio* (Cf. Picone 2002: 198ss. y Bürki 2003:82ss.). Es decir, aunque no se expresa explícitamente, el inglés puede indicar aquí que la otra mujer es angloparlante. En tal caso, es posible que el empleo de esta lengua para referirse a esa otra mujer se deba igualmente a un *cambio contextual* (Cf. Valdés-Fallis 1976b:58ss.). En otras palabras, es posible que el contexto de la otra mujer impulse el uso de la lengua relacionada con ella.

Después del estribillo se encuentra una parte hablada por Anthony Santos (22–23). Este enunciado se halla fuera del marco narrativo de la canción, y por consiguiente, apartado de la relación de nuestros personajes. Este tipo de discursos recitados es característico de la bachata. Tal y como testimonia Pacini Hernandez (1995:20), estas partes recitadas no forman parte de la estructura formal de las letras. Asimismo, permiten al cantante romper con los límites narrativos de la canción y manipular los conceptos de espacio y tiempo. Otra de las libertades que se toman los bachateros con las letras es, según esta misma autora, la creación de diálogos hablados entre personajes que juegan un papel dentro de las letras. En la presente letra podemos observar, siguiendo Pacini Hernandez, que de estos mini-dramas nace el tema de la canción (Cf. el comienzo del presente apartado).

La sexta estrofa (24–32) presenta un contraejemplo de la estructura del español como código de la subjetivización y el inglés como el de la objetivización. En este punto el inglés sirve para pronunciar la rogativa y la expresión de los sentimientos de Anthony. La elección de esta lengua en el verso (24) puede relacionarse con lo ajeno de la pareja, es decir, con los momentos en los que Anthony cometió el error o cuando Celia lo vio junto con la otra mujer. No obstante, el contraejemplo se refuerza por el uso de las dos lenguas en los siguientes versos (25–28). En esta ocasión, el hablante hace uso del español para referirse al error cometido y del inglés para implorarlo a su interlocutora. Esto sugiere que la estructura del español como código de la subjetivización y el inglés como código de la objetivización no es constante, lo cual demuestra que el uso de las dos lenguas en la letra se asemeja al lenguaje natural espontáneo de los bilingües en los EE.UU. Bailey (2002:4), evidencia que los dominicanos americanos (es decir, los inmigrantes de la segunda, o posteriores generaciones, de La República Dominicana), al igual que otras comunidades lingüísticas hispanas en los EE.UU., se valen de variedades de sus dos lenguas, utilizándolas en formas que comúnmente desmienten la dicotomía tradicional del código *de nosotros* / código *de ellos*. Podemos encontrar otra prueba de esta noción en el diálogo que da inicio a la letra. Como ya se ha indicado, éste constituye una discusión entre los dos personajes, en la que Celia está molesta y Anthony le está implorando. Es claramente una situación de enfado y de expresión de sentimientos fuertes, que debería realizarse en el código *de nosotros*, es decir, en español. Esto nos demuestra que para sacar a relucir sus emociones y llevar adelante su intento de convencer a la interlocutora de que lo perdone y que regrese con él, Anthony se sirve de ambos códigos ya que, como personaje bilingüe y bicultural, ninguno tiene un valor único de código *de nosotros*. No obstante, con los versos (29–32) regresamos a la estructura anteriormente indicada. El código de la subjetivización y la voz del cantante invitado funcionan como herramientas para reforzar la súplica en el verso (29), y el siguiente supone un ejemplo óptimo de dicho modelo; la referencia a la otra mujer se realiza a través del código del distanciamiento y la de Celia en el de la subjetivización. Nuevamente la argumentación del hablante se ve reforzada en el verso (31) por el español y la voz de JC, y en el verso siguiente, por el vocativo característico del español caribeño. Esta voz podría clasificarse como un *léxico relacionado con el género*

*musical* (Cf. Sarkar et al. 2005:10) ya que es muy común en las letras de la bachata tradicional.

En la penúltima estrofa hallamos un uso del inglés que difícilmente se traduce al español: la voz *wifey* hace mención a ‘una chica que significa mucho para una persona, es más que solo su chica/novia’ o ‘una mujer a la que se trata bien, se respeta y con la que una persona se siente bien, al tenerla como novia’.<sup>10</sup> El verso (34) y el comienzo del verso (35) forman parte de la argumentación de Anthony, igualmente expresada en los versos (4, 8, 25 y 29), en ambos idiomas. Como ha quedado expuesto, la estrategia de repetir enunciados con el mismo contenido en dos lenguas en vez de una, tiene una función estilística ya que evita la reiteración de formas idénticas. En el verso (35) constatamos un cambio de actitud por parte de Anthony. De haber sido un personaje arrepentido e implorante, el hablante pasa a poner a prueba el amor de Celia, ‘si en verdad me amas tienes que perdonarme’. Hay una clara *redimensión discursiva* (Cf. Zentella 1997:94–5), es un reto. Anthony quiere tantear la autenticidad o pureza de los sentimientos de su novia y parece natural que lo haga en el código de la subjetivización.

En la última estrofa, los versos (36–37) no concuerdan con el paradigma que hemos identificado. No obstante, puede notarse que el empleo del inglés *facilita la rima* (Cf. Sarkar et al. 2005:14 y Stolen 1992:222ss.) de *bye-die*. Los versos (38–39) están relacionados con la redimensión discursiva que identificamos en (35), es decir, en los versos (38–39), formulados en español, que constituyen una elaboración de la idea desarrollada en el verso (35), parece que el personaje principal suplica a la conciencia de Celia, ‘si tú me dejas me voy a morir.’ La novia cargaría con la muerte de Anthony, ya fuera real o emocional, sobre su conciencia. Esta imploración, o chantaje a la mujer, se ve igualmente intensificada por el código de la subjetivización y el coro en el verso (39).

El segundo enunciado recitado por Anthony Santos en inglés (40–41) precede a una parte instrumental. El cantante principal se dirige a Max (Mikey) Santos, el bajista del grupo, en inglés y también expresa un enunciado que viene a ser algo así como un motivo recurrente para el grupo, que se halla en una gran cantidad de sus letras: *Let me find out* ‘Déjame saber’. Conviene hacer hincapié en el hecho de que dicho motivo, que identifica al grupo y que además autentica la música usando esta característica de la bachata tradicional, aparece en inglés, por lo que el uso de las dos lenguas viene a reafirmar la identidad dominicana americana. Al igual que el primer enunciado hablado de la canción, éste no forma parte del marco narrativo de la misma, ni tampoco del mundo de nuestra pareja, y por lo tanto se formula en inglés.

A continuación aparecen en la canción dos repeticiones del estribillo y la letra termina con el *punto final* (Cf. Zentella 1997:94) en el verso (42) en forma de una última súplica susurrada en inglés. El uso del inglés como último enunciado concuerda con el empleo de este idioma tanto en el título, como en el diálogo inicial, en el primer verso de la letra, en las primeras palabras en el estribillo y en las partes habladas. Esta *expre-*

---

10. <http://www.urbandictionary.com/>. (23/06/2005).

*sión fija* (Cf. Valdés-Fallis 1976b:58ss.), muy frecuente en canciones de amor infeliz, relaciona, asimismo, la última expresión con la primera estrofa de la canción (4).

## 6. Discusión

A pesar de que hemos podido hallar varios ejemplos que contradicen a la interpretación del inglés como código de objetivización y del español como código de subjetivización, a nuestro entender, estos ejemplos no socavan esta estructura en el uso de los dos códigos, sino que simplemente indican que no existe una correspondencia siempre uniforme entre lengua y ámbito social. Como ha quedado dicho, este uso de los dos códigos para todos los ámbitos refleja el lenguaje de los dominicanos americanos según el estudio de Bailey (2002).

Una noción que inspira reflexión respecto a la objetivización y la subjetivización y en cuanto al inglés en relación con el español, son los enunciados en los que se pone de manifiesto de forma directa el amor de Anthony por Celia. Las únicas veces que el protagonista, a través de la voz del cantante principal, expresa un *I love you* ‘Te amo’, lo hace justamente en el código de la objetivización, es decir, en inglés. En primer lugar dice *Celia, you know I love you, stop acting like that* ‘Celia, sabes que te amo, deja de portarte así’ en el diálogo introductorio. Después aparece una expresión indirecta de amor en el verso (20) *she knows that I love you* ‘ella sabe que te amo’ y otra, igualmente indirecta en el (22) *Forget those moments it’s you I’m lovin[g]* ‘Olvídate de esos momentos, eres tú a quien amo’. Todos los demás enunciados que expresan el amor de Anthony son cantados por el coro y se emiten tanto en inglés como en español (13, 17, 19, 21), con la excepción de *pero te quiero* (3) que no constituye una expresión tan fuerte como *te amo*. ¿Qué significa esto? El hecho de que Anthony nunca exprese su amor en español a través de la voz principal, ¿significa que no hay un sentimiento totalmente sincero por parte de él o simplemente que, para esta pareja, el inglés tiene el mismo efecto que el español en la expresión de los sentimientos fuertes? Ya hemos constatado que la letra de esta canción rompe con la estructura tradicional del código *de ellos / código de nosotros*, en la que los hablantes se enfadan y se enamoran, etc. en el código *de nosotros*. Ahora bien, ¿qué implica el hecho de que el *But I still love you* ‘Pero todavía te amo’ (17) y todos los *Te amo* (13, 19, 21) sean cantados por el coro? ¿Cumple éste la función de énfasis del enunciado, o implica un distanciamiento al no ser expresado el sentimiento únicamente por el cantante principal, que encarna el protagonista? ¿El enunciado conlleva más o menos credibilidad o sinceridad cuando es expresado por el coro en lugar de por el cantante principal únicamente? No pretendemos responder estas preguntas ya que nos parece que sería entrar en el territorio de las meras especulaciones. No obstante, queremos dejar patente que el uso de las dos lenguas en esta canción brinda la posibilidad de realizar varias interpretaciones en función del rol que se le aplique a cada idioma. Si el inglés es designado como código de objetivización, la expresión del amor de Anthony, en solitario y junto con el coro, parece menos creíble y sincera. Si consideramos que los dos códigos implican el mismo

nivel de subjetivización, podría parecer entonces que carece de importancia cuál de las lenguas se usa para expresar el sentimiento.

Los versos (22) y (23) evidencian que los dominicanos americanos, al igual que otras comunidades lingüísticas hispanas en los EE.UU., se valen de algunas variedades del español y del inglés de maneras que comúnmente desmienten la dicotomía tradicional del código *de nosotros* / código *de ellos* (Bailey 2002:4). A pesar de que se puede argumentar que el verso (23) está también relacionado con lo ajeno, ya que se hace necesario el nuevo comienzo de la pareja por culpa de la infidelidad, es indiscutible que *it's you I'm lovin[g]* 'eres tú a quien amo' expresa los sentimientos de Anthony, y esta vez en el supuesto código de objetivización o distanciamiento. Tal como ha quedado expuesto, la dicotomía clásica implica el uso del código *de nosotros* para enamorarse, enfadarse, divertirse, para la familia etc. y el código *de ellos* para el comercio, la enseñanza y las responsabilidades públicas en general (Keller 1997:291). Sin embargo, podemos apreciar ejemplos que contradicen esta dicotomía clásica, no solo en los versos (22–23), sino en el diálogo que inicia la letra.

## 7. Resumen

La letra de *I'm Sorry* constituye una mixtura en la que el inglés y el español están muy integrados. Es decir, la argumentación se desarrolla en las dos lenguas de manera que la comprensión de ambas es imprescindible para poder captar el mensaje completo de la letra. Por un lado el inglés juega un rol importante dado que se encuentra en el título y en el diálogo introductorio. Por otro lado, el español predomina en las partes cantadas por el coro. El cambio entre los dos idiomas para crear un contraste entre la subjetivización, esto es, la expresión de sentimientos y argumentos rogativos, y la objetivización, lo ajeno, presenta una estructura que caracteriza a la letra entera. Asimismo, hemos hallado varios ejemplos contrarios a esta estructura que corroboran las características del lenguaje de los dominicanos americanos presentadas en el estudio de Bailey (2002). Hemos presentado igualmente ejemplos de las siguientes funciones del CdC: valoración o evaluación, traducción/reiteración, refuerzo/énfasis, expletivo, cita, eufemismo, marcador de transición, variación estilística, creación de personajes ficticios, cambio contextual, léxico relacionado con el género musical, redimensión discursiva, facilitar la rima y punto final.

Finalmente, cabe señalar que las funciones que presenta el CdC en la letra que hemos analizado en el presente estudio son muchas más que las que discutimos aquí. Además, ha de notarse que las diferentes funciones se superponen con frecuencia (Callahan 2004:70), y asimismo, una instancia del CdC puede cumplir varias funciones simultáneamente (Bürki 2002:78).

## References

- Appel, R. & Muysken, P. 1987. *Language contact and bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Bailey, B. H. 2002. *Language, race, and negotiation of identity: A study of Dominican Americans*. New York NY: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Bentahila, A. & Davies, E.E.. 2002. Language mixing in rai music: localisation or globalisation? *Language & Communication* 22(2): 187–207.
- Bürki, Y. 2003. La alternancia de códigos en la literatura neorrriqueña. *Revista internacional de lingüística iberoamericana (RILI)* 1(2): 79–96.
- Callahan, L. 2002. The Matrix Language Frame model and Spanish/English codeswitching in fiction. *Language & Communication* 22(1): 1–16.
- Callahan, L. 2004. *Spanish/English Codeswitching in a Written Corpus*. amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cepeda, M. E. 2000. Mucho loco for Ricky Martin; or the politics of chronology, crossover, and language within the Latin(o) music boom. *Popular Music and Society* 24(3): 55–71.
- Fantini, A. E. 1978. Bilingual behavior and social cues -Case studies of two bilingual children. En *Aspects of bilingualism*, M Paradis (ed.), 283–301. Columbia SC: Hornbeam Press.
- Greene, P. D. & Henderson, D. R. 2000. At the crossroads of languages, musics, and emotions in Kathmandu. *Popular Music and Society* 24(3): 95–116.
- Gross, S. 2000. Intentionality and the markedness model in literary codeswitching. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32: 1283–1303.
- Gumperz, J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Heller, M. 1988. *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jacobson, R. (ed.). 1998. *Codeswitching Worldwide*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jacobson, R. (ed.). 2001. *Codeswitching worldwide 2*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Keller, G. D. 1976. Toward a stylistic analysis of bilingual texts: From Ernest Hemingway to contemporary Boricua and Chicano literature. En *The analysis of HispanicTexts-Current Trends in Methodology*, M. A. Beck, L. E. Davis, J. Hernández, G. D. Keller & I. C. Tarán (eds.), 130–149. New York NY: Bilingual Press.
- Keller, G. D. 1997. The literary strategems available to the bilingual Chicano writer. En *Identification and analysis of Chicano literature*, F. Jiménez (ed.), 263–316. Tempe AZ: Bilingual Review Press.
- Larkey, E. 2000. Just for fun? Language choice in German popular music. *Popular Music and Society* 24(3): 1–20.
- León Jiménez, R. 2003. *Identidad multilingüe: El cambio de código como símbolo de la identidad en la literatura chicana*. Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja.
- Lipski, J. M. 1982. Spanish English language switching in speech and literature: Theories and models. *The Bilingual Review* 9(3): 191–212.
- Lipski, J. M. 1985. *Linguistic aspects of Spanish-English language switching*. Tempe AZ: Center for Latin American Studies.
- Lipski, J. M. 2004. *Code-Switching or Borrowing? No sé so no puedo decir, you know*. WSS2, SUNY, Albany.
- McClure, E. 1981. Formal and functional aspects of the codeswitched discourse of bilingual children. In *Latino language and communicative behavior*, R. P. Durán (ed.), 69–94. Norwood: ABLEX.
- Mezei, K. 1998. Bilingualism and translation in/of Michéle Lalonde’s speak white. *The Translator – Studies in Intercultural Communication* 4(2): 229–247.
- Milroy, L., & Muysken, P. 1995. *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge: CUP.



- Mitchell, T. 2000. Doin' damage in my native language: The use of 'resistance vernaculars' in hip hop in France, Italy, and Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Popular Music and Society* 24(3): 41–54.
- Montes-Alcalá, C. 2000. *Two Languages, one Pen. Socio-pragmatic functions in written Spanish-English code-switching*. Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services.
- Montes-Alcalá, C. 2001. Written codeswitching. Powerful bilingual images. En *Codeswitching Worldwide 2*, R. Jacobson (ed.), 193–219. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Muysken, P. 2000. *Bilingual Speech. A typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Muysken, P. 1990. Language contact and grammatical coherence: Spanish and Quechua in the Wayno of Southern Peru. *Papers for the Workshop on Constraints, Conditions and Models. European Science Foundation Network on Code-switching and Language Contact*, 159–188.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 1992. Comparing codeswitching and borrowing. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 13(1–2): 19–39.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 1993. *Duelling Languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 2001. The Matrix Language Frame Model: Developments and responses. In *Codeswitching worldwide 2*, R. Jacobson (ed.), 23–58. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Norstedts\_Ordbok. 2000. *Norstedts stora engelska svenska ordbok*, Norstedts Ordbok.
- Otheguy, R., García, O. & Fernández, M. 1989. Transferring, switching, and modeling in West New York Spanish: An intergenerational study. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 79: 41–52.
- Pacini Hernandez, D. 1995. *Bachata: A social history of a Dominican popular music*. Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press.
- Pfaff, C. 1979. Constraints on language mixing: Intrasentential code-switching and borrowing in Spanish/English. *Language – Journal of the linguistic society of America* 55(2): 291–318.
- Pfaff, C. & Chávez, L. 1986. Spanish/English code-Switching: Literary reflections of natural discourse. En *Missions in conflict*, R. von Bardeleben, D. Briesemeister & J. Bruce-Novoa (eds.), 229–254. Mainz: *Missions in Conflict – Essays on U.S.-Mexican Relations and Chicano Culture*.
- Picone, M. D. 2002. Artistic codemixing. University of Pennsylvania. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 8(3): 191–207.
- Poplack, S. 1980. Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español. *Linguistics* 18: 581–618.
- Poplack, S. 1988. Code-switching. *Sociolinguistics* 3(2): 1174–1180.
- Sánchez, R. 1983. *Chicano discourse – Socio-historic perspectives*. Rowley MA: Newbury House Publishers.
- Sarkar, M., Winer, L. & Sarkar, K. 2005. Multilingual code-Switching in Montreal hip-hop: Mayhem meets method or, "Tout moune qui talk trash kiss mon black ass du nord". En *Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism*, J. Cohen, K. McAlister, K. Rolstad & J. MacSwan (eds.), 2057–2074. Somerville MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Schendl, H. 1996. Text types and code-switching in medieval and Early Modern English. *Vienna English Working Papers* 5: 50–62.
- Schendl, H. 1997. 'To London fro Kent/Sunt predia depopulantes': Code-switching and medieval English macaronic poems. *Vienna English Working Papers* 6: 52–66.
- Silva Corvalán, C. 1994. *Language Contact and Change – Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Smitherman, G. 1994. *Black Talk: Words and phrases from the Hood to the Amen Corner*. Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Stolen, M. 1992. Codeswitching for humour and ethnic identity: Written Danish-American occasional songs. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 13(13): 215–228.
- Valdés-Fallis, G. 1976a. Code-switching in bilingual Chicano poetry. *Hispania* 59(4): 877–886.

- Valdés-Fallis, G. 1976b. Social interaction and code-switching patterns: A case study of Spanish/English alternation. En *Bilingualism in the bicentennial and beyond*, G. D. Keller, R. V. Teschner & S. Viera (eds.), 53–85. New York NY: Bilingual Press.
- Valdés-Fallis, G. 1977. The sociolinguistics of Chicano literature – Towards an analysis of the role and function of language alternation in contemporary bilingual poetry. *Punto de Contacto / Point of Contact* 1(4): 30–39.
- Zentella, A. C. 1982. Spanish and English in contact in the United States – The Puerto Rican experience. *Word – Journal of the International Linguistic Association* 33: 41–57.
- Zentella, A. C. 1997. *Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Cambridge: Blackwell.



## Cross-linguistic influence of the Cuzco Quechua epistemic system on Andean Spanish

Marilyn S. Manley

Rowan University

Speakers of Quechua, the native language spoken today in South America by an estimated over 10 million descendants of the Incan Empire, convey their attitudes toward the knowledge they pass on through the use of five epistemic markers. In Cuzco Quechua, these include three epistemic suffixes, *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, and *-chá* (*-mi* and *-si* are placed after consonants and *-n* and *-s* follow vowels), and two past tense verb forms, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*. There has been much debate and inconsistency in the literature concerning the semantics and pragmatics of these epistemic markers as well as the ways in which these markers exert cross-linguistic influence on Andean Spanish. This work attempts to clarify and inform these current debates. Evidence will be provided that has been obtained through fieldwork carried out in Cuzco, Peru among seventy members of two non-profit governmental agencies, the *Asociación Civil 'Gregorio Condori Mamani' Proyecto Casa del Cargador* and *El Centro de Apoyo Integral a la Trabajadora del Hogar*. Specifically, this evidence (1) supports meanings and uses for the Cuzco Quechua epistemic system beyond the distinction of firsthand vs. secondhand information source, (2) addresses the claim that the Andean Spanish present perfect and past perfect verb tenses serve to communicate the epistemic meanings conveyed in Quechua through use of the Quechua epistemic system, and (3) presents ways in which speakers exhibit cross-linguistic influence of the Cuzco Quechua epistemic markers on Andean Spanish, such as through the use of *dice* to calque the Quechua *-si/-s* epistemic marker and seven strategies, some of which have not been documented previously, for calquing the Quechua *-mi/-n* epistemic marker: (1) *pues*, (2) *así*, (3) *sí*, (4) elongated [s], (5) nonstandard pluralization, (6) *siempre*, and (7) word-final voiceless fricative [r].

### 1. Introduction

Since the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Quechua and Spanish languages have been engaged in intense contact. Particularly in the city of Cuzco, Peru, once the geographical and cultural center of the Incan Empire and a common destination today for many Quechua-speaking peasant migrants, it is possible to observe the necessary communication of Quechua and Spanish speakers on a daily basis. As is generally the

case in research about language contact, studies concerning Quechua-Spanish cross-linguistic influence have most often focused on the mutual influence of the Quechua and Spanish lexicons as well as on the level of phonology. This paper seeks to add to the literature concerning cross-linguistic influence on the levels of morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics and discourse. The level of discourse, particularly, has often been ignored in language contact studies. More specifically, this work seeks to clarify and inform the current debates regarding the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic markers and the ways in which these markers exert cross-linguistic influence on Andean Spanish, through the use of data gathered among Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers of Cuzco Quechua.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Disagreement: The semantics of Quechua epistemics

Works on Quechua linguistics published approximately within the last fifty years, including scholarly articles as well as texts meant to be used by those learning Quechua as a second or foreign language, have included both more-detailed and less-detailed accounts of the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic markers. While scholars generally agree that the Quechua epistemic marker *-chá* indicates conjecture, disagreement and inconsistency has centered on the semantics and pragmatics of the remaining four epistemic markers *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, *-rqa-*, and *-sqa-*. The three epistemic suffixes, *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, and *-chá*, may be attached to words of any grammatical category while the two past tense verb forms, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*, occur only with verbs. An understanding of the claims in the literature concerning the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic system is essential to the discussion of the ways in which these markers exert influence on Andean Spanish. Here, the author presents a sampling of findings that encompass the broad range of claims made to date regarding the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic system.

According to Cusihamán (1976:240–241), *-mi/-n* is used by speakers to refer to events in which they have personally participated or have seen directly, as fully conscious, aware individuals, and *-si/-s* is used by speakers to describe events they have learned about through indirect means, such as from other people or other sources of information, such as books, newspapers, radio, or television. Furthermore, Cusihamán (1976:168–170) states that the past tense, *-rqa-*, is used to refer to completed actions that were carried out with the conscious control and direct participation of the speaker, while the past tense, *-sqa-*, is used to describe events that were carried out by the speaker in an unconscious state or without the direct participation of the speaker. Therefore, according to Cusihamán, both *-mi/-n* and *-rqa-* are used to describe information obtained through direct means, and both *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* may be used to describe information obtained through indirect means. De Granda (2001) cor-

roborates Cusihuamán's claims for *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, *-rqa-*, and *-sqa-*, and Lee (1997:41) supports Cusihuamán's claims regarding *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*.

The findings of Dedenback-Salazar Sáenz (1997:152), however, cast doubt on the claims of Cusihuamán and de Granda. In her examination of the epistemic forms used in the Huarochirí texts, "the oldest known source on Andean culture written in an Andean language", she observes, "... in the chapters that relate a coherent narrative, usually of mythical character, we find the combination of the reportative evidential suffix *-si* and the *-rka-* past tense. ..." As Cusihuamán and de Granda claim that the use of *-si/-s* indicates that information has been obtained through indirect means and that the use of *-rqa-* indicates that information has been obtained through direct means, they would be unable to account for the combination of the two epistemic markers.

Weber (1986) raises the question of whether the Huanuco Quechua epistemic suffixes *-mi*, *-shi*, and *-chi*, which are the Huanuco Quechua equivalents of the Cuzco Quechua *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, and *-chá*, should be thought of as primarily expressing distinctions regarding information source (e.g. first-hand vs. second-hand), or distinctions regarding attitudes toward the information (e.g. truth-value, level of certainty, involvement, responsibility). Wölck's (1987:53) findings corroborate Weber's (1986) claims, as he finds *-mi/-n* and *-si/-s* to be distinguished primarily based on the category of truth-value, with *-mi/-n* indicating a higher level of truth-value than *-si/-s*. Regarding the past tenses, Wölck (1987:59–60) finds *-rqa-* to be used in the description of more recent past events, while *-sqa-* is found to be used to refer to more distant past events that were not witnessed by the speaker. Nuckolls (1993) also claims that the primary and general meaning of *-mi/-n* across all dialects of Quechua is to signal a high level of certainty regarding the truth of the message. Nuckolls (1993) goes on to state that a secondary or applied meaning of *-mi/-n* is to signal that the information was witnessed first-hand by the speaker.

## 2.2 Reinterpretation of the Spanish present perfect and past perfect verb tenses

In Klee and Ocampo's study (1995:54), which focused on the use of Spanish verb forms, "...in narrative clauses which require the preterite or historical present in standard Spanish..."; the authors find Calca (Peruvian) Quechua-Spanish bilinguals to reinterpret the meanings of the present perfect and past perfect verb tenses in Spanish so as to express an epistemic distinction. For these Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, the present perfect verb tense in Spanish was claimed to be used to convey information that had been obtained through being a direct witness, while the past perfect verb tense in Spanish was claimed to be used to "...indicate that the speaker has not witnessed the action or state described by the verb or that the speaker was unaware of the situation" (1995:62). The authors sum up this finding by stating that, "The temporal distance that these tenses mark in standard Spanish is transposed to an evidential distance in bilingual Spanish" (1995:64). In his description of the Quechua-influenced Spanish of Bolivia and Peru, Lipski mentions the same phenomenon (1996:214, 348).

Escobar (1997:864) corroborates Klee and Ocampo's (1995) claims, when she finds that native Quechua speakers of Cuzco use the present perfect verb tense with an evidential function in Spanish in order to "...refer to past events which took place at a location other than the one the speaker is in at the moment of the speech event for the purpose of emphasizing them as events experienced or witnessed by the speaker...". Escobar attributes this 'evidential use' of the present perfect to the influence of the *-mi/-n* Quechua epistemic clitic. In contrast, Escobar claims, "In Spanish in contact with Quechua, the pluperfect indicates that the information given is not first-hand, i.e. the pluperfect is used to mark reported information" (1997:865). Escobar attributes the use of the past perfect tense to the influence of the *-si/-s* Quechua epistemic clitic.

In contrast to Escobar's attribution of the claimed epistemic uses of the Andean Spanish present perfect and past perfect to the influence of the Quechua epistemic clitics, *-mi/-n* and *-si/-s* respectively, Lee (1997:41) attributes this example of morphosyntactic cross-linguistic influence from Quechua to Spanish to the influence of the Quechua past tense verbal forms, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*. Lee (1997:102–3) indicates that there is disagreement in the literature as to whether the use of *-rqa-* in Quechua correlates with the use of the present perfect, past perfect, or preterite Spanish verb tenses. This same disagreement exists with reference to the correlation of the use of *-sqa-* in Quechua with the various Spanish verb tenses. De Granda agrees with Lee in attributing the restructuring of the Spanish perfect tenses to the influence of the Quechua past tense verbal forms, *-rqa-* and *-sqa-*, and refers to the restructured forms as 'function calques' (2001:152–3).

It is important to note that findings similar to those described here for Quechua-influenced Andean Spanish have also been noted in the case of the Aymara-influenced speech of Bolivia. Quechua-Aymara language contact predates the contact of either indigenous language with Spanish. Similarities between Quechua and Aymara, such as the fact that both languages make use of an epistemic system, have led many scholars to investigate the possible genetic relationship of the two languages. In his study of La Paz Spanish, Laprade (1981:223) proposes that an Aymara substratum influence is responsible for an epistemic usage of the pluperfect in Spanish, which "expresses the aspect of surprise and nonpersonal knowledge upon encountering an unknown or something seen for the first time or something that occurred without one realizing it...". Stratford (1991:168–9) corroborates Laprade's claim for La Paz Spanish. Also, Martin (1981:205 for La Paz Spanish) finds the preterite to be used to indicate direct knowledge and the pluperfect to be used to indicate indirect knowledge, resulting from Aymara influence.

### 2.3 *Dice* epistemic calque

Besides the Quechua epistemic system's influencing the restructuring of the Spanish perfect verb tenses in order to convey epistemic meaning, according to Klee and Ocampo (1995:63), Lipski (1996:214, 348), and de Granda (2001:127), the Spanish *dice*; *dicen*; *diciendo* 's/he says; they say; saying', may be used as calques of the Quechua

suffix *-si/-s* in order to express the fact that information has been obtained indirectly. It is interesting to note that Laprade (1981:221–2) has also found forms of *decir* to be used in La Paz Spanish, in sentence-final position, in order to mark the preceding information as “nonpersonal knowledge”. De Granda also observes that in regions of Ecuador, Peru, and Argentina, where the use of the *-si/-s* suffix among Quechua speakers is gradually disappearing, speakers may instead use conjugations of the Quechua verb *niy* ‘to say’, in place of the *-si/-s* suffix (i.e. *nin*, ‘s/he says’ and *ninku*, ‘they say’). De Granda suggests that, in this case, the Quechua speakers are using conjugations of *niy* as calques of the Spanish calques, *dice/dicen* (2001:127). Furthermore, according to de Granda, the only Quechua clitic that has been transferred to Andean Spanish as a function calque is *-si/-s*. Therefore, claims de Granda, the other epistemic clitics in Quechua, *-mi/-n* and *-chá*, do not exert cross-linguistic influence on Andean Spanish as function calques (2001:153–4).

#### 2.4 *Pues* epistemic calque

The findings of Virginia Zavala (2001) contradict de Granda’s (2001) claim that *-si/-s* is the only Quechua epistemic clitic calqued in Andean Spanish. According to Zavala (2001), Ayacucho (Peruvian) bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers may use the Spanish conjunction, *pues* ‘well; then; since; therefore; because’, as a function calque for the Quechua clitic, *-mi/-n*. Furthermore, she maintains, due to cross-linguistic influence of the Quechua agglutinative structure, the discourse marker, *pues*, “. . . has been transformed and restructured into an item which functions almost as a ‘suffix’, attached to various parts of speech” (2001:1004). Therefore, according to Zavala, these speakers are using *pues* in Spanish where they would be using the *-mi/-n* suffix in Quechua. Through her analysis of the particle, *pues*, in terms of its use within discourse, Zavala finds common qualitative and quantitative patterns among the use of the particle by her ten informants. She summarizes the use of *pues* as follows (2001:1017), “The speaker attaches *pues* to his utterance and with it, the sentence acquires a connotation of conviction, certainty, and assurance towards what he is saying”. A prominent pattern in her data is that the discourse marker/function calque, *pues*, appears in all cases in clause-final position. Zavala finds the clause-final position for *pues* to be influenced by Quechua’s agglutinative structure in which suffixes are attached onto the ends of words to form different meanings. In the case of the Aymara-influenced La Paz Spanish, Laprade (1981:215–16) also finds *pues*, or its reduced form, *ps* with “a strongly sibilant character”, to occur “almost exclusively in post position”, “postposed to nearly all parts of speech”, in order to “reflect the speaker’s attitude or mood”.

#### 2.5 *Siempre* calque

Beyond the appearance of forms of *decir* and *pues* as function calques in La Paz Spanish, due to Aymara influence, Laprade (1981) also finds that the Spanish *siempre* ‘always’, *nomás* ‘only’, and *pero* ‘but’, have undergone restructuring. According to



Laprade (1981:219–220), in La Paz Spanish, *nomás*, *pues*, and *pero* are found alone or in various combinations at the end of utterances, similar to the way in which suffixes are combined in Aymara. As the present work will propose that *siempre* is used in Andean Spanish as a function calque for the Quechua *-mi/-n*, it is useful to note Laprade's claim regarding the use of *siempre* in La Paz Spanish. Laprade (1981:218) attributes the restructured use of *siempre* to influence from the Aymara suffix, *-puni*, and states that in La Paz Spanish, *siempre* "functions as an emphatic expression" and is used in interrogative constructions to request affirmation. Although Laprade (1981:218) finds the Aymara-influenced *siempre* to occur "after the elements whose meaning it modifies", he notes that in other regions, "*siempre* may occur initially, medially, or finally". Laprade (1981:218) goes on to state that the Aymara suffix, *-puni*, is regularly translated into Spanish as *siempre* and "...indicates surprise that the speaker has not changed intent, that some aspect of the situation deserves special mention or emphasis, as well as other emphatic meanings".

Quechua also makes use of a suffix, *-puni* that is also often translated into Spanish as *siempre*. According to Aráoz and Salas (1993:128), among the meanings communicated by the Quechua suffix, *-puni*, are that an action will be carried out without fail and a high level of certainty. As will be described in more detail below, the present work proposes that *siempre* is used in Andean Spanish as a function calque for the Quechua *-mi/-n*. The author asserts that the restructuring of *siempre* in Andean Spanish is due to the influence of *-mi/-n* rather than *-puni*, as the frequency of use of the restructured *siempre* is much higher than that of *-puni* in Quechua. The frequency and distribution of the restructured *siempre* is more similar to that of *-mi/-n* in Quechua. It is true, however, that the semantics of the Quechua *-mi/-n* and *-puni* overlap, in that they both may communicate a high level of certainty. Perhaps the restructuring of *siempre* in La Paz, noted by Laprade, is due to the influence of the Quechua *-mi/-n* or the equivalent Aymara epistemic marker, rather than *-puni*.

It is also possible that the restructured usage of *siempre* has extended its influence outside of Andean Spanish in Peru and La Paz Spanish in Bolivia, as the RAE lists *decididamente* 'decidedly' and *definitivamente* 'definitively' as possible meanings of *siempre* in Colombia. According to Lee (1997:24), although the number of Quechua speakers living in Colombia today is much lower than the number that existed during the reign of the Incan Empire, a population of Quechua speakers still exists in the southwestern section of Colombia, close to the border with Ecuador.

### 3. Data and methodology

The data and analyses presented here, within a qualitative approach, are based on fieldwork carried out in Cuzco, Peru among bilingual Quechua-Spanish speaking members of two non-profit governmental agencies, the *Asociación Civil*, 'Gregorio Condori Mamani' *Proyecto Casa del Cargador*, 'Gregorio Condori Mamani Civil Association, House of the Carrier Project' (CdC), and *El Centro de Apoyo Integral a la Trabajadora*

*del Hogar*, ‘Center for the Integral Support of the Female Home Worker’ (CAITH). The CdC is a temporary home for primarily adolescent males, the majority of whom earn a living as *cargadores*, ‘carriers’, by transporting agricultural goods within the large market places of Cuzco. The objective of the CdC is to improve the quality of life of the peasant migrant carriers, thereby allowing them to attain respectable levels of health, education, and family well-being. The main goal of CAITH is to offer educational support and assistance to female adolescent domestic servants, who come from rural areas outside of the city of Cuzco. CAITH also functions as a temporary home for these female domestic servants. The participants of this study, inhabitants of both of these agencies, are mostly young native Quechua speakers. They have migrated to the city of Cuzco from mostly surrounding rural Quechua-dominant communities within the Department of Cuzco in order to make a living and obtain a higher quality education than would be available to them in their rural communities of origin.

Here, the examples are taken from recorded and transcribed interviews carried out with twenty-eight CAITH participants and forty-two CdC participants, totaling seventy participants. Sixty-eight of these seventy participants claim Quechua as their first language and two of these participants claim to have acquired Quechua and Spanish simultaneously. In 2003, at the time of the interviews, these participants ranged in age from eleven to fifty-eight years old. All of the participants claimed to have begun their acquisition of Spanish by the age of eighteen, and fifty-four of the seventy participants claimed to have begun their acquisition of Spanish by the age of thirteen. Most of the participants began elementary school within their communities of origin before migrating to the city of Cuzco. Some received their schooling in Quechua, others had bilingual Quechua-Spanish elementary schooling, while still others received their elementary schooling through the means of Spanish. Therefore, some of these participants began their acquisition of Spanish while still living within their rural communities of origin while others began their L2 acquisition upon their arrival to Cuzco. No participant had spent more than eighteen years in school and fifty of the seventy participants had attended school for less than ten years. At the time of the data collection, the vast majority of the study participants claimed to use more Spanish on a daily basis than Quechua.

All of the seventy interviews were carried out in Spanish, lasting approximately thirty minutes each. During the interviews, each participant was asked twenty-two open-ended questions on the topic of language attitude. Each of the twenty-two questions consisted of one or two parts. Sixteen of these twenty-two questions were asked using verbs in the present tense, such as *¿Cómo es la cultura quechua?*, ‘What is the Quechua culture like?’. Three of the questions were asked using the future tense, such as *¿Vas a usar el quechua en el futuro en tu trabajo? ¿Cómo?*, ‘Are you going to use Quechua in your future job? How?’. One question was asked using the conditional, *¿Votarías por un candidato quechua hablante? ¿Por qué?*, ‘Would you vote for a Quechua-speaking candidate? Why?’. One question was asked using both the past subjunctive and the conditional, *Si no hablaras quechua, ¿sientes que podrías identificarte con la cultura quechua?*, ‘If you didn’t speak Quechua, do you feel that you would be able to

identify yourself with the Quechua culture?'. Finally, one question was asked using the present perfect verb tense, *¿Alguna vez te has negado a hablar quechua? ¿Por qué?*, 'Have you ever denied speaking Quechua? Why?'

The Andean Spanish examples presented throughout this paper contain a variety of cross-linguistic features from the Quechua language beyond those resulting from the influence of the epistemic system. These features are not examined here, as this would be outside the scope of this work. The English translations of the examples presented here, rather than faithfully representing any unsystematicities or nonstandard elements caused by the intense cross-linguistic influence present in the participants' speech, intend to offer accounts of the messages conveyed by the examples in a fluent, Standard English form. As no significant differences were observed in the Andean Spanish speech of male study participants versus that of female study participants, while discussing examples obtained from both males and females, the participants will be referred to as 'he' throughout this paper.

The following are techniques employed by the author in order to reduce the distance between herself and the interviewees: (1) by the time the Language Attitude Interviews were carried out, the author had already met and completed multiple other interviews with the participants, thus resulting in familiarity and reduced anxiety between the interviewer and interviewee, (2) although participants were being recorded, the interviews were carried out in an informal manner (including an informal tone and an informal setting), further reducing anxiety, (3) the interview questions were open-ended, thus allowing participants to speak freely, (4) participants were given the opportunity to say as much or as little in response to each of the questions as they desired, and (5) participants spoke about their feelings and attitudes toward their two languages, a very real and important topic for them.

## 4. Analysis

### 4.1 Reinterpretation of the Spanish present and past perfect verb tenses

The hypothesis mentioned above that the Spanish perfect tenses indicate a contrast in epistemic meaning is not upheld in this data, based on the fact that the participants generally avoided the use of the past perfect in Spanish. Below, in Table 1, are the total counts and relative percentages of how many of the seventy participants used each of four different past tenses in Spanish during the course of their interviews.

Table 1. Past Verb Tenses

|         | Present Perfect | Imperfect | Preterite | Past Perfect |
|---------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Count   | 48              | 43        | 25        | 4            |
| Percent | 68.57%          | 61.43%    | 35.71%    | 5.71%        |

As shown in the excerpts below, each of the four participants, out of the subset of seventy participants, who produced instances of the past perfect (two participants produced the past perfect verb tense twice and two participants produced the past perfect once) clearly communicated information that was gathered through her direct, first-hand experience. Each of these four participants is a female inhabitant of CAITH, who claimed Quechua as her first language. While one of these four participants had spent over half her life in Lima and had completed eighteen years of schooling in Spanish, including at the university level, the background and life experiences of the other three participants who were found to employ the past perfect were not significantly different than those of the other sixty-six participants.

In answer to the question of why some Quechua speakers deny that they speak their language, one member of CAITH responded with an anecdote, including the following:

- (1) *Sí, una vez he escuchado hablar con quechua con su mamá. Por gusto me había dicho; se había mentado, decir, 'No hablo cas. . . quechua'.*  
 'Yes, one time I have heard him speak in Quechua with his mom. For no good reason he had told me; he had lied, saying 'I don't speak Spa. . . Quechua'.

In (1), the participant recalls her own conversation with an acquaintance that lied to her, saying that he was not able to speak Quechua, although she later observed him speaking in Quechua with his mother.

In response to the question of why she does not identify herself with the Quechua culture, another member of CAITH answered as follows, recalling her own childhood and life experiences:

- (2) *Bueno, yo de niña me había acostumbrado. . . porque yo nunca la había vivido desde los siete años.*  
 'Well, I had gotten used to it as a child. . . because I hadn't lived it (the Quechua lifestyle) since I was seven years old.'

In reply to the question of what her future job will be, another member of CAITH responded in the following way, expressing her own experience:

- (3) *En. . . yo no había pensado. No. Sí, yo quiero ser profesora.*  
 'In. . . I hadn't thought about it. No. Yes, I want to be a teacher.'

And finally, in response to the question of whether she reads the newspaper or anything else in Quechua and how often, another member of CAITH replied, again mentioning something of her own experience:

- (4) *Sí, acá, unos libros. . . Hay unos de los campos. Ay, no sé qué libro había sido, sí.*  
 'Yes, here, some books. . . There are some from the countryside. Ay, I don't know what book it had been.'

While it is true that the instances of past perfect produced by these four speakers centered on personal, direct experience, it is also the case that in the examples provided here, the speakers recall experiences during which they were not completely alert and

aware. In (1), the speaker was not aware of the fact that her interlocutor was lying to her at the time. In (2), since the speaker is referring to an experience she had at a young age, she might not have been fully aware of the experience at the time. In example (3), the speaker refers to a topic she had not thought about and of which, therefore, she was not fully conscious. Finally, in (4), the speaker refers to an experience about which she cannot remember the details. If the sole or primary meaning of *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* is not considered to be an indirect information source, but rather something like truth-value, level of certainty, involvement, or responsibility, as these examples of the past perfect evince one of the epistemic meanings claimed for *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*, namely, that of being unconscious or not fully aware, it is possible to conclude that these examples of the past perfect do communicate one of the epistemic meanings of the Quechua *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*.

However, since only four of the seventy speakers produced the past perfect and did so infrequently, it appears that in general, these participants avoided using the past perfect. Thus, in general, this data does not seem to support the claim that the past perfect in Andean Spanish has been restructured due to the influence of the Quechua epistemic markers, *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*. As is evident in Table 1, in general, the participants preferred the present perfect and imperfect tenses while discussing past events.

As this data does not support the findings of others on this issue, as described above, one might question whether the participants of this study might have characteristics that are significantly different from the participants of other investigations on this issue. This is a reasonable possibility in the case of comparing the participants of this study to those of Klee and Ocampo's (1995) study. Klee and Ocampo divided their participants into four groups by social class. Data from participants of the group with the lowest socioeconomic status, referred to as "*campesinos*", was not included among the analyzed data for their study (1995:53). It is likely that at least some of the participants of the present study would be classified as "*campesinos*" by Klee and Ocampo, based on the social class descriptions presented in their research.

The findings presented here might also suggest that the Quechua language is undergoing a change in its epistemic system, such that Quechua speakers are losing the epistemic markers, *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*, along with their corresponding meanings and uses. If these members of the epistemic system are being lost, the influence these markers would exert on Andean Spanish would also disappear. As mentioned above, de Granda has proposed that the use of the *-si/-s* suffix among Quechua speakers is gradually disappearing (2001:127).

#### 4.2 *Dice* epistemic calque

In this data, seventeen of the seventy participants used forms of *decir* as calques. However, rather than claiming that the use of these calques indicates only that information has been obtained indirectly, the author claims that forms of *decir* may be used to calque a variety of meanings encompassed by the Quechua epistemic markers, *-si/-s*

and *-sqa-*, including indirect information source, less certainty, less involvement and less responsibility.

In examples (5) and (6) below, forms of the verb, *decir*, are used as calques of *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* to indicate that information has been obtained through indirect means.

- (5) *La gente de la ciudad, lo que vive allí, dicen los de discriminan.*  
 ‘The city people, the ones who live there, *dicen* discriminate against them.’
- (6) *Porque es antiguamente, como dicen desde los Incas, nuestros antepasados hablaban quechua.*  
 ‘It is because in the ancient times, like *dicen* from (the time of) the Incas, our ancestors used to speak Quechua.’

In example (7) below, a participant employs the use of a form of *decir* twice while discussing information that he does not agree with:

- (7) *A veces dicen que, ¿cómo se llama? Quechua es solo hablan los cholos, los indios, campos dicen, pero no es.*  
 ‘Sometimes *dicen* that, what is it called? Quechua is only spoken by the cholos, the Indians, (in the) countryside *dicen*, but it isn’t.’

In other words, in (7), this participant expresses disagreement with the idea that Quechua is spoken only by indigenous peasants in the countryside. As this participant does not agree with the concept in question, he does not take responsibility for the truth of the concept, as would be consistent with the use of *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* that some have claimed for Quechua.

In the following example, a participant describes a third party’s dishonesty and then expresses his knowledge of the truth:

- (8) *Ya no quiere y dice por gusto todo allá, pero la verdad es que sabe hablar quechuas.*  
 ‘(He) doesn’t want (to speak Quechua) anymore and *dice* everything (is) just for kicks there, but the truth is that (he) knows how to speak Quechua.’

In (8), the use of *dice* in the first part of the utterance is used to describe another’s dishonesty. Therefore, as this participant does not agree with the third party’s dishonesty, he does not take responsibility for the truth of the message.

In the following example, a participant puts acquired information about the practices of the Incas into question:

- (9) *...¿Qué religión tenían verdaderamente? Según la historia, nos dicen ellos adoraban al sol, al agua, la luna, eso.*  
 ‘What religion did they really used to have? According to history, *dicen* they used to worship the sun, the water, the moon, that.’

As this participant puts the information acquired from history into question, he shows he has a lower level of certainty regarding this information.

Further evidence to support the use of forms of *decir*, ‘to say’, as calques of *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* is that the participants of this study were found to semantically extend the Spanish verb, *hablar*, ‘to speak/talk’, in order to encompass the standard mean-

ing and uses of *decir*. In other words, since an important use of forms of *decir* is to calque the Quechua epistemics, *-si/-s*, and *-sqa-*, in order to simply express the meaning, ‘to say’, it is hypothesized here that many of these participants resort to a different verb, namely, *hablar*, in order to avoid being perceived as calquing the Quechua epistemics when this is not intended. In the following three examples, forms of the verb *hablar*, ‘to speak/talk’, are used where forms of the verb, *decir*, ‘to say’, would be used in standard Spanish.

- (10) *Los que no entiende quechua no te no entiende lo que estás hablando, ¿no?*  
‘Those who don’t understand Quechua don’t understand what you’re **speaking**.’
- (11) *Así como estoy así, hablo palabras.*  
‘Just as I am, I **speak** words.’
- (12) *Una persona se ha perdido y habla después, ‘No conozco’ así.*  
‘A person has gotten lost and **speaks** later, ‘I’m not familiar (with this place).’

In example (10), rather than *hablando*, standard Spanish would demand *diciendo*. In (11), rather than *hablo*, standard Spanish would include *digo*. Finally, in (12), rather than *habla*, this would be put in standard Spanish as *dice*.

### 4.3 Pues epistemic calque

Forty-five of these seventy participants were found to use *pues* as a function calque for *-mi/-n* in order to convey direct information source, a higher level of certainty, more involvement and more responsibility, as in the following five examples:

- (13) *Hermoso quechua es pue.*  
‘Quechua is beautiful **pue**.’
- (14) *Quechua es bonito es pue.*  
‘Quechua is beautiful **pue**.’
- (15) *Porque más nosotros hablamos en castellano acá en ciudad; por eso es pe.*  
‘Because we speak more in Spanish here in the city; that’s why **pe**.’
- (16) *Porque es quechua es bonito, porque idioma de de Inca es pe sí.*  
‘Because (it) is Quechua is beautiful because it is the language of the Inca **pe**.’
- (17) *Porque para el trabajo, hay veces con la gente que no sabe hablar quechua, no puedes conversar así sí pues.*  
‘Because for work, there are times with the people who don’t know how to speak Quechua, you can’t converse **pues**.’

While the participants produced *pues* as a calque in the clause-final position the majority of the time, they also produced the calque in positions other than clause-final on occasion. This may be seen in the following five examples:

- (18) *Tienen miedo porque porque aquí hablan pue castellano.*  
‘They are afraid because here they speak **pue** Spanish.’
- (19) *Porque hay unos no saben pue quechua.*  
‘Because there are some (who) don’t know **pue** Quechua.’

- (20) *Puro quechua pues en campo habla pe.*  
‘Only Quechua *pues* is spoken in the countryside *pe*.’
- (21) *Bueno, en campo mayormente se trabaja pues en nuestros productos, crianza de animales...*  
‘Well, in the countryside generally one works *pues* on our products, the tending of animals...’
- (22) *Porque, mira, si no sabría pe castellano, ¿cómo podría educarme?*  
‘Because, look, if I didn’t know *pe* Spanish, how would I educate myself?’

The author hypothesizes that *pues* may be used in order to calque the Quechua *-mi/-n* in all positions within utterances, including the clause-final position. Used as a calque in this way, *pues* refers to the whole utterance in which it appears, serving to indicate how this is to be interpreted.

#### 4.4 Six other epistemic calque strategies for Quechua *-mi/-n*

Besides the use of *pues*, based on the data, it is hypothesized that Andean Spanish speakers also frequently use six other strategies for calquing the Quechua epistemic suffix, *-mi/-n*. These are the use of (1) *así*, ‘like this/that; this way’, (2) *sí*, ‘yes’, (3) elongated [s] (*ssss...*) in words that contain the sound [s], (4) nonstandard pluralization, (5) *siempre*, ‘always’, and (6) word-final voiceless fricative [r] in words that end with the Spanish sound [r]. Similar to the elongated [s], the word-final voiceless fricative [r] was also frequently elongated or held out. This is consistent with Lipski’s (1996:341) finding that syllable-final /r/ becomes a voiceless sibilant in the Peruvian Andes, especially before a pause.

As in the case of *pues*, it is hypothesized that these six calques are used to convey a direct information source, higher levels of certainty, and greater levels of involvement and responsibility toward the knowledge conveyed. In Table 2 are presented the numbers of participants who were found to use these six calques of the seventy participants as well as the percentages that these counts represent out of the total sample.

As is the case with the Quechua epistemic suffix, *-mi/-n*, and as has been found for the use of *pues*, these six calques followed words of every grammatical category. In the data, each of these six calque elements appeared in utterances alone, repeated, and along with others of the six calques and *pues*. Like *pues*, these six calques occurred most

Table 2. Epistemic Calque Strategies for Quechua *-mi/-n*

|                | Count | Percent |
|----------------|-------|---------|
| <i>Así</i>     | 65    | 92.86%  |
| <i>Sí</i>      | 62    | 88.57%  |
| Elongated [s]  | 59    | 84.29%  |
| Pluralization  | 41    | 58.57%  |
| <i>Siempre</i> | 40    | 57.14%  |
| Voiceless [r]  | 40    | 57.14%  |



often in the clause-final position. Some of these six calques have already appeared in the examples presented throughout this paper. For the sake of clarity and organization and to avoid confusion, discussion of these calques has been reserved for this section. For this reason, these calques have not been represented in the English translations of previous examples. In the examples below, the elongated [s] will be represented as a bold '[s]', nonstandard pluralization will be represented by a bold 's', and the voiceless [r] will be represented as a bold '[r]'.

Repeated here are examples (16) and (17) of the previous section, now numbered as (23) and (24):

- (23) *Porque es[s] quechua es bonito, porque idioma de de Inca es pe sí.*  
 'Because (it) is[s] Quechua is beautiful because it is the language of the Inca *pe sí*.'
- (24) *Porque para el trabajo, hay veces con la gente que no sabe hablar quechua, no puedes[s] conversar así sí pues.*  
 'Because for work, there are times with the people who don't know how to speak Quechua, you can't[s] converse *así sí pues*.'

In (23) and (24), two of the six calque strategies, *así* and *sí*, occur beside *pues* or *pe* and the elongated [s] occurs earlier in both utterances.

The following five examples show *pues* and its variants occurring in the same utterances as the elongated [s], *así*, *sí*, and nonstandard pluralization:

- (25) *Algunos[s] algunos pue cuando vienen su paisanos así se olvidan su caste su quechua pues.*  
 'Some[s] some *pue* when their fellow countrymen come *así* they forget their Spa their Quechua *pues*.'
- (26) *Porque es con castellano se practica las educaciones pue sí.*  
 'Because it is with Spanish that one practices educations *pue sí*.'
- (27) *Otros hablan pe quechua otros castellanos.*  
 'Some speak *pe* Quechua others Spanishes.'
- (28) *De esos tienen vergüenza pue sí.*  
 'They are ashamed of them *pue sí*.'
- (29) *Otra idioma saben pe así.*  
 'They know another language *pe así*.'

Like the calque, *pues*, these six other discourse marker calques for *-mi/-n* do not carry referential meaning but are attached to utterances in order to designate how these should be understood by the hearer, based on the attitude toward the information expressed by the speaker through the use of these calques. In order to assume their calque function in Andean Spanish, three of the six calques that have referential meaning in standard Spanish, the adverbs, *así*, *sí* and *siempre*, have undergone a process of degrammaticalization as they have lost their functional value at the propositional level. Therefore, rather than adding any referential meanings of 'like this/that; this way', 'yes' or 'always' to utterances in which the *así*, *sí* and *siempre* calques are used, like *pues*, these calques communicate such notions as assertion, confirmation, a direct informa-

tion source, a higher level of certainty, and more involvement and responsibility on the part of the speaker toward the message.

In the following three examples, the referential meaning of 'always' for *siempre* in standard Spanish would be in conflict with other propositional content contained within the three utterances, thereby providing more evidence that the use of *siempre* by these three speakers carries another purpose, namely of calquing the Quechua *-mi/-n*. In response to the question of whether and how often he listens to Quechua on the radio, one participant responded as follows:

- (30) *Yo de vez en cuando siempre escucho en ¿cómo se llama?, radios en quechua.*  
'I once in a while *siempre* listen to, what's (it) called? radios in Quechua.'

When asked why it is important to speak Spanish, another participant responded:

- (31) *Porque siempre la gente mayormente habla castellano.*  
'Because *siempre* the people speak Spanish the majority of the time.'

When asked when he feels proud of speaking Quechua, another answered:

- (32) *Y entonces, bueno, a veces pe en bromas de cualquier cosa entonces yo siempre converso quechua.*  
'And so, well, sometimes pe in jokes about anything I *siempre* converse in Quechua.'

The fact that the participants produced the six calques at a high frequency and the fact that they are often combined together and also along with *pues* provides more evidence that, rather than communicating referential meaning, these are used in order to express epistemic meaning. This may be observed in the following examples. When asked why he prefers Quechua, one participant replied:

- (33) *Porque siempre me gusta hablar en, cuando voy a mi pueblo así, con mis tíos, así. Sí, es bonito, sí. No, no puedo olvidarle, sí.*  
'Because *siempre* I like to speak in, when I go to my town *así* with my aunts and uncles *así*. *Sí* it is beautiful *sí*. No, I can't forget it *sí*.'

When asked what the Quechua culture is like, another answered:

- (34) *Es[s] de los de los Incas que dejaron su esto porque ellos hablaban en quechua sí.*  
'It is[s] from the Incas who left their stuff because they used to speak in Quechua *sí*.'

Upon being asked why he would vote for a Quechua-speaking candidate, a participant said:

- (35) *Nos daría más educación así mediante quechua. Nos daría más educación así, ¿no? como sabe quechua así.*  
'He would give us more education *así* through the means of Quechua. He would give us more education *así*, right? since he knows Quechua *así*.'

In the following examples, participants incorporate use of the voiceless fricative [r] calque in combination with the other calques for *-mi/-n*. When questioned as to why he thinks Quechua is more beautiful than Spanish, one participant answered:

- (36) *Porque bonito es o para conversar así para enseñar[r], sí.*  
 ‘It is beautiful because or in order to converse *así* in order to teach[r] *sí*.’

When asked why it is important to speak Spanish, another participant responded:

- (37) *Es para para ingresar[r] a los trabajos así.*  
 ‘It is in order to gain[r] employment *así*.’

When questioned as to why some Quechua speakers deny that they speak their language, a participant replied:

- (38) *Porque porque algunos niegan su su hablar quechua porque tienen miedo así hablar[r].*  
 ‘Because some deny (that they) speak Quechua because they are afraid *así* to talk[r].’

Finally, when asked why it is important to speak both Quechua and Spanish, another answered:

- (39) *Porque es[s] siempre los dos es bueno sí para hablar[r] sí.*  
 ‘Because it is[s] *siempre* both are good *sí* in order to speak[r] *sí*.’

It is interesting to note that each of the six calque strategies as well as *pues* contains a voiceless fricative. Excluding the voiceless fricative [r], the other six calques (including *pues*) for the Quechua *-mi/-n* include the voiceless fricative [s]. Since the Quechua epistemic marker in opposition with *-mi/-n*, *-si/-s*, contains the voiceless fricative [s], one might wonder whether the discourse markers claimed here as calques of *-mi/-n* may actually be calquing the Quechua *-si/-s* or be derived from the Quechua *-si/-s*. In opposition to this notion, the author here provides the following possible rationale as to why these six calques and *pues* might carry the common quality of the voiceless fricative.

The use of *siempre*, *así*, *pues*, the elongated [s], nonstandard pluralization and the voiceless fricative [r] as calques of *-mi/-n* may be motivated by the phonetic form of the *sí* calque. The *siempre* and *así* calques both contain the sound sequence [si]. The elongated [s] and nonstandard pluralization calques contain the first sound of the *sí* calque, namely [s]. Finally, the voiceless fricative [r] contains the voiceless fricative quality of the first sound of the *sí* calque, [s].

The meaning of the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, ‘yes’, has much in common with the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic marker, *-mi/-n*. Above, *-mi/-n* has been described as communicating affirmation, confirmation, a higher level of certainty, more involvement and responsibility of the speaker toward the message at hand and that information has been obtained through direct experience. Like *-mi/-n* in Quechua, the adverb, *sí*, ‘yes’, may be used in standard Spanish in order to communicate affirmation, confirmation, assertion, authentication, verification, and validation. The Quechua epistemic suffix, *-mi/-n*, has also commonly been referred to as a ‘validator’, reflecting its role as a marker used to validate or confirm assertions. This commonality of meaning between the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, ‘yes’, and the Quechua epistemic marker, *-mi/-n*, may serve to grant the *sí* calque a special status that is carried over through phonetic form to the other calques for *-mi/-n*.

Schiffrin (1987) and Schwenter (1995) have both discussed the issue of the link between discourse markers and the meanings of their lexical origins. Schiffrin (1987:54) asks, "Is there some property of the elements used as markers that contributes to their functions?". Also, Schwenter (1995:870) has explained that the use of discourse markers cannot be understood without considering their connection to the content meaning of their source words in the lexicon. He suggests that something of the meaning of the source word remains with the discourse marker, limiting its usage. Both Schiffrin and Schwenter's thoughts on this matter provide some support for the hypothesis that the lexical content meaning of the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, 'yes', is linked to the use of *sí* as a discourse marker that calques the Quechua *-mi/-n*.

## 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, throughout this paper, the author has sought to clarify and inform the current debates in the literature regarding the semantics and pragmatics of the Quechua epistemic system as well as the ways in which the Quechua epistemic markers exert cross-linguistic influence on Andean Spanish. Based on the analysis of seventy recorded and transcribed interviews on the topic of Quechua and Spanish language attitude among twenty-eight female study participant members of CAITH and forty-two male study participant members of the CdC, evidence has been found that both corroborates and contradicts previous claims regarding the debates at hand.

Following Weber (1986) and Nuckolls (1993), the data support a model of the Quechua epistemic system in which each of the epistemic markers may express meaning beyond information source, to include such notions as levels of certainty, involvement, and responsibility.

The finding that these seventy participants seemed to avoid the use of the past perfect in Spanish and clearly communicated information that was gathered through direct, first-hand experience in the few instances when the past perfect was employed contradicts the claim made by Klee and Ocampo (1995), Lipski (1996), Escobar (1997), Lee (1997) and de Granda (2001), among others, that the Spanish present perfect and past perfect verb tenses indicate a contrast in epistemic meaning. Two possible reasons were discussed that might account for this contradiction, namely, (1) possible differences among the participants of this study and those of other studies on this topic, and (2) Quechua language change and the loss of the *-si/-s* and *-sqa-* epistemic markers.

Similar to the findings of Klee and Ocampo (1995), Lipski (1996) and de Granda (2001), forms of the Spanish verb, *decir*, 'to say', were found to be used to calque the variety of meanings encompassed by the Quechua epistemic markers, *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*, including an indirect information source, less certainty, less involvement and less responsibility. The fact that many of the seventy participants semantically extended the Spanish verb, *hablar*, 'to talk', in order to encompass the standard meaning and uses

of *decir* provided further evidence to support the claim that forms of *decir* are used to calque *-si/-s* and *-sqa-*.

The findings presented in this paper support those of Zavala (2001), who found the Spanish *pues*, 'well; then; since; therefore; because', to have lost its grammatical meaning and functionality at the sentence level and to have taken on a discourse marker role as a calque of the Quechua epistemic suffix, *-mi/-n*, indicating such notions as that information has been obtained directly, a higher level of certainty and more involvement and responsibility regarding the message at hand. However, while Zavala found her participants to always produce *pues* as a calque in the clause-final position, these participants occasionally produced this calque in other positions, resulting in no change of pragmatic meaning. Besides the use of *pues*, these participants were also found to frequently use six other strategies for calquing the Quechua epistemic suffix, *-mi/-n*. These are the use of (1) *así*, 'like this/that; this way', (2) *sí*, 'yes', (3) elongated [s] (*ssss. . .*), (4) nonstandard pluralization, (5) *siempre*, 'always', and (6) word-final voiceless fricative [r]. As for *pues*, these six calques have undergone a process of degrammaticalization and no longer carry referential meaning but are attached to Andean Spanish utterances in order to designate how these should be understood by the hearer, based on the attitude toward the information expressed by the speaker through the use of these calques. The high frequency of use of the six calques and the fact that they are often combined together and also along with *pues* provides more evidence that, rather than communicating referential meaning, these are used in order to express epistemic meaning.

Finally, a rationale was provided as to why the six calques and *pues* might carry the common quality of the voiceless fricative. It was proposed that the use of *siempre*, *así*, *pues*, the elongated [s], nonstandard pluralization and the voiceless fricative [r] as calques of *-mi/-n* may be motivated by the phonetic form of the calque, *sí* and that the commonality of meaning between the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, 'yes', and the Quechua epistemic marker, *-mi/-n*, in communicating affirmation, confirmation, assertion, authentication, verification, and validation may serve to grant the *sí* calque a special status that is carried over through phonetic form to the other calques for *-mi/-n*. Schiffrin (1987) and Schwenter's (1995) thoughts on the matter provide some support for this hypothesis that the lexical content meaning of the standard Spanish adverb, *sí*, 'yes', is linked to the use of *sí* as a discourse marker that calques the Quechua *-mi/-n*.

## References

- Aráoz, D. & Salas, A. 1993. *Gramática Quechua*. Sicuani, Peru: Instituto de Pastoral Andina.
- Cusihuaman, A. 1976. *Gramática Quechua, Cuzco Collao*. Lima, Peru: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Dedenbach-Salazar-Saenz, S. 1997. Point of view and evidentiality in the Huarochiri texts: Peru, 17th Century. In *Creating Context in Andean Cultures*, R. Howard-Malverde (ed.), 149–67. New York NY: OUP.

- De Granda, G. 2001. *Estudios de lingüística andina*. Lima, Perú: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Escobar, A.M. 1997. Contrastive and innovative uses of the present perfect and the preterite in Spanish in contact with Quechua. *Hispania* 80: 859–870.
- Hardman, M.J. (ed.). 1981. *The Aymara Language in its Social and Cultural Context*. Gainesville FL: University Presses of Florida.
- Klee, C.A. & Ocampo, A. 1995. The expression of past reference in Spanish narratives of Spanish-Quechua bilingual speakers. In *Spanish in Four Continents, Studies in language contact and bilingualism*, C. Silva-Corvalán (ed.), 52–70. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Laprade, R.A. 1981. Some cases of Aymara influence on La Paz Spanish. In *The Aymara Language in its Social and Cultural Context*, M. J. Hardman (ed.), 207–227. Gainesville FL: University Presses of Florida.
- Lee, T.Y. 1997. *Morfosintaxis amerindias en el español americano: Desde la perspectiva del quechua*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Lipski, J.M. 1996. *El Español de América*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra.
- Martin, E.H. 1981. Data source in La Paz Spanish verb tenses. In *The Aymara Language in its Social and Cultural Context*, M.J. Hardman (ed.), 205–206. Gainesville FL: University Presses of Florida.
- Nuckolls, J.B. 1993. The semantics of certainty in Quechua and its implications for a cultural epistemology. *Language in Society* 22: 235–255.
- Schiffrin, D. 1987. *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Schwenter, S.A. 1995. Some reflections on *o sea*: A discourse marker in Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics* 25: 855–874.
- Stratford, D. 1991. Tense in Altiplano Spanish. In *Sociolinguistics of the Spanish-Speaking World*, C.A. Klee & L. Ramos-García, (eds.), 163–181. Tempe AZ: Bilingual Press.
- Weber, D.J. 1986. Information perspective, profile, and patterns in Quechua. In *The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, W. Chafe and J. Nichols. (eds.), 137–155. Norwood NJ: Ablex.
- Wölck, W. 1987. *Pequeño breviario quechua*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Zavala, V. 2001. Borrowing evidential functions from Quechua: The role of *pues* as a discourse marker in Andean Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 999–1023.



# La negación en la frontera domínico-haitiana

## Variantes y usos (socio)lingüísticos

Luis A. Ortiz López

Universidad de Puerto Rico

We investigate pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors that condition the use of double negation along the Haitian-Dominican Republic border in the speech of Spanish monolinguals and in that of Haitian Creole/Spanish bilinguals. In Dominican Spanish, researchers have proposed two basic syntactic configurations for negation: a single pre-verbal negative marker of *no* + verb and a set of configurations that entail double negation. Double negation may involve simultaneous pre- and post-verbal negative markers, preverbal and sentence final negative markers, and a preverbal negative marker plus a negative polarity item such as *nada* ‘nothing’, *tampoco* ‘neither/either’, or *nadie* ‘nobody’. With respect to social groups, two points emerge. First, monolingual speakers of Dominican Spanish show a higher frequency of double negation than do the bilingual Haitian Creole-Spanish speakers. Second, Haitian learners of Dominican Spanish, independent of their degree of proficiency in Spanish, predominantly acquire and use the pattern of single pre-verbal negation. They display very few cases of double negation. Those Haitian speakers who do display some double negation show certain patterns of negation that maybe interpreted as transfer from Haitian Creole. However, as these speakers increase in proficiency, they progressively diminish such transfer. Therefore, the relative absence of double negation in the Spanish of the Haitian Creole-Spanish bilinguals and the presence of double negation in the monolingual Dominican Spanish speakers does not provide support for claims that double negation in Dominican Spanish results from contact with Haitian Creole.

### 1. Introducción

La negación es el acto de negar una proposición. Consiste en la anteposición de un adverbio de negación, principalmente *no*, al verbo, y cuyo resultado es una oración que declara la inadecuación entre sujeto y predicado, o de la proposición entera con la realidad (Sánchez López 1999:2563). Los modelos tradicionales de la gramática legitimaron la negación preverbal, pero no la doble negación (DN) (4–5); sin embargo, los acercamientos estructuralistas consideraron la DN como una de las posibles estructuras de la gramática universal para expresar la negación. Dentro de la teoría de



*Principios y Parámetros*, propuesta por Chomsky (1986), la negación podría interpretarse como un caso de fijación de parámetros. Las opciones van desde aquellas lenguas o variedades que sólo poseen NegP, o Spec hasta aquéllas que mantienen varios modelos de negación. La DN podría considerarse como la opción universal no marcada, la cual según el ciclo de Jespersen (1917) parece ser una etapa histórica posible de muchas lenguas, y que entonces las lenguas han optado por una u otra opción. Para las lenguas romances, Zanuttini (1989) ha distinguido tres tipos de variantes: (1) preverbal, como en castellano, catalán, italiano estándar y rumano; (2) posverbal, como en occitano y en francés coloquial, y (3) pre y posverbal, como en francés estándar. En las lenguas criollas, lenguas regidas por las opciones gramaticales menos marcadas permitidas por la GU (Bickerton 1981, 1984), la DN ha mostrado ser un rasgo muy extendido, que funciona casi como norma, independientemente de la lengua del superestrato o substrato (casos bastante extraños son el papiamento y el criollo haitiano). Más allá de las interpretaciones sintácticas, las variantes en las construcciones negativas en variedades iberorromances se han comenzado a analizar desde la perspectiva pragmática (Schwegler 1996; Schwenter 2001, 2005). La variación que presentan las lenguas iberorromances en el manejo de las construcciones negativas ha generado discusión y debate (Schwegler 1991, 1996; Dieck 2000; Schwenter 2002, 2003, 2005; Barme 2002, 2003). La existencia de diversos modos de negar se ha documentado y estudiado en variedades del portugués (Schwenter 2005) (1a–c), del francés (2a–c), del italiano (3a–b) y del español (4–5):

- (1) a. *A Cláudia não veio a festa.* (NEG 1)  
 La Claudia NEG veo la fiesta<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘A Claudia no la veo en la fiesta.’ (Schwenter 2005)
- b. *A Cláudia não veio a festa não.* (NEG 2)  
 La Claudia NEG veo la fiesta NEG  
 ‘A Claudia no la veo en la fiesta.’
- c. \**A Cláudia veio a festa não.* (NEG 3)  
 La Claudia veo la fiesta NEG  
 ‘A Claudia no la veo en la fiesta.’
- (2) a. *Je n’ ai pas vu l’avion.*<sup>2</sup>  
 Yo NEG he NEG visto el avión  
 ‘Yo no he visto el avión.’
- b. *Je ne comprends pas la question.*  
 Yo NEG entiendo NEG la pregunta  
 ‘Yo no entiendo la pregunta.’
- c. *Ne vas-tu pas acheter ce livre?*  
 NEG vas tú NEG comprar este libro  
 ‘¿No vas a comprar este libro?’

1. La traducción es nuestra.

2. Los datos provenientes del francés corresponden a un hablante nativo de esta lengua; la traducción al español es nuestra.

- (3) a. *Gianni non ha mica la macchina.* (Zanutti 1991)  
Gianni NEG tiene 'para nada' el carro  
'Gianni no tiene el carro.'
- b. *Gianni non ha affatto voglia di giocare.*<sup>3</sup>  
Gianni NEG tiene absolutamente.ningunas ganas de jugar  
'Gianni no tiene absolutamente ningunas ganas de jugar.'

En el caso del español, han recibido especial atención la modalidad dominicana (4a–c, Schwegler 1996, y 4d–e, Ortiz López) y la colombiana del Chocó (5a–c, Ruiz 2001):

- (4) a. Bueno, eso **no sé decirle no.** (Schwegler 1996)  
b. Por aquí casi nunca lo usan así **no.**  
c. Mañana **no** me da tiempo pa' venir a trabajar **no.**  
d. Lune, sábado, e (el) mingo (domingo) **no** trabaja **no.** (Ortiz López)<sup>4</sup>  
e. Claro, sí. Aquí hay gente que lo sabe cobijal. To el mundo **no** sabe **no.**
- (5) a. **No** le dije que estaba en casa **no.** (Ruiz 2001)  
b. **No** desperdicie su vida así **no.**  
c. **¿No** le he dado mi nombre **no?**

La negación también se ha examinado en criollos de base léxica portuguesa, como el santomense (6), annobonense (7) y principense (8a–b)<sup>5</sup>:

- (6) *Bo NA bila mesé kumé FA?* (Ivens Ferraz 1978)  
Tú NEG quieres comer más NEG  
'¿No quieres comer más?'
- (7) *Pedulo NA salú F(a).* (Valkhoff 1966)  
Pedro NEG llora NEG  
'Pedro no llora.'
- (8) a. *Ami NA sebé FA.* (Günther 1973)  
Yo NEG sabía NEG.  
'Yo no lo sabía.'
- b. *Zwā Ø sebé landá FA.* (Ivens Ferraz 1978)  
Juan NEG sabe nadar NEG.  
'Juan no sabe nadar.'

en criollos de base francesa, como el CH (DeGraff 1993; Lefebvre 1998; Déprez 1999) (9a–b):

- (9) a. *M\*(pa) te we pèsson / anyen.* (Déprez 1999:377)<sup>6</sup>  
I NEG ANT ver persona / nadie.  
'No he visto a nadie / a ninguno.'

3. Datos provenientes de un informante italiano (veneciano) nativo, residente en Puerto Rico.

4. Estos ejemplos forman parte del corpus de nuestro proyecto de investigación.

5. Ejemplos tomados de Schwegler (1996).

6. Las traducciones al español de los ejemplos de Déprez (1999), DeGraff (1993) y Lefebvre (1999) son nuestras.

- b. *Li pa danse ak pèsson.* (Déprez 1999:377)  
 Ella NEG ANT bailar con persona.  
 ‘Ella no ha bailado con nadie/ninguno.’

y en el criollo de base española, hablado en el Palenque de San Basilio, Colombia (10a-c) (Megenny 1986; Schwegler 1991; Dieck 2000)<sup>7</sup>:

- (10) a. *Pogké lo ke NU sabé NU {¡ke NO BAYA!}* (Schwegler 1991)  
 Porque lo que NEG saber NEG qué no vaya  
 ‘Porque lo que no sabe qué no vaya.’  
 b. *I bo a hayá pekao NU, ¿NO?* (Schwegler 1991)  
 Y vos T/A hallar pescado NEG NEG  
 ‘Y tú no has hallado pescado, ¿no?’  
 c. *Ya í bae konbedsá má NU* (Dieck 2000)  
 Ya ir conversar más NEG.  
 ‘Ya no va a conversar más.’

Los investigadores se han acercado a la negación con el propósito de dar cuenta de los tipos de estructuras, la génesis y las funciones que acarrearán las diversas formas de negar en tales modalidades. Sin embargo, la variación que manifiestan los hablantes en cuanto a la negación no ha sido del todo captada ni explicada en las propuestas presentadas. En este trabajo, retomamos el tema de la negación en dos variedades del español dentro de una situación de contacto: el español dominicano (ED) y el español haitianizado (EH).

En la variante del español dominicano (ED), la negación presenta varios patrones sintácticos: (1) la NEG1, correspondiente al de la lengua hispánica general (11a) y la NEG2, del tipo *no V no*. La NEG2 presenta, a su vez, tres variantes: (a) *pre y postverbal* (11b–c); (b) *preverbal y final de oración* (11d–e)<sup>8</sup> y (c) *NEG preverbal V otra palabra negativa {nada/tampoco/nadie, etc.}* (11f–g):

- (11) a. Ahora mismo yo **no** estoy trabajando. Y pueh mi hija me suple, pero yo **no** puedo ehtay, sabe **no** estoy cogiendo ninguna ayuda porque yo **nunca** he cogido ayuda porque **no** me guta.  
 b. ¿Hierba buena?  
 Ah no aquí **no** hay **no**, a secoa (se ha secado).  
 c. No sube, etá patio. Allí el tubo etá patio, el tubo allí a bota mucha agua. Aquí **no** sube **no**. Eta patio el tubo allí e tubo gande.  
 d. **No** me guta donde haiga problema **no**.  
 e. Yo **no** boy a bebei ahora **no**.  
 f. **No** hizo el trabajo **na**.  
 g. ¿Y tu mamá habla créole?  
 Mí mamá **no** habla créole **tampoco**.

7. El tema de la negación ha sido investigado recientemente en niños vascos bilingües (euskera-castellano) (Meisel 1994) y en hablantes vascos bilingües (Landa 1990; Franco y Landa 1999, 2005), cuyos resultados son muy reveladores para la adquisición y la teoría lingüística, respectivamente.

8. Estos ejemplos forman parte del corpus de nuestro proyecto investigación.

En el ED no se ha documentado hasta la fecha la NEG3 postoracional, variante que se produce en el portugués brasileño (1c) y en el palenquero colombiano (10b-c).

Esta variante sintáctica de negación doble en el ED fue ignorada por los dialectólogos del español dominicano (Henríquez Ureña 1940). Fue Jiménez Sabater (1974: 170), quien reconoció por primera vez el fenómeno al señalar, por un lado, que el mismo “no constituye una irregularidad” y, por otro, que “se trata de una variante estilística que agrega, por lo general, un matiz de convicción sobre aquello que se niega o se afirma”. No obstante, Megenney (1990: 121–128), ofreció las primeras explicaciones sintácticas y genéticas sobre el fenómeno: las primeras, de corte generativo, y las segundas, desde la perspectiva criollística. Schwegler (1996) retomó el tema de la génesis de la NEG2 en el ED para defender la tesis de que la presencia de este rasgo en la sincronía caribeña, prueba la hipótesis “criolla”, propuesta por Granda (1976, 1978, 1994). La evidencia del rasgo en el ED (4a–f; 11a–11g), en el afrocubano, mediante datos tomados de Lipski (1994): (*Yo NO soy pobre, NO. Yo No ta purío, NO. Yo NO so brujo, NO*, Benítez del Cristo (1930); en el Chocó colombiano (5a–c); en el español palenquero (*¿Tú papá NO tiene rosa NU? Su papá NO ha sembrado este año NU?*), en el criollo palenquero (10a–c) y en variedades del portugués, como en el santomense (6), el annobonense (7) y el príncipense (8a–b), apoya, según Schwegler (1996), la criollización del ED y el español caribeño en general. Este rasgo ha sido encontrado *in situ* muy escasamente en el español afrocubano (*NO sé NO*, M65, La Maya, Santiago de Cuba; *Y NO hablaba extraño NO, NO*, M96 Güira de Melena, La Habana) (Ortiz López 1998: 113), y con cierta frecuencia en el Chocó de Colombia, tanto en oraciones simples (*¿NO le he dado mi nombre NO? NO desperdicie su vida así NO*), como en oraciones complejas (*No le gustan cosas que bromean NO. Yo NO le dije NO porque usted estaba en la casa NO*) (Ruiz 2001: 100–104). Estos datos del Chocó colombiano llevan a esta investigadora a coincidir con Schwegler (1996) en un origen africano parecido al del palenquero. Por otro lado, Lipski (1994) ha asociado el origen de la DN dominicana a una influencia del criollo haitiano, aunque no excluye la posibilidad de un origen indirecto bantú. Además, para Schwegler (1996: 11), la NEG2 cumple una función pragmática importante más allá que la de simplemente reforzar la negación lógica: “niega una aserción y a la vez enlaza el enunciado negativo con posiciones afirmativas implícitas o explícitas en el discurso previo”. Desde el punto de vista sociolingüístico, este mismo investigador asocia el fenómeno con los sociolectos populares y los estilos informales, sin que haya *variación libre*,<sup>9</sup> ya que en el uso siempre se imponen condiciones pragmáticas. Desde la perspectiva pragmática, se ha acercado Schwenter (2000, 2003, 2005) a la negación en variedades iberromances (catalán, italiano, portugués brasileño y español dominicano) para dar cuenta de los valores y las funciones no estándares o no canónicas de la negación. Destaca este investigador que entre los tres tipos de negación hay diferencias pragmáticas significativas, determinadas por el tipo de información que aporta

9. Como sabemos, el concepto de variación libre ha sido muy polémico dentro de los estudios variacionistas.

la estructura, específicamente el estatus del discurso (conocido/nuevo) que acompaña la proposición negativa, y rechaza, a su vez, las hipótesis basadas en el énfasis o refuerzo (*emphatic* o *reinforced*) (Uppendahl 1979) y en las presuposiciones (Schwegler 1991, 1996; Roncarati 1996). A pesar de los avances que se han logrado en tratar de explicar los usos no canónicos de la DN, los datos, fundamentalmente cualitativos y, a veces, un tanto aislados de las conversaciones espontáneas, cuando se observan en conjunto, no parecen comportarse de la misma forma, y se resisten, a nuestra manera de ver, a los patrones sociolingüísticos y pragmáticos propuestos. Prueba de ello es que estas estructuras de NEG2 (de tipo A/B) y NEG3 no se producen en todos los hablantes del español, y aún en aquellas variedades en las que ocurre el fenómeno, como en el ED, los miembros de tales comunidades manifiestan comportamientos variados, aún a nivel individual, como probaremos más adelante. Si son factores pragmáticos los que impulsan la DN, por qué no se reproducen tales comportamientos en todos los contextos y en todos los hablantes, por lo menos en la variedad en la que ocurre el fenómeno; además, cómo se explica que ciertas comunidades hayan adoptado la DN para ciertas funciones y otras comunidades, bajo las mismas condiciones sociohistóricas y etno-sociolingüísticas, prefieran otro tipo de estructura de negación?<sup>10</sup> En cuanto al contacto, nos preguntamos: ¿Cómo adquieren los hablantes de L2, con un criollo como L1, la negación en un escenario con varios modelos de negación, como es el dialecto dominicano? Para responder a estas preguntas, en esta investigación proponemos los siguientes objetivos:

- (1) Examinar desde una perspectiva cuantitativa y cualitativa los tipos de negación en hablantes monolingües del español (dominicanos (Ds), arayanos (AYs) y dominico-haitianos (DHs) y en bilingües con español como L2 (haitianos (Hs) en la frontera dominico-haitiana.
- (2) Investigar la relación cuantitativa y cualitativa entre los diversos tipos de estructuras de NEG y los valores pragmáticos que poseen.
- (3) Analizar si los comportamientos lingüísticos y extralingüísticos de la NEG están condicionados por variables internas y/o externas (monolingüismo/ bilingüismo).
- (4) Investigar si se dan procesos de transferencias en aquellos casos en donde no existan coincidencias en las estructuras de los marcadores negativos de las lenguas en contacto.

---

10. Sobre este particular, tanto Dieck (2000:28–29) como Ruiz García (2001:120) han puesto en duda, con datos cualitativos, las funciones pragmáticas de tipo información nueva/vieja como variable para el uso de una u otra negación en el caso del palenquero y del chocó colombiano, respectivamente. Actualmente, centramos nuestra investigación en los usos variables de NEG2 (A/B) con el propósito de explicar con mayor precisión los valores pragmáticos de dicha estructura.

## 2. La negación en el créole haitiano (CH)

Antes de presentar los hallazgos de esta investigación, es oportuno ofrecer algunos datos descriptivos en torno a la negación en el CH. El CH sigue los patrones verbales de las lenguas del sustrato procedentes de African occidental, no Bantú.<sup>11</sup> El sistema de TMA y de negación de CH es más parecido al modelo fongbe, lengua del sustrato, que al francés, la lengua lexificadora (Lefebvre 1998: 111). No obstante, en cuanto a la negación, el CH mantiene coincidencias y diferencias con el francés. Posee el marcador de negación *pa*, homófono al *pas* del francés, pero difiere del francés en la posición en la que se coloca este marcador negativo. Contrario a la lengua del superestrato, que posee dos marcadores negativos *ne* preverbal, como cabeza de la frase negativa, y *pas* después de un verbal finito, con función adverbial, y en posición de especificador de la frase negativa (Lefebvre 1998: 208), como en (2a–c), en el CH *pa* (12a–b), generalmente precede a los marcadores de TMA (DeGraff 1993), como en fongbe (12c):

- (12) a. *Jan pa t' av- ale nan mache.* (DeGraff 1993)  
 Juan NEG ANT IND-FUT ir al mercado  
 'Juan no quería ir al mercado.'
- b. *Jean (ne) serait pas allé au marché.* (DeGraff 1993)  
 Juan (ne) COND NEG ir al mercado  
 'Juan no iría al mercado / no aceptaría ir al mercado.'
- c. *Kokú ma ní wá axi me* (Lefebvre 1999)  
 Koku NEG SUB ir mercado en  
 'Koku no tendrá que ir al mercado.'

Según estos datos, podemos argumentar que el francés contribuyó en la forma de la negación del CH, pero no en su distribución, preverbal,<sup>12</sup> la cual coincide con la mayoría de los criollos, fundamentalmente no atlánticos (Holm 1988–89), de superestrato inglés y francés, así como de algunos de superestrato portugués, como el criollo caboverdiano (Stolz 1987), el papiamento (criollo de base española-portuguesa (Maurer 1987); de superestrato holandés, como el negerhollands (Holm 1988–89), y de superestrato hispánico, como el zamboangueno (Lipski 1987). Asimismo, la negación del CH sigue el patrón de la mayoría de las lenguas romances, en posición preverbal, y forma parte del complemento del verbo como en (13a–b):

- (13) a. *M\*(pa) te we pèsson / anyen.* (Déprez 1999: 377)<sup>13</sup>  
 I NEG ANT ver persona / nadie.  
 'No he visto a nadie / a ninguno.'

11. Los patrones de negación en las lenguas africanas son diversos, aun entre las mismas familias lingüísticas (Lipski 2005: 255).

12. Para un análisis descriptivo y teórico de la negación en el CH, véase DeGraff (1993); Lefebvre (1998); Déprez (1999).

13. Las traducciones al español de los ejemplos de Déprez (1999), DeGraff (1993) y Lefebvre (1998) son nuestras.

- b. *Li pa danse ak pèsson.* (Déprez 1999:377)  
 Ella NEG ANT bailar con persona.  
 ‘Ella no ha bailado con nadie/ninguno.’

No obstante, en contraste con el español y con otras lenguas romances, pero similar a muchos criollos (Black English, papiamentu, negerhollands, y criollos de base francesa, Holm (1988–89:172), la negación en el CH también aparece junto a otras negaciones en función de sujeto (13c):

- (13) c. *Pèsson / Anyen \*(pa) rive.* (Déprez 1999:377)  
 Nadie / ninguno NEG llegar  
 \*‘Nadie/ninguna persona NEG llegó.’  
 ‘Nadie / ninguna persona llegó.’

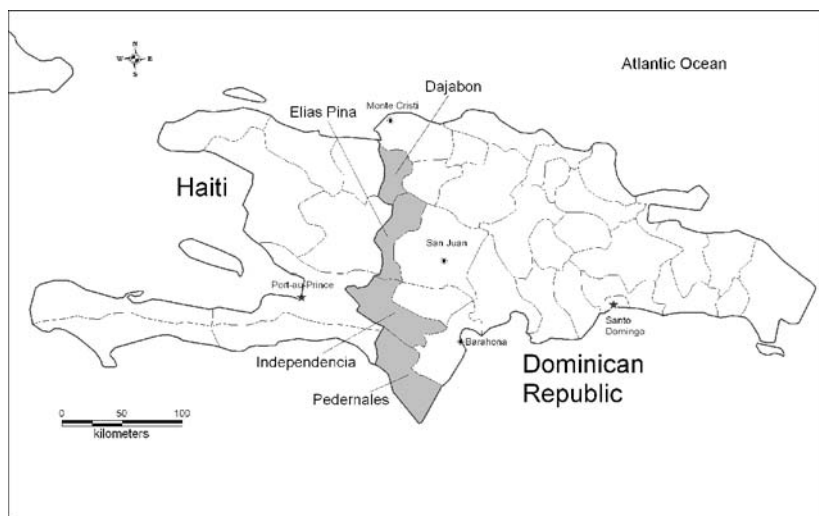
Hay contextos, empero, en los que *pa* no es obligatoria, entre ellos cuando está presente un predicado adversativo como *anyen* (13d) y en preguntas de tipo *sí* o *no* y en cláusulas de *si* (13e), aunque, según Déprez (1999:377), en estos casos, existe variación diatópica.

- (13) d. *Jan refize poul li manje anyen.* (Déprez 1999:377)  
 Juan rechazar SUB comer NEG  
 \*‘Juan rechaza comer nada.’  
 ‘Juan rechaza comer.’
- e. *Eske pèsson rele m?* (Déprez 1999:377)  
 ‘¿Nadie te ha llamado? / ¿Nadie te llama? / ¿No hubo nadie que te haya llamado?’

### 3. Metodología de la investigación

El universo de este estudio corresponde a la frontera dominico-haitiana, la cual comparten dos naciones: Haití y República Dominicana, territorios distantes en muchos aspectos, fundamentalmente, culturales y lingüísticos, debido, según Castor (1987:15), a los acontecimientos históricos que moldearon la estructura interna de ambas naciones, determinando su poblamiento, su desarrollo, y los elementos sociales, económicos, culturales e ideológicos, que conformaron dos naciones diferentes. En el escenario fronterizo conviven dos lenguas tipológicamente distintas: en la parte oriental de la frontera, el ED, un dialecto hispanocaribeño, y en el occidental, el CH. Por lo tanto, esta zona se caracteriza por el contacto (etno)sociolingüístico que mantienen estos dos grupos. Este trabajo se enmarca dentro de un proyecto investigación de campo que llevamos a cabo en las cuatro provincias fronterizas: *Pedernales, Jimaní, Elías Piña y Dajabón* (Mapa 1).

Los datos son parte de los materiales grabados *in situ* a miembros de la comunidad fronteriza, y de la observación participativa. Durante la estadía, seleccionamos al azar a integrantes de estos grupos, con quienes conversamos libremente sobre temas históricos, políticos, económicos y sociales de la frontera. De esta manera los in-



Mapa 1. Universo de estudio: la frontera dominico-haitiana

formantes se interesaron en las conversaciones, y aprovecharon la oportunidad para describir y denunciar las condiciones inhumanas y ‘neoesclavistas’ por las que atraviesa el haitiano y sus descendientes.<sup>14</sup> Para este trabajo, identificamos tres grupos de hablantes, subdivididos según la variable etnicidad: Hs, DHs y AYs, así como una muestra control de hablantes Ds monolingües del sociolecto bajo, a quienes grabamos en conversaciones semiespontáneas entre veinte y cuarenta minutos de duración.

Los integrantes Hs han vivido entre cinco y treinta años en la frontera y su lengua dominante es el créole; hablan el español con diversos grados de dominio, en su mayoría, como *interlengua* (Ortiz López 2001a, 2001b). Los DHs son haitianos nacidos en territorio dominicano, con fuerte arraigo en la cultura haitiana y con influencia dominicana; son bilingües en diversos grados, aunque el créole es la lengua del hogar. Los AYs son un grupo híbrido étnicamente que se caracterizan por mantener un fuerte contacto con ambas lenguas desde su niñez, mediante un padre dominicano y una madre haitiana y por ser bilingües “balanceados”. Junto a esta muestra, incorporamos 14 Ds fundamentalmente monolingües en español “no estándar”, la mayoría residentes en la frontera, con el propósito de comparar los datos de los Hs, DHs y AYs.

14. Recientemente se han levantado nuevas voces condenando el discrimen y las condiciones inhumanas que sufre el haitiano en la República Dominicana. La escritora puertorriqueña Mayra Santos Febres ha denunciado las prácticas discriminatorias del gobierno dominicano contra los haitianos migrantes y fronterizos, en su columna dominical *Musa paradisiaca*, publicada en el periódico El Nuevo Día, 16 de julio de 2005. Asimismo, fui testigo durante la investigación de campo de esas injusticias, y de los reclamos de justicia que gritan los haitianos y descendientes en República Dominicana.



**Cuadro 1.** Muestra, según las variables sociales

| Grupo étnico            | Género | Edad      | Dominio lingüístico                            |
|-------------------------|--------|-----------|--|
| (15) Haitianos          | (6) F  | (4) 15–25 | Bilingües:<br>créole L1<br>español interlengua |
|                         | (9) M  | (8) 30–50 |  |
|                         |        | (3) +55   |  |
| (10) Domínico-haitianos | (10) M | (9) 15–25 | Bilingües:<br>créole L1<br>español L2          |
|                         |        | (1) 30–50 |  |
| (7) Arayanos            | (2) F  | (3) 15–25 | Bilingües<br>créole L1<br>español L1 o L2      |
|                         | (5) M  | (4) 30–50 |  |
| (13) Dominicanos        | (4) F  | (3) 15–25 | Monolingües<br>Español L1                      |
|                         | (9) M  | (8) 30–50 |  |
|                         |        | (2) +55   |  |

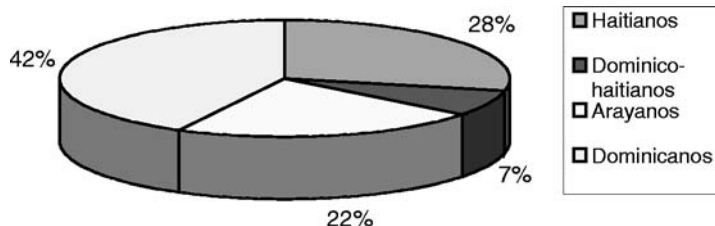
**Cuadro 2.** Corpus verbal y formas negativas, según la variable etnicidad

| Grupo étnico       | Formas verbales | Formas verbales con Neg |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| Haitianos          | 2631            | 227 (9%)                |
|                    | 28%             | (23%)                   |
| Domínico-haitianos | 673             | 101 (15%)               |
|                    | 7%              | (10%)                   |
| Arayanos           | 2083            | 247 (12%)               |
|                    | 22%             | (26%)                   |
| Dominicanos        | 3938            | 393 (10%)               |
|                    | 42%             | (41%)                   |
| Total:             | 9325            | 968 (10%)               |

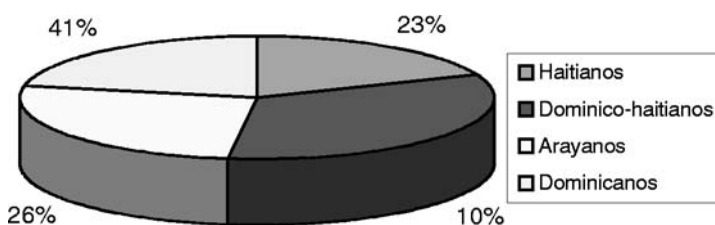
#### 4. Análisis de los datos

Después de transliterar las entrevistas,<sup>15</sup> identificamos todas las formas verbales con o sin marcador negativo; codificamos los datos, según las variables lingüísticas y extralingüísticas, bajo estudio, y los sometimos al programa estadístico SPSS con el objetivo de establecer correlaciones entre las variables. De las 45 entrevistas, obtuvimos un corpus de 9325 formas verbales, de las cuales 968 o el 10.4% correspondieron a formas verbales junto a palabras negativas (FVN) (Cuadro 2/ Gráfica 1).

15. Se ha transliterado cerca del 80 por ciento de las entrevistas grabadas. Agradezco el apoyo que me dieron en esta etapa de la investigación los estudiantes graduados de lingüística, Melvyn González, Rose Vázquez, Alexandra Morales y Jean Pierre, y al Decanato de Estudios Graduados e Investigación de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, por las ayudantías de investigación que les otorgó a estos estudiantes.



Gráfica 1. Formas verbales, según la variable etnicidad



Gráfica 2. Proporción de formas verbales con Neg. según la variable etnicidad

Como parte del corpus, sólo incluimos las formas verbales, acompañadas de las palabras negativas *no*, *nada*, *nunca*, *ninguno*, *tampoco*. Excluimos otras formas de negación, entre ellas, *ni*, sintagmas como *en mi/la vida*, *en absoluto*, *de ninguna manera*, ya que tuvieron frecuencias muy bajas. También eliminamos los casos en los que el verbo aparecía elidido, como en (14a–b):

- (14) a. E: ¿Te gusta Dajabón?  
I: ¡No! Me guta pa negociar, pero **no** Øpa vivir.
- b. I: Sí hay vago sí  
E: Hay vagos, sí, jóvenes  
I: Sí eso sí. Yo **no** Øvago **no**. A mí sí me guta trabajá.

Los cuatro grupos manifestaron un uso proporcional de negaciones en relación con la cantidad de formas verbales, aunque se destacan los DHs con un 15%. Respecto a las frecuencias de marcadores negativos, los DHs produjeron menor uso de negaciones (10%) en comparación con los demás sujetos, especialmente, frente a los Ds y AYs, quienes documentaron 41% y 26% respectivamente de casos de negaciones en el corpus estudiado (Gráfica 2).

El Cuadro 3 presenta las manifestaciones cuantitativas de los tipos de negación. De las 968 formas verbales negativas, 872 o el 90% fueron formas simples de negación (Neg.1) como 11a y 15, y 96 o el 10%, otras formas de negación (NEG2), como (16) y

Cuadro 3. Tipos de negación, según la variable etnicidad

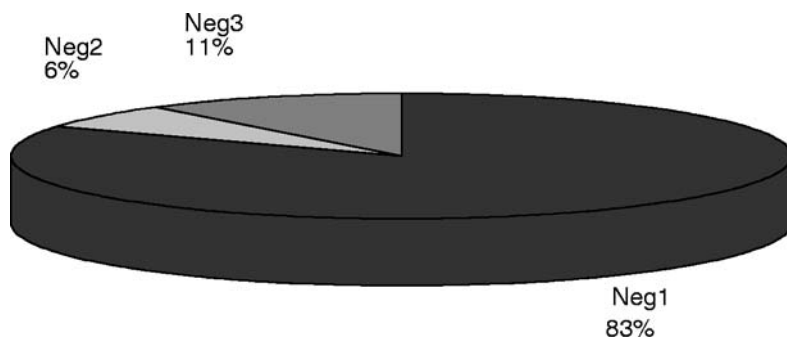
| Grupo étnico       | Formas negativas | Neg.1     | Neg.2 (A/B) | Neg.2 (C) |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Haitianos          | 227              | 193 (85%) | 4 (2%)      | 30 (13%)  |
| %                  | (23%)            | (22%)     | (15%)       | (43%)     |
| Domínico-haitianos | 101              | 97 (96%)  | 0 (0%)      | 4 (4%)    |
| %                  | (10%)            | (11%)     | (0%)        | (6%)      |
| Arayanos           | 247              | 234 (95%) | 2 (.08%)    | 11 (4%)   |
| %                  | (26%)            | (27%)     | (.07%)      | (16%)     |
| Dominicanos        | 393              | 348 (89%) | 21 (5%)     | 24 (6%)   |
| %                  | (41%)            | (40%)     | (78%)       | (35%)     |
| Total:             | 968              | 872 (90%) | 27 (3%)     | 69 (7%)   |

(17a–b). No hubo ningún caso de NEG3, postoracional. La media de uso de la negación simple fue de 91%.

- (15) I: ¿Y en la tierra?, ¿Trabajan en la tierra?  
 E: Sí, trabajan agricultura, pero **no** tenemos, ¿cómo le puedo decir? Empresa de agua **no** tenemos.  
 I: ¿No tienen agua?  
 E: Tenemos, pero **no** tenemos canal pa' que pasa (pase) (H/M/26/)<sup>16</sup>
- (16) E: Y ella, ¿qué vende allá?  
 I: No, no, no, no, no.  
 E: ¿Nada, tampoco?  
 I: **No** vende **no**, do pare, tre pare...(H/F/3...)
- (17) a. E: ¿Y los animales entran a la finca? o ¿no?  
 I: No aquí **no** hay chivo **no** (D/M 3...).
- b. E: Y, ¿qué hizo?. ¿No le dieron el radio?  
 I: No, no me lo dien (dieron), **ni** los cuartos me los dieron **tampoco** (D/M/3...)

Estos datos, en principio, sitúan a todos los sujetos, independientemente de la lengua materna y del nivel de bilingüismo, dentro del modelo de la negación canónica hispánica (NEG1, del tipo V Neg). Prueba, además, que la variedad dominicana, hablada como L1 y como L2 en sus diversos grados, sigue, fundamentalmente, el patrón de negación preverbal del español caribeño y del español en general. Asimismo, corrobora que en este dialecto caribeño, existe otra variante de negación, principalmente del tipo NEG2. Fueron los sujetos Ds quienes hicieron mayor uso de la NEG2, seguidos por los Hs. Los dos grupos intermedios (DHs y AYs) apoyan más el patrón de negación preverbal. Estos hablantes bilingües evidenciaron muy pocos casos de NEG2. Dentro de este modelo de negación pre y posverbal, el 28% siguió el parámetro de la DN, separada para efectos de este trabajo en NEG2A, como aparece en (18a–c), y en NEG2B, como en (19a–c):

16. Se incluye entre paréntesis el grupo étnico (H, DH, AY, D), el género (M, F) y la edad real o aproximada del sujeto.



Gráfica 3. Total tipos de Neg.

(A) Neg2A (Neg. V Neg):

- (18) a. E: ¿Eso (cobijar) no lo puede hacer todo el mundo?  
I: Claro, sí. Aquí hay gente que lo sabe cobijar. To' el mundo **no sabe no**.(D/M/45)
- b. E: ¿Y es buena (la carretera)?  
I: **No** es buena **no**, por acá. (AY/M/4... )
- c. E: ¿No diga?  
I: Son verdad... Cuando camino, **no** camino sola **no** (H/M/3...)

(B) Neg2B (Neg V complementos Neg):

- (19) a. I: **No** se la venden a to' el mundo **no**. Sí, sí, ya se la consigue la gente... (D/M/45)
- b. E: ¿Le gustaría ir a Cuba?  
I: **No** me gustaría ir por ahí **no**, Uff (D/M/45/)
- c. I: **No** le dan (3023) chance ni siquiera de ir a bucar la ropa **no** (AY/M/2...)

La DN pre y posverbal, con la palabra negativa *no* en ambas posiciones, fue favorecida en el 76% de los casos (16/21), frente a la negación preverbal y final de oración, con un 24% (5/21).

Aquí el alcance de la negación parece jugar un papel importante, ya que en el caso de negación tipo A, queda meridianamente claro la negación del verbo, mientras que en los casos tipo B hay unos complementos (nominales, preposicionales y subordinados) que, por su complejidad sintáctica, podrían interferir en la proposición que se desea negar. Por lo tanto, en la medida que se compliquen los complementos del verbo, se esperaría un menor uso de negación B, por lo que el caso documentado en (19d) sería cuantitativamente poco representativo.<sup>17</sup>

- (19) c. I: **No** le dan chance ni siquiera de ir a bucar la ropa **no** (AY/M/2...)

17. 16. En el corpus bajo estudio se encontraron muy pocos casos de estructuras complejas como (19d). Sería necesario investigar cuán frecuente es y qué valores posee la ND en estructuras complejas como ésta.

Asimismo, como parte de la NEG2 se documentaron negaciones con otras palabras negativas, preferiblemente con *nada* (identificadas aquí como NEG2C), como son (20a–d):

- (20) a. I: Yo dije: “Yo lo que me voy es a morirme del hambre y yo **no** voy a ponchar **na**”  
 b. E: ¿Y tu mamá y tu papá hablan español?  
 I: Mi mama **no** sabe **na**.  
 c. E: ¿Y en créol, sabes leer y escribir?  
 I: Eso **no** sé **nada**.  
 E: ¿No sabes leer ni escribir creol?  
 I: ¡**No!** (DH/21/Pedernales)  
 d. I: **No** hay que venir aquí **tampoco**.<sup>18</sup>

Dentro de este modelo de NEG2C postverbal y final de oración, las palabras negativas *nada/tampoco*, podrían representar, variantes lingüísticas, aunque con valores pragmáticos distintos, como parece ocurrir en (21a–b) y (20d):

- (21) a. E: No, él habla bien.  
 I: Sí, él habla bien, pero (otros) **no** saben **na**. Hay muchos que **no** saben **na**’ (D/M)  
 Sí, él habla bien, pero (otros) **no** saben {**na**’/**no**}. Hay muchos que **no** saben {**na**’/**no**}.  
 b. E: ¡Ah sí!. Y tú mamá, ¿habla español, habla dominicano?  
 I: Ella **no** sabe.  
 Ella **no** sabe {**nada/no**’/**?tampoco**}.  
 (20) d. I: **No** hay que venir aquí **tampoco**.  
**No** hay que venir {**no/tampoco**’/**?nada**}

Aclaremos, empero, que la negación múltiple o polaridad negativa, no siempre es una variante de la DN discontinua del tipo, no ... no, *ne ... pas* del francés, o *nu ... nu* del palenquero, las cuales tienen el propósito de negar toda la oración, frente a los otros casos de polaridad negativa que niegan generalmente parte de la oración, y en otros, tienen otras funciones sintácticas, por ejemplo, de objetos (pronombres indefinidos u otros complementos), como en (22):

- (22) I: Ahí lo que hay es café.  
 E: ¿Qué más?  
 I: **No** hay más **na**’. (D/M/2...)  
**No** hay más \*(**na**’).  
**No** hay más \***no**.

Un estudio de variación en el que se pongan a prueba variables lingüísticas, como la clase sintáctica (transitivo vs. intransitivo) y semántica del verbo, los tipos de complementos del verbo, entre otros factores, podría aclarar esta hipótesis de trabajo y arrojar luz sobre este aspecto. Por ejemplo, según hallazgos cualitativos, obtenidos de las entrevistas grabadas, parecería aceptable decir: *No sé eso No*, pero no, \**No se eso Nada*; y

18. Schwenter (2003) ha examinado las distinciones pragmáticas de *no* y *tampoco* en español.

*No sé No*, junto con *No sé Nada*; *No puedo ir allá No*, pero no *\*No puedo ir allá Nada*; *No conozco el nombre No*, pero no, *\*No conozco el nombre Nada*. Además, hay casos en los que aparecen los dos elementos, como en (23), en los que *nada* representa un complemento del verbo, y el marcador *no* la negación.

- (23) E: ¿Y sabe trabajar en el mar, cuestiones del mar, pescar?  
I: No, del mar **no sé nada no**. Hata miedo le tengo al mar (D/M/45)

(C) NEG2C (NEG V {nunca/nadie/tampoco}):

En el 72% (69/96), la DN ocurrió según el modelo C, correspondiente a *Neg V complementos + otras palabras negativas*, destacándose *nada* con un 86% (59/69), seguida por *nunca*, *nadie*, *ninguno* (24a–e) (4/4%) y otras palabras negativas (2/2%), lo que parece coincidir con el patrón general de la lengua, cuando se usa DN, por lo menos en cuanto a la variante caribeña se refiere.

- (24) a. E: ¿Vienen al mercado?  
I: No, eh hay una en Porto Príncipe pero **no** ha (he) venido aquí **nunca** (H/M/25).  
b. E: ¿Sacaría a los americanos de Haití? ¿Los va a sacar?  
I: Sí, los saca. **No** ha dicho que los va a sacá(r) **nunca** al pueblo (H/M/26).  
c. I: Yo habla en dominicano con él, algún veces habla haitiano. (?) Pero yo a veces, bien, si los dos muchachos chiquito si (?) **no** está ahí, está criando dominicano **no** habla haitiano **más nunca**<sup>19</sup> (H/M/62)  
d. I: El jue Peña (¿) le quitó do año. Eso **no** lo ha hecho **nadie** (H/M/3...).  
e. E: Y, ¿qué hizo? ¿No le dieron el radio?  
I: No, **no** me lo dien (dieron), **ni** los cuartos **tampoco** (D/M/3...)

Asimismo, encontramos en la muestra, aunque con poca frecuencia, un patrón de negación que coincide con la negación del CH. Este es el caso representado en (25a–b).

- (25) a. **Nadie no** habla haitiano (H/F/36).  
b. **Nadie no** sabe **na'** (H/M/62)  
c. Pero **nadie no** sabe cómo aquí el dinero, **nadie** (H/M65).

En estos casos, como ocurre en el CH, y en otros criollos (*Black English*, *papiamentu*, *negerhollands*, y criollos de base francesa) (Holm 1988–89:172), la negación también debe aparecer junto a otras negaciones en función de sujeto, como vimos en (13c). Este hecho apoyaría, a primera vista, la transferencia del modelo de negación del CH al español haitianizado, como estrategia o mecanismo de adquisición lingüística durante las primeras etapas del contacto, el cual va desapareciendo en los grupos más bilingües o dominantes en español (DHs y AYs). Una construcción similar a la del español haitianizado ocurre también en el español hablado como L2 entre vascos (26a–c) (Franco & Landa (2005):

- (26) a. **Nunca no** nos ha faltado de comer.

19. La forma *más + palabra negativa* (nunca, nadie, ninguno, nada) es una variante de la forma canónica que presenta una palabra negativa + adverbio de cantidad más, en el Caribe y en otras partes del mundo hispánico.

- b. Aquí **nadie** no sabe sobre eso.
- c. Con este alcalde **nada** no tiene sentido.

Esta estructura coincide con una construcción negativa del vasco, como en (27) (Franco & Landa (2005), hallazgo que lleva a concluir en estos investigadores que “*although there had not been any direct syntactic transfer from Basque, language contact with Basque could have acted as a trigger for the construction under study to occur* ‘aunque no había habido ninguna transferencia sintáctica directa del vasco, el contacto lingüístico con el vasco podría haber actuado como una provocación para que la construcción bajo estudio ocurriera’”. Tal conclusión podría extenderse al español haitianizado.

- (27) *Inork ez daki*  
 nadie.ERG NEG conoce.  
 \*‘Nadie no conoce esto.’

Por último, hay que destacar que en todos los contextos en los que apareció NEG2 (A/B/C), se documentan ejemplos de NEG1, hecho que nos motiva a mirar los datos desde la pragmática. Aquí exponemos los primeros hallazgos cuantitativos desde esta perspectiva.

## 5. Hipótesis pragmática

Para el análisis pragmático, seleccionamos 327 casos de negación (12%)<sup>20</sup> de un total de 2728 manifestaciones verbales, provenientes del corpus general (específicamente de las primeras 2079 manifestaciones verbales, y 649 casos de dos hablantes dominicanos (sujetos 8/10)<sup>21</sup>. Como señalamos anteriormente, Schwegler (1996) y más recientemente Schwenter (2003, 2005) han asociado las formas no canónicas de la negación (NEG2 y NEG3) del español y el palenquero y del portugués brasileño, respectivamente, con funciones pragmáticas del discurso. Este último investigador se apoya en el modelo de información de Prince (1992), sobre el *estatus del discurso* y el *estatus del oyente*, basado en la dicotomía de *conocido/nuevo*,<sup>22</sup> que combinadas tiene como resultado cuatro posibilidades de estatus (Birner & Ward 1998): *discurso nuevo/ oyente*

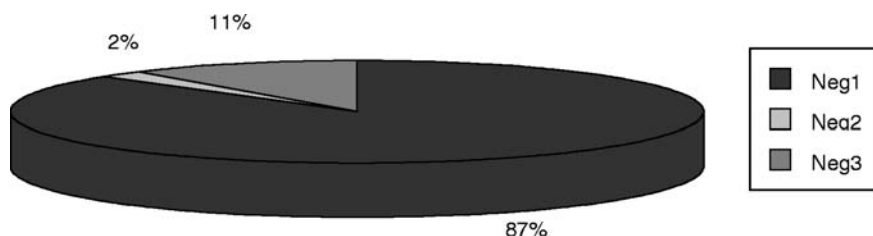
20. Por ciento bastante similar al del total de negaciones de la muestra general (10%).

21. La selección de estos sujetos se hizo arbitrariamente, según las primeras 2079 formas verbales, correspondientes a las primeras 14 entrevistadas; en el caso de los dos sujetos dominicanos se siguió el criterio de cantidad de NEG2 manifestadas. Fueron estos hablantes los que hicieron mayor uso de DN.

22. Bajo información *nueva*, codificamos aquella enunciación que surgía en el discurso del informante por primera vez, y bajo *conocida*, toda aquella información que tenía referentes previos, elicitados por el propio informante, o mediante preguntas o comentarios formulados por el entrevistador.

Cuadro 4. Tipos de negación, según información nueva vs. conocida

| Tipo de información | Neg.1     | Neg.2(A/B) | Neg.2(C) | Total    |
|---------------------|-----------|------------|----------|----------|
| Nueva (IN)          | 187 (87%) | 5 (2%)     | 23 (11%) | 215(66%) |
| Conocida (IC)       | 83 (75%)  | 16 (14%)   | 12 (11%) | 111(34%) |
| Total               | 270 (83%) | 21 (6%)    | 35 (11%) | 326      |



Gráfica 4. Tipos de negación e información nueva

*conocido; discurso nuevo/oyente nuevo; discurso conocido/oyente conocido; discurso conocido/oyente nuevo.* La compatibilidad de la propuesta del estatus del discurso de Prince (1992) y del estatus de la proposición de Dryer (1996) (*belief status* ‘presupuesta’ o *activation status* ‘activada’), le permiten a Schwenter (2005) ofrecer algunas explicaciones pragmáticas a las diversas construcciones de negación en el portugués brasileño. Sométimos a prueba este modelo a los datos nuestros.

Los hallazgos del Cuadro 4 demuestran que la información nueva se presenta mediante NEG1, en el 87% de los casos; 11% mediante NEG2(C), y sólo en un 2% con NEG2 (A/B), como en (28).

- (28) I: A los haitianos sí  
 E: ¿No diga?  
 I: Son verdad. Si preguntale a la gente de aquí. Cuando camino, no camino sola no.  
 (H)

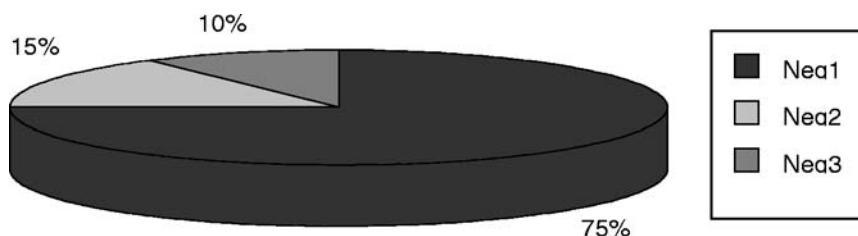
De esta manera, se corrobora el uso de la negación simple para la información nueva, y la ausencia de DN (A/B) para este tipo de discurso. En otras palabras, para una proposición negativa dentro de un discurso informativo totalmente nuevo este dialecto posee la NEG1 (Gráfica 4), como ocurre en el español general y en el portugués brasileño (Schwenter 2005).

En cuanto a la información conocida, los datos del Cuadro 4 evidencian que en el 75% (83/111) de los casos se niega según el patrón simple, como en el español general, y en el otro 25% (28/111), mediante la ND, destacándose, aunque con pocas diferencias, la NEG2(A/B) (16/28 ó 57% frente a 12/28 ó 43% a la NEG2(C). Por lo tanto, la variedad dominicana, a pesar de que sigue el modelo canónico de negación simple del español general en el 75% de los contextos negativos conocidos, presenta una variante



Cuadro 5. Formas de negación, según el tipo de información conocida

| Información conocida                                       | Neg.1    | Neg.2 (A/B) | Neg.(C)  | Total    |
|--|----------|-------------|----------|----------|
| Explícitamente (sin pregunta)                              | 39 (75%) | 8 (15%)     | 5 (10%)  | 52 (47%) |
| Implícitamente mediante una pregunta (neutra o de sí o no) | 41 (73%) | 8 (14%)     | 7 (13%)  | 56 (50%) |
| Implícitamente mediante una pregunta negativa              | 3 (100%) | –           | –        | 3 (3%)   |
| Total  | 83 (75%) | 16 (14%)    | 12 (11%) | 111      |



Gráfica 5. Tipos de negación e información conocida explícitamente

alterna, la DN(A/B), al parecer extraña en el mundo hispánico,<sup>23</sup> pero presente en el portugués brasileño (Schwenter 2005). Creíamos que la información conocida estaba condicionada por la forma en que se daba dicha información (*información explícita, pregunta neutra o de sí o no, y/o pregunta negativa*); sin embargo, los comportamientos lingüísticos, independientemente del contexto discursivo que incita la negación, fueron un tanto similares (Cuadro 5 / Gráfica 5). Esto nos lleva a proponer que en la variedad dominicana hay dos opciones posibles de negar proposiciones negativas activadas directamente en el discurso, principalmente mediante preguntas.

Sin embargo, la correlación entre información conocida y DN no es totalmente simétrica. Es decir, frente a proposiciones conocidas activadas en el discurso, el hablante no siempre opta por la DN. La pregunta que surge de inmediato es: ¿por qué no se comportan sistemáticamente los hablantes ante la misma situación pragmática? En torno a este aspecto hay que indagar más, tanto en las explicaciones internas de tipo interfaz (semánticas, sintácticas y pragmáticas) como en las externas o sociolingüísticas (diafásicas, diastráticas, actitudes, etc.).<sup>24</sup> Se deben explorar con mayor cuidado las variables externas, ya que encontramos sujetos dominicanos que no produjeron un solo caso de DN ante contextos discursivos conocidos activados; sujetos como el hablante 10, que presentan un comportamiento bastante sistemático en el manejo de

23. Según Díaz (2002: 314–315), la doble negación del tipo no... no “no es desconocido en el español rioplatense”. Ejemplos como: “no, si no se lo voy a decir no”; “no es muy fuerte no” fueron registrados por esta investigadora en Argentina.

24. Sobre este aspecto, me enfoco en un trabajo reciente (Ortiz López 2006).

Cuadro 6. Tipos de negación, según información nueva vs. conocida

| Negación                          | Neg.1              | Neg.2(A/B)        | Neg.2(C)          | Total        |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Responder a una pregunta          | 105 (80%)<br>39%   | 13 (10%)<br>(62%) | 13 (10%)<br>(37%) | 131<br>(40%) |
| Ofrecer información sin preguntar | 152 (84%)<br>(57%) | 8 (4%)<br>(38%)   | 21 (12%)<br>(60%) | 181<br>(56%) |
| Responder a una pregunta retórica | 5 (83%)<br>(2%)    | –                 | 1 (17%)<br>(2%)   | 6<br>(2%)    |
| Interrogar por el sujeto          | 6 (100%)<br>(2%)   | –                 | –                 | 6<br>(2%)    |
| Total                             | 268 (83%)          | 21 (6%)           | 35 (11%)          | 324/326*     |

\*Otros casos: 2

las construcciones de DN, atípico en comparación con el resto de la muestra, y sujetos que evidencian inconsistencia en el manejo de la DN tipo A/B (no V no).

Según el corpus presentado en el Cuadro 6, la negación se da tanto como resultado de un contexto informativo no interrogativo (56%), fundamentalmente narrativo y nuevo, como parte de un contexto interrogativo de diverso tipo (40%), como en (29):

- (29) E: ¿Te piden papeles ahí (en aduana)?  
 I: No  
 E: ¿Por qué no?  
 I: No lo sé.  
 E: A mí me dijeron que no, que necesito un permiso de la aduana.  
 I. Oye lo que pasa. Lo que a mucha gente de aquí pasan sin tené papeleh, no sé por qué.  
 E: ¿Por qué?  
 I: No sé. Será poque ven que uté no eh de aquí de Pedelnales. La gente de Pedelnaleh pasa como quiera (DH/M/21)

En todos los discursos se prefiere la negación simple en el 80% o más de los casos. La DN (A/B) es favorecida más frecuentemente en discursos conocidos como respuesta a una interrogante (62%), casi siempre del tipo de sí o no, contexto más apto para la activación de una proposición, en palabras de Dryer (1996) frente al 38% en un contexto informativo. Estos datos parecen coincidir con los hallazgos cualitativos del portugués brasileño (Schwenter 2005).

También la DN se usa para reiterar información negativa que haya dado previamente el propio sujeto, la cual sigue siendo información conocida activada, en este caso por el propio hablante, como en (30) y para rechazar información evidentemente presupuesta como en (31a–b):

- (30) I: No **sube**, etá patio. Allí el tubo etá patio, el tubo allí a bota mucha agua. Aquí **no sube no**. Eta patio el tubo allí e tubo gande (D/M/3../San Cristóbal).
- (31) a. E: ¿Y los animales entran a la finca? o ¿no?  
 I: No aquí **no** hay chivo **no** (D/M 3../San Cristóbal)

- b. E: ¿Y dónde es?  
 I: Es un local bien cercadito (describiendo un estacionamiento de automóviles)  
 E: ¿Bien seguro?  
 I: ¡Y los pillos **no** se meten ahí **no!** (D/F/45/Residente en PR)

En estos casos (31a–b), el elemento sobre el que recae la exclusión o refutación, o sea, el foco de la negación, tiene un carácter presuposicional, por lo que la DN parece marcar más contundentemente esa refutación o rechazo. La DN (tipo A/B) viene a cumplir la función de refutar la información (conocida activada y también presupuesta), aunque los hablantes no lo hacen sistemáticamente. El tipo C responde más a un contexto informativo nuevo (60%) que a uno interrogativo (37%). Asimismo, parece que ciertos verbos, en tiempo presente, como haber (*hay*), saber (*sé*) ante una pregunta cerrada de *sí o no*, se han gramaticalizado en forma de DN (*No hay no; No sé no*), fundamentalmente entre aquellos sujetos que hacen uso de la NEG2.

Por último, en cuanto a la génesis de la DN, es muy difícil sostener la influencia haitiana en la DN (NEG2) dominicana, lanzada por Lipski (1994, 2002: 81). Consideramos que los pocos casos de DN en el español haitianizado se deben a la influencia de L2, es decir, a la variedad del ED que adquieren, la cual, entre sus posibilidades, presenta esta estructura, y no como consecuencia de los parámetros de negación del CH. Por otro lado, vincular sin reservas la DN al habla bozal resulta bastante arriesgado, ya que ésta apenas aparece en las muestras bozales que se han manejado (Ortiz López 2005).<sup>25</sup>

## 6. Conclusiones

La variedad del español de la frontera como L1 y L2 sigue el patrón de negación canónico del español general, para las proposiciones negativas. La Neg1 se impone en términos cuantitativos, independientemente del grado de bilingüismo de los hablantes y de las funciones pragmáticas de la negación. En otras palabras, los hablantes bilingües adquieren la negación preverbal, según los patrones de L1, preverbal, y con escasos usos de DN(A/B). Sin embargo, aquellos hablantes que manejan una *interlengua* como L2, destacándose los haitianos, retienen un patrón negativo similar al CH, como (25a–c). Esta estructura podría interpretarse como una interferencia del parámetro de negación de L1 (13c), como ocurre con el español hablado como L2 en vascos (Franco & Landa 2005). Este tipo de negación parece desaparecer en los hablantes más bilingües, por lo que asociar la DN dominicana con el CH, como ha propuesto Lipski (1994) no parece encontrar apoyo en los datos de este estudio. En el caso de algunos haitianos y descendientes de éstos, postulamos que los pocos casos de NEG2(A/B) se deben a una influencia del dialecto dominicano mediante el cual adquieren L2, y no

---

25. En Ortiz López (2005) me detengo en posibles vías genéticas sobre este fenómeno, que por cuestión de espacio no atiendo en este trabajo.

en dirección opuesta. Son los dominicanos los que evidencian mayor uso de la ND, del tipo *no V no*, fundamentalmente para rechazar proposiciones conocidas activadas como presupuesta [+adversativa] y para reiterar un predicado previamente negado por el propio sujeto en un contexto *aclarativo/admirativo*. En estos hablantes coexisten dos modelos de negación dentro de un sistema que las entrecruza, aunque una de ellas tendría ciertos usos sociolingüísticos y pragmáticos muy sutiles y, en ocasiones, difíciles de provocar.<sup>26</sup>

## References

- Barme, S. 2002. A questão da língua brasileira: uma análise contrastiva do português d'aquém e d'além-mar. En *Estudios de lingüística hispanoamericana, brasileña y criolla*, M. Perl & K. Pörtl (eds.), 169–223. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Barme, S. 2003. A negação no brasileiro falado informal. *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 5.
- Benitez del Cristo, I. 1930. Los novios catedráticos. *Archivos de Folklore Cubano* 5: 119–146.
- Bickerton, D. 1981. *Roots of Language*. Ann Arbor MI: Karoma.
- Bickerton, D. 1984. The language bioprogram hypothesis. *The Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 7: 173–221.
- Birner, B. & Ward, G. 1998. *Information Status and Noncanonical Word Order*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Castor, S. 1987. *Migración y relaciones internacionales (el caso haitiano-dominicano)*. Santo Domingo: Editorial Universitaria UASD.
- Chomsky, N. 1986. *Knowledge of Language*. New York NY: Praeger.
- DeGraff, M. 1993. A riddle on negation in Haitian. *Probus* 5: 63–93.
- DeGraff, M. (ed.). 1999. *Language Creation and Language Change. Creolization, diachrony, and development*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.
- Déprez, V. 1999. The roots of negative concord in French and French-lexicon creoles. En *Language Creation and Language Change. Creolization, diachrony, and development*, M. DeGraff (ed.), 375–428. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.
- Díaz, N. 2002. La diáspora haitiana: Desde la periferia hacia la periferia. En *Contacto en "Hispaniola"*, N. Díaz, R. Ludwig & S. Pfander (eds.), 279–326. Frankfurt/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Dieck, M. 2000. *La negación en el palenquero. Análisis sincrónico, estudio comparativo y consecuencias teóricas*. Frankfurt/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Dryer, M. 1996. Focus, pragmatic presupposition, and activated proposiciones. *Journal of Pragmatics* 26: 425–523.
- Franco, J. and Landa, A. 2005. Word order and negative concord asymmetries. Ponencia presentada en el XX Spanish in the USA and Spanish in Contact with Other Languages Conference, 24–26 de marzo de 2005, University of Illinois, Chicago.

---

26. Otro tipo de metodología a base de preguntas directas sobre información dada o presupuesta podría aflorar más corpus para corroborar esta y otras conclusiones. A pesar de que tratamos de poner a prueba esta metodología con hablantes dominicanos residentes en Puerto Rico, no obtuvimos resultados suficientes de DN, en contextos conocidos/activados.

- Granda, G. de. 1976. Algunos rasgos morfosintácticos de posible origen criollo en el habla de áreas hispanoamericanas de población negra. *Anuario de Letras* 14: 5–22.
- Granda, G. de. 1978. *Estudios lingüísticos hispánicas, afrohispanicos y criollos*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Granda, G. de. 1994. *El español de América, español de África y hablas criollas hispánicas: Cambios, contactos y contextos*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Günther, W. 1973. *Das portugiesische kreolisch der Ilha do Principe*. Marburg: Selbstverlag.
- Jespersen, O. 1917. *Negation in English and Other Languages*. Copenhagen: A. F. Høst & Son.
- Henríquez Ureña, P. 1940. *El español en Santo Domingo*. Santo Domingo: Editorial Taller.
- Holm, J. 1988/89. *Pidgins and Creoles*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Ivens Ferraz, L. 1978. The creole of São Tomé. *African Studies* 37(3): 235–288.
- Landa, A. 1990. Conditions on null objects in Spanish within a cross-linguistic analysis. Manuscrito inédito, University of Southern California.
- Lefebvre, C. 1998. *Creole Genesis and the Acquisition of Grammar: The case of Haitian Creole*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Lipski, J. (2005). *A History of Afro-Hispanic Language: Five centuries and five continents*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Lipski, J. 1994. A new perspective Afro-Dominican Spanish: the Haitian contribution. *Research paper series #26*. Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico.
- Lipski, J. 1987. Modern Spanish once-removed in Philippine Creole Spanish: The case of Zamboangueno. *Language in Society* 16: 91–108.
- Maurer, P. 1987. La comparaison des morphèmes temporels du papiamentu et du palenquero: Arguments contre la théorie monogénétique de la genèse des langues créoles. En *Varia Creolina*, M. Philippe & T. Stolz (eds.), Bochum: Brockmeyer.
- Megenny, W. 1986. *El Palenquero. Un lenguaje post criollo de Colombia*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Megenny, W. 1990. *África en Santo Domingo: su herencia lingüística*. Santo Domingo: Museo del Hombre Dominicano.
- Meisel, J. 1994. La adquisición de la negación en euskera y castellano. En *La adquisición del vasco y del castellano en niños bilingües*, J. Meisel (org.). Frankfurt/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Ortiz López, L. 1998. *Huellas etno-sociolingüísticas bozales y afrocubanas*. Frankfurt/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Ortiz López, L. 2001a. Contacto lingüístico en la frontera dominico-haitiana: Hallazgos preliminares de un proyecto en marcha. *Anuario* 1: 327–356. (Centro de Altos Estudios Humanísticos y del Idioma Español, República Dominicana.)
- Ortiz López, L. 2001b. El sistema verbal del español haitiano en Cuba: Implicaciones para las lenguas en contacto en el Caribe. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 20(2): 175–166.
- Ortiz López, L. 2005. Huellas del habla bozal en el español de la frontera dominico-haitiana: ¿contacto de lenguas y/o universales lingüísticos de adquisición? Trabajo presentado como parte del colloquium *El habla bozal: Spanish in contact with African languages*, en la XX Spanish in the U.S./Spanish in Contact with Other Languages Conference, UI, Chicago.
- Ortiz López, L. 2006. La pragmática de la negación y el contacto de lenguas en la frontera dominico-haitiana. Trabajo presentado en el Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, The Western Ontario University London (19–22 de octubre).
- Prince, E. 1992. The ZPG letter: Subjects, definitness, and information-status. In *Discourse Description: diverse analyses of a fundraising text*, S. Thompson & W. Mann (eds), 295–325. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Roncarati, C. 1996. A negação na português falado. En *Variação e discurso*, A. Tavares de Macevo, C. Roncarati & M. Mollica (eds.), 97–112. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro.

- Ruiz, M. 2001. El español popular de chocó, Colombia: Evidencia de una reestructuración parcial. Disertación doctoral. University of New Mexico.
- Sánchez López, C. 1999. La negación. En *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Vol. 2, I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), 2561–2634.
- Schwegler, A. 1991. Predicate negation in contemporary Brazilian Portuguese: A change in progress. *Orbis* 34: 187–214.
- Schwegler, A. 1991. Negation in Palenquero: Synchrony. *Pidgin and Creole Languages* 6: 165–214.
- Schwegler, A. 1996. La doble negación dominicana y la génesis del español caribeño. *Hispanic Linguistics* 8: 247–313.
- Schwenter, S. 2000. Spanish evidence for implicature denials. En *CLS 36, 1: The main Session*, J. Boyle, J.H. Lee & A. Okrent (eds.), 441–453.
- Schwenter, S. 2002. Pragmatic variation between negatives: evidence from Romance. En *University of Pennsylvania Working Paper in Linguistics. Volumen 8. 3: Papers from NWAV 30*, D. Johnson & T. Sánchez (eds.), 249–263.
- Schwenter, S. 2003. *No* and *tampoco*: A pragmatic distinction in Spanish negation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 35: 999–1030.
- Schwenter, S. 2005. The pragmatic of negation in Brazilian Portuguese. *Lingua* 115:1427–1456.
- Stolz, T. 1987. In dubio pro substrato: Ein Einblick in die Negation in portugiesisch-basierten kreols. *Linguistic Agency University of Duisburg, Paper no. 177*. Duisburg: Linguistic Agency.
- Uppendahl, K. 1979. *A negação em português*. Porto Alegre: Editora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul.
- Valkhoff, M. 1966. *Studies in Portuguese and creole*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Zanuttini, R. 1989. The Structure of Negative Clauses in Romance. University of Pennsylvania: Manuscrito.
- Zanuttini, R. 1991. Syntactic Properties of Sentential Negation: A comparative study of Romance languages. PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.



PART IV

**Variation and contact**





## On the development of contact varieties

### The case of Andean Spanish

Anna María Escobar

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

This article investigates data from the early stages of the development of Andean Spanish, focusing on bilingual documents written between 1595 and 1746. Given that Andean Spanish emerged initially in a context of language contact between the native Spanish community and the indigenous Amerindian bilingual community, it would seem reasonable to assume that early documents would provide evidence of contact-induced change in the developing Spanish of the community. This evidence could be apparent in patterns of variation that such documents would provide. However, after careful analysis, the bilingual documents written between 1595 and 1746 are discounted as evidence of early stages in the formation of the Andean Spanish dialect for various reasons. For such change to occur, extensive face-to-face interaction among communities, not merely select individuals, has to occur, but this in fact did not happen. Thus, a close variationist analysis of bilingual documents contributes to the social history of early Andean Spanish as well as models of language contact and dialect birth. In short, a study of the linguistic features of texts is transformed into social history.

#### 1. Introduction

In studying the development of contact varieties, both language-internal and language-external factors are crucial (cf. Weinreich 1953; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001; Jones & Esch 2002; Winford 2003), as well as a distinction between *canonical contact* (or what Thomason and Kaufman refer to as *normal transmission*), and *non-canonical contact* (or *abrupt change*, for Thomason and Kaufman). Canonical and non-canonical contact differ principally in that the social situations that give rise to them are fundamentally different. The role of language-external factors in giving rise to a contact variety in a case of canonical contact is the principal focus of this paper. I will try to show how such factors can help us better understand how to evaluate the linguistic product in the context of the development of a particular contact variety, which in addition represents a geographical dialect (cf. Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 5ff.). The

variety to be examined is Andean Spanish which has developed in a region of language contact, but for all purposes is considered a variety of Spanish.<sup>1</sup>

At the heart of the discussion is what we understand as being *in contact* in a contact situation. Weinreich was the first to call attention to the fact that *contact* takes place in the bilingual individual, “The language-using individuals are thus the *locus* of the contact.” (Weinreich 1953: 1). However, in contact studies, despite the fact that we all acknowledge the importance of considering extra-linguistic factors, the social characteristics of the bilingual speakers seem often to be secondary to the analysis of the contact variety *per se*; after all we are first, and foremost, linguists. The linguistic product has been made the focus of the study whether the objective is to explain the language change phenomena or to describe the developmental paths taken. That is, in contact studies, we typically concentrate on the following:

- The type of linguistic feature arising from the contact situation (such as lexical borrowing or structural interference),
- The type of linguistic process the contact variety went through (such as koinéization or leveling or simplification),
- The resulting degree of *convergence* and/or the adaptive mechanisms of the resulting language systems, or
- In cases of colonization or migration, the developmental path followed by the contact variety with respect to the original variety or varieties of the colonizers or migrants. (For example, in the *Andalusian origin* discussion of Latin American Spanish, whether its development is parallel to or continuous with the Peninsular varieties).

In reflecting on the development of Andean Spanish, the picture is not clear. Dialectological studies describe Andean Spanish as a geographical dialect (cf. Chambers & Trudgill 1998) which happens to be a contact variety and is spoken in the Andean region (Alberto Escobar 1978). The sociolinguistic characteristics of its speakers are that they are native speakers of Spanish who live in the Peruvian Andean region (although more recent studies have extended the label to include varieties in Ecuador and Bolivia). A less clear picture appears when we look into the development of Andean Spanish, and when it originated.<sup>2</sup>

Some linguists who work on Andean Spanish have suggested that, since Quechua and Spanish have been in contact for almost 500 years, it is during the colonial period that Andean Spanish began to develop. These scholars (Rivarola 1989: 157, 1992: 705, 1995: 142; Cerrón 1995: 75; Calvo 1995: 37; and Granda 2001) argue that, since contact features are present in the texts of *bilinguals* written in the early colonial period of the

---

1. Varieties of this type are sometimes called *indigenized varieties* of colonial languages (cf. Hock & Joseph 1996: 373; Winford 2003: 242).

2. Mufwene suggests that the onset of indigenized varieties has been underestimated (2001: 109–112).

Viceroyalty of Peru (16<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries), this is evidence that Andean Spanish started to develop in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In this paper, first, I want to reflect on this assumption.

In contact studies (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001; Winford 2003), *length of contact* is generally regarded as determinant in contact situations, but not by itself sufficient, since *intensity of contact* is also required for a new variety to arise.<sup>3</sup> Intensity of contact is hard to define (Thomason 2001:66). However, according to Thomason “it has to do with the amount of cultural pressure exerted by one group of speakers on another and some relevant social factors” (duration of contact period, size of each group, and socioeconomic dominance) (2001:66). That is, it entails the existence of a *bilingual speech community*. The existence of a speech community is as necessary as it is in the case of the formation of new dialects, as was the case of New Zealand English (Trudgill 2002). In trying to determine the *nature of the language contact* situation during the colonial period in the Peruvian Viceroyalty, two questions that arise are: Who is the *bilingual speaker* in Colonial Peru?, and Who comprised the *bilingual speech community* in Colonial Peru?

Thomason and Kaufman’s two types of contact situations in cases of normal transmission refer to two different types of bilingual speaker as the *agent* responsible for the introduction of the contact feature into the borrowing language. In the case of *borrowing contact situations*, the native speaker of the borrowing language is the agent responsible for the initial lexical borrowings that enter the borrowing language. In the case of *structural interference contact situations*, the native speaker of the source language, who at the same time is a second language speaker of the borrowing language, is the *agent* responsible for the introduction of the contact feature into the borrowing language. In addition to the *direction of bilingualism*, from Spanish to Quechua and from Quechua to Spanish, the authors add that for cases of structural interference contact situations, a prerequisite is the existence of *extensive bilingualism* among the second- language speakers, that is, in the case of colonial Spanish, extensive bilingualism in Spanish.<sup>4</sup> Although the size of the bilingual community is not defined, taking into consideration Milroy and Milroy’s network theory (cf. 1992), what can be extracted from Thomason and Kaufman’s position is that the bilingual speakers must constitute a speech community and a social group within the larger society. That is, that they constitute a sociolinguistic group which interacts with the native-speaking community, and that they not be isolated from the larger society. The third question

---

3. Thomason (2001:60) includes intensity of contact as the first of three social factors (next to presence vs. absence of imperfect learning and speakers’ attitudes) which help predict kinds and degrees of contact-induced language change. She adds “the more intense the contact is, the more kinds of interference are possible” (2001:66).

4. “Although lexical borrowing frequently takes place without widespread bilingualism, extensive structural borrowing, as has often been pointed out, apparently requires extensive (though not universal) bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers over a considerable period of time.” (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:37).

is then, What *social role* did L2 speakers of Spanish play in Colonial Peru? The fourth and last question refers to the *degree of interaction* or *intensity of contact*, between the two speech communities, since this interaction is considered the underlying prerequisite for any bilingualism to occur. That is: What *degree of interaction* existed between the L2 and L1 Spanish-speaking communities? Questions 3 and 4, in particular, both highlight what is called the *dynamics of language use* (cf. Winford 2003:64).

Spanish contact phenomena cited for the Quechua-Spanish contact situation in colonial times have made reference mainly to lexical borrowings from Quechua into Spanish. As with other Amerindian languages, e.g. Taino, Nahuatl, Guarani, Mapudungu, lexical borrowings from Amerindian languages entered Spanish during the colonial period. In the case of borrowings from Quechua, this is attested by their inclusion in the writings of Bartolomé de las Casas and the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (both in the 16<sup>th</sup> century), and of other writers of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. Huamán Poma and Bernabé Cobo) (1).

(1) **Lexical Borrowings from Quechua**

*oroche* 'altitude sickness', *cóndor*, *pisco* 'grape brandy', *papa* 'potato', *pampa*, *carpa* 'tent', *mate*, *chacra* 'ranch', *choclo* 'corn', *canchita* 'popcorn', *ojota* 'leather sandal', *palta* 'avocado', *alpaca*, *llama*

Based on Thomason and Kaufman's distinction between contact situations, it can be inferred that the agents of these lexical borrowings from Quechua were Spaniards who spoke Quechua as a second language. Historical evidence confirms that many Spaniards did learn Quechua during the colonial period, many becoming *linguistic links* with the Amerindian society. As is well known, this was the case of the clergy and those engaged in commerce.<sup>5</sup> Lexical borrowing alone, however, cannot explain the origin of Andean Spanish, variety which is rather the product of a *structural interference contact situation* (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001).<sup>6</sup> As Winford notes with respect to other indigenized varieties (2003:15), determining their origin is a more difficult matter to assess than is the case with lexical borrowing (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2005).

Thomason and Kaufman refer to the phonological level as the more permeable in cases of structural interference in canonical language contact situations, followed

---

5. The interest that the Spanish clergy (especially the Jesuits) and the Spanish crown had in the learning of Quechua for evangelization and Hispanization purposes is well known. As an example of the relevance of learning Quechua for these purposes is the creation of the Program of Quechua in 1579 at the University of San Marcos in Lima (founded in 1551; cf. Cerrón 1992:207). Those Spaniards involved in commerce learned Quechua to have the economic control of the region.

6. This type of contact situation refers to situations where *imperfect learning* (Thomason 2001:66ff.) takes place. In contact situations where imperfect learning does not play a role, lexical borrowing is more prominent (Thomason 2001:67–68). Because structural interference is the focus of this paper, lexical borrowing will be left aside.

by syntax and morphology.<sup>7</sup> The linguistic features that have been offered as evidence that Andean Spanish developed during the colonial period are the phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics that are shown in (2) and (3), respectively.

- (2) **Phonological Contact features** (based on Calvo 1995; Cerrón 1991, 1992, 1995; Godenzzi 1991; Palacios 1998, 2000; Rivarola 1985, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1997).
- Alternation between High [i, u] and Mid-vowels [e, o]: e.g. *cabildo* > *cabeldo*, *estuve* > *estove*
  - Monophthongization of Diphthongs: e.g. *luego* > *logo*
  - Voiced stops become voiceless: e.g. *cabras* > *capras*
- (3) **Morphosyntactic Contact features** (based on Calvo 1995; Cerrón 1991, 1992, 1995; Rivarola 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1992, 1994, 1995; Escobar 2001b)
- Gender agreement: towards masculine, between the Art +N and the N+Adj.
  - Number agreement: not marking the plural in the article.
  - Article deletion.
  - Generalization of *lo* as the third person clitic regardless of gender, number or case.
  - *lo* with intransitive movement verbs and with copulative verbs.
  - Use of *dizque* (from *decir* ‘to say’) as a reportative.

Systematic alternation between high and mid vowels, mentioned in (2), was also present in the Spanish of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (cf. Lapesa 1986; Garrido 1994; Parodi 1995), so that it does not seem to qualify as a contact feature. More importantly, all the features identified in (2) and (3), with the exception of the use of *lo* with intransitive movement verbs and the use of *dizque*, are not found in speakers of Andean Spanish in late 20th century and early 21st century, but *are* found in L2 speakers of Spanish who are native speakers of Quechua. This fact by itself calls into the question the assumption that Andean Spanish arose in the colonial period. In order to better understand the patterns of use of these features, and to determine what if any role they may have played in the development of Andean Spanish, I will present the results of analyses of the incidence of three of these phenomena – one phonological and two morphosyntactic – in colonial documents spanning about 150 years beginning in 1595.

## 2. Linguistic analysis

I have analyzed different writings of bilinguals of Amerindian origin, all of which were written between 1595 and 1746. I have taken 1595 as the initial year of the period because it marks 60 years since the foundation of the Viceroyalty of Peru, with Lima as its

---

7. In the context of the formation of new linguistic varieties in the context of dialects in contact, Hickey (2003), following Trudgill (2002), finds the same: “New dialect formation concerns phonology almost exclusively. But it would appear that early forms of New Zealand English also showed considerable grammatical variation. However, this appears to have been leveled out with later generations of speakers.” (Hickey 2003: 214)

capital. Some historical linguists (cf. Bynon 1977; Trudgill 2002) consider a minimum of 60 years (or two generations) for the formation of a dialect. It can be expected, then, that if Andean Spanish developed during the Colonial period, we would find linguistic evidence for it by the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. I have taken 1746 as the last year of the period because for the first two centuries of the colonial period, Lima was one of the two political, administrative, cultural and religious centers of Spanish America, alongside Mexico City. However, 1746 marks the beginning of the decline of Lima as the seat of the viceroy (Pérez Cantó 1985; Walker 2000). In that year, an earthquake that nearly destroyed the entire city, and the newly-established Bourbon reforms, imposed by the new Spanish King, Phillip V, contributed to questioning the foundations of the colonial social structure. In addition, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the so-called Andean insurrection takes place.<sup>8</sup> The 18<sup>th</sup> century, then, marks the beginning of a different period, one of change and of the gestation of the independence movement.

Within the span of time beginning in 1595 and ending in 1746, I have further distinguished three periods. The first one, roughly comprising the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, marks the height of Lima's role as the capital and center of power of the Peruvian Viceroyalty. During the second period, the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, an economic decline brought about by unrest in the mining industry, which led to problems with supplying workers for the mines, compromised the administrative power of the Viceroyalty. Partly as a result of this, Buenos Aires arose as a prominent new center of the Spanish crown. The third period, the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, distinguishes itself because of the change in the ruling House of Spain to the Bourbon House, and the subsequent implementation of the Bourbon reforms, which were social and economic in nature. These periods will be referred to as 17a, 17b, and 18a, respectively.

The Amerindian Spanish documents analyzed in this paper come from all parts of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, and are all official documents of the judicial and religious administrations. All are complaints of a criminal, civil, or religious nature. In these texts, the plaintiffs identify themselves at the beginning of the complaint by stating their ethnicity (*español* or *indio*), their place of origin, and in some cases the names of their parents. The documents have been taken from the National Archives of Peru (*Archivo General de la Nación del Perú*), the Historical Archives of the Archbishopric of Lima (*Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de Lima*), from Fontanella de Weinberg (1993) for the texts from Spaniards, and from Rivarola 2000, who includes 30 documents from bilinguals also taken from the Historical Archives of the Archbishopric of Lima from the same period. In addition, I have included a text written by a lesser-known bilingual chronicler, Santa Cruz de Pachacuti (1613), contemporary of Huaman Poma.<sup>9</sup> Table 1 summarizes the writings that I analyzed.

8. O'Phelan reports 140 uprisings between 1708 and 1783 (cf. 1995), with its height taking place in the second half of the century.

9. I use Duviols & Itier's (1993) transcription of this chronicle because (unlike Aranibar's published version of 1995) it does not include orthographic and linguistic adaptations to modern Spanish.

Table 1. Description of the texts examined

| Period | Attributed to        | N =                  | Citation                                  |
|--------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| 17a    | Spaniards            | 37 documents*        | Fontanella de Weinberg 1993               |
|        | Pachacuti            | approx. 26,000 words | <i>Relación...</i> (Duviols & Itier 1993) |
|        | Bilingual plaintiffs | approx. 5,000 words  | Escobar (in progress)                     |
|        | Bilingual plaintiffs | approx. 3,500 words  | Rivarola 2000                             |
| 17b    | Bilingual plaintiffs | approx. 8,000 words  | Rivarola 2000                             |
|        | Bilingual plaintiffs | approx. 9,000 words  | Escobar (in progress)                     |
| 18a    | Bilingual plaintiffs | approx. 22,700 words | Escobar (in progress)                     |

\*I have included 37 of the 40 documents which are in Fontanella de Weinberg's compilation for Lima. One of the three documents is a repeated text (document 4), and the other two belong to an Amerindian (numbers 27 and 28).

In an earlier study (Escobar 2001b), I compared Pachacuti's chronicle to similar documents, which were complaints to the Spanish court written by Spaniards during the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and which are included in Fontanella de Weinberg's edited volume of colonial documents (1993). The objective was to determine whether the variation in vowels found in Pachacuti was similar to that found in the writings of Spaniards, in light of the fact that, as we noted above, vowel variation between mid and high vowels was characteristic of the Spanish of the time (Lapesa 1986; Menéndez Pidal 1968; Garrido 1994); see examples in (4). The assumption was that if Pachacuti's text displayed patterns of variation that were similar to those of monolingual Spaniards, this could be construed as evidence that his variety of Spanish represented the first stages of the formation of the Andean Spanish dialect, and that these features disappeared over time, as they eventually did in non-contact varieties of Spanish. Alternatively, the vowel variation pattern in Pachacuti's text might reflect the influence of his native Quechua, if the patterns of vowel variation resemble those of modern L2 Spanish speakers whose native language is Quechua.

#### (4) Vowel alternation

Lowering of high vowels: e.g. *vesita* (cf. *visita*) 'visit', *soplico* (cf. *suplico*) 'I implore'

Raising of mid vowels: e.g. *confisión* (cf. *confesión*) 'confession', *arzbispo* (cf. *arzbispo*) 'archbishop'

In both categories of text, however, mid vowels are written as high vowels and high vowels as mid vowels with the same frequency, with the apparent lowering twice as frequent in each case (Figure 1).

For native varieties of Spanish, as Menendez Pidal tells us, the pattern regarding vowel variation in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries was for equal amounts of raising and lowering, almost always in pretonic position, and only when a *yod* followed in the next syllable. On the basis of the evidence so far, then, it would appear that Pachacuti's text adheres closely to the Spanish norm. A difference between the two samples arises, however, when vowel tonicity is taken into account. Although in the documents of Spaniards examined here, there is some variation in tonic vowels as well, such variation is more pronounced in Pachacuti's text (see Figure 2). Moreover, the vowel variation



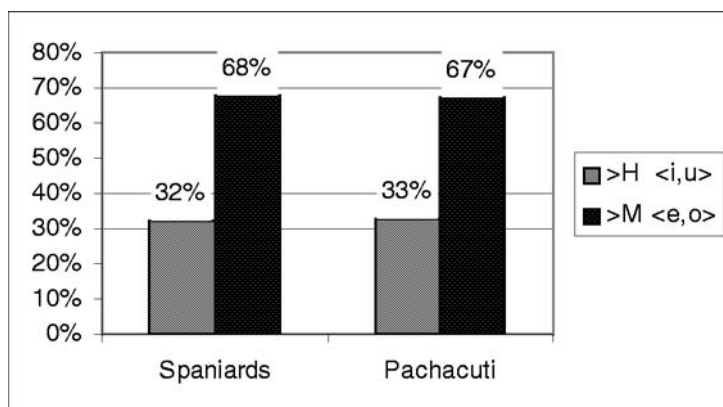


Figure 1. Raising and Lowering of vowels

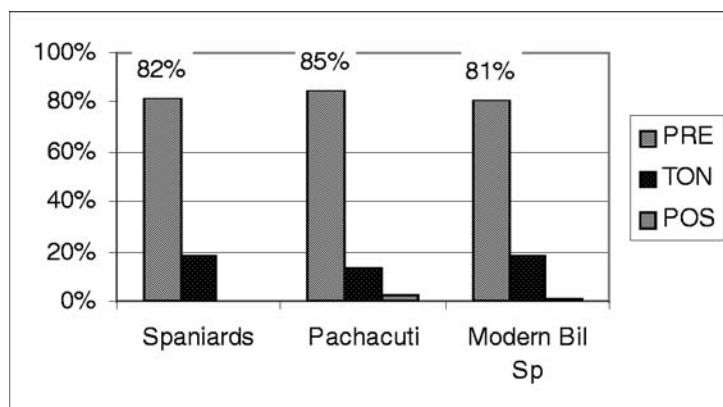


Figure 2. Vowel variation by vowel tonicity

present in Pachacuti's writing is similar to that found in the speech of modern native speakers of Quechua who speak Spanish as a second language (*Bilingual Spanish*).

When we consider the context in which the variation occurs, Pachacuti's writing patterns resemble modern L2 speech even more in Figure 3, with raising and lowering occurring mainly in contexts other than before a *yod*, whereas such variation occurred in monolingual Spanish only when a *yod* followed (e.g. *soplico*, *vesita*; Menéndez Pidal 1968) as can be seen in the data from the documents written by the Spaniards.

When we compare the incidence of both raising and lowering in the additional sets of historical texts, we see evidence for another distinction among the bilingual texts. The fact that in all the bilingual documents, vowel variation occurs in higher percentages in non-pretonic positions (see Figure 4), and in contexts other than when a *yod* follows (see Figure 5) suggests that the plaintiffs were all second-language speakers of Spanish.

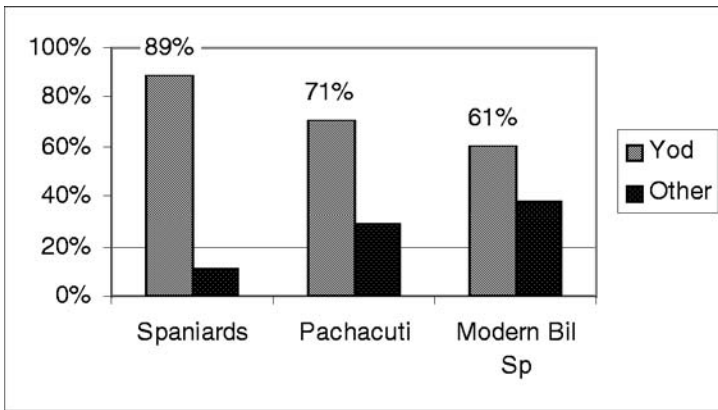


Figure 3. Vowel raising in pretonic position by presence of a *yod*

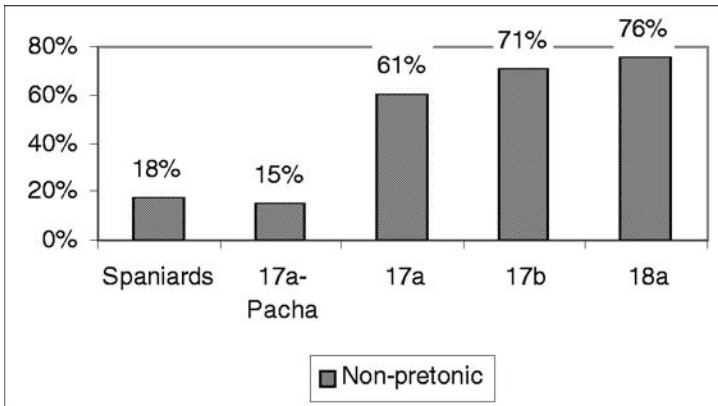


Figure 4. Vowel raising in non-pretonic contexts

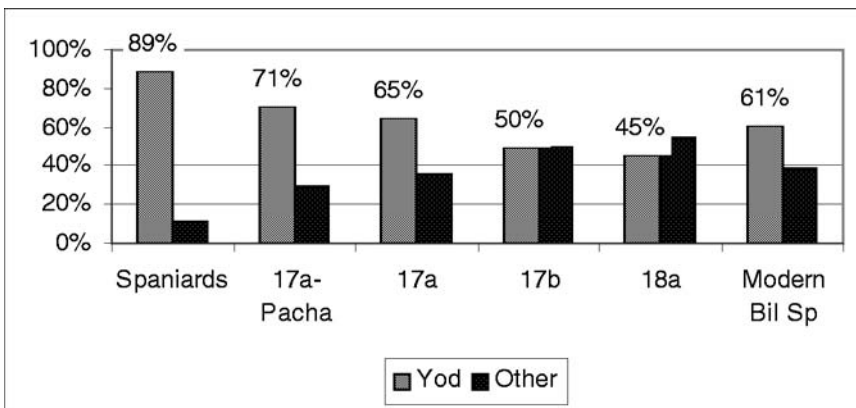


Figure 5. Vowel raising before a *yod*

**Table 2.** Noun Phrases with a determiner and/or adjectival expression

| Document                | Total |
|-------------------------|-------|
| Pachacuti               | 2,405 |
| 17a-Bilingual Documents | 933   |
| 17b-Bilingual Documents | 1,829 |
| 18a-Bilingual Documents | 2,032 |

If, on the evidence we have just examined, all the plaintiffs seem to have been L2 speakers of Spanish, who, then, were the speakers of Andean Spanish?

For help in finding an answer, I examined two of the morphosyntactic features which have been proposed as evidence that Andean Spanish developed in the colonial period – gender and number agreement in noun phrases. These linguistic features are again not characteristic of modern Andean Spanish, but are found in modern L2 varieties of Spanish in the region, and have been proposed as evidence of the emergence of Andean Spanish during the colonial period. If the lack of gender and number agreement in the historical documents is similar to that of the documents written by the Spaniards, that would suggest that the bilingual texts might be representative of a native dialect. If the frequency of non-agreement in the bilingual texts is higher and consistent, on the other hand, this would suggest that the documents are not representative of a native dialect, but of a second-language variety instead. Careful examination of documents of the time written by Spaniards from Fontanella de Weinberg's compilation showed occasional lack of gender or number agreement.<sup>10</sup> This is not true, however, for the analysis of the bilingual documents.

Second-language studies have found that bilinguals treat function and context words differently (cf. Montrul 2004). All the bilingual texts we are examining include cases of non-agreement of the marking of gender and number in the determiners and the adjectives in the noun phrase.<sup>11</sup> Table 2 indicates the total numbers of noun phrases containing determiners and/or adjectives in the documents of each period.

I have chosen to focus on the cases of non-agreement in the marking of the feminine and the plural, which are the marked members of the grammatical categories of gender and number, respectively, and are also acquired after the masculine and the singular, respectively (Marrero & Aguirre 2003).<sup>12</sup> In all the bilingual texts, there were more cases of adjective non-agreement than of determiner non-agreement (Figure 6).

10. Less than 0.2% cases (n=3) in a total of 1473 instances of feminine and plural marking in adjectives and determiners inside the noun phrase.

11. Only non-agreement of the marking of gender and number inside the noun phrase was analyzed. Other contexts were not considered in this study (e.g. object pronouns, predicative adjectives).

12. In these texts, the noun always had a marker for feminine or plural except in two cases (for plural).

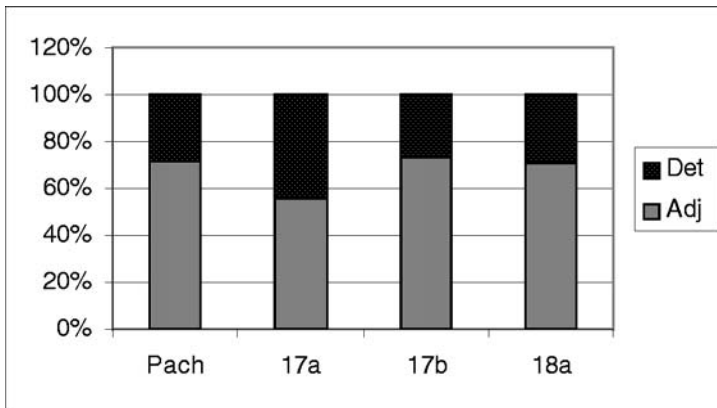


Figure 6. Lack of feminine and plural marking in adjectives and determiners in the noun phrase (n = 237/6231)

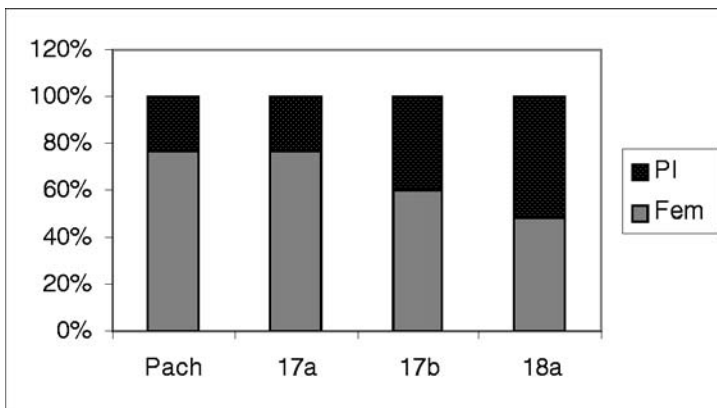


Figure 7. Percentage of lack of feminine and plural markings (n = 237/6231)

Similarly, in the bilingual texts, there were more cases of the lack of marking in the feminine than in the plural (Figure 7).

The markings on the adjective (Figure 6) and the marking of the feminine (Figure 7) surface in these figures as clear indicators of differences between the monolingual and the bilingual texts.<sup>13</sup> Figures 8 and 9 (where the patterns for adjectives and determiners are shown separately) show relative similarities between all the bilingual documents, except for the case of 18a which represents a total of 6 examples.

L2 varieties display effects of simplification processes toward the unmarked member of the category, and these data are consistent with such patterns. Slight differences

13. In second language acquisition studies, number is acquired before gender (cf. Franceschina 2001).

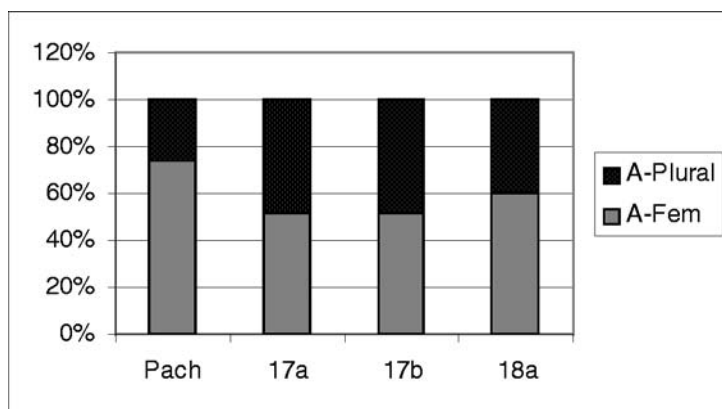


Figure 8. Percentage of lack of feminine and plural markers in Adjectives (n = 172/3165)

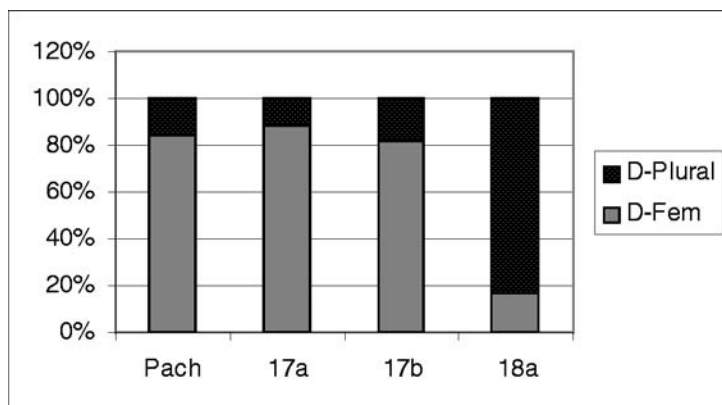


Figure 9. Percentage of lack of feminine and plural markers in Determiners (n = 72/3066)

between the documents seem to suggest differences in the L2 Spanish proficiency of the various plaintiffs. As with the vowel variation data, there seems to be insufficient evidence here to support the notion that what we are looking at are the early stages of the formation of a contact dialect.

### 3. Sociohistorical perspective

The previous linguistic analyses of the bilingual documents cast doubt on the suggestion that Andean Spanish developed during the colonial period. This brings us back to my original research questions, in particular, Who were the bilingual speakers during the colonial period?

From historical studies we know that there were two bilingual speech communities, one composed of Spaniards who spoke Quechua as a second language, and the other composed of Amerindians who spoke Spanish as a second language. Among the Spaniards, the clergy and those involved in trading and commerce learned Quechua. The clergy needed to know Quechua in order to be able to catechize the Amerindian population. In 1625, of 6,000 male Spaniards, 2,500 or 42% belonged to the clergy (Glave 1998:143). They controlled the schools, the religious brotherhoods, the different trade unions, and the hospitals. While the clergy took an active part in the politics of the time, it identified itself with the elite and used Quechua as a means to exert control over the Amerindian population. Amerindians who climbed the religious social ladder, becoming members of religious orders, were then absorbed into the Spanish way of life. It could be suggested that they were also thereby absorbed into the clergy's variety of Spanish.

Spaniards involved in the trading and commerce of merchandise and agricultural products also learned Quechua. They would use Quechua when visiting areas populated by Amerindians and buying their products in order to sell them in the cities. They also made use of their knowledge of Quechua to control the Amerindians, and to confiscate their lands near urban centers, to benefit financially from having a close-by market they could supply. Their contacts in the Amerindian community were usually the *caciques* 'chiefs' and *indios principales* 'principal Indians' of the regions.

There was also a bilingual community within the Quechua-speaking population. This was composed mainly of the children of the Amerindian nobility who were taught in the schools created by the clergy, but also of the *caciques* and *indios principales*, who had contact with the clergy and Spaniards involved in trading. Some of these individuals would eventually become highly proficient in Spanish, as was the case with the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Huaman Poma, or, much later, Manco Inca and Tupac Amaru. This picture suggests that individuals could achieve high levels of proficiency in Spanish, but daily face-to-face interaction between L2 speakers of Spanish and native speakers of Spanish was not the norm, except in very restricted environments, such as in the schools or trading, and only for a small and privileged minority of individuals. The degree of Spanish proficiency among the Amerindian elite and *caciques* and *indios principales* was then dependent on the sociopolitical position of those bilingual speakers within the larger society.

Life in the urban centers did not seem to encourage daily face-to-face interaction either, in spite of the fact that both speech communities occupied the same *geographical space*. The Spanish administration discouraged physical contact between the Spanish and Amerindian communities. This was achieved by radical measures, such as promoting residential separateness and discouraging mixed marriages. While early colonial Spaniards were encouraged to marry noble Amerindian women for political gain, towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was highly discouraged and socially unacceptable (Sánchez-Albornoz 1997:87). Although mixed marriages can contribute to the maintenance of multilingualism, they were not only discouraged, but many illegitimate

children fathered by Spaniards and born to Amerindian women remained within the Amerindian community (Charney 1991).

Daily face-to-face interaction between the bilingual and native Spanish communities was discouraged by the physical and social segregation of the Amerindian population. With few exceptions, most Amerindians were seen as tax-paying, labor-performing subjects rather than as citizens (Walker 2000:7). During the colonial period we find a social divide between *gente decente* 'decent people' and the lower orders; historians of colonial Peru have called this *The Great Divide* (cf. Walker 2000). In sociolinguistic terms, the two linguistic communities, the bilingual and the native, co-existed side by side with minimal social interaction. This allowed contact linguistic features to arise at an *individual level* but not at a *social level*. Moreover, this hierarchical separation of the two ethnic groups was a strong deterrent to any possibility for social movement, which was a prerequisite for creating the social conditions that would allow interaction between the bilingual and native speakers of Spanish.

#### 4. Concluding remarks

All of the questions I posed at the outset refer to the *nature of the contact* and the *dynamics of language use*. The dynamics become clearer when we define for the colonial period what is understood by the existence and role of the *bilingual speech community* and the *intensity of contact* or, in Holms' terms, degree of intimacy of social relationships (2004) between the monolingual and bilingual populations. Face-to-face interaction at the individual level was possible, but limited to very few individuals. Although native input took place at these times, the bilingual community was small and only used Spanish on these occasions. Subordinate bilingualism seems to have been the norm during the colonial period, that is, there was restricted contact between the native Spanish community and the bilingual community (cf. Winford 2003:33). In addition, close-knit networks (Milroy & Milroy 1992) within the Amerindian community seem to have reduced the possibility of changes in their language behavior, that is, of a shift toward Spanish, *except at the individual level*. Social and physical segregation of the Amerindian community, in a caste-like social system, without social diglossia, suggest very low levels of contact intensity between the two communities. The sociohistorical dynamics of the contact situation between the bilingual and the native Spanish communities in the colonial period seem to confirm what the linguistic data suggested – that the bilingual documents written between 1595 and 1746 cannot be used as evidence of early stages in the formation of the Andean Spanish dialect.

## References

- Bynon, T. 1977. *Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Calvo, J. 1995. El castellano andino y la crónica de Guamán Poma. In *Historia de la lengua española en América y España*, M.T. Echenique et al. (eds.), 31–39. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia.
- Cerrón, R. 1991. El Inca Garcilaso o la lealtad idiomática. *Lexis* 15: 133–178.
- Cerrón, R. 1992. La forja del castellano andino o el penoso camino de la ladinización. *Historia y presente del español de América*, 201–234. Junta de Castilla y León.
- Cerrón, R. 1995. Guamán Poma redivivo o el castellano rural andino. In *Lenguas en contacto en Hispanomérica*, K. Zimmermann (ed.), 161–182. Madrid: Iberoamericana.
- Chambers, J. K. & Trudgill, P. 1998. *Dialectology* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: CUP.
- Charney, P. 1991. Holding together the Indian family during colonial times in the Lima Valley, Peru [Discussion Papers 86]. Milwaukee, WI: The University of Wisconsin, Center for Latin America.
- Duviols, P. and Itier, C. 1993. “*Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Piru*”: *Estudio etnohistórico y lingüístico*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios “Bartolomé de las Casas”.
- Escobar, A. 1978. *Variaciones sociolingüísticas del español en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Escobar, A. M. 2001a. Contact features in Peruvian Colonial Spanish: A proposal. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 149: 79–93.
- Escobar, A. M. 2001b. La Relación de Pachacuti, ¿español andino o español bilingüe?. *Lexis* 25: 115–136.
- Escobar, A. M. In progress. Emergencia del español andino: Desde la sociolingüística histórica y la contactología. Ms.
- Fontanella de Weinberg, M. B. (comp.). 1993. *Documentos para la historia lingüística de Hispanoamérica siglos XVI a XVIII*. Madrid: Real Academia Española.
- Franceschina, F. 2001. Morphological or syntactic deficits in near-native speakers? An assessment of some current proposals. *Second Language Research* 17:213–247.
- Garrido Domínguez, A. 1994. *Los orígenes del español de América*. Madrid: Editorial Mapfre.
- Glave, L. M. 1998. *De rosa y espinas: Economía, sociedad y mentalidades andinas, siglo XVII*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Godenzzi, J. C. 1991. Discordancias de ayer y hoy: El castellano de escribientes quechuas y aimaras. *Boletín de Lima* 75: 91–95.
- Godenzzi, J. C. 1995. Discurso y actos de rebelión anticolonial: Textos políticos del siglo XVIII en los Andes. In *Del siglo de oro al siglo de las luces: Lenguaje y sociedad en los Andes del siglo XVIII*, C. Itier (ed.), 59–88. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de las Casas”.
- Granda, G. de. 2001. Procesos de estandarización revertida en la configuración histórica del español americano: el caso del espacio surandino. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 149: 79–94.
- Heine, B. & Kuteva, T. 2005. *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Hickey, R. (ed.). 2003. *Motives for Language Change*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Hock, H. H. & Joseph, B. D. 1996. *Language History, Language Change, and Language Relationship: An introduction to historical and comparative linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Holms, J. 2004. *Languages in Contact: The partial restructuring of vernaculars*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Jones, M. C. & Esch, E. 2002. *Language Change: The interplay of internal, external, and extra-linguistic factors*. Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lapesa, R. 1986. *Historia de la lengua española*. Madrid: Gredos.



- Marrero, V. & Aguirre, C. 2003. Plural acquisition and development in Spanish. In *Linguistic Theory and Language Development in Hispanic Language*, S. Montrul & F. Ordóñez (eds.), 275–296. Sommerville MA: Cascadilla.
- Menéndez Pidal, R. 1968. *Manual de gramática histórica española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Milroy, L. & Milroy, J. 1992. Social network and social class: Toward an integrated sociolinguistic model. *Language in Society* 21: 1–26.
- Montrul, S. 2004. *The Acquisition of Spanish: Morphosyntactic development in monolingual and bilingual L1 acquisition and adult L2 acquisition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mufwene, S. S. 2001. *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: CUP.
- O'Phelan, S. 1995. *La gran rebelión de los Andes: de Túpac Amaru a Túpac Catari*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de Las Casas”.
- Palacios, A. 1998. Santacruz Pachacuti y la falsa pronominalización del español andino. *Lexis* 22: 119–146.
- Palacios, A. 2000. Apuntes sobre la historia del español americano: La lengua de un cronista indio del siglo XVII. *AnMal* 23: 639–656.
- Parodi, C. 1995. *Orígenes del español americano*. México: UNAM.
- Pérez Cantó, M. P. 1985. *Lima en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Rivarola, J. L. 1985. Un testimonio de español andino en el Perú del siglo XVII. *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* 1: 203–211.
- Rivarola, J. L. 1989. Bilingüismo histórico y español andino. *Actas del IX Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*: 153–163. Berlín.
- Rivarola, J. L. 1990a. *La formación lingüística de Hispanoamérica*. Lima, Perú: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Rivarola, J. L. 1990b. Un documento para la historia del español peruano. In *Diglosia linguo-literaria y educativa en el Perú*, E. Ballón and R. Cerrón (eds.), 131–135. Lima: Banco Agrario.
- Rivarola, J. L. 1992. Aproximación histórica al español del Perú. *Historia y presente del español de América*, 697–717. Junta de Castilla y León.
- Rivarola, J. L. 1994. Escrituras marginales: Sobre textos de bilingües en el Perú del siglo XVI. In *El español de América en el siglo XVI*, J. Lüdtke (ed.), 191–201. Madrid: Iberoamericana.
- Rivarola, J. L. 1995. Aproximación histórica a los contactos de lenguas en el Perú. In *Lenguas en contacto en Hispanoamérica*, K. Zimmermann (ed.), 135–160. Madrid: Iberoamericana.
- Rivarola, J. L. 1997. Alternativas vocálicas en documentos peruanos del siglo XVI. *Lingüística* 9: 37–50.
- Rivarola, J. L. 2000. *Español andino: Textos de bilingües de los siglos XVI y XVII*. Madrid: Iberoamericana.
- Sánchez-Albornoz, N. 1974. *Population of Latin America: A history*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- Thomason, S. G. 2001. *Language Contact: An introduction*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Thomason, S. G. & Kaufman, T. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- Trudgill, P. 2002. *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Walker, C. 2000. Continuity and change in Andean political culture: The lingering impact of the Bourbon reforms, 1750–1850. Paper presented at the Conference on Political Cultures in the Andes, 1850–1950. Urbana IL: University of Illinois.
- Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in Contact: Findings and problems*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Winford, D. 2003. *Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Malden MA: Blackwell.

## Linguistic and social predictors of copula use in Galician Spanish

Kimberly L. Geeslin and Pedro Guijarro-Fuentes

Indiana University / University of Plymouth

Although the two copular verbs, *ser* and *estar* ‘to be’, have been the subject of extensive debate in theoretical linguistics (Fernández Leborans 1999), less is known about how the use of these two verbs varies from one Spanish-speaking region to another. The sociolinguistic research conducted to date (de Jonge 1993; Díaz-Campos & Geeslin 2004; Gutiérrez 1992; Silva-Corvalán 1994;) has shown that, in contexts where both copulas are allowed, some features (e.g., adjective class, frame of reference and susceptibility to change) can affect the degree to which one copula is favored over the other. We have recently begun to extend this body of research to the Spanish spoken in Spain and found that while several linguistic factors predict copula use in the Spanish spoken in Galicia (Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin 2006), our results showed less of an effect for individual variables. In the current study, we seek to further explore the Spanish spoken in Galicia and the individual characteristics related to language use and language learning by expanding our participant group (N=155 in total) to include a less homogeneous population. Our participants include a group of monolingual Spanish speakers residing outside Galicia to whom our bilingual participants will be compared, and a group of Spanish speakers in Galicia (N=73) who vary in degree of bilingualism, language learning histories, and language use profiles. Each participant completed a background questionnaire and a Spanish contextualized preference task. The data were coded for copula choice (the dependent variable) and several independent variables describing characteristics of language learning and language use. Our results show significant effects for gender, occupation, the first language of the participant’s mother, and the language normally used by the participants.<sup>1</sup>

---

1. We would like to thank Luz Zas and Inmaculada Penadés Martínez for their help in data collection in Galicia and Madrid, respectively. We are grateful to Aarnes Gudmestad for her help in preparing this paper. This research was supported by a grant from the British Academy. This paper is one in a series of co-authored works in which the order of the author’s names is alternated. Both authors contributed equally to this paper.

## 1. Introduction

Despite the fact that some view Spain as an essentially monolingual country, it is actually home to speakers of several other languages, including Catalan, Galician, Basque, and Valencian. The context of bilingualism in Spain is complex. Although bilingualism was discouraged prior to 1975, the year when Franco's death brought about a shift to democracy, several regions are now contexts of additive bilingualism. The minority languages are currently considered to have certain prestige and their development is supported in many different ways by the local and regional governments, but these changes are still in progress. These regions are home to speakers who have been bilingual for several generations and to those who are monolingual in either the regional language or Spanish. Individual speakers may have different patterns of language use and may have learned the languages in different ways (or in different orders). In the case of Galicia, the patterns of language use with respect to either Spanish or Galician may vary according to the social situation, preference and purpose of the communication. The individuals from this region may use: one language at home, one within the family, the same or a different language at school or at work, and perhaps the same or a different language in the academic environment. It is the goal of the current study to examine how this bilingual context, and the variation in individual characteristics that exists within it, relates to a widely studied grammatical phenomenon: the contrast between the two Spanish copulas.

The past decade has witnessed tremendous growth in research that explores variation in copula choice in contemporary varieties of Spanish. Such inquiry has shown that not only has the Spanish language changed over time to allow greater use of the copula *estar* 'to be' in contexts that previously only allowed its counterpart *ser* 'to be', but also the change is still in progress. Nearly all studies, regardless of the variety examined, have shown variation in copula choice in the [copula + adjective] context. This variation is conditioned by several linguistic factors, such as whether or not the referent is compared to itself at another point in time and whether or not an attribute is susceptible to change. Research to date has shown similar effects of these linguistic features across the many geographic regions that have been examined. Despite such consistency regarding the linguistic predictors of copula choice, the effect of social characteristics on copula choice, particularly those related to bilingualism and language contact, remains less clear.

Silva-Corvalán (1986, 1994) showed variation in the linguistic features that predicted the use of *estar* across three different generations of speakers, ranging from Spanish-dominant to English-dominant. Later research on monolingual Spanish speakers demonstrated that copula choice in this group was also changing, but at a slower rate (Gutiérrez 1992). It was determined that contact with English could be said to accelerate the changes taking place in Spanish, but the change itself was not caused by contact with English. The combined results of the two aforementioned studies leave one wondering whether it is English in particular that accelerates this change or if it is contact in general that leads to variation in copula choice. Furthermore, one won-

ders if there are certain characteristics, such as language learning experience or current patterns of language use, that bilinguals may possess that are linked to such variation. Following this line of thinking, our research on copula choice in Galicia, where both Spanish and Galician are in contact, examines differences in copula selection according to language use, language dominance or the order in which the two languages were acquired. The current study aims to improve upon our previous findings (Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin 2006) by expanding the participant pool from 37 participants to 155 participants and by including more participants who are dominant in Galician as well as a monolingual Spanish speaking population against which the Galician group can be compared. Our previous research has already established the importance of linguistic predictors of copula choice. This expansion of the database will allow us to determine whether or not such social factors related to bilingualism also contribute to the frequency or the manner in which copulas are chosen and to relate such findings to previous work on Spanish in contact with English.

This paper begins with a brief overview of copula choice in Spanish, including recent research on variation in copula choice, particularly that conducted in contexts where Spanish is in contact with another language. Subsequently, we provide a brief analysis of the factors that might influence language variation, including sociolinguistic variables and characteristics related to language learning and language use. In Part 3 we describe our own experiment including a description of the participants, type of tasks used to elicit data and the procedures employed in the data analysis. Finally, our findings will be connected to those of previous researchers and we will indicate directions for future inquiry.

## 2. The changing status of *estar* in Spanish

Copula choice in Spanish has received a great deal of attention from the linguistic community, because, despite some general tendencies, there are no concrete rules to describe copula choice with adjectives in all contexts. Instead, both *ser* 'to be' and *estar* 'to be' are allowed in contexts with adjectives, and only about 20% of all adjectives are restricted to a single copula (Mesa Alonso et. al 1993). Because the adjectives themselves do not determine which copula is the best choice for a given context, several other contextual features must be used to describe native speaker choices. These features include characteristics of the referent (e.g., animacy), characteristics of the sentence (e.g., whether the characteristic attributed to the referent is susceptible to change) and features of the larger discourse context (e.g., whether or not the referent is compared to itself at another point in time). These features are present in every [copula + adjective] context and interact to determine copula choice (Geeslin 2003, 2005). There is variation in copula choice because speakers may choose to highlight a particular feature at any given time (Falk 1979). Although written grammars of Galician show that the copula contrast with adjectives is quite similar to Spanish, the absence

of carefully conducted sociolinguistic research makes it impossible to state the precise degree of similarity between the two languages.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the variation that exists as a result of the choice to highlight a particular discourse feature, the number of contexts that allow *estar* has also been changing over time. Vañó-Cerdá (1982) provided examples of adjectival contexts where *ser* and *estar* alternated as early as the twelfth century. In general, the change that is taking place with Spanish copulas, is that of the extension of *estar* to adjectival contexts where *ser* was formerly the only acceptable option. Although copula choice has been studied more in recent years, such research has been limited to the US, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and with the addition of our research, Spain. This body of research will be reviewed briefly with special attention paid to two factors: (1) whether or not the research was conducted in a context where Spanish was in contact with other languages and (2) the linguistic and social variables that were found to best describe copula choice for each group. Studies are reviewed individually, according to geographic region.

In her ground-breaking study on Mexican-American Spanish, Silva-Corvalán (1986, 1994) analyzed tape-recorded interviews with 33 Spanish speakers belonging to three generational groups. The first generation was born in Mexico and later moved to the US, the second was born in the US to parents who were born in Mexico and the third generation was born in the US to parents who were also born in the US. Silva-Corvalán found that several linguistic factors present in the discourse context were useful in describing copula choice and that the relative importance of these features varied across generations. For example, the variable Frame of Reference, which describes whether or not a referent is compared to itself at another point in time or to a group of like objects, was a predictor of use of *estar* for the first generation, but not for the second or the third. She also found that susceptibility to change, the circumstantiality of an attribute, adjective class and the degree of semantic transparency of the adjectives were relevant in describing copula choice.<sup>3</sup>

A second study that explored copula choice in US Spanish found little variation from prescriptive monolingual norms. Kirschner and Stephens (1988) used a written questionnaire instrument with sentence-level fill-in items to elicit data from 37 English-Spanish bilinguals of Puerto Rican descent in New York City. Although

---

2. The current study makes no claims about the properties of Galician copulas. Such inferences can only be made once an appropriate knowledge base of copula selection in Galician collected using similar methods to those employed in research on Spanish exists.

3. Susceptibility to change describes the relationship between the referent and the adjective and distinguishes those characteristics that may change over time from those that do not. Circumstantiality distinguishes adjectives that are not viewed as defining characteristics, but rather those that are circumstantial. This variable usually refers to those adjectives that are unflattering. Semantic transparency distinguishes those adjectives that present a clear meaning change when paired with contrasting copulas (*ser* vs. *estar*) from those that show only slight differences in modality or no differences at all.

no evidence of the extension of *estar* was found, this instrument did not contain a discourse-length context and therefore may not have been sufficient for eliciting variation linked to contextual variables. In addition, the instrument was administered in an academic setting, possibly leading participants to obey prescriptive norms that would not have been reflected in their casual speech.

In contrast to the research on Spanish speakers of Puerto Rican descent in the US, Ortiz López (2000) examined the extension of *estar* into contexts that formerly required *ser* among Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico. The data in that study come from a questionnaire instrument completed by 122 participants and recorded conversations from an additional 20 participants. Ortiz López showed clear evidence of innovation with *estar* and this occurred at higher rates for a limited set of adjective classes (e.g., age and size), among male speakers and among monolinguals rather than bilinguals (with English). This last finding is a result of the higher level of formal education that accompanies bilingualism in Puerto Rico.

Geeslin (2003), which focused on the second language acquisition of Spanish by English-speaking learners, included a comparison group of 25 native speakers of Spanish from 10 countries of origin. Each participant completed a written contextualized preference task, which manipulated several linguistic contextual variables in a paragraph-length context that preceded each item. Participants also completed a background questionnaire, enabling Geeslin to code for both linguistic and social variables. The analysis revealed that the linguistic variables predicate type, susceptibility to change, resultant state, adjective class and copulas allowed predicted choice of *estar*.<sup>4</sup> No social variables were found to be significant predictors, perhaps a result of the relative homogeneity of the participant group. These results, in combination with those from Silva-Corvalán (1986, 1994), seem to indicate principled variation in copula selection in Spanish in contact with English.

Following Silva-Corvalán (1986), Gutiérrez (1992, 1994a, 1994b) applied a similar analysis to data from monolinguals in Mochoacán, Mexico, elicited through recorded conversations and a written fill-in instrument. Like Silva-Corvalán, Gutiérrez found that frame of reference and circumstantiality were predictors of the use of *estar* and that certain adjective classes were more likely to show extension of *estar* than others. Perhaps the most important finding of this series of studies is that the monolingual speakers, when compared to Silva-Corvalán's participants of similar educational and socioeconomic levels, show evidence of the same change in progress. Thus, the extension of *estar* could have been said to be accelerated through contact with English, but it is not caused by this contact. Gutiérrez found that the changing use of *estar* was slowed by high levels of education and higher socioeconomic status.

Cortés-Torres (2004) examined copula selection in Cuernavaca, Mexico. In her study, she analyzed data from interviews conducted with 36 participants divided evenly

---

4. The variables employed in Geeslin (2003) are very similar to those used in the current study and will be described in greater detail later.

among genders and representing several ages and levels of education. Participants also completed a questionnaire instrument on which they responded to questions by selecting either *ser* or *estar*. The data were coded for the dependent variable copula choice, the independent variables adjective class, frame of reference, age, gender, education level, and style (interview vs. written instrument). The results from a regression analysis conducted in Goldvarb showed that adjective class, education and style were the significant predictors of use of *estar*. The adjective classes that favored *estar* were physical appearance, age, size, evaluation and personal characteristics. It was found that higher levels of education led to less frequent use of *estar* and that there was a greater use of *estar* on the written instrument. There were two interactions found with education level such that women with less education tended to use *estar* more while men with more education used *estar* more, and the age group that used *estar* the most (31–49) was also the group that showed that lower levels of education were associated with higher use of *estar*. This study is consistent with earlier findings on Mexican Spanish.

De Jonge (1993) also studied Spanish in Mexico City and compared it to the Spanish of Caracas, Venezuela. De Jonge focused his analysis of two corpora of recorded sociolinguistic interviews to expressions of age. These expressions would have traditionally required *ser* but can be seen in both corpora to occur with *estar* as well. De Jonge found that *ya* ‘already’ and *cuando* ‘when’ facilitated the use of *estar*. His research showed that both Mexico City and Caracas were participating in the same process of change.

An additional corpus, collected in 1987, 10 years after the corpus analyzed in de Jonge (1993), has encouraged research on Venezuelan Spanish. Malaver (2001) examined expressions of age in the 1977 and the 1987 corpora and found that frame of reference and a distinction between foregrounding and backgrounding were important in describing the use of *estar*. She also found that older speakers, men and those of the lower class showed a higher use of *estar* in the earlier corpus but that the gender differences disappeared in the later corpus and the upper middle class showed a use of *estar* comparable to that of the lower class in the later corpus.

A final study that examined the corpus of Spanish from Caracas (1987), analyzed 30 minute interviews from 48 participants, distributed evenly across age, gender and socioeconomic categories. In that study, Díaz-Campos and Geeslin (2004) found that the linguistic variables predicate type, experience with the referent, susceptibility to change, resultant state, adjective class and copulas allowed predicted the use of *estar*. Older speakers were also shown to be more frequent users of *estar*. Social class and gender were not predictors of the use of *estar*. This study was the first to extend the analysis of use of *estar* in Caracas beyond expressions of age and, thus, it is comparable to the studies reviewed for US and Mexican Spanish.

In our own work in Spain, we have sought to extend this body of research to new geographic regions, such as the region of Galicia, where Spanish is in contact with Galician and most residents are bilingual in Spanish and Galician. In Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin (2006), we analyzed data elicited using a contextualized preference task from 37 bilinguals and compared the factors that predicted copula choice for this group

to those that predicted choice for a socially similar group of Spanish speakers living in Granada, Spain, where no additional regional language is spoken (See Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin 2003 for a description of the Granada participants). We showed that the variables predicate type, frame of reference, dependence on experience, susceptibility to change, animacy, adjective class, and copulas allowed all corresponded significantly with copula use when examined individually (using a chi-square test). When each of these linguistic variables was examined together in a single statistical model (using a regression analysis), we found that predicate type, susceptibility to change, adjective class and copulas allowed were the variables that best predicted copula choice. Although the level of significance of each of these factors differed between the monolingual Spanish speakers and the Galician-Spanish bilinguals, these are the same linguistic features that best predicted copula choice for the monolingual group as well. In examining the individual characteristics of our participants and their relationship to copula choice, we also found that the age of the participant and the first language of the participant's mother were significant predictors of copula choice. Nevertheless, a closer examination of the data revealed that each of these findings was actually the result of individual participants in groups that were not well represented. In the case of the effect for the mother's first language, the only speaker who indicated that his or her mother was a Galician-dominant bilingual selected *estar* at a much higher frequency than the other participants (including those with monolingual Galician or Spanish-speaking parents). It was concluded that the linguistic predictors of copula choice were better predictors of *estar* and that the social factors examined in that study needed to be examined more closely in future research.

## 2.1 Summary of previous research

With the exception of Kirshner and Stephens (1988), each of the studies reviewed here demonstrates that *estar* is used in contexts that formerly only allowed *ser*. In addition, there are several important consistencies shown. Several of the linguistic features, such as predicate type and susceptibility to change, have been shown to be good predictors of the use of *estar*. The results regarding social variables are less clear. There does, however, seem to be a relationship between lower socioeconomic class and increased use of *estar*. Given the consistent results across geographic regions, it can be concluded that this change in progress is not limited to a single country or group of speakers (or even to American Spanish in contrast with Peninsular Spanish). Finally, it seems that contact with other languages does not cause this change, nor does it change the direction in which it moves.

As is demonstrated by the preceding review of existing research, the quantity of research that has explored the linguistic predictors of copula choice, and the consistency of these results far outweighs the attention that has been paid to the social factors that contribute to copula choice. As mentioned previously, language contact has not caused this change in progress. Nevertheless, there are some issues raised by the research conducted on Spanish in contact with English that have not been answered



satisfactorily for other contact situations. For example, Silva-Corvalán (1986) found that language learning experience (as indicated by generational status) did contribute to the selection of *estar*, such that the importance (or lack thereof) of particular discourse features varied across generations. In a study on borrowings from Spanish into Valencian, Triano-López (2005) found that individual characteristics, such as language loyalty, were significantly correlated to language use. Nevertheless, in our previous research on Galician-Spanish bilinguals we were unable to examine the full effect of these characteristics on copula choice because of the limited sample size for certain groups.<sup>5</sup> The goal of the current research is to analyze data from a considerably larger subject pool that is far less homogeneous than the first in order to better address these issues. While we do not aim to minimize the importance of linguistic predictors of copula choice, we do hope to identify additional, relevant social factors.

## 2.2 Factors that influence language variation

In this section we wish to identify some of the social factors that may influence language choice in a particular bilingual situation. It is our belief that some of these individual characteristics may also influence the degree to which *estar* is used. Among the factors examined in our study are those traditionally associated with sociolinguistic variation. These include biological variables, such as age and gender, both of which have been linked to variation of numerous structures in many languages (see Eckert 1997 on age and Wodak & Benke 1997 on gender).<sup>6</sup> Additionally, we have included the variables occupation and level of education in order to assess whether or not socioeconomic status may also play a role. Although this will be discussed in greater detail, we should note here that our participants are relatively highly educated individuals and our study does not capture the full range of socioeconomic variation.

The current study also includes several variables associated with a participant's language learning history. Given the complexity of the bilingual situation in Galicia, our participants may have been raised monolingually in either Spanish or Galician, and/or may have later learned the other language as a second language, or may have been raised in a bilingual household with equal use or uneven use of the two languages. Additional factors to be examined include the first languages of the participants' parents, the language spoken at home during their childhood and the language in which

---

5. The fact that Galician also possesses copula choice does not affect the comparability of the current study to previous research. If our bilingual participants are found to select copulas with a different frequency or in a different manner than our monolingual participants and these differences are linked to language learning or language use, the findings will be similar to the research already conducted on English. It may be the case that these differences are a result of the interaction of the two grammars (English and Spanish or Galician and Spanish) or the interaction of the social characteristics of the participant with copula selection.

6. The term gender has been used here to refer to biological sex. It is worth noting, however, that one may choose not to identify with one's own biological group (either age or sex).

they were educated. These variables may be linked to a participant's current proficiency, but this is not always the case. Many of the participants who were raised in Galician-speaking households by Galician-speaking parents will have been educated in Spanish and will use Spanish currently as proficiently as those who learned it at home. These factors may also be linked to particular language attitudes, since the second language speakers of Spanish may have been required to learn this second language whereas the second language speakers of Galician are less likely to have been required to do so.<sup>7</sup> The connection of the language learning characteristics to proficiency in Spanish and/or Galician and to language attitudes fall outside the scope of the current investigation but would be interesting questions to examine in future studies.

Following Lanza, who states that “[...] dominance is not just a question of development but also of use” (2000:234), the final group of variables included in the current study is related to language use. These variables include a participant's preference or likelihood to use one or both of the two languages at work, at home, and in social settings. Participants were also asked to indicate the language they use most often overall. These variables provide information about the social networks of each participant and their current language preference profile. This second set of variables is important for the reasons mentioned above, specifically that one's language learning history in a bilingual context as complex as the one found in Galicia may provide little indication of one's current patterns of language use. This is especially true since language policies have changed so much in recent years. While Galician was once excluded from public forums, it is now favored by government policies that advocate its use in education and in government. Given this reversal of policy, one's own language learning experience may contrast greatly with the current patterns of language use.

### 3. The current study

The current study has two primary goals. The first is to see whether or not copula selection in the Spanish spoken in Galicia differs from that in the rest of Spain. Results from our previous research indicate a slight difference in frequency of use of *estar*, which was not previously examined statistically, as well as similarities in the factors that predicted the selection of *estar*, despite some variation in the level of significance of each of these factors. The current study has improved the data pool for both groups of participants and will examine this issue further. The second goal for the current study is to see whether the patterns of copula selection among Galicians are linked to particular individual factors such as age, gender, socioeconomic status, language learning history and current patterns of language use.

---

7. This situation is likely to have been reversed for the youngest participants, since the government of Galicia has recently been engaged in policy making to ensure the instruction and use of Galician. Participants born after 1975 are likely to have been educated in Galician as much as in Spanish.

### 3.1 Research questions

The current study was guided by the following research questions:

1. Do speakers of Spanish in Galicia select copulas differently from Spanish speakers in other regions of Spain?
  - a. Do these groups differ in the frequency of selection of *estar*?
  - b. Do these two groups differ in the linguistic or social predictors of selection of *estar*?
2. For the Galician participants, what is the role of individual speaker characteristics in determining copula selection in Spanish?

Because the first question was examined in Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin (2006), we expect that the addition of new data will merely strengthen our result and lend statistical support to the differences in frequency already observed. Thus, the greatest level of detail will be given in examining the second research question, which has not yet been effectively examined in previous research.

### 3.2 Participants

Two participant groups were included in the current study, one group of Spanish speakers living outside Galicia and a second group of Spanish speakers living in Galicia. The first group described here included 82 Spanish speakers living in Spain, outside the region of Galicia. In Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin (2006) the majority of the Spanish-speakers from Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin (2003), to whom the Galician bilinguals were compared, were residents of Granada. In the current study we have added speakers from other areas of Spain to that group. It should be noted that none of these participants live in areas, such as Catalonia, where most speakers are believed to be bilingual with Spanish and a regional language. Thus, we refer to this group as the monolingual Spanish group, although given their range of experience with second language study, they are not truly monolingual. The characteristics of these speakers, including their city of residence, level of education, gender, occupation, age and a list of additional languages known are summarized in Table 1, with the number of participants indicated in parentheses. For the variable second language experience the numbers in parentheses do not add up to 82, the total number of participants, because many of the participants have experience with more than one language.

The second group of participants is comprised of 73 residents of Galicia. This group includes a group of Galician-Spanish bilinguals who favor Galician (N=11), a group of Spanish-Galician bilinguals who favor Spanish (N=24), a group of native speakers of Spanish who learned Galician as an L2 (N=6), a group of native speakers of Galician who learned Spanish as an L2 (N=17), and two groups who did not consider themselves bilingual: monolingual Spanish speakers (N=12) and monolingual Galician speakers (N=3). Despite the self-description as monolingual Galician speak-

**Table 1.** Summary of participant variables for speakers outside Galicia

| Variable  | Categories   |
|-----------|--|
| Residence | Granada(4), Jaén(12), León(1), Madrid(33), Málaga(30), Murcia(1), Sabadell(1)        |
| Education | Higher education (47), secondary (35)  |
| Gender    | Female (60), male (22)   |
| Job       | Artist(1), office worker(6), post doc(1), shop assistant(3), student(65), teacher(6) |
| L2(s)     | Catalan (2), English (75), French (56), German (3), Portuguese (1)                   |
| Age       | Range 18–62, mean = 24.27, standard deviation = 7.76                                 |

**Table 2.** Summary of participant variables for speakers from Galicia

| Variable            | Categories   |
|---------------------|--|
| Residence           | A Coruña(5), Carballeira(1), Ferrol(2), Lugo(4), Ourense(2), Pontevedra(5), Pozos(2), Santiago(12), Vigo(40) |
| Education           | Higher education (73)  |
| Gender              | Female (54), male (19)   |
| Job                 | Doctoral student (1), office worker (3), postdoc (2), student (64), teacher (3)                              |
| L2(s)               | Catalan(2), English(68), French(24), German(3), Italian(2), Portuguese(2), N/A (2)                           |
| Age                 | Range 19–51, mean = 25.27, standard deviation = 5.81   |
| Native language (s) | Gal(3), Gal + L2 Span(17), Gal/Span bilingual(11), Span(12), Span + L2 Gal(6), Span/Gal bilingual(24)        |
| Mother's L1         | Gal (41), Gal/Span (1), Span/Gal (14), Span (17)   |
| Father's L1         | Gal (44), Gal/Span (2), Span/Gal (13), Span (13), Portuguese (1)   |
| Childhood L1        | Galician(16), Galician/Spanish(7), Spanish/Galician(22), Spanish(28)   |
| Educ. lang.         | More Galician (8), Equal use of both (55), More Spanish (10)   |
| Normal lang.        | More Galician (18), Equal use of both (29), More Spanish (26)  |
| Work lang.          | More Gal(12), Equal (26), More Spanish (31), Spanish only (4)  |
| Home lang.          | Gal only(1), More Gal(26), Equal(17), More Span(27), Span only(2)  |
| Social lang.        | Gal only(1), More Gal(11), Equal(35), More Span(23), Span only(3)  |

ers, all of the participants were sufficiently proficient in Spanish to complete the study. Thus, these categories are best seen as indicators of how participants view their own language abilities and preferences, rather than an indication of actual proficiency. This group of bilingual participants was characterized using the same variables used to describe the monolingual participants. This second group was also examined in terms of their language learning experiences and their current patterns of language use. These characteristics are described in Table 2. The variable native language(s), refers to the languages learned by each participant and the order in and the degree to which they were learned. For all variables, the order of languages indicates the preference for one over the other.

### 3.3 Instruments and procedures

All participants completed two instruments. The first was a background questionnaire designed to elicit information regarding the individual characteristics of each participant described in the previous section. On the background questionnaire, in addition to questions about gender, occupation and other social variables, we included questions such as whether participants considered themselves bilinguals, when and for how long the participant was educated in each language, the number of hours per week that Galician is spoken, and in which context (social, familiar and work) one language or another is used.

The second instrument that each participant completed was a contextualized preference task designed to elicit data regarding copula selection. This instrument contained 28 items, each preceded by a paragraph-length context.<sup>8</sup> Participants were asked to indicate a preference for one of the responses provided, which differed only in the copula selected. Each paragraph built on a story-line such that the entire instrument could be read as a single discourse. Each discourse context controls for each of the variables shown to contribute to copula choice. The reason for choosing this type of task was because it is possible to control the various semantic and pragmatic constraints that govern copula choice. These contexts would be extremely difficult to elicit in spontaneous speech. There were no time constraints on completing the tasks, but most participants completed all tasks in 30 minutes. Participants were instructed verbally and in writing that their answers should reflect their own use of *ser* and *estar* (that is, what they would normally say, not what they should say), and that they should go on 'feel' for what sounds right rather than on rule knowledge.

### 3.4 Coding and analysis

Each item on the contextualized preference task was analyzed as a single token, such that each participant produced 28 tokens. These tokens were coded for the linguistic contextual features that have been analyzed in previous investigations and for the individual characteristics outlined in Tables 1 and 2. The linguistic variables included in the current study are described in depth in Geeslin (2003, 2005).

Once the coding of each token for the linguistic and social variables was complete, several statistical analyses were performed in order to address the research questions posed in the current study. A chi-square ( $X^2$ ) test was used to determine whether or not the frequency of the selection of *estar* was different for the Galician group and for the group of participants outside Galicia. Next, a binary logistic regression analysis was performed for each of the two participant groups. This test determines which factors are the best predictors of the selection of *estar* when each is considered in a

---

8. For those readers interested in seeing a copy of the task, we refer them to Geeslin (2003) for a similar version of the questionnaire to that used in the present research project.

single model. By comparing the predictors of *estar* for both groups, it is possible to determine whether or not the predictors of copula selection differ.

Upon addressing the differences between the two groups of participants, the analysis turns to a more detailed examination of the factors associated with copula selection in Galicia. Each of the variables related to social characteristics, language learning and language use were cross-tabulated with the variable response type to examine the distribution of the categories of the independent variable in relation to those of the dependent variable. A  $X^2$  test was also conducted for each of these combinations to determine whether or not any apparent trends were statistically significant. The results of both the  $X^2$  tests and the regression analysis identify the individual factors that are related to copula selection for this population. An important difference between these two tests, and one which explains the differing results for the two, is that the regression analysis requires a binary dependent variable whereas the  $X^2$  test does not. Consequently, the three categories of the dependent variable (*ser*, *estar* and both) employed in the  $X^2$  test had to be recoded into a two category variable (*estar*, not *estar*) prior to running the regression. Thus, the  $X^2$  test allows us to look at all three categories of the dependent variable and the regression analysis allows us to look at a predictive model that includes all independent variables at the same time.

## 4. Results

### 4.1 Differences between participant groups

In order to answer the first research question, regarding differences in copula selection for the two groups of speakers included in the current study, two statistical tests were run. The first compared the frequency with which each copula was selected by the two groups. The overall rates for copula selection for the two participant groups are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 indicates that the group of speakers inside Galicia selected *estar* more frequently than the group of speakers outside Galicia (48.7 % vs. 44.9%). In addition, the monolingual group uses the 'both' option more frequently than the bilingual Galician group. These two results taken together may indicate that the monolingual group is aware that *estar* is undergoing a process of extension and therefore acknowledges that both are possible but has not gone so far as to prefer *estar* in these contexts. These dif-

Table 3. Copulas selected by both participant groups

| Response | Galicians |      | Outside Galicia |      |
|----------|-----------|------|-----------------|------|
|          | #         | %    | #               | %    |
| Ser      | 993       | 48.6 | 1148            | 50   |
| Estar    | 996       | 48.7 | 1031            | 44.9 |
| Both     | 55        | 2.7  | 117             | 5.1  |

Note:  $X^2 = 19.61$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < .001$ , Cramer's  $V = .067$  (no small cells)

ferences in frequency are statistically significant and, thus, the apparent differences in Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin (2006) gain statistical validity.

In addition to comparing the frequency with which *estar* was selected by each group, a regression analysis was performed to determine which linguistic and social factors were the best predictors of the selection of *estar*. A summary of the results of this test is presented in Table 4. An X indicates that the factor was included in the predictive model.

As in Guijarro-Fuentes & Geeslin (2006), the linguistic factors predicate type, susceptibility to change, adjective class and copulas allowed were found to be significant predictors of *estar* for both groups. Due to a greater number of participants in the current study, and consequently many more tokens, there are two additional linguistic factors that were also found to be significant for both groups. The first is animacy, which has shown varying results across both native-speaking and second-language populations. This is most likely a result of its interaction with adjective class (Geeslin 2003). The second variable is experience with the referent. This variable was also significant for Venezuelan Spanish in Díaz-Campos & Geeslin (2004). The similarity between our current study and Díaz-Campos & Geeslin (2004), which analyzed interview data, is important because it shows consistency across different data elicitation techniques. A final factor that was included for both groups, and that differs from previous research, is gender. This result will be discussed in greater detail later. Finally, there are two additional factors that were shown to be significant predictors of *estar* for the bilingual group only: occupation and the language normally used. These two factors will be discussed in greater detail in regard to the second research question. The current study is the first to find differences between this bilingual population and their monolingual counterparts stemming from social variables, rather than linguistic ones. It should be clear that these results do not diminish the importance of previously

Table 4. Results for regression analyses for both participant groups

| Variable                 | Galicians | Outside Galicia |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| Predicate type           | ***X      | ***X            |
| Frame of reference       |           |                 |
| Dependence on experience | ***X      | ***X            |
| Susceptibility to change | ***X      | ***X            |
| Animacy                  | ***X      | ***X            |
| Adjective class          | ***X      | ***X            |
| Copulas allowed          | ***X      | ***X            |
| Gender                   | **X       | **X             |
| Occupation               | ***X      |                 |
| Language normally used   | **X       |                 |

Note: \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ . For monolinguals, Model  $X^2 = 1984.01$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $-2 \log \text{likelihood} = 1198.923$ , Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .771$ , total tokens = 2296. For bilinguals, Model  $X^2 = 1688.401$ ,  $df = 21$ ,  $-2 \log \text{likelihood} = 1143.539$ , Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .75$ , total tokens = 2044.

identified linguistic predictors of copula choice, they simply provide a richer picture of the social aspects of this phenomenon.

#### 4.2 The role of individual factors in copula selection

It will be recalled that in order to answer the second research question, which social or individual characteristics contributed to copula selection for the bilingual group, several  $X^2$  tests were conducted in addition to the aforementioned regression analyses. While the regression analysis identifies those factors that add predictive power to a model that incorporates both linguistic and social variables into a single statistical test, the  $X^2$  test examines each variable in relation to the 3-category dependent variable in isolation. The results of each of these  $X^2$  tests will be reported here, prior to a discussion of all of the factors (from the  $X^2$  tests and from the regression) that are significant predictors of the selection of *estar*. The results for the  $X^2$  tests are summarized in Table 5. In addition, because a  $X^2$  test assumes that there are no cells with fewer than five tokens, those tests for which this assumption was not met are so indicated.

Table 5 indicates that in addition to the variables gender, occupation and the language normally used, which were identified in the regression analysis as significant predictors of the selection of *estar*, the first language of the participant's mother is also a significant predictor when the results from the  $X^2$  tests are taken into account. Although this test shows that there is one condition in which the assumption for cell size is not met, this variable will also be examined further. The  $X^2$  tests also demonstrate that occupation is a significant predictor for both statistical tests. In the discussion that follows, each of these four variables, identified by two different statistical tests, will be examined in greater depth.

Table 5. Summary of  $X^2$  tests for all social variables and response type

| Variable                 | $\chi^2$ | <i>df</i> | Small cells? | Cramer's V |
|--------------------------|----------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| Age                      | 5.39     | 6         | 1            | .04        |
| Gender                   | 3.52     | 2         | No           | .04        |
| Residence                | 20.83    | 16        | 7            | .07        |
| Occupation               | 15.56    | 8         | 4            | *.06       |
| First Language           | 15.48    | 10        | 2            | .06        |
| Mother's L1              | 16.72    | 6         | 1            | ** .01     |
| Father's L1              | 8.83     | 8         | 2            | .05        |
| Childhood language       | 11.26    | 6         | No           | .05        |
| Language normally used   | 6.25     | 6         | 1            | .04        |
| Language of education    | 10.37    | 6         | 1            | .05        |
| Work language            | 2.0      | 3         | No           | .03        |
| Home language            | 14.09    | 8         | 2            | .06        |
| Language for socializing | 7.37     | 8         | 2            | .04        |

Note: \* =  $p < .05$ , \*\* =  $p < .01$ . For all tests,  $N=2044$



A closer examination of the results for gender show that males selected *estar* 54.9 percent of the time, whereas females selected *estar* only 50.2 percent of the time. This result is quite interesting in light of the results from the monolingual population, where men selected *estar* 47.1 percent of the time and women selected *estar* 51.1 percent of the time. In other words, the directions for this effect are different for the two groups. While the bilingual men favor *estar*, in monolingual Spanish it is women who favor *estar*. This important finding will be addressed further in the discussion section that follows.

It will be recalled that there were five different categories for the variable occupation: office worker, student, postdoc, teacher and PhD. This last category refers to a student pursuing a PhD, and could arguably be re-coded and included with other students. The results from the current study show that the office workers and the postdocs selected *estar* 59.5 and 57.1 percent of the time, respectively. In contrast, the students selected *estar* 48 percent of the time, teachers selected *estar* 48.8 percent of the time and the PhD student selected *estar* 42.9 percent of the time. The postdoc group includes only two participants and describes individuals who have research positions in which language and communication are not the primary focus of their job, even though their level of education is quite high. Thus, there is a clear distinction between those in an academic setting, such as teachers and students, and those who work outside the university or in research laboratories. In other words, it appears that those who are most closely involved in academic interactions are less likely to use *estar*.

In looking at the distribution of the categories of the variable language normally used, there is a significant relationship between higher use of Galician and a higher rate of selection of *estar*. The participants who reported using more Galician selected *estar* 53.8 percent of the time, those who reported equal use of both languages selected *estar* 52.8 percent of the time and those who reported using more Spanish selected *estar* 48.2 percent of the time. Thus, the effect for use of Galician is quite linear: greater use of Galician corresponds to higher rates of use of *estar*.

In our previous research, the mother's first language was also shown to be significant, but this was the result of a single participant in a single category. The current study shows more meaningful results for this variable. Those participants who reported that their mother's first language was Galician selected *estar* 49.1 percent of the time. Those whose mothers learned both languages but favored Galician selected *estar* 50 percent of the time. Those whose mothers were bilingual but favored Spanish selected *estar* 49 percent of the time and those whose mother's first language was Spanish selected *estar* 47.5 percent of the time. Thus, as with the variables discussed previously, there is a trend in which those whose mothers spoke more Galician as children selected *estar* more frequently. Given the fact that there is little difference between the groups whose mothers were bilingual and those whose mothers spoke Galician as a first language, it is likely that the significant result in this test comes from the lower rate of selection of *estar* by those whose mothers were Spanish speakers in their childhood. Unlike our previous results for this variable, where a single participant most likely ac-

counted for the significant result, in this case the group of speakers whose mothers were Spanish speakers includes a full 17 participants.

## 5. Discussion

We begin this discussion with a summary of the answers to the research questions that guided the current research. In determining whether or not there are differences in copula selection between the Spanish spoken in Galicia and that spoken in monolingual regions of Spain, the answer is that there are both differences and similarities. The frequency with which *estar* is selected in Galicia is higher than in monolingual regions of Spain. Nevertheless, the linguistic factors that condition this selection are the same for both groups. Moreover, the increased number of participants in the current study showed that two additional linguistic features, dependence on experience and animacy were significant predictors of *estar* for both groups. This result has not appeared consistently in previous studies, most likely because the number of participants, and consequently the number of tokens, was much smaller. Looking at the social variables that condition copula selection for these two groups, the one variable that was found to be significant for both groups was gender. This variable has not been shown to be significant in previous research and is most likely a consequence of the higher number of tokens in the current study. This result is particularly interesting because the effect moves in opposite directions for the two populations. Among the monolinguals, women use *estar* more often. This finding fits nicely with what is known about the extension of *estar* and sociolinguistics in general. Because the process of extending the use of *estar* to additional contexts has been described as innovation and because women have been found to be innovators for many language changes in many different languages, the fact that women are shown to use *estar* more fits nicely with existing research (Wodak & Benke 1997). The result for the Galician bilinguals, however, does not fit this pattern. Instead, it is the men in this community who use *estar* more often. The explanation for this difference is best sought in the context of the answer to the second research question explored in the current study.

Although we have not coded our data in terms of traditional and innovative uses of *estar*, the high rates of use of *estar* support the hypothesis that both the bilingual and monolingual populations under investigation seem to be participating in the process of extending *estar* to contexts that were formerly only acceptable with *ser*. This is expected given that research on Mexican, Puerto Rican, Venezuelan and US Spanish has demonstrated this change to be in progress across geographic regions. We agree with previous researchers that the Spanish language is going through linguistic changes due to inherent internal factors (Vañó-Cerdá 2002), and that in a bilingual context those internal factors may interact with other social ones. In sum, bilingualism is not the *cause* of these changes in copula use.

The second research question in the current study sought to identify those social variables that predict the selection of *estar* for the Galician group. Four variables were

found to correspond to the selection of *estar*: the language the speaker normally uses, the speaker's mother's first language, gender and occupation. The first two social variables shown to correlate with the selection of *estar* support the hypothesis that a higher frequency of *estar* is associated with Galician (as opposed to Spanish). Those who use Galician more often and those whose mothers learned Galician rather than Spanish as a child (or preferred this language in childhood) selected *estar* with a higher frequency than those who did not.

Returning then to the issue of gender, taking into account the contrasting results for the two populations in the current study, and the results for the other social variables found to significantly correspond to copula selection, one is able to provide an explanation for the heightened use of *estar* by men in Galicia. Since it is the case that use of Galician is associated with a higher rate of selection of *estar*, this use takes on the characteristic of identity marking, rather than innovation. Consequently, while women in other regions of Spain are innovating with *estar*, men in Galicia are using a higher rate of selection of *estar* to mark their "Galician-ness". This explanation also fits nicely with sociolinguistic research on the use of non-standard or regional identity markers in communities where women are seen to use these markers less than men. We note, however, that this supposition would benefit greatly from additional research that can also observe variation from one situation to another.

The results for occupation require a bit more thought but can also be explained. The categories for occupation actually represent a distinction between those who are employed in academic settings (teachers and students) and those who are not. Those who are not in academics use *estar* with greater frequency. Thus, it appears that the higher use of *estar*, associated with Galician, is not viewed as the academic variant. The reason that this is somewhat surprising is that since 1975, Galician has been required in the school system, and the participants in the current study who are students were most likely educated under that system. The teachers, of course, must therefore use Galician in providing instruction. There are several possible explanations for the lower rate of selection of *estar* among those associated with academics. Although extensive further research would be necessary to confirm this hypothesis, it is possible that government efforts to integrate Galician into public realms have not been met entirely with favorable attitudes, and this, in turn, has led to a continued association of Spanish, and the lower rate of selection of *estar*, with academic norms. In other words, this contact variety of Spanish (with a higher rate of selection of *estar*) has not yet entered into academic settings. A second possibility is that those in the academic setting are actually better able to participate in a diglossia that allows a lower rate of selection of *estar* in Spanish in the context of a research study, despite what might happen in informal contexts. In other words, these speakers may be most able to shift from one register to another depending on the context. For the purposes of the current study, we will have to be satisfied with a hypothesis that lower rates of *estar* selection are associated with academic language (where the influence of traditional grammar rules prevails over innovation) and rely on future studies to further investigate this result.

There are two social variables in the current study that one might have expected to yield a significant result which did not. These are age and social class. If men are selecting *estar* at higher rates than women, it might also be expected that older speakers would select *estar* less often and those with lower social class would select *estar* at higher rates. There are several reasons why this may not be the case. First, the role of the government and legislation regarding language use interacts directly with age. Those participants who were educated during or prior to the end of Franco's rule (1975) would have been raised in an environment where Galician was spoken only in family environments, never used in government or education and was associated largely with the farming or rural communities. In contrast, those who have been educated most recently are likely to have been taught Galician at school and grown up in communities where newscasters, government workers, and other public officials are required to use Galician. In this more recent context, the development of standard Galician has even created a diglossic situation between "home" Galician and "public" Galician, where the most recently adopted standard for Galician is modeled after Portuguese, rather than Spanish. One might also hypothesize that given the fact that their parents were educated during Franco's regime they may have been discouraged at their very early ages from using Galician. In sum, differences across age groups may well be a result of changing political norms, rather than purely linguistic and societal ones. Moreover, even though the current study included participants that ranged in age from 19 to 51, many of the participants in the current study are most likely in the "transition" generation, where at least the early part of their schooling (or at least the model for education) focused on Spanish. The results of the current study may indeed show quite different results ten years from now, once younger students have passed entirely through a Galician-focused school system.

A similar explanation for the lack of effect of age is relevant for social class. The status of Galician in the public sector has changed drastically over the past 25 years, and so too, have the attitudes of many speakers. While Galician was once considered a rural language, it is now used in all formal settings in Galicia. Galician is now required for many government, academic and telecommunications professions, where it would have formerly been ridiculed. Thus, the association of 30 years ago between Galician and the lower class is likely to have changed considerably in recent years. Certainly more research on contemporary attitudes toward Galician would be useful. In addition to the situational reasons for the lack of effect for social class in our study, there is an important limitation in our own participant group that may also explain these results. Our participants are generally highly educated and none truly represent the lower class (based on occupation and level of education). This too, can be remedied in future studies.

A final issue that bears mentioning regarding the results of the current study is its connection to the results of previous research. In her study of Spanish in contact with English, Silva-Corvalán (1994) found that the extension of *estar* was accelerated by language contact. In other words, *estar* was found in a broader range of contexts and greater number of contexts in Spanish spoken in contact with English. This is

precisely what was found in the current study: *Estar* was selected more frequently by those speakers in Galicia than by monolinguals outside Galicia. Nevertheless, there are important differences between our findings and those of Silva-Corvalán. For example, we found that the same linguistic features were used to predict the selection of *estar* for both groups. In contrast, Silva-Corvalán found that the linguistic constraints on the selection of *estar* changed across generations. Given the contrast between the two studies, one cannot yet conclude that the effect of language contact on Spanish, regardless of the language with which Spanish is in contact, is the same. Instead, each contact situation must be examined individually until enough information has been gleaned from many contact situations to draw generalizations. Thus, our results suggest that Spanish in contact with another language may lead to greater use of *estar*, but we would not state this as a universal truth prior to additional investigations on the subject.

## 6. Conclusions and future directions

The current study has demonstrated that the process of copula selection in Galicia, where Spanish is in contact with Galician, differs from monolingual regions of Spain in the frequency with which each copula is selected. Despite this difference, the linguistic constraints on copula selection are the same for both groups. In addition to these linguistic constraints, copula selection is also constrained by gender, although the effects for the two populations are in opposite directions. Additionally, copula selection in Galicia is also constrained by the first language of the participant's mother, the language the participant normally uses, and the participant's occupation. This study therefore demonstrates that copula choice across the Spanish speaking world is constrained by similar linguistic features, regardless of geography. Moreover, it demonstrates that social characteristics of the participants also merit investigation.

Many of the conclusions drawn in the current study are preliminary and would benefit from further investigation. For example, the role of occupation might be better examined by expanding the range of social classes included. A broader age range, examined in light of important political changes, as well as language attitudes toward such legislation, would also provide further information about variation in copula choice. A comparison between rural and urban settings might also be of interest. The use of a written contextualized questionnaire has the benefit of eliciting contexts where *estar* may be used in innovative ways and of maintaining consistency across participants. Nevertheless, it would be beneficial to know more about how participants vary their own copula selection in different speech contexts, and this would require closer observation of fewer participants across time. Finally, several of the hypotheses raised in the current study relate directly to the study of language attitudes, and the addition of attitudinal measures to the database would also be worthwhile.

## References

- Cortés-Torres, M. 2004. ¿Ser o estar? La variación lingüística y social de estar más adjetivo en el español de Cuernavaca, Mexico. *Hispania* 87: 788–795.
- de Jonge, B. 1993. (Dis)continuity in language change: Ser and estar + age in Latin American Spanish. In *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, F. Drijkoningen & K. Hengeveld (eds.), 69–80. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Díaz-Campos, M. & Geeslin, K. 2004. Copula use in the Spanish of Venezuela: Social and linguistic sources of variation. Paper presented at New Ways of Analyzing Variation, Ann Arbor MI.
- Eckert, P. 1997. Age as a sociolinguistic variable. In *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, F. Coulmas (ed.), 151–167. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Falk, J. 1979. *Ser y estar con atributos adjetivales*. Uppsala: Alqvist and Wiksell.
- Geeslin, K. 2003. A comparison of copula choice in advanced and native Spanish. *Language Learning* 53: 703–764.
- Geeslin, K. 2005. *Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries to Improve the Analysis of Second Language Data: A study of copula choice with adjectives in Spanish*. Munich: Lincom.
- Guijarro-Fuentes, P. & Geeslin, K. 2003. Age-related factors in copula choice in steady state L2 Spanish grammars. *Revista Española de la Lingüística Aplicada* 16: 83–110.
- Guijarro-Fuentes, P. & Geeslin, K. 2006. Copula choice in the Spanish of Galicia: The effects of bilingualism on language use. *Spanish in Context* 3: 63–83.
- Gutiérrez, M. 1992. The extension of estar: A linguistic change in progress in the Spanish of Morelia, Mexico. *Hispanic Linguistics* 5: 109–141.
- Gutiérrez, M. 1994a. Simplification, transfer and convergence. *Bilingual Review* 19: 111–121.
- Gutiérrez, M. 1994b. La influencia de ‘los de abajo’ en tres procesos de cambio lingüístico en el español de Morelia, Michoacán. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 18: 257–269.
- Kirschner, C. & Stephens, T. 1988. Copula choice in the Spanish-English bilingual. In *On Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan Linguistics*, J. Staczek (ed.), 128–134. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Lanza, E. 2000. Concluding remarks: Language contact – a dilemma for the bilingual child or for the linguist?. In *Cross-Linguistic Structures in Simultaneous Bilingualism*, S. Dopke (ed.), 227–245. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Malaver, I. 2001. ‘Cuando estábamos chiquitos’: Ser y estar en expresiones adjetivales de edad. Un fenómeno americano. *Boletín de Lingüística* 16: 44–65.
- Mesa Alonso, M., Domínguez Herrera, M., Padrón Sánchez, E. and Morales Aguilera, N. 1993. Ser y estar: Consideraciones sobre su uso en español. *Islas* 104: 150–156.
- Ortiz López, L. 2000. La extensión de estar en contextos de ser en el español de Puerto Rico: ¿Evolución interna o contacto de lenguas? *BAPLE* 98–118.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1986. Bilingualism and language change: The extension of estar in Los Angeles Spanish. *Language* 62: 587–608.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1994. *Language Contact and Change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Triano-López, M. 2005. Assessing the Impact of Puristic Intervention: Linguistic un-borrowing in the autonomous community. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University.
- Vañó-Cerdá, A. 2002. Estar con adjetivos como expresión de cualidades permanentes en catalán. *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 66: 523–556.
- Vañó-Cerdá, A. 1982. *Ser y Estar + Adjetivos*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Wodak, R. & Benke, G. 1997. Gender as a sociolinguistic variable: New perspectives on variation studies. In *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, F. Coulmas (ed.), 151–167. Oxford: Blackwell.



## Apuntes preliminares sobre el contacto lingüístico y dialectal en el uso pronominal del español en Nueva York

Ricardo Otheguy y Ana Celia Zentella

Graduate Center, City University of New York (CUNY) /  
University of California – San Diego

This paper investigates the alternation of null and overt pronominal subjects across six dialects and various generations of Spanish speakers in New York City. Although past research on this variable has found virtually no social conditioning, a close analysis revealed a pattern of social influence derived in part from the source national dialects, in part from regional dialects, and in part from English influence. A basic division exists between Dominican Spanish versus all others. There is some evidence to support a further distinction of Mexican Spanish from all others. However, with respect to pronominal subject expression, this data does not support considering Puerto Rican or Cuban or Ecuadorian or Colombian Spanishes as separate dialects. In contrast, a regional division of the dialects does emerge if one groups the six dialects groups into two: Caribbean speakers, with a relatively high rate of pronominal expression, and Mainland speakers, with a somewhat lower rate. In addition, the influence of English is identified through a close comparison of recent arrivals to second-generation residents of New York City. The frequency of subject pronouns in New York Spanish is changing, slowly, as speakers from these two regional sets converge and as they continue to live in contact with English over many years.

### 1. Introducción

Conviven en la ciudad de Nueva York más de dos millones de hispanos quienes, según el Censo de los EEUU del año 2000, representan el 29 por ciento de la población de la Ciudad. Se inscriben estos neoyorquinos en una franja demográfica que abarca todos los estratos generacionales y lingüísticos: recién llegados que todavía usan muy poco el inglés; inmigrantes bilingües de muchos años de residencia; y neoyorquinos nacidos o criados en NY, entre los cuales, aunque encontramos muchos que ya usan poco el español, hallamos también muchos otros para los cuales el español es lengua de uso diario y de dominio extenso (Zentella 1997a, 1997b).



En esta diversa población, analizamos, en transcripciones de muestras de lengua hablada, el uso variable del pronombre personal sujeto con formas personales del verbo (e.g. *nosotros cantamos* ~ *cantamos*; *ellos cantan* ~ *cantan*, etc.). La alternancia entre el pronombre explícito y el nulo, que es universal en español, está condicionada, en las distintas variedades del español en las que el fenómeno se ha estudiado, por factores contextuales que, en muchos casos, han resultado ser los mismos o muy parecidos (cf. Bentivoglio 1987; Cameron 1993, 1995; Silva-Corvalán 1983, 1997). Esta semejanza de condicionantes de la alternancia opera, sin embargo, en un contexto de notables diferencias en cuanto a la frecuencia de aparición de una u otra variante del pronombre, con tendencias hacia un uso muy nutrido del pronombre explícito en algunos lugares, y hacia un uso muy parco en otros (Lipski 1994:241; López-Morales 1992:137).

Es también éste un rasgo en el que se diferencian claramente los dos idiomas que hablan los bilingües neoyorquinos, ya que el pronombre personal sujeto explícito se usa en inglés, no sólo respondiendo a condiciones contextuales muy distintas, sino con mucha más frecuencia que en cualquier variedad del español. Estos dos hechos relacionados con la frecuencia de uso del pronombre expreso, las diferencias interdialectales dentro del español y las interlingüísticas con el inglés, hacen de éste un rasgo ideal para el tema del contacto que tratamos brevemente en el presente ensayo.<sup>1</sup>

Las diferencias entre individuos o grupos en cuanto al uso de los pronombres sujetos pueden medirse de distintas maneras. En el presente ensayo utilizamos solamente la medida más fácil de practicar, que es la frecuencia de ocurrencia o tasa pronominal, y dejamos para otro momento los análisis más complejos, basados en jerarquías de restricciones. La tasa pronominal consiste simplemente en *la proporción del total de verbos de forma personal de un hablante o grupo de hablantes que aparece con pronombre explícito*. Los análisis que aquí presentamos se basan todos en comparaciones entre las tasas pronominales de tres grupos generacionales:

- Recién llegados a Nueva York
- Inmigrantes de primera generación

---

1. El uso variable del pronombre personal sujeto es uno de los temas centrales de investigación del *Proyecto sobre el español en NY* del *Graduate Center* de la *City University of New York*. Los directores agradecen la financiación de los varios aspectos del proyecto por la *National Science Foundation* (subsidio BCS 0004133), así como subvenciones preliminares de la *City University of New York* (09-91917) y del *Professional Staff Congress* de la misma universidad (62666-00-31). Extendemos también nuestro agradecimiento al apoyo brindado por el *Research Institute for the Study of Language in Urban Society* (RISLUS), también de la misma CUNY. Durante la fase inicial del estudio, los miembros del equipo de investigación nos beneficiamos de un taller sobre el procesamiento estadístico de datos lingüísticos, que nos ofreció de forma brillante Robert Bayley; y durante todo el transcurso de la investigación, hemos contado con el apoyo y los siempre buenos y valiosos consejos de Greg Guy. Para ambos nuestro agradecimiento, que no implica, por supuesto, que sean ellos responsables por ninguno de nuestros errores. En cuanto al presente trabajo, agradecemos las muy valiosas críticas de dos lectores anónimos, cuyos comentarios nos resultaron sumamente útiles durante su redacción.

- Neoyorquinos de segunda generación

El grupo de segunda generación a su vez se subdivide en:

- Nacidos en Latinoamérica pero criados en NY
- Nacidos en NY

Dentro de cada uno de los grupos generacionales, dividimos la muestra en dos regiones y seis países, según el lugar de nacimiento o de origen de los hablantes. Las dos regiones de origen de nuestros informantes son la zona caribeña (Cuba, Dominicana, Puerto Rico) y la zona continental (Colombia, Ecuador, México).

Nos planteamos en el presente trabajo dos simples interrogantes, una sobre contacto interlingüístico y otra sobre contacto interdialectal. Nos interesa saber si la tasa pronominal en el español en NY se ve afectada por (a) contacto con el inglés y (b) contacto entre las diferentes variedades del español que se hablan en NY. Intentamos demostrar que la respuesta a la primera pregunta es claramente afirmativa, mientras que la de la segunda tiene que ser muy tentativa, llevándonos a reconocer la necesidad de utilizar instrumentos de mayor sensibilidad que la tasa pronominal.

## 2. El corpus

### 2.1 Los informantes

Trabajamos sobre una base de datos que cuenta con 415 entrevistas de entre 45 y 70 minutos de duración. De entre ellas se hizo una selección basada en el país de origen del informante (de entre los seis países arriba mencionados), y basada también en su lugar de nacimiento en ese país o en NY, en la edad del informante, en su edad al llegar a la Ciudad, en los años pasados en NY, en el grado de conocimiento del inglés, el grado de conocimiento del español y su nivel de educación, todo ello con vistas a que la muestra representara a la comunidad hispanohablante de NY en su totalidad, y no sólo a unos pocos de sus estratos poblacionales. Guiados por estos criterios, utilizamos solamente las entrevistas que sirvieran para balancear la muestra, y descartamos aquellas cuyas características ya se cumplieran en otras ya incluidas.<sup>2</sup>

---

2. Los directores del proyecto dejan constancia de la muy especial colaboración de los integrantes de nuestro equipo, cuya valiosa labor merece todo nuestro agradecimiento: Eulalia Canals, Itandehui Chávez, Daniel Erker, Nydia Flores-Ferrán, Manuel Guerra, Karina Hernández, Naomi Lapidus, Óscar Osorio, Silvia Rivero, Jeannette Toro, Juan Valdez y Zoe Schutzman, así como de la colaboración de dos asesores estadísticos, Magda Campillo y David Livert.

## 2.2 Verbos calificados y descalificados

Para la creación del corpus, hemos extraído de esta muestra de habla todas las ocurrencias de verbos de forma personal que encontramos en entornos lingüísticos calificados. En la amplia bibliografía sobre este tema, nunca se ha explicitado de forma exhaustiva, ni lamentablemente podremos hacerlo aquí tampoco, la lista de los entornos calificadores y descalificadores de ocurrencias de verbos de forma personal que utilizan los investigadores al calcular la variabilidad del pronombre sujeto. Pero digamos que, en términos generales, las ocurrencias de verbos de forma personal que se admiten al corpus en nuestro estudio, son aquellas que se dan en tipos de entornos sintácticos o semánticos caracterizados por una *gran posibilidad* de alternancia entre la presencia y la ausencia del pronombre, o sea, caracterizados por un alto grado de variabilidad entre la aparición del pronombre sujeto explícito y el pronombre nulo. En contraste a estas ocurrencias que se incluyen en el corpus, las ocurrencias de verbos descalificadas del corpus son aquellas donde hay *muy poca posibilidad* de alternancia entre las dos formas del sujeto, o sea, ocurrencias en entornos donde el grado de variabilidad es sumamente bajo.

Por razones prácticas, para poder trabajar en equipo, y para poder realizar cálculos estadísticos consistentes, la distinción entre entornos variables y no variables se hace como si fuera una distinción categórica, aunque no exista de hecho tal diferencia con respecto al pronombre sujeto, ya que lo que enfrentamos es, de hecho, una diferencia entre mayores o menores grados de variabilidad.

Conviene recalcar, además, que hablamos de “clases” y “tipos” de entornos, para aclarar que no decidimos si un verbo en particular, que encontramos con pronombre sujeto explícito, pudiera haberse usado, ahí en ese caso específico, con un pronombre nulo, ni viceversa, si un verbo en particular que hallamos con pronombre nulo pudiera haberse usado con un pronombre explícito en ese caso en particular. Para decidir si una ocurrencia verbal se admite o se descarta del corpus, no se trata de analizar la ocurrencia individual, sino de definir entornos de características generales, en donde la variabilidad sea más o menos intensa, y de aplicar esas definiciones generales a los casos particulares que observamos en los datos. Siguiendo estos criterios, quedan descalificados, por ejemplo, todos los verbos que aparecen con un sujeto explícito nominal, o hacen referencia a seres inanimados, o hacen referencia a fenómenos meteorológicos o cronológicos, o aparecen en relativas de sujeto, etc. En todas estas clases de entornos, la incidencia del pronombre nulo es altísima y la del explícito es mínima, lo cual hace que, desde un punto de vista práctico, no sea útil considerar a los verbos que aparecen en ellos como puntos de variabilidad.

Así, por ejemplo, la ocurrencia del verbo en oraciones del tipo *Carlos llegó* queda descalificada, así como también queda excluida la ocurrencia de verbos del tipo *Se desplomó* (refiriéndose a una pared, aunque entraría en el estudio si fuera una referencia a una persona que se desplomara), y también se le prohíbe la entrada al corpus a verbos en contornos del tipo *El hombre que le vendió la casa a tu padre*, y también a verbos en contextos como *En Nueva York casi nunca nieva antes de fin de año*.

La descalificación de estos verbos se debe a la bajísima incidencia de tipos como: *Carlos él llegó*; *Ella se desplomó* (con referencia a una pared); *El hombre que él le vendió la casa a tu padre*; *En Nueva York él casi nunca nieva antes de fin de año*. En todos estos casos, la variabilidad en estos entornos entre pronombre explícito y nulo es de un grado tan bajo, que el investigador encuentra más práctico descalificar a cualquier verbo que encuentre en ellos, procediendo como si no existiera ninguna variabilidad.

La razón por la cual insistimos en que la descalificación de estos verbos se debe a una decisión de índole práctica, es para evitar la estéril discusión sobre si la poca incidencia del pronombre sujeto explícito en estos entornos descende al nivel de cero incidencia, y porque, para nuestros fines, no es útil la discusión sobre si la aparición del pronombre explícito en estos casos representa, o no, una instancia de agramaticalidad. Para los propósitos analíticos de nuestro trabajo, no necesitamos entrar, por ejemplo, en el tema de si las esporádicas ocurrencias de *Ella se desplomó* (con referencia a la pared), o de *El hombre que él le vendió la casa a tu padre*, son o no son agramaticales. La más somera inspección de nuestras desgrabaciones nos indica que en estos tipos de entornos los verbos no aparecen casi nunca con pronombre explícito, y eso nos basta para excluirlos de un corpus diseñado para estudiar la variabilidad.

### 2.3 Un ejemplo extraído de nuestras desgrabaciones

Usando un ejemplo de nuestro corpus, extraído del habla de un informante mexicano recién llegado, procedemos a dar algunos ejemplos concretos de la calificación y descalificación de entornos, y de la consecuente admisión o rechazo de verbos para el estudio.<sup>3</sup>

*Cursivas*: el verbo no entra en el corpus

*Cursivas negritas*: el verbo sí entra en el corpus

(1) *Hace* cuatro años, (2) *estaba* trabajando tranquilamente en México para un despacho de contadores. Haciendo auditorías súper aburridas, um ... auditorías financieras nada más etc. ... y (3) *estábamos* trabajando para una compañía que se (4) *llama* TU que (5) *es* una agencia de publicidad, muy famosa en Nueva York, (6) *están* aquí en Madison y la Cincuenta y (7) *tenían* su oficina en México, (8) *eran* uno de nuestros clientes y (9) *fueron* los auditores de aquí en Nueva York, (10) *fueron* a México. Y (11) *yo había estado trabajando* con esa compañía entonces un día, un domingo, el gerente que (12) *estaba* a cargo de esa empresa me (13) *habla* y me (14) *dice* “no Antonio, (15) *tienes* que venir para que me (16) *ayudes* porque mañana (17) *vienen* los auditores de Nueva York” y como (18) *yo soy* el que más o menos (19) *hablaba* inglés ahí en el despacho, entonces (20) *quería* que (21) *yo fuera a hacer* traducción o ayudar a la comunicación ahí con ellos ¿no? (22) *Yo* la verdad no *sabía* absolutamente nada de la empresa, ni lo que (23) *estaba* pasando ni nada. Y ya, total que (24) *fui* ...

(Informante 346M, mexicano, AñosEdad: 29, AñosNY: 4)

3. En la transcripción, y para proteger la identidad del informante, hemos utilizado el seudónimo Antonio, y hemos alterado el nombre y la dirección del centro de trabajo del que hace mención.

Descalificado (1) *Hace cuatro años*: Excluimos todos los verbos que hacen referencias cronológicas, como *hace* en este caso.

Aceptado (2) *estaba trabajando tranquilamente*: Las referencias personales son un punto de intensa variación, y por lo tanto el verbo (2) entra en el corpus, al igual que los verbos en entornos similares (3, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24).

Descalificado (4) en una compañía que *se llama TU*: Descalificamos todos los verbos que hacen referencia a un ser inanimado, como el verbo *se llama*, que hace referencia dentro de la oración relativa adjetiva a *una compañía*. Por la misma razón descalficamos al verbo (5).

Aceptado (6) *Están aquí en Madison y la Cincuenta*: Aunque estos usos de verbos en tercera persona plural con referencia corporativa son un punto de variación débil (aparecen en su gran mayoría con pronombre nulo) hemos encontrado suficiente número de estos *ellos* corporativos explícitos, como para admitirlos al corpus (cf. Lapidus & Otheguy 2005a). Admitimos por la misma razón a los verbos (7) y (8).

Descalificado (9)  *fueron los auditores*: Descalificamos todos los verbos que aparecen con sujeto explícito nominal, como el (9), cuyo sujeto es *los auditores*. El uso de frases nominales sujeto no sólo hace prácticamente imposible la aparición del pronombre sujeto, sino que el uso de estas frases responde a condicionantes muy distintas de las que rigen el uso del pronombre. Descalificamos por la misma razón los verbos (13) y (17).

Aceptado (10) *fueron a México*: Los verbos que ocupan puestos segundos o subsiguientes en listas o secuencias de verbos, después de pausa o de conjunción ilativa, y que hacen referencia al mismo sujeto que el primer verbo de la lista, aparecen con cierta frecuencia en nuestro corpus con un pronombre explícito. Por lo tanto, todos los verbos que encontramos en este tipo de entorno entran en el corpus, ya ocurran con pronombre explícito o nulo. En este caso, aunque juzgamos muy poco probable que el informante pudiera haber usado *ellos* con el primer *fueron*, número (9), estimamos que sí lo podría haber usado con el segundo, número (10), diciendo *fueron los auditores de aquí de Nueva York, ellos fueron a México*. Por lo tanto, el (10) entra en el corpus, y por la misma razón admitimos al corpus al verbo (14).

Descalificado (12) el gerente que *estaba a cargo de esa empresa*: Como ya aclaramos arriba, descalficamos todos los verbos en relativas de sujeto, por ser muy baja la incidencia de la variante con pronombre explícito, *el gerente que él estaba a cargo ...* Esta es la segunda razón por la que también descalficamos el verbo (4).

Descalificado (19) el que *más o menos hablaba inglés*: Descalificamos todos los verbos que aparecen con un pronombre relativo como sujeto; en este caso el sujeto del verbo *hablaba* es *el que*. Por la misma razón descalficamos al verbo (23).

En este pequeño fragmento hay un total de 24 verbos de forma personal. Como consecuencia de la aplicación de estos criterios de selección, nueve quedaron descalficados. De los 15 verbos que pasaron a integrar el corpus, hay cuatro que aparecen con pronombre explícito. La tasa pronominal en este fragmento es por lo tanto  $4/15 = 0.27 = 27$  por ciento.

## 2.4 Configuración del corpus utilizado en esta investigación

El proceso de selección de informantes y verbos detallado en las secciones anteriores ha generado, para los resultados que se presentan en el presente ensayo, un corpus de seis países, 142 informantes y 63,500 verbos, distribuidos según se especifica en el Cuadro 1.

**Cuadro 1.** Corpus del presente estudio: Total de informantes y verbos, por países

|             | N hablantes | % hablantes | N verbos | % verbos |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------|----------|
| Colombia    | 22          | 15          | 8562     | 13       |
| Cuba        | 24          | 17          | 8854     | 14       |
| Dominicana  | 25          | 18          | 10220    | 16       |
| Ecuador     | 24          | 17          | 13276    | 21       |
| México      | 23          | 16          | 10116    | 16       |
| Puerto Rico | 24          | 17          | 12472    | 20       |
| Total       | 142         | 100         | 63500    | 100      |

**Cuadro 2.** Corpus del presente estudio: recién llegados y verbos, por países

|             | N hablantes | % hablantes | N verbos | % verbos |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------|----------|
| Colombia    | 6           | 16          | 1926     | 12       |
| Cuba        | 7           | 17          | 2778     | 16       |
| Dominicana  | 6           | 15          | 2217     | 13       |
| Ecuador     | 8           | 20          | 3735     | 22       |
| México      | 6           | 16          | 2569     | 15       |
| Puerto Rico | 6           | 16          | 3805     | 22       |
| Total       | 39          | 100         | 17030    | 100      |

### 3. Diferencias dialectales entre los recién llegados a Nueva York

#### 3.1 Los recién llegados

Consideramos como recién llegados aquellos informantes que no pasan de los cinco años de residencia en NY ( $\text{AñosNY} < 6$ ), y que llegaron a la Ciudad a los 17 años o mayores ( $\text{EdadLL} > 16$ ). Esta definición pretende captar las muestras de habla de hispanohablantes que, al llegar a NY, están ya plenamente formados desde el punto de vista lingüístico, que han pasado relativamente poco tiempo en contacto con el inglés o con variantes del español distintas a la suya, y que no han asistido a la escuela en NY, evitando así las presiones asimilistas de la adolescencia. El recién llegado promedio llegó a NY a los 25 años y lleva solamente tres años en la Ciudad. La distribución de recién llegados por países aparece en el Cuadro 2.

#### 3.2 Diferencias entre los recién llegados según el país de origen

La Tabla 1 presenta la tasa pronominal promedio de los recién llegados de cada uno de los países de nuestro estudio. El primer renglón de la tabla indica el tipo de análisis estadístico (en este caso, ANOVA, por el nombre en inglés del análisis de la variación). La primera columna indica el número de informantes; la segunda columna registra el porcentaje promedio de pronombres explícitos para cada país, o sea, la tasa pronominal de cada país; la tercera columna especifica la desviación estándar. El valor de F

Tabla 1. ANOVA: Tasa pronominal según el país de origen

| Recién Llegados | N hablantes | % pronombres explícitos | D.E. |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------|------|
| Dominicana      | 6           | 41                      | 11   |
| Puerto Rico     | 6           | 35                      | 4    |
| Cuba            | 7           | 33                      | 7    |
| Ecuador         | 8           | 27                      | 10   |
| Colombia        | 6           | 24                      | 11   |
| México          | 6           | 19                      | 7    |
| Total/Promedio  | 39          | 30                      | 11   |

$F = 5.10$ ,  $p < 0.01$ . (Recién llegados:  $EdadLL > 16$  &  $AñosNY < 6$ .)

indica la variabilidad entre pronombre explícito y nulo que registra la comparación entre los países, proporcional a la variabilidad que se registra individualmente dentro de cada uno de estos. En este caso, la variabilidad del pronombre explícito y nulo entre los países es más de cinco veces mayor ( $F = 5.10$ ) que la variabilidad que se da dentro de cada país, otorgando así significación estadística a la separación por países. En esta y en tablas subsiguientes, ponemos en negritas los resultados que alcanzan plena significación estadística ( $p < 0.05$ ) o que se acerquen a ella ( $p < .09$ ).<sup>4</sup>

Las agrupaciones nacionales representan categorías apriorísticas implantadas por el investigador, dentro de las cuales existe un alto grado de variabilidad individual. Así, por ejemplo, no todos los dominicanos tienen una tasa del 41 por ciento, sino que, como indica la tabla, es el grupo de dominicanos en su conjunto el que registra una tasa promedio de 41 por ciento. Algunos dominicanos tienen tasas más altas, otros más bajas, e igual sucede en todos los demás países. Pero los resultados muestran que, a pesar de la variabilidad interna de cada país, ésta es significativamente menor que la variabilidad entre los países, avalando así la validez de la agrupación de informantes por países.

Sin embargo, la significación estadística de los resultados de la Tabla 1 se refiere solamente a la distribución total de la tabla, y no dice nada sobre las diferencias entre pares específicos de países. La tabla describe un continuo, donde el uso del pronombre sujeto explícito va en declive gradual, pero no especifica dónde están los cortes, si los hubiera, en ese continuo. Así, no sabemos si existen de hecho seis dialectos distintos en cuanto a la tasa pronominal, o si los cortes hay que hacerlos de otra forma. Abordamos esta interrogante practicando un análisis post-hoc (Tukey), el cual revela que las diferencias en cuanto a la tasa pronominal no son significativas, ni entre los tres países caribeños, ni entre los tres países continentales.

4. La tabla no indica el número de verbos por país, dato que ya aparece en el Cuadro 1. La columna marcada ' % pronombres explícitos ' hace referencia al promedio de tasas pronominales de los informantes del país en cuestión. Las pruebas de significación se aplican tomando en cuenta el número de informantes de cada país, y no el número de verbos (lo cual implicaría un estándar de confiabilidad mucho menos exigente) y por lo tanto, en esta tabla y en las subsiguientes, es la N de informantes, y no la N de verbos, la que es relevante para evaluar los datos de la tabla.

Tabla 2. ANOVA: Tasa pronominal según país de origen

| Tabla 2a. Recién llegados, Caribe | N hablantes | % pronombres explícitos | D.E. |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|------|
| Dominicana                        | 6           | 41                      | 11   |
| PR – Cuba                         | 13          | 34                      | 6    |
| Total/Promedio                    | 19          | 36                      | 8    |

F = 3.50, p = 0.08. (Recién llegados: EdadLL > 16 & AñosNY < 6.)

| Tabla 2b. Recién llegados, Continente | N hablantes | % pronombres explícitos | D.E. |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|------|
| Ecu - Colombia                        | 14          | 26                      | 10   |
| México                                | 6           | 19                      | 7    |
| Total/Promedio                        | 20          | 24                      | 9    |

F = 2.09, p = 0.17. (Recién llegados: EdadLL > 16 & AñosNY < 6.)

En la cima de la Tabla 1, los recién llegados dominicanos sólo se distinguen estadísticamente de los mexicanos, ecuatorianos y colombianos; de forma paralela, al otro extremo, los recién llegados mexicanos sólo se distinguen de los dominicanos, puertorriqueños y cubanos. En el centro, hay un continuo, pero sin cortes. Los recién llegados cubanos y puertorriqueños sólo se separan claramente de los mexicanos; los ecuatorianos y colombianos sólo se separan claramente de los dominicanos. Este análisis nos indica que, en el uso de los pronombres por parte de los recién llegados, no hay seis dialectos distintos. Los dos países extremos, República Dominicana (RD) y México, se diferencian de los del polo opuesto, pero parecen integrarse dentro de su propio grupo; los cuatro países del centro, aunque más integrados a sus polos respectivos, no se diferencian significativamente entre sí.

Si comparáramos, en un análisis de la variación (ANOVA), a los países que ocupan los dos puntos extremos contra todos los demás, encontraríamos diferencias significativas (RD vs todos, p = 0.04; México vs todos, p = 0.07), lo cual no sucede con ninguna otra combinación de países (e.g., PR vs todos, p = 0.19; Colombia vs todos, p = 0.17). Conviene, pues, detenernos en el estudio de RD y México, comparándolos con sus vecinos más cercanos.

Vemos en ambas tablas las mismas diferencias de tasa pronominal. Los dominicanos le llevan siete puntos al grupo puertorriqueño-cubano; los mexicanos están siete puntos por debajo de los ecuatorianos-colombianos. Pero en la Tabla 2a, el coeficiente de p = 0.08 casi alcanza el estándar de significación, mientras que, en la Tabla 2b el coeficiente de p = 0.17 ni siquiera se acerca a ese estándar.

Vemos pues que los datos justificarían, hasta cierto punto, considerar a RD y a México como dialectos en sí mismos, pero que esta conclusión es más factible para RD que para México. Con respecto a los dominicanos, su elevadísimo uso del pronombre explícito casi nos permitiría pensar que constituyen un grupo dialectal aparte, separados hasta de los puertorriqueños y los cubanos. Pero en cuanto a la separabilidad de los mexicanos, la situación es menos convincente, pues a pesar de su uso muy conservador del pronombre explícito (o sea, su gran preferencia por el pronombre nulo), sólo for-



Tabla 3. ANOVA: Tasa pronominal por regiones

| Recién llegados caribeños y continentales | N hablantes | % pronombres explícitos | D.E. |
|---|-------------|-------------------------|------|
| Caribe                                    | 19          | 36                      | 7    |
| Continente                                | 20          | 24                      | 9    |
| Total/Promedio                            | 39          | 30                      | 11   |

$F = 19.14, p = 0.01$ . (Recién llegados: EdadLL > 16 & AñosNY < 6.)

man unidad propia cuando se les contrasta contra todos los demás países. Cuando sin embargo la comparación se limita a su contexto regional, los mexicanos parecen estar plenamente integrados a ese grupo, ocupando simplemente el punto más inferior del conjunto al que pertenecen, claramente también, los ecuatorianos y colombianos.

### 3.3 Diferencias entre los recién llegados según la región de origen

La Tabla 1 proporciona datos muy sugestivos en cuanto a la existencia de agrupaciones regionales, pues notamos que los tres países donde más predomina el uso del pronombre sujeto explícito, RD, Puerto Rico y Cuba, pertenecen a la zona del Caribe, mientras que los tres donde su uso es más limitado, Ecuador, Colombia y México, se sitúan en el Continente. Exploramos a continuación la posibilidad de dividir a los recién llegados en dos zonas regionales, caribeña y continental.<sup>5</sup>

La tabla señala que la diferencia de 12 puntos entre caribeños y continentales alcanza un alto grado de significación estadística, indicando que la subdivisión de los recién llegados en grupos regionales es válida.

### 3.4 Resumen y conclusiones en cuanto al español de los recién llegados a Nueva York

Los recién llegados a Nueva York provenientes de los seis países de la muestra conforman un continuo en cuanto a la tasa pronominal. Con respecto a esta medida, no existe, entre los recién llegados, un español puertorriqueño, ni cubano; ni tampoco podemos hablar de un español ecuatoriano o colombiano. Ni de hecho podríamos, en propiedad, hablar de un español mexicano, aunque éste se diferencie un poco más de los demás. La única tasa pronominal que podría quizás marcar la existencia de un dialecto diferenciado es la de los recién llegados de República Dominicana. Los recién llegados dominicanos de la muestra usan el pronombre explícito con una frecuencia tan elevada, que los separa del resto de los recién llegados, que de hecho inclusive los

5. Conviene aclarar aquí que hay, entre nuestros 20 recién llegados de Colombia, Ecuador y México, seis informantes procedentes de las tierras bajas pacíficas y caribeñas de esos países, y que esto podría haber representado un obstáculo para la división que proponemos entre recién llegados caribeños y continentales; pero hemos encontrado que estos seis continentales costeros no se distinguen, en su tasa pronominal, de los hablantes procedentes del interior y la Sierra de esos países.

separa, con niveles muy cercanos a la confiabilidad estadística, del resto de los recién llegados del Caribe. Esta singularidad dominicana en cuanto a la tasa pronominal concuerda con señalamientos anteriores sobre el español dominicano (Pérez-Leroux 1999; Toribio 1994, 2000).

La segunda conclusión que apuntamos es que el español que llega a NY en boca de los recién llegados se encuentra, con respecto a la tasa pronominal, claramente diferenciado entre dos regiones. Con un alto grado de significación estadística, el uso del pronombre explícito en las tres naciones caribeñas tomadas como grupo unitario, alcanza tasas mucho más elevadas que en las tres naciones continentales, cuando éstas se consideran una sola unidad.

#### 4. Contacto interlingüístico en Nueva York

##### 4.1 Resultados extraíbles del análisis de la tasa pronominal

Partiendo de esta caracterización del español de los recién llegados, nos preguntamos qué suerte ha corrido la tasa pronominal entre (a) los hispanohablantes neoyorquinos de segunda generación y (b) los inmigrantes de primera generación más establecidos en NY, o sea, los hablantes de primera generación que no son ya recién llegados. Planteamos dos sencillas interrogantes, primero, si registramos alguna evidencia de contacto interlingüístico (con el inglés), y segundo, si notamos alguna tendencia hacia la nivelación de las dos diferencias dialectales que acabamos de notar (la diferencia regional y la singularidad dominicana).

Dado que el único instrumento de medición que utilizamos en este ensayo es la tasa pronominal, interpretaríamos como evidencia de contacto interlingüístico, cualquier relación que pudiera establecerse entre un aumento de la tasa pronominal y el transcurso del tiempo y las generaciones aparentes en NY, pues se sabe que el factor propiciante del contacto es el bilingüismo, capacidad que aumenta entre los hispanohablantes en los EEUU según aumenta el tiempo de residencia en el país (Morales 2003:4). En cuanto al contacto interdialéctal, sostenemos que, de existir alguna influencia unidireccional o mutua entre las comunidades hispanohablantes de NY, encontraríamos que la diferencia entre recién llegados caribeños y continentales se habría atenuado en los hispanohablantes de más arraigo en NY, y que también habría disminuído la diferencia entre los dominicanos y los procedentes de las otras dos islas del Caribe.

De esta forma, presentamos en este ensayo solamente resultados e interpretaciones extraíbles del estudio comparativo de las tasas pronominales de distintos grupos generacionales, y dejamos para trabajos subsiguientes las pesquisas que se puedan realizar por medio de jerarquías de restricciones y otras herramientas sociolingüísticas más complejas. Los resultados de esas formas más avanzadas de investigación los hemos empezado a presentar en Otheguy, Zentella, Erker & Livert (2005a, 2005b).

#### 4.2 Comparación entre hablantes recién llegados y de segunda generación

Comenzamos con una comparación entre la tasa pronominal de los recién llegados y la de los neoyorquinos que llamamos en este ensayo de “segunda generación”, la cual abarca a todos aquellos informantes que llegaron a NY antes de los 13 años o que nacieron en NY. Para la justificación del corte generacional a los 13 años, ver Clyne (2003:5). La distribución por regiones del corpus de segunda generación aparece en el Cuadro 3.

Nuestros datos nos llevan a concluir que el influjo del inglés sobre la frecuencia de aparición del pronombre explícito en el español en Nueva York es notable. En la Tabla 4 se comparan las tasas pronominales de hablantes recién llegados con hablantes de segunda generación.

La tabla indica, en el primer panel, que la tasa pronominal ha aumentado en ocho puntos en el paso de una generación en el tiempo aparente, y que ese aumento es estadísticamente significativo. Los otros dos paneles presentan la misma compara-

**Cuadro 3.** Corpus del presente estudio: Segunda generación y verbos, por regiones

|            | N hablantes | % hablantes | N verbos | % verbos |
|------------|-------------|-------------|----------|----------|
| Caribe     | 24          | 51          | 9594     | 46       |
| Continente | 23          | 49          | 11472    | 54       |
| Total      | 47          | 100         | 21066    | 100      |

**Tabla 4.** ANOVA: Tasa pronominal, Recién llegados vs. Segunda generación

| <i>Ambas regiones</i>  | Recién llegados | 2a Generación | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 39              | 47            | 86             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 30              | 38            | 34             |
| D.E.                   | 11              | 13            | 13             |

F = 9.83, p < 0.01.

| <i>Caribe</i>          | Recién llegados | 2a Generación | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 19              | 24            | 43             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 36              | 46            | 41             |
| D.E.                   | 8               | 12            | 11             |

F = 9.67, p < 0.01.

| <i>Continente</i>      | Recién llegados | 2a Generación | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 20              | 23            | 43             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 24              | 30            | 27             |
| D.E.                   | 9               | 8             | 10             |

F = 4.42, p < 0.05.

(Recién llegados: EdadLL > 16 & AñosNY < 6. 2a Generación: Nacidos en NY o EdadLL < 13.)

ción intergeneracional subdividida por regiones, y muestran que el aumento se da por igual entre caribeños y continentales, con un poco más de intensidad entre los hablantes de la región caribeña, cuyo aumento es de 10 puntos, que entre los de la región continental, cuyo aumento es de seis.

La información sobre las regiones es importante para una interpretación que encuentra en estos datos evidencia de influencia del inglés, pues la otra posible interpretación, la que vería en el aumento de la tasa pronominal solamente la influencia de los caribeños sobre los continentales, nos llevaría a esperar que el alza se diera exclusivamente, o al menos con mucha mayor fuerza, entre los continentales. Pero no es así: en ambos grupos aumenta la incidencia del pronombre explícito, lo cual nos inclina a pensar que ambos grupos están bajo la influencia del uso pronominal inglés.

#### 4.3 Comparación entre los recién llegados y los criados en NY, y entre los recién llegados y los nacidos en NY

En las siguientes dos tablas, distinguimos, dentro de la segunda generación, entre los criados y parcialmente escolarizados en NY (Tabla 5a) y los nacidos en NY (Tabla 5b). Cuentan como criados en NY aquellos informantes que nacieron en Latinoamérica pero que llegaron a NY entre las edades de dos y 13 años. Cuentan como nacidos en NY aquellos informantes que de hecho hayan nacido en la Ciudad, o que hayan llegado a ella al año de edad, o más jóvenes.<sup>6</sup>

En la Tabla 5a, donde se comparan los recién llegados con los criados en NY, vemos que el aumento intergeneracional en el tiempo aparente es detectable en los dos grupos regionales, pero que es significativo sólo entre los caribeños. Entre estos, se produce un aumento de 14 puntos, mientras que el aumento entre los continentales, de sólo cuatro puntos, no es significativo. La Tabla 5b, donde la comparación es entre los recién llegados y los nacidos en NY, muestra que el aumento se da en las dos regiones, aunque entre los caribeños el aumento es menor, y de menos significación estadística ( $p = 0.08$ ). Los continentales, que no habían todavía aumentado sus pronombres explícitos entre los criados en NY, ahora experimentan un claro aumento entre los nacidos en la Ciudad.

Estas dos tablas parecen indicar que el proceso de adaptación al uso inglés empieza por los caribeños, que ya registran un alza significativa en la tasa pronominal entre los nacidos en Latinoamérica pero criados en NY, mientras que los continentales sólo la registran más tarde, entre los nacidos en NY.

Estos datos apoyan la idea que la tasa pronominal de los hispanohablantes neoyorquinos de segunda generación se ha visto influida por el inglés, aunque no cabe descartar el influjo de una región sobre otra; los caribeños, quienes registran el au-

---

6. El número total de verbos utilizado por los criados en NY es de 9,956 (4,363 caribeños; 5,593 continentales). El número total de verbos utilizado por los nacidos en NY es de 11,110 (5,231 caribeños; 5,879 continentales).

**Tabla 5.** ANOVA: Tasa pronominal, Recién llegados vs. Criados en NY, y Recién llegados vs. Nacidos en NY

**Tabla 5a.** Tasa pronominal, Recién llegados vs Criados en NY (ANOVA)

| <i>Ambas regiones</i>  | Recién llegados | Criados NY | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 39              | 22         | 61             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 30              | 38         | 33             |
| D.E.                   | 11              | 15         | 13             |

F = 6.21,  $p < 0.05$ .

| <i>Caribe</i>          | Recién llegados | Criados NY | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 19              | 10         | 29             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 36              | 50         | 41             |
| D.E.                   | 8               | 9          | 11             |

F = 19.28,  $p < 0.01$ .

| <i>Continente</i>      | Recién llegados | Criados NY | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 20              | 12         | 32             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 24              | 28         | 25             |
| D.E.                   | 9               | 11         | 10             |

F = 1.15,  $p < 0.29$ .

(Recién llegados: EdadLL > 16 & AñosNY < 6. Criados NY: EdadLL > 1 & < 13.)

**Tabla 5b.** Tasa pronominal, Recién llegados vs Nacidos en NY (ANOVA)

| <i>Ambas regiones</i>  | Recién llegados | Nacidos NY | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 39              | 25         | 64             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 30              | 38         | 33             |
| D.E.                   | 11              | 11         | 12             |

F = 8.49,  $p < 0.01$ .

| <i>Caribe</i>          | Recién llegados | Nacidos NY | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 19              | 14         | 33             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 36              | 42         | 39             |
| D.E.                   | 8               | 12         | 10             |

F = 3.20,  $p < 0.08$ .

| <i>Continente</i>      | Recién llegados | Nacidos NY | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 20              | 11         | 31             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 24              | 32         | 27             |
| D.E.                   | 9               | 8          | 10             |

F = 6.61,  $p < 0.05$ .

(Recién llegados: EdadLL > 16 & AñosNY < 6. Nacidos NY: EdadLL < 1.1.)

mento en la frecuencia del pronombre explícito ya entre los criados en NY, podrían quizás constituir, hasta cierto punto, el modelo para el aumento que vemos entre los continentales nacidos en NY.

#### 4.4 Comparación entre los recién llegados y los inmigrantes

Pasamos a preguntarnos si este aumento en la tasa pronominal que experimentan los hablantes de segunda generación está ya activo en estadios generacionales anteriores, o sea, entre la primera generación de inmigrantes. Consideramos inmigrantes a todos los que ocupan un puesto intermedio entre los dos grupos ya estudiados, que no son, ni recién llegados, pues llevan más de cinco años en la Ciudad, ni de segunda generación, pues llegaron a NY a los 13 años o mayores.<sup>7</sup> Los resultados aparecen en la Tabla 6.

Tabla 6. ANOVA: Tasa pronominal, Recién llegados vs. Inmigrantes

| <i>Ambas regiones</i>  | Recién llegados | Inmigrantes | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 39              | 56          | 95             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 30              | 32          | 31             |
| D.E.                   | 11              | 10          | 12             |

F = 1.46, p = 0.23.

| <i>Caribe</i>          | Recién llegados | Inmigrantes | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 19              | 30          | 49             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 36              | 36          | 36             |
| D.E.                   | 8               | 8           | 8              |

F = 0.005, p = 0.94.

| <i>Continente</i>      | Recién llegados | Inmigrantes | Total/Promedio |
|------------------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|
| N hablantes            | 20              | 26          | 46             |
| %pronombres explícitos | 24              | 28          | 26             |
| D.E.                   | 9               | 9           | 10             |

F = 2.40, p = 0.12.

(Recién llegados: EdadLL > 16 & AñosNY < 6. Inmigrantes: [EdadLL > 12 & < 16] ó [EdadLL > 16 & AñosNY > 5].)

La tabla demuestra que la intensificación del uso del pronombre explícito que aparece en la segunda generación no se ha activado todavía entre los inmigrantes de primera generación. Ni entre el grupo de inmigrantes en su totalidad, ni entre los de ninguna de las dos regiones, se notan aumentos sensibles en la tasa pronominal, y

7. El número total de verbos utilizado por los inmigrantes es de 25,404 (13,152 caribeños; 12,252 continentales).

ninguna de las comparaciones entre recién llegados e inmigrantes es significativa. La tabla nos dice que, en cuanto al uso pronominal, los recién llegados y los inmigrantes no pueden todavía considerarse como dos grupos distintos.

Estos resultados nos llevan a concluir que obra de forma activa, entre los latinoamericanos de NY, una clara influencia del inglés sobre la frecuencia de uso del pronombre explícito en español, influencia que, aunque no se deja sentir entre los inmigrantes, es ya detectable entre los criados en la Ciudad con raíces en la zona caribeña, y palpable en los nacidos en Nueva York, tanto de procedencia caribeña como continental.

#### 4.5 Estudios anteriores sobre el contacto interlingüístico en el uso del pronombre sujeto

Esta interpretación que damos a nuestros datos entronca con una amplia corriente investigativa, dentro de la cual se encuentran coincidencias con nuestro punto de vista, pero también importantes posiciones discrepantes. En varios de los estudios más recientes sobre el uso variable del pronombre sujeto en comunidades hispanohablantes de los EEUU, no se ha encontrado evidencia convincente de influencia del inglés, en algunos casos porque, aunque se hayan obtenido resultados parecidos a los nuestros, la interpretación de estos ha sido diferente, y en otros, porque los resultados que han arrojado las investigaciones son, de hecho, objetivamente distintos. En el trabajo de Flores-Ferrán (2004), en el que se estudia el uso pronominal de los puertorriqueños de NY, se registran aumentos en la tasa pronominal, relacionados con el paso del tiempo aparente, que son muy parecidos a los que se obtienen en el presente trabajo. Sin embargo, y a la luz de hallazgos de la autora relacionados a las condicionantes gramaticales de la alternancia pronominal, ésta se muestra escéptica ante la posible influencia del inglés.

A diferencia de lo que los propios autores habían encontrado en pesquisas anteriores, en Bayley & Pease-Alvarez (1997) se registran mermas, no aumentos, de tasa pronominal entre los grupos generacionales más establecidos en los EEUU, y por lo tanto, estos autores también llegan a la conclusión de que el inglés no ha ejercido una influencia sensible sobre el uso pronominal de sus informantes.

Estas diferencias de resultados, y de interpretación, serán sin duda atribuibles, en parte, al hecho de que en estas investigaciones se habrán tomado decisiones en cuanto a la calificación y descalificación de verbos del corpus que, seguramente, no coinciden, en algunos puntos, con las nuestras. Aún de mayor importancia para explicar la discrepancia de resultados serán, sin duda, las diferencias con respecto al número de informantes y al tipo de discurso utilizado por estos. Por ejemplo, en el trabajo de Bayley & Pease-Alvarez (1997:364ff.), la muestra de informantes de mayor exposición al inglés consiste, en sólo seis niños, cuyo discurso, según apuntan los autores, no era el más propicio para el uso de pronombres sujetos.

A diferencia de estos investigadores que, como hemos dicho, mantienen cierto escepticismo en cuanto a la influencia del inglés, se encuentran otros estudiosos del tema,

como por ejemplo Klein-Andreu (1986), Lapidus & Otheguy (2005a, 2005b), Lipski (1993, 1996), y Toribio (2004), que sí han visto en sus datos indicios de anglicación del uso pronominal español en algunas comunidades bilingües estadounidenses. Es con este segundo grupo de pesquisas con las que se identifican los resultados y las interpretaciones esbozadas en el presente ensayo.

## 5. Contacto interdialectal

El análisis del contacto interdialectal por medio de la tasa pronominal arroja resultados mucho más ambiguos que el análisis del contacto interlingüístico. De las dos diferencias dialectales que existían entre los recién llegados, la regional y la dominicana, la primera sobrevive en la segunda generación pero la segunda no. La Tabla 7 expone la diferencia regional entre los miembros de la segunda generación, y debe compararse con la Tabla 3, que exponía la diferencia regional entre los recién llegados.

En la Tabla 3 habíamos visto que, en el grupo de los recién llegados, existía una diferencia significativa entre las tasas pronominales de las dos regiones. En la Tabla 7 vemos que ahora, en la segunda generación, persiste la diferenciación regional, y no encontramos indicios aquí de nivelación dialectal. Si dividiéramos la segunda generación entre nacidos y criados, la diferencia regional seguiría siendo significativa en ambos subgrupos de la segunda generación (Nacidos,  $p < 0.05$ ; Criados,  $p < 0.01$ ). Insistimos, sin embargo, que todo parece indicar que la nivelación sí ocurre en el uso pronominal del español en NY, pero que para registrarla necesitamos realizar un análisis que descansa en el análisis de jerarquías de restricciones (Otheguy, Zentella, Erker, Livert 2005a, 2005b).

Pasamos a examinar ahora la situación dentro del Caribe. La Tabla 8 nos proporciona datos sobre la diferencia intracaribeña en la segunda generación, y debe compararse con los datos que ya vimos en la Tabla 2a, que exponía estas diferencias entre los recién llegados.

La Tabla 2a destacaba que, entre los recién llegados caribeños, los dominicanos podrían considerarse, aunque con ciertas limitaciones en la significación estadística, como un grupo aparte de los puertorriqueños y cubanos, a quienes excedían, en su tasa pronominal, por una diferencia porcentual de siete puntos, de forma casi significativa. En la Tabla 8, practicamos la misma comparación en la segunda generación, y notamos que el excepcionalismo dominicano ha dejado de existir. La nivelación dentro del grupo caribeño es completa; la Tabla 8 carece por completo de significación estadística; los dos subgrupos caribeños, en la segunda generación, son iguales. Es de notar que esta nivelación refleja el hecho de que el aumento de la tasa pronominal de cubanos y puertorriqueños es mayor que el de los dominicanos; este dato no carece de interés, pues abre la puerta a la posibilidad de que el aumento entre cubanos y puertorriqueños se deba no solo a influencia del inglés, sino en parte también a influencia dominicana.



**Tabla 7.** ANOVA: Tasa pronominal por regiones, Segunda generación, caribeños y continentales

|                | N hablantes | % pronombres explícitos | D.E. |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------------|------|
| Caribe         | 24          | 46                      | 11   |
| Continente     | 23          | 30                      | 10   |
| Total/Promedio | 47          | 38                      | 13   |

F = 25.71, p < 0.01. (Segunda generación: EdadLL < 13.)

**Tabla 8.** ANOVA: Tasa pronominal según país de origen, Segunda generación, Dominicana vs. Puerto Rico & Cuba

|                | N hablantes | % pronombres explícitos | D.E. |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------------|------|
| Dominicana     | 9           | 44                      | 16   |
| PR - Cuba      | 15          | 46                      | 9    |
| Total/Promedio | 24          | 46                      | 11   |

F = 0.22, p = 0.64. (Segunda generación: EdadLL < 13.)

## 6. Resumen y conclusiones

En este breve acercamiento a la compleja realidad lingüística de los hispanohablantes neoyorquinos, hemos estudiado el uso variable del pronombre sujeto explícito, valiéndonos de la herramienta estadística conocida como la tasa pronominal, que es simplemente la proporción de ocurrencias de verbos de forma personal, de entre las admitidas al corpus, que aparecen con pronombre explícito. Esta incidencia del pronombre explícito es muy variable en el mundo hispanohablante, aun al nivel individual, pero el análisis cuantitativo nos permite establecer que, entre los recién llegados a NY, los procedentes de algunos países utilizan el pronombre explícito mucho más que los procedentes de otros. Sin embargo, estas diferencias nacionales no son, país por país, significativas desde el punto de vista estadístico. Más exactamente, los países se inscriben en un continuo, en el que se nota una disminución de la frecuencia de uso del pronombre explícito según nos alejamos de la República Dominicana, que es el país de donde provienen los recién llegados a NY que hacen mayor uso del pronombre explícito, y nos acercamos a México, entre cuyos recién llegados el pronombre explícito aparece con la menor intensidad.

En ese continuo de frecuencia de uso del pronombre explícito, hemos encontrado alguna evidencia, aunque carente de plena justificación estadística, solamente para un corte, y es el que separa a la República Dominicana de todos los demás países, inclusive de los del Caribe. Encontramos también que existe alguna justificación para separar a México de todos los demás, pero constatamos que no podemos separarlo de Colombia o Ecuador. Podríamos por lo tanto generalizar sobre la tasa pronominal de las hablas que contribuyen al español que llega a NY diciendo que, con la salvedad estadística ya mencionada, tiene cierto sentido hablar de un español dominicano, pero que no

hay nada en los datos sobre la tasa pronominal que justifique postular un español puertorriqueño, ni cubano, ni ecuatoriano, ni colombiano, y ni siquiera un español mexicano, pues la tasa pronominal mexicana, aunque es separable de la de los demás países tomados como conjunto, no es separable de las de Ecuador y Colombia.

Pero si bien no podemos subdividir el español que llega a NY en seis grupos nacionales según la tasa pronominal, hay datos clarísimos para dividirlo en dos grupos regionales, uno del Caribe, de gran intensidad de uso del pronombre explícito, y otro del Continente, de un uso mucho más discreto.

Cuando comparamos el español de los recién llegados con el de los hablantes de segunda generación, encontramos que estos hispanohablantes neoyorquinos han aumentado su uso del pronombre explícito de forma notable. En el paso de una generación en el tiempo aparente, el alza en el uso del pronombre explícito en NY es de clara significación estadística. Interpretamos este aumento como consecuencia del hecho de que los bilingües neoyorquinos están expuestos a diario a la influencia del inglés, lengua donde el pronombre explícito es de uso casi categórico.

El aumento en la tasa pronominal en la segunda generación se da tanto entre los continentales como entre los caribeños, dato de suma importancia para descartar que el insistente uso del pronombre entre los neoyorquinos sea solamente debido a influencia interdialectal, de los caribeños sobre los continentales, pues de ser este el caso, hubiéramos notado el alza en la tasa pronominal exclusivamente, o mayoritariamente, entre los continentales, lo cual no es el caso.

Si subdividimos al grupo de segunda generación entre, por una parte, los criados en NY, o sea, los que, aunque nacidos en Latinoamérica, pasaron su adolescencia y fueron escolarizados en la Ciudad, y por otra, los nacidos en NY, encontramos que el muy elevado uso del pronombre sujeto explícito no es privativo de los nativos, sino que existe ya entre los criados en la urbe neoyorquina.

Emplazados a fechar este fenómeno desde el punto de vista generacional, encontramos que los integrantes de la primera generación de inmigrantes nacidos en Latinoamérica, pero de larga permanencia en NY (o sea los que no son ya recién llegados, aunque sean todavía de la primera generación) registran un pequeño aumento en el uso del pronombre explícito con respecto a los recién llegados, pero no lo suficiente para alcanzar grados confiables de significación estadística. Con los datos de frecuencia pronominal que hemos analizado hasta la fecha, la conclusión obligada es que la influencia del inglés sobre esta parcela del uso gramatical español es muy real en Nueva York, pero que existe sólo entre los hablantes bilingües de segunda generación, y no se registra todavía entre los inmigrantes de primera generación, quienes usan el pronombre explícito con la misma frecuencia que los recién llegados.

Pero si bien hallamos pruebas de contacto interlingüístico entre los hispanohablantes de NY, no es ese el caso en cuanto al contacto interdialectal. Aunque sabemos, por otros estudios nuestros citados arriba, que hay evidencia de nivelación dialectal en NY, ésta no es fácilmente captable por medio de diferencias en porcentajes de ocurrencia del pronombre explícito. La tasa pronominal no registra una disminución de la heterogeneidad regional entre los criados y nacidos en NY; los neoyorquinos bilingües

de segunda generación aparecen, cuando los observamos a través del lente de la tasa pronominal, plenamente diferenciados por regiones.

Sin embargo, sí hemos podido detectar, aun usando solamente la tasa pronominal, un claro efecto de contacto interdialectal dentro del Caribe. La gran diferencia, notable en el grupo de los recién llegados, entre los dominicanos, por una parte, y los puertorriqueños y cubanos, por otra, ha dejado de existir en la segunda generación, en donde los hablantes de origen caribeño se nos presentan como un grupo unitario.

## References

- Bentivoglio, P. 1987. *Los sujetos pronominales de primera persona en el habla de Caracas*. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela.
- Bayley, R. y Pease-Alvarez, L. 1997. Null pronoun variation in Mexican-descent children's narrative discourse. *Language Variation and Change* 9: 349–371.
- Cameron, R. 1993. Ambiguous agreement, functional compensation, and nonspecific *tú* in the Spanish of San Juan, Puerto Rico and Madrid, Spain. *Language Variation and Change* 5: 305–334.
- Cameron, R. 1995. The scope and limits of switch reference as a constraint on pronominal subject expression. *Hispanic Linguistics* 6/7: 1–27.
- Clyne, M. 2003. *Dynamics of language contact*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Flores-Ferrán, N. 2004. Spanish subject personal pronoun use in New York City Puerto Ricans: Can we rest the case of English contact? *Language Variation and Change* 16: 49–73.
- Klein-Andreu, F. 1986. La cuestión del anglicismo: apriorismo y métodos. *Thesaurus* 40: 1–16.
- Lapidus, N. & Otheguy, R. 2005a. Contact induced change? The case of nonspecific *ellos*. En *Selected Proceedings of the Second Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics*, L. Sayahi & M. Westmoreland (eds.). New York NY: Cascadilla.
- Lapidus, N. & Otheguy, R. 2005b. Overt nonspecific *ellos* in the Spanish of New York. *Spanish in Context* 2: 157–176.
- Lipski, J. M. 1993. Creoloid phenomena in the Spanish of transitional bilinguals. En *Spanish in the United States: Linguistic contact and diversity*, A. Roca & J. M. Lipski (eds.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lipski, J. 1994. *Latin American Spanish*. London: Longman.
- Lipski, J. 1996. Patterns of pronominal evolution in Cuban-American bilinguals. En *Spanish in Contact*, A. Roca & J.B. Jensen (eds.). Somerville MA: Cascadilla.
- López-Morales, H. 1992. *El español del Caribe*. Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE.
- Morales, A. 2003. Desplazamiento y revitalización del español en EEUU: Panorama general. *Insula* 679–680, julio-agosto 2003.
- Otheguy, R., Zentella, A. C., Erker, D. & Livert, D. 2005a. Factores gramaticales y sociodemográficos en la evolución y continuidad de los pronombres sujetos del español de los latinoamericanos en Nueva York. *Actas del XIV Congreso de la Asociación de Lingüística y Filología de América Latina*. Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Monterrey, Octubre 19–23, 2005.
- Otheguy, R., Zentella, A. C., Erker, D. & Livert, D. 2005b. Initial stages and apparent changes in the variable use of subject personal pronouns in Spanish in New York. Paper read at NWAV34, New York University, October 23, 2005.

- Pérez-Leroux, A. T. 1999. Innovación sintáctica en el español del Caribe y los principios de la gramática universal. En *El caribe hispánico: Perspectivas lingüísticas actuales. Homenaje a Manuel Alvarez Nazario*, L. Ortiz-López (ed.). Madrid: Iberoamericana.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1983. Subject expression and placement in Mexican American Spanish. En *Spanish in the United States: Sociolinguistic aspects*, J. Amastae & L. Elías-Olivares (ed.), 93–120. Cambridge: CUP.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1997. Avances en el estudio de la variación sintáctica: La expresión del sujeto. *Cuadernos del Sur. Letras, Homenaje a Beatriz Fontanella de Weinberg* 27: 35–49.
- Toribio, A. J. 1994. Dialectal variation in the licensing of null referential and expletive subjects. En *Aspects of Romance Linguistics: Selected papers from the Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages XXIV*, C. Parodi, C. Quicoli, M. Saltarelli & M. L. Zubizarreta (eds.). Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Toribio, A. J. 2000. Setting parametric limits on dialectal variation in Spanish. *Lingua* 10: 315–341.
- Toribio, A. J. 2004. Convergence as an optimization strategy in bilingual speech: Evidence from code-switching. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 7: 2.1–9.
- Zentella, A. C. 1997a. *Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Zentella, A. C. 1997b. Spanish in New York. En *The Multilingual Apple: Languages in New York City*, O. García & J. Fishman (eds.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.



## Is the past really the past in narrative discourse?

Nydia Flores-Ferrán

Rutgers University

This sociolinguistic study investigates the production of verb tenses in the Spanish of thirty Puerto Rican residents of New York City (NYC). It discusses how verb tense production is conditioned by the narrative unit, conflict narrative style and foreground and background information within the narrative. Two social factors are also analyzed: gender and age. The verb forms with the highest rate of production in this study are the present, the preterit and imperfect indicative, findings also documented by other scholars (Pousada & Poplack 1982; Torres 1997). With regard to foreground and background information, the results show that speakers recount stories mainly using the present, the preterit and imperfect indicative forms in the main skeleton of the storyline. Narratives that contain conflict however, had the tendency of being recounted with past tense verbs. As expected, age and gender did not show a significant difference in the verb tense production of these NYC residents.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Introduction

Polanyi (1989) maintains that narrative discourse represents the passage of time by building up a time line which is marked by discrete moments at which events are reported to have taken place (p. 16). The narrative does not only consist of a chain of events, however. Rather the events being narrated are packaged into hierarchical construction (Verhoeven 2004). Thus, it is plausible that the narrative represents an ideal site for linguistic analysis since it has an internal structure that can facilitate observation. Or as Holmes has noted, stories are flexible discourse units that serve a range of purposes (2003: 114). In this study, verb tense production in Spanish oral narratives of New York City Puerto Ricans is examined. The purpose of the study is to deter-

---

1. My deepest appreciation to Kim Potowski, Richard Cameron of UIC for their support, and the anonymous reviewer/s for their insightful comments. All errors herein I claim are solely my responsibility.

mine how the verbs tense and aspect (T&A) are used within narrative syntax and how stylistic factors may account for the distribution of verbs within the narrative units.

Schiffrin (1981) and Silva-Corvalán (1983) suggest that the production of verb tenses is conditioned by the segment of the narrative being recounted. Schiffrin, for instance, points out that there is a tendency of one tense to cluster in a narrative segment because maintaining one tense forms part of a set of syntactic and semantic restrictions on such structures (1981:54). Her study also reported that the present tense is used to refer to events of the past. Schiffrin maintains that this use of the historical present tense alternates with the past tense in oral narratives when speakers recount events prior to the moment of speaking (1981:45). Silva-Corvalán further goes to suggest that the segment of the oral narrative conditions the verb forms used and maintains that the Spanish historical present functions as an internal evaluation device mechanism (1983:760). These studies use Labov and Waletzky's (1967) narrative syntax to analyze the stories being recounted in English (Schiffrin 1981) and in Spanish (Silva-Corvalán 1983).

While the findings documented by Schiffrin (1981) and Silva-Corvalán (1983) report that verb tense usage is conditioned by the narrative unit being recounted, a number of claims can be made that uncover other factors that affect the production of verb tenses in oral narratives. In this article, I attempt to shed some light regarding how verb tenses are produced and distributed within the narrative units. I explain how verb tense production is conditioned by foreground and background clauses and conflict and non-conflict narrative style using a corpus of Spanish oral narratives obtained in Flores-Ferrán's (2002) study. The corpus contained narratives produced by bilingual Puerto Rican speakers who are residents of New York City (NYC).

## 2. Brief description of the participants

Following Labov's (1984) methods of sociolinguistic interviews, 30 residents of NYC consisting of 18 women and 12 men participated in this study. Their ages ranged between their early 20s to early 70s. For elicitation methods, all the participants were asked to recount an incident which had made a great impact in their lives. The stories, which were produced in Spanish, were tape-recorded, transcribed, and resulted in a corpus of 12,340 verbs.

The information shown in Table 1 was self reported. Regarding levels of bilingualism, all of the participants in this study indicated they were bilingual and reported using English and Spanish daily. Most of the speakers reported using English in the workplace but all reported speaking both languages in their homes. The narratives contained between 45 to 60 minutes of continuous storytelling.

In Table 1, we find the distribution of participants according their age group. The largest numbers of participants were females between the ages of 20–39.

Table 1. Distribution of participants according to age and gender

| Age      | Female | Male |
|----------|--------|------|
| 20s–30s  | 11     | 6    |
| 40s–50s+ | 7      | 6    |
| Total    | 18     | 12   |

### 3. Defining tense and narrative

A discussion of Tense and Aspect (T&A) as described in traditional grammars is presented. Comrie's (1985) definitions are followed in describing the forms used by speakers although, as findings unfold and are discussed, it is noticeable that the traditional definitions and uses are not necessarily present in oral narratives and everyday discourse. Comrie (1985:1) defined tense as "the grammaticalization of location in time" and describes the most common tenses as three: present, past, and future. He suggests that the present is located temporally as simultaneous with the moment of speaking but the past is located prior to the moment of speaking. The future, is defined as located subsequent to the moment of speaking (1976:2). In the case of Spanish, for example, there are two forms that represent events of the past: the preterit and the imperfect. One can say *canté* 'sang', where we have a completed action within a defined time referring to the past tense. To distinguish tense from aspect, Comrie suggests that "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (1976:3) or "the internal temporal contour" (Comrie 1985:6). Aspect refers to the internal temporal structure of a situation without specifying a start or end to an activity. Potowski maintains that, "it looks at the verb's activity from the inside without specifying a beginning or an end to the activity" (2005:123). In Spanish, for instance, *cantaba* 'was/were singing, used to sing' is known as the imperfect past where the completion of the activity is not specified.

This study examines the verb's T&A also using Labov and Waletzky's (1967) narrative framework analysis. The definition set forth by Labov and Waletzky has been widely used (e.g. Holmes 2003; Linde 1993; Polanyi 1989; Schiffrin 1981; Silva-Corvalán 1983; Stubbs 1983; Torres 1997). The narrative grammar is briefly summarized: The orientation serves to provide the listener with information about the person, place, time, and behavioral situation. The complication is the main body of the narrative clauses where a series of events unfold, the action or core argument of the narrative. The evaluation is considered the point where the complication has reached a maximum and where a result emerges. The resolution of the narrative is that portion that follows in a result or unwinding of the events of the narrative. This segment is usually, but not always, followed by the coda, the section that Labov & Waletzky suggest serves a functional device that returns to the present moment.

The following excerpt illustrates how the narratives were coded following this schema:



- (1) Orientation [1], Complication [2], Evaluation [3], Resolution [4], Coda [5]  
 [1] *Fue cuando me perdí en el zoológico en Alemania con una amiga en Munich. [2] Estábamos caminando. De momento miramos y no estaban los padres de nosotros y nosotros estábamos buscando y mis padres estaban desesperados. Pasaron como unas horas, y ellos buscándonos y buscándonos y ellos pensaban que bueno se robaban los niños a veces decían. A mami la asustaron. [3] Pero en una de esas, no sé como apareció, alguien nos vio que nos conocía y sabía que estaban buscándonos y nos puso en contacto con sus con los padres y cuando vieron a mi amiga le dieron una pela. Le dieron bien duro. A mi no me dieron. A mi me me dieron un beso, me abrazaron. A ella le dieron bien duro, tú sabes. [4] ¡Nos encontraron, gracias a Dios! [5] Me acuerdo de eso porque pasé un susto bien feo. (Participant #15)*  
 ‘[1]...It was when I got lost in a zoo in Germany with a friend in Munich. [2] We were walking. Instantly, we looked and our parents were not there and we were looking and our parents were desperate. Hours passed and they were looking and looking and they thought that well, the children have been stolen, they would tell me. They would scare my mom. [3] But in one of those instances, I don’t know how someone appeared and saw us who knew us and knew we were being sought and they put us in contact with their with the parents and when they saw my friend, they beat her. They beat her real hard. I wasn’t beaten. To me to me they gave me a kiss, hugged me. To her, they gave her a beating, you know. [4] They found us, thank God! [5] I remember that because I had a really ugly scare.’

#### 4. The hypotheses

Reasonable hypotheses regarding the verbs T&A and their production in narratives for this particular study suggested that:

1. The segment of the narrative unit being recounted will condition the verb’s T&A produced by speakers. To validate this hypothesis, a correlation between the verb’s T&A and the narrative unit being recounted will be found.
2. Foreground and background information will show an effect on the T&A of the verbs in oral narratives. To confirm this hypothesis, a significant difference will be found with verb tenses produced in the foreground information distinct from those tenses produced in background information. If there is no effect, the distribution of verbs’ T&A in the foreground and background information should be evenly or near evenly distributed.
3. Narratives containing conflict will have an effect on the T&A of the verbs produced in the oral narratives. This hypothesis will be quantifiably validated by showing a difference in the manner in which verbs are distributed in conflict-related narrative segments.
4. The social factors of age and gender will not show an effect in the production of the verb’s T&A since the stylistic and linguistic factors mentioned above should hold for all speakers. To confirm this null hypothesis, the factors of age and gender

will not show a significant difference when these factors are intersected with the verbs' T&A.

## 5. The analysis and results

The data in this study were analyzed using SPSS 13, a comprehensive statistical program which Bayley (2002) has reported produces similar output to that of VARBRUL, a statistical program that has been used in variationist analysis since the 1970s.

In Table 2, we find that the narratives produced in this study were predominantly recounted using the: present (38%), preterit indicative (29%) and imperfect (22%). Said differently, the verb forms favored by the speakers leaned towards a perfective or a defined time, the present 38% and preterit indicative 29%, to recount events of the past.

But if we examine the three most used T&As, the results may be suggestive of a clustering effect of the verb tenses within a narrative unit since there is a high frequency of use with these three forms. Of the 12,340 verbs analyzed in this study, 89.7% of the verb forms appear distributed among these T&As. Since the frequencies of all other verb T&As are relatively low as noted in Table 2, subsequent analyses will focus on only these three forms. The purpose of limiting the observations to these three forms is two fold. First, there are not enough verbs produced in the other T&As that will allow the researcher to determine if any patterns exist. And secondly, these three forms emerged as the most frequently produced in oral narratives of NYC Puerto Ricans in previous research (Pousada & Poplack 1982; Torres 1997). Thus, these are consistent findings that can benefit future comparisons.

Table 2. Verb T & A distribution in Spanish narratives of Puerto Ricans in NYC

| T&A                  | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|
| Present indicative   | 4721      | 38.3    |
| Preterit indicative  | 3587      | 29.1    |
| Imperfect indicative | 2753      | 22.3    |
| Periphrastic future  | 216       | 1.8     |
| Future indicative    | 24        | .2      |
| Conditional          | 17        | .1      |
| Present subjunctive  | 129       | 1.0     |
| Past subjunctive     | 146       | 1.2     |
| Perfect forms        | 411       | 3.3     |
| Imperative           | 216       | 1.8     |
| Not listed above     | 120       | 1.0     |
|                      | 12340     | 100.00  |

$p > .000$

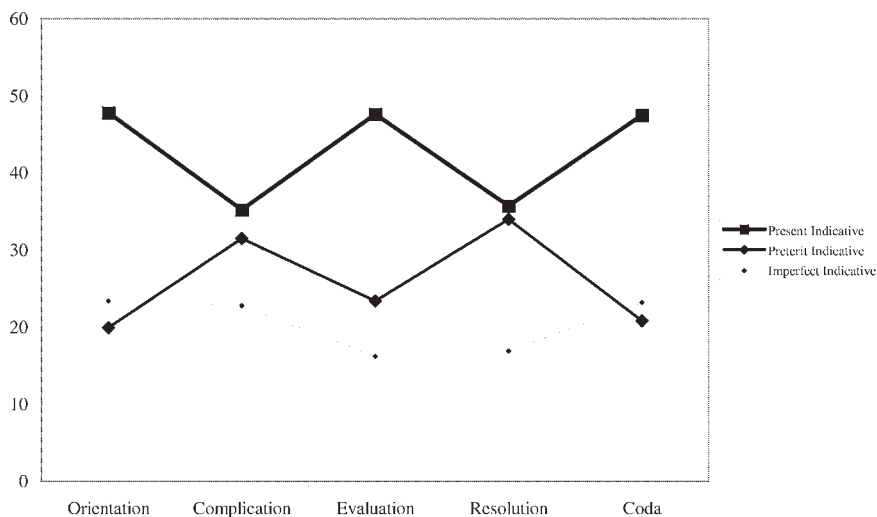


Figure 1. Narrative Unit & Verbs' T & A

The next analysis addresses the first hypothesis that suggests that the verbs T&A is conditioned by the segment of the narrative being recounted.

When closely examining the use of the present and the preterit indicative in Figure 1, a correlation between the narrative unit and tense is found. These findings have also been documented by Silva-Corvalán (1983). For instance, there is significant contrast in the distribution of the present and the preterit indicative tenses within the narrative units. The present tense peaks at the Orientation, Evaluation, and Coda while the preterit indicative peaks at the Complication and Resolution units of the narrative. These two patterns are in complete opposition to each other. This pattern shows that when speakers are providing opinion, evaluating or closing their narrative there is a tendency to recount in the present. On the other hand, when speaking of the story's main event and the resolving constituents of the main event, speakers tend to favor the preterit indicative. Thus, what is important here to note is that switches in the verb forms, in particular with that of the present and the preterit, are conditioned by the narrative units partially confirming the first hypothesis.

With regard to the imperfect indicative form however, the figure does not illustrate distinct peaks. Rather, one finds that in the orientation and complication units there seems to be an even distribution of this tense followed by a slight decline of its use in the evaluation and resolution segments of the narrative. Finally, a slight increase in the use of the imperfect indicative appears in the coda segment. However, there is no marked contrast or opposition when comparing this form with the other two. In other words, the imperfect indicative is distributed throughout the narrative with no abrupt distinctions. Thus, this form does not seem to be conditioned by the segment of the narrative unit being recounted. The imperfect, as noted by Silva-Corvalán, describes "entities, states, actions, and conditions that existed before and during the time

of the narration and it also describes narrative-specific conditions” (1983:765). Thus, and as expected, its highest frequency of use is more likely to appear in the orientation and coda sections as Figure 1 illustrates. These are segments where speakers set the frame of the story and provide opinions and commentaries, the beginning and end of the storyline. The data also suggest that the verb tenses tend to cluster in units of the narrative. Koike (1991) documented these findings in Brazilian Portuguese and maintains that the clustering of similar tenses increases cohesion and coherence throughout the narrative. In the case of this study, the clusters appear with the present and preterit indicative forms.

The next discussion focuses on how the verbs are distributed in foreground and background clauses. By way of Hopper’s (1979) narrative structure analysis with regard to foreground and background clauses, a more detailed account of the distribution of verbs is provided. Two distinctions are made between the language of the actual story and the supportive information of the storyline. The language of the storyline, Hopper maintains as the foreground. It is what takes place in the main event of the narrative. The language that provides the supportive material and does not narrate the story, he defines as background (1979:213). The following example illustrates how foreground and background information was analyzed. The bracketed utterances are considered outside of the main storyline or background information.

- (2) *Yo llegué aquí cuando tenía 21 años. [¡Ay, Dios mío!...¿Tú me puedes creer que han pasado tantos años? No lo puedo creer. La cosa es que ya son... imagínate... ¡No quiero ni pensarlo!] Bueno, entonces el apartamento donde vivía era en el Bronx... (Participant 21)*  
 ‘I got here when I was 21 years old. [Oh, my God!...Can you believe that so many years have gone by? I can’t believe it. The thing is that there are... imagine! I don’t want to even think about it!] Well, then in the apartment where we lived in the Bronx...’

Earlier, it was predicted that the supportive material, the background information, and the actual skeleton of the storyline, the foreground information would reflect differences in the distribution of verb tenses. The hypothesis is confirmed.

As illustrated in Table 3, there is a significant difference in the distribution of the verb’s T&A with regard to foreground and background clauses. That is, the verb forms are not evenly nor near evenly distributed among foreground and background

Table 3. Verb T&A Crosstabulated with Foreground and Background Clauses N=12,340

| Verb T&A             | Foreground     | Background     | Total         |
|----------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Present Indicative   | 3,233 68.5%    | 1,488<br>31.5% | 4,721<br>100% |
| Preterit Indicative  | 2,341<br>65.3% | 1,246<br>34.7% | 3,587<br>100% |
| Imperfect Indicative | 2,089<br>75.9% | 664<br>24.1%   | 2,753<br>100% |
| Other T&As           | 872<br>68.2%   | 407<br>31.8%   | 1,279<br>100% |

$p > .000$

**Table 4.** Verb T&A Crosstabulated with Conflict vs. Non-conflict Narrative N=12,340

| Verb T&A             | Verb in Conflict | Verb in Non-conflict Narrative | Total |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| Present Indicative   | 2,369            | 2,352                          | 4,721 |
|                      | 50.2%            | 49.8%                          | 100%  |
| Preterit Indicative  | 2,082            | 1,505                          | 3,587 |
|                      | 58%              | 42%                            | 100%  |
| Imperfect Indicative | 1,506            | 1,247                          | 2,753 |
|                      | 54.7%            | 45.3%                          | 100%  |
| Other tenses         | 765              | 514                            | 1,279 |
|                      | 59.8%            | 40.2%                          | 100%  |

$p > .000$

clauses. The present, preterit and imperfect indicative forms are expressed in foreground clauses in more than double the instances than these tenses appear in background clauses. Thus, these three forms are mainly used to denote events which are part of the main storyline. This same tendency was also uncovered with all other T&As although the numbers are much lower. Hopper has noted that foreground events succeed one another and follow the same order as in the real world. Background events, on the other hand, are not sequential but rather are comments or statements that amplify the events (1979:214). Thus, the findings illustrated in Table 4 are suggestive of a tendency for these three T&As to mark events of the past and events associated to the main skeleton of the story.

We now turn to a stylistic factor. With respect to narrative style in this study, the distinction between conflict and non-conflict narrative style was examined based on findings documented in Flores-Ferrán (2002, 2004). In that study, speakers were found to strongly favor the use of overt subject pronouns in contexts where the narrative contained conflict. The construction of this independent variable was made largely following Simel who defines conflict as designed to resolve divergent dualisms, adversity, arguments, contrastive perceptions (1955:13). It was also designed following Solomon's (1999) work which reports heightened uses of overt subject pronouns in Yucatec Spanish, a Spanish variety which favors the use of null subjects. If personal subject pronoun use is conditioned by conflict narrative, and since verb tense shifts appear in the complication section of the narratives, one may suspect that conflict style narratives may condition the verb tense used as well. The following is an illustration of a conflict narrative:

- (3) *...O sea por cuanto tengo mis preocupaciones de la manera en que tú haces el ministerio, te suspendo inmediatamente como sacerdote. ¡Concho! ¿Dónde está el obispo? Él está en una reunión. No pero ¿Él no fue el que me invitó a mí para venir aquí? No era para que viniera a buscar una carta. Y yo dije, no eso no es así. Él es el pastor mío y yo quiero oírlo. El tipo no me daba la cara. No me daba la cara. Encima de eso, estos son dos sacerdotes con muchos años en la iglesia. Y estos asuntos se bregan bien pastoral. O sea, tú estás suspendiendo alguien, con qué explicación yo le voy a dar a mi comunidad... Encima de eso me empujaron y me amenazaron y fue una cuestión que después fue que ellos se dieron cuenta donde ellos se metieron. Porque yo siempre se lo había dicho, mira, yo soy... tal vez*

*tú no entiendes la expresión, pero yo soy unido a la calle. Yo soy un títere de la calle. No me cruces la línea a mí. Y al tipo empujarme, yo le metí un puño en la misma oficina. Y le rompí la nariz. . . (Participant 16)*

'...In other words with respect to my preoccupations in the manner in which you conduct your ministry, [I] suspend you immediately as priest. Concho! Where is the bishop? He is in a meeting. No but, he's the one who invited me to come here? It wasn't so that [I] could get a letter. And I told him, that's not the way it is. He is my pastor and I want to listen to him. The guy didn't look at my face. [He] didn't look at my face. On top of that these are two priests with many years in the church and these issues are dealt with in a pastoral manner. In other words, you are suspending someone, and what explanation do I give my community?...On top of that, they pushed me and they threatened me and it was a situation that. . .later they found out who they were dealing with. Because I always have told them, look, I am. . .and maybe you don't know what this expression is, but I am very close to the streets. I am a títere of the streets. Don't cross my line. And when the guy pushed me, I punched him in the same office and broke his nose. . .'

The third hypothesis suggests that narratives which contained conflict would reflect an effect on the verb's T&A. This hypothesis is partially rejected. Table 4 shows that there is no correlation with regard to conflict narrative style and the use of present indicative verbs where we find 50.2 vs. 49.8%. That is, there is an close distribution of present tense verbs in conflict and non-conflict narratives. However, the table also shows that when speakers recount stories that contain conflict there is a difference in the uses of the preterit and imperfect forms. In particular, one finds that 58% of the verbs in the preterit tense appear in instances where conflict is involved, as opposed to only 42% in non-conflict segments of their stories. A similar pattern is found with regard to the imperfect indicative. When conflict is involved, 54.7% of the imperfect indicative verbs as opposed to only 45.3% appear in instances where the speakers were narrating stories that contained conflict. This tendency suggests therefore that when the speakers narrate stories that contain oppositions, dualisms, and diverging opinions, they tend to shift to past forms of the verbs in these narratives and do not tend to recount conflict within the moment of speaking or the present tense.

One of the hypotheses addressed two social factors: age and gender. It was hypothesized that these two factors would not play a significant role in determining the uses of the verb tenses in the oral narratives. Logistic regression for the age group factor produced a significance of .045. The Stepwise criteria of probability indicated that the factor should be entered in the analysis if less than .050.

Table 5 shows the distribution of the verb's T&A among the age groups. For each of the verbs T&As one finds similar frequencies among the age group categories. For instance, the speakers in their 20s, 30s, 40s, and 50s+ produced 42.8%, 36%, 40%, and 35.6% of their verbs in the present indicative respectively. For the preterit indicative, a similar pattern exists. That is, speakers in their 20s, 30s, 40s, and 50s+ produced 27%, 29.1%, 28.8%, and 31.3% of their narratives using verbs using in that tense respectively. One can also find a similar distribution within imperfect indicative. Therefore, and as suggested by the null hypothesis, the age of the speaker is irrelevant in deter-

Table 5. Verb T&amp;A Crosstabulated with Age N=12,340

| Speakers age groups | T&A                |                     |                      |                  | Totals        |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|
|                     | Present Indicative | Preterit Indicative | Imperfect Indicative | All other tenses |               |
| In 20s              | 1,084<br>42.8%     | 684<br>27%          | 514<br>20.3%         | 249<br>19.4%     | 2,531<br>100% |
| In 30s              | 1,614<br>36%       | 1,304<br>29.1%      | 1,069<br>23.8%       | 493<br>38.5%     | 4,479<br>100% |
| In 40s              | 1,134<br>40%       | 818<br>28.8%        | 586<br>20.7%         | 298<br>23.2%     | 2,836<br>100% |
| In 50s+             | 889<br>35.6%       | 781<br>31.3%        | 585<br>23.4%         | 239<br>9.58%     | 2,494<br>100% |

$p > .000$

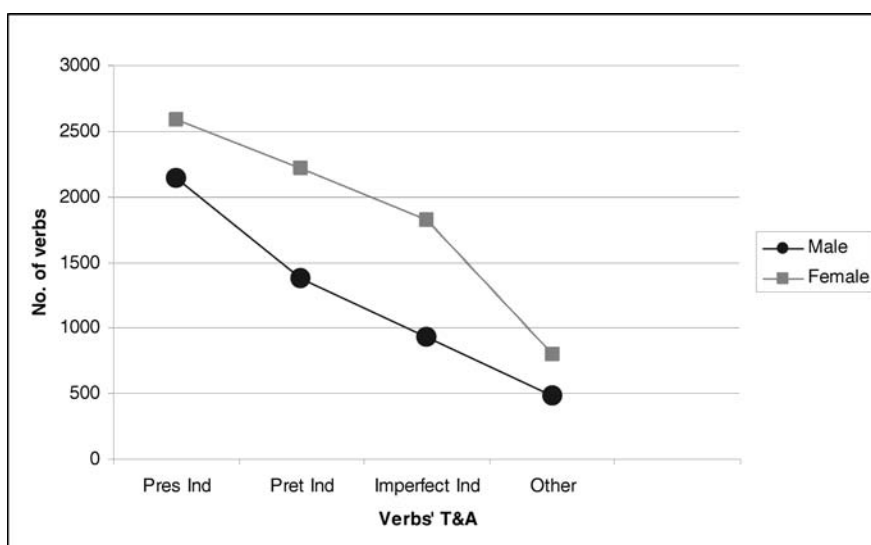


Figure 2. Gender and Verbs' T&A

mining how speakers produced their verbs' T&A in oral narratives with regard to these three verb forms.

It was also suggested earlier that the independent variable of gender would not produce a significant effect on the T&A of verbs used in the oral narratives. Figure 2 illustrates the patterns of T&A use by the males and females in this study. Recall that the study interviewed 18 women and 12 men and that speakers produced 12,340 verbs. The women contributed 7,422 verbs to the entire pool of verbs representing 60% of the verbs. Figure 2 below illustrates the distribution of verbs' T&A according to the three most produced forms: the present indicative (pres ind), the preterit indicative (pret ind), and the imperfect indicative (pret ind) and other tenses.

Figure 2 shows that the patterns of verb T&A distribution between males and females in this study are similar. That is, although the female speakers may have contributed more verbs to the analysis, the three most used forms among men and women remain the same: the present, preterit and the imperfect indicative and these tenses decline in use in a similar manner. A Pearson Chi-square test produced a value of 143.127 and a significance of .000.

To summarize, regardless of gender, speakers are more likely to use the present tense to recount events of the past followed by the preterit and imperfect indicative tenses. Thus, the two social variables do not play a significant role in determining the production of the verb's T&A in these oral narratives.

## 6. Conclusion

This study set out to investigate the uses of T&A in Spanish oral narratives of NYC bilingual Puerto Ricans with the purpose of identifying if the narrative syntax has an effect on the verb tense produced. It also investigated the effects that foreground and background information and conflict and non-conflict style have in the production of the verb tenses in these narratives. A number of claims can be made from these findings.

Regardless of age and gender, it was found that the present tense is used mainly to recount events of the past since this tense was produced with the highest frequency than any other verb tense. These findings were also documented by Schifffrin (1981) and Silva-Corvalán (1983). Polanyi (1989) also reports that English story telling combines past time and morphologically present tense clauses which are given a past time semantic interpretation as the historical present tense (p.18).

The study also uncovered that there is a tendency of one tense to cluster in a narrative unit, findings also documented by these and other scholars (Pousada & Poplack 1982; Torres 1997). As Schifffrin (1981) and Silva-Corvalán (1983) posit, the production of verb tenses is conditioned by the narrative unit being recounted and evidence of this same tendency is found in these data. In the orientation, evaluation, and coda segments of the narratives, there is a tendency to use the present indicative tense. The preterit indicative however, is mainly produced in the complication and resolution segments of the narrative, in direct opposition to the present tense. The imperfect indicative appears almost evenly distributed with the narrative syntax. Thus, it was noted in the discussion that speakers tend to shift from present to the preterit tense in distinct segments of the narrative while spreading the imperfect indicative evenly throughout the narrative.

Speakers do not shift tenses while providing foreground and background information of the narrative or while shifting from main storyline comments to unessential aspects of the storyline. It was found that speakers recounted most of the main storyline events, the foreground segments, by using the same three verb forms but that the present indicative however, was produced with the highest frequency in foreground



clauses than any of the other two forms. The historical present is commonly used when recounting events of the past.

When speakers recounted stories containing conflict and non-conflict, the present indicative tense was spread evenly throughout the narratives. However, when a narrative segment contained conflict, an effect appeared with regard to the preterit and imperfect forms. Speakers shifted from the present to the preterit and imperfect indicative forms when recounting narratives that contained conflict. These findings were also evident regardless of age and gender.

In summary, an initial claim can be made here which suggests that the narrative unit, the narrative conflict style, and the segments of the narrative associated to the main storyline condition shifts in the verb tenses of the Spanish oral narratives of the Puerto Rican residents of NYC.

## References

- Bayley, R. 2002. Comparing VARBRUL with other statistical programs in the analysis of Spanish SPPs. Conferencia de Pronomobristas: Paper in RISLUS, City University of New York.
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Comrie, B. 1985. *Aspect*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Flores-Ferrán, N. 2002. *A Sociolinguistic Perspective on the Use of Subject Personal Pronouns in Spanish Narratives of Puerto Ricans in New York City*. Munich: Lincom.
- Flores-Ferrán, N. 2004 Spanish subject personal pronoun use in New York City Puerto Ricans: Can we rest the case of English contact? *Language Variation and Change* 16: 49–73.
- Holmes, J. 2003. Narrative structures: Some contrasts. In *Sociolinguistics: Essential Readings*, C. Bratt-Paulston and R. Tucker (eds.). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hopper, P. 1979. Aspect and foreground in discourse. In *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol.12: *Discourse and syntax*, T. Givón (ed.). New York NY: Academic Press.
- Koike, D. 1991. Tense and cohesion in Brazilian Portuguese oral narratives. *Hispania* 74: 647–653.
- Labov, W. 1984. Field methods of the project on linguistic change. In *Language in Use: Readings in sociolinguistics*, J. Baugh & J. Sherzer (eds.). Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Labov, W. & Waletzky, J. 1967. Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In *Essays on Verbal and Visual Arts*, J. Helm (ed.), 12–44. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Linde, C. 1993. *Life stories: The creation of coherence*. Oxford: OUP.
- Polanyi, L. 1989. *Telling the American Story: A structural and cultural analysis of conversational storytelling*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.
- Potowski, K. 2005. Tense and aspect in the oral and written narratives of two-way immersion students. In *Selected Proceedings of the 6<sup>th</sup> Conference on the Acquisition of Spanish and Portuguese as a First Language*, D. Eddington (ed.). Somerville MA: Cascadilla.
- Pousada, A. & Poplack, S. 1982. No case for convergence: The Puerto Rican Spanish verb system in a language-contact situation. In *Bilingual Education for Hispanic Students in the United States*, J. Fishman & G. Keller (eds.), 207–237. New York NY: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Schiffrin, D. 1981. Tense variation in narrative. *Language* 57(1): 45–62.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1983. Tense and aspect in oral Spanish narrative: Context and meaning. *Linguistic Society of America*. 59: 760–80.
- Simel, G. 1955. *Conflict & the Web of Group-Affiliations*. New York NY: The Free Press.

- Solomon, J. 1999. Phonological and Syntactic Variation in the Spanish of Valladolid, Yucatán. PhD Dissertation, Stanford University.
- Stubbs, M. 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Torres, L. 1997. *Puerto Rican Discourse: A sociolinguistic study of a New York suburb*. Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Verhoeven, L. 2004. Bilingualism and narrative construction. In *Relating Events in a Narrative*, S. Strömqvist & L. Verhoeven (eds.). Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.



## The impact of linguistic constraints on the expression of futurity in the Spanish of New York Colombians<sup>1</sup>

Rafael Orozco

Louisiana State University

Language contact often acts as a catalyst of language change. However, according to Guy's (2000) theory, the linguistic factors constraining language change and variation are consistent within different segments of a speech community. In this study, after determining the distribution of the morphological future, the periphrastic future, and the simple present as they are used to express futurity by New York Colombians, I identify the statistically significant linguistic factors most strongly affecting this distribution and explain their impact. Additionally, I test Guy's (2000) theory by contrasting these results to those from a comparable monolingual population based in Colombia. The data explored in this study was extracted from sociolinguistic interviews with twenty (ten men and ten women) Colombian residents of the New York City area. At the time of the data collection, their ages ranged from 16 to 70 years old, and the length of their stay in the United States ranged from five to thirty years. The distribution of forms found is congruent with the reports of the prevalence of the periphrastic future in all varieties of Spanish, including situations where Spanish is in contact with other languages, as well as those regarding the drastic reduction of use of the morphological future as a marker of futurity. The results of this study also revealed the same eight factor groups which significantly constrain the expression of futurity in Colombia. These findings lend validity to Guy's theory. That is, the similarity of constraint effects found in New York and in Colombia suggests that, despite the influence of language contact, the two populations are still members of the same speech community. Additionally, the results of this study indicate that the change in progress from the preferential use of the morphological future to that of the periphrastic future seems to have been accelerated in the immigrant setting. These results help explain other instances of morphosyntactic variation, especially those involving analytic and synthetic variants. Furthermore, these findings augment our

---

1. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Greg Guy, John Singler, and Richard Cameron for their helpful comments and guidance at various stages of this work. I am also thankful to the editors of this volume and to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable input. All remaining inconsistencies are my sole responsibility.

knowledge of language variation and change in Spanish as well as in all Romance languages.

## 1. Introduction

Contact between English and Spanish in New York City dates virtually to the founding of the city. It was founded in 1624 and named New Amsterdam, and, according to *The Encyclopedia of New York* (1994), Spanish-speaking people began to settle in Manhattan in 1625. In 1870 there were 2,062 Spanish speakers in New York constituting 2.2 percent of the city's population. Today there are more than two million Spanish-speaking New Yorkers (approximately 28 percent of the city's population) making Spanish the de-facto second language in New York City. The first Colombian community in New York City, also the first such community in the United States, dates back to the end of WWI when a few hundred well-educated individuals settled in Jackson Heights, Queens (Sturmer 1995; Zentella 1997a). Orlov and Ueda (1980:213) note that at the outbreak of World War II, there were close to 2,000 Colombians in New York City. Zentella (1997a: 170) notes that during the 1970s the New York Colombian community continued to expand due, among other things, to high rates of unemployment in Colombia. Most of the Colombians who settled in New York had belonged to the middle class in their home country. In the mid 1980s, middle-class Colombians constituted the majority of residents of Jackson Heights, which several decades earlier had become the stronghold of the Colombian community in New York City. According to Sturmer (1995: 329) while in 1994 there were 86,000 legal Colombian residents in New York, Colombians also constitute one of the largest groups of undocumented immigrants. Furthermore, as DeCamp (1991) anticipated, at the outset of the 21st century, the largest concentration of Colombians in the United States continues to be found in the New York City metropolitan area.

The sociolinguistic situation of the Colombian Community in New York City is interesting since its language is simultaneously found in direct contact with English as well as with a number of other varieties of Spanish. The direct contact between Colombian Spanish and English constitutes a situation of relatively recent inception which provides a unique opportunity for short-term diachronic exploration. Studies of this sort, as Weinreich proposes, "may make it possible to clarify basic problems involving longer time spans as well" (1967 [1953]: 104). The contact between Colombian Spanish and other varieties of Spanish is no less intriguing. Colombian expatriates continue to use Colombian Spanish at home and in interacting with other Colombians. Moreover, they inevitably add features of another Spanish dialect. As they become acclimated to their new environment, New York Colombians find a common ground in communicating with other Latinos and incorporate to their linguistic repertoire the Spanish of New York City which, as noted by Zentella (1990a, 1997a), is heavily saturated with Caribbean Spanish. As the New York Colombian community has evolved, the Spanish spoken by New York Colombians has evolved with its community. Orozco

(2004:58) points out four different sources of leveling which affect Colombian Spanish in New York City: the coexistence of people from all over Colombia; the heavy influence of Caribbean Spanish compounded by the fact that many New York Colombians come from the Caribbean coast; the influence of the Spanish of New York City on Colombian Spanish due in large part to frequent visits from New York Colombians; and the influence, both direct and indirect, of English on Colombian Spanish.

As discussed by Orozco (2004, 2005), to express future time in the indicative mood, Spanish speakers choose from among three interchangeable forms: the morphological future (MF), the periphrastic future (PF), and the simple present (SP) as illustrated in (1), (2) and (3) respectively.

- (1) *Trabajaré mañana.* (MF)  
'[I] will work tomorrow.'
- (2) *Voy a trabajar mañana.* (PF)  
'[I]'m going to work tomorrow.'
- (3) *Trabajo mañana.* (SP)  
'[I] work tomorrow.'

Orozco (2004:39) indicates that "Colombian Spanish is characterized by its morphosyntactic uniformity." Moreover, as a consequence of this uniformity, clear syntactic and morphological isoglosses could not be established in the Linguistic Atlas of Colombia (Montes Giraldo 1982). Thus, the morphosyntactic uniformity of Colombian Spanish is also manifested in the expression of futurity which is consistently uniform throughout the Colombian territory.

As Vulgar Latin evolved into the modern Romance languages, the expression of simple futurity has also evolved. Gutiérrez (1995) and Orozco (2004) indicate that, as a result of this process, the PF is in the process of taking over the expression of futurity at the expense of the MF. Thus, studies regarding the expression of futurity throughout the Spanish-speaking world, both in communities where Spanish is in direct contact with other languages and in communities where it is not, report the PF to be the dominant form. On the other hand, the use of the MF is reported to have either decreased considerably or disappeared entirely. The earlier studies, qualitative in nature, have been validated by more recent quantitative analyses.

The PF is reported as the preferred expression of futurity in Caribbean Spanish, in Chile (Silva-Corvalán & Terrell 1989), in Venezuela (Sedano 1993), in Northern Colombian Spanish (Orozco 2005), in Seville, Spain (Agudo 1985) in Mexico City, Morelia, Mexico, and the Southwest US (Gutiérrez 1995), in New Mexico (Villa Crésap 1997), and in the speech of Puerto Rican New Yorkers (Zentella 1997b). Similarly, the MF is considered a receding form in the Americas (Escobar 1997), in Colombia (Montes Giraldo 1962, 1985), and in educated Mexican Spanish (Moreno de Alba 1970). Moreover, the morphological future is reported to have almost completely disappeared in Mexico, Argentina, Ecuador, and Chile (Lope Blanch 1972:144), as well as in the Spanish of the Colombian, Dominican, and Puerto Rican communities in New York City (Zentella 1990b). Thus, Escobar (1997), Silva-Corvalán (1988, 1994),

van Naersen (1983, 1995), and Zentella (1997b) indicate the preferential use of the periphrastic over the morphological future in all varieties of Spanish.

The purpose of this quantitative study is manifold. First, I determine the distribution of the forms used to express future time by Colombian residents of the New York City metropolitan area. Second, I identify the statistically significant linguistic factor groups which most strongly affect the distributions of forms, discuss their impact, and compare them to those affecting the expression of futurity in Northern Colombian Spanish. The basic hypothesis tested in this study is that the tendencies found in the expression of futurity in the speech of New York Colombians are still those largely found in Colombia. That is, I hypothesized that while the distribution of forms was essentially the same, in New York City, the periphrastic future would occur more and the morphological future less frequently. Furthermore, I hypothesized that the internal factor groups significant in the distribution of forms in New York would also be basically the same and that most individual factors would pull in the same direction as those in Colombia. I grounded this hypothesis on the aforementioned reports of the expression of futurity in Spanish as well as on findings by Orozco (2005), Silva-Corvalán (1994), and Gutiérrez (1995). Orozco (2005) examines the internal factor groups significant in the distribution of future time forms in Northern Colombian Spanish. Silva-Corvalán (1994:212ff.) provides evidence that in situations of direct language contact changes already in progress before the inception of contact are accelerated. Gutiérrez (1995) corroborates Silva-Corvalán's assertion and provides data showing that the PF occurs more frequently than the MF in communities where Spanish is in direct contact with English than in communities where it is not. I also based my hypothesis on Guy's (2000) theory that the factors constraining language change and variation should be consistent within different segments of a speech community.

In this study I sought to, first, follow up on Orozco (2005) and determine the distribution of future time forms and the factor groups that significantly impact this distribution in the speech of Colombian residents of the New York City metropolitan area. At the same time, I intended to determine how the expression of futurity has been affected by direct language contact compounded by dialect contact. Furthermore, I sought to help augment what we know about language variation and change processes in a situation of language contact of recent inception. With this study I hope to provide a small contribution to the growing body of research in Spanish linguistics. In the sections that follow, I will first discuss my research methodology. That section will be followed by the results of this study, and I will close by providing the conclusions and implications of my findings.

## 2. Methodology

The data set explored in this study was extracted from approximately 25 hours of tape recorded sociolinguistic interviews with twenty Colombian residents of the New York City metropolitan area, ten women and ten men, whose ages at the time of the data

collection ranged between 16 and 70 years old. Three of these speakers were teenagers, two were in their twenties, seven in their thirties, four in their forties, and four of them were older than fifty. They are all native speakers of Spanish with various degrees of proficiency in English, ranging from what Torres Cacoullós (2000:24) calls near monolingualism or survival English to native-like fluency in English. With the exception of the youngest speakers, the rest are Spanish-dominant even if they extensively use English in diglossic patterns occupationally. As is customarily found in bilingual speech communities, whereas older New York Colombians speak English with a strong Spanish accent, most of the younger ones do not. I determined the level of fluency in English of these speakers according to the criteria for speaking proficiency established by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages presented in Ramírez (1995:12) and Hadley (2001:14). Speakers were considered fluent if they could be ranked in the advanced or superior levels or non-fluent if they ranked well below the intermediate level. That is, those considered fluent have no difficulty in holding conversations with native speakers of English unaccustomed to nonnative speakers. What Zentella (1997b:85, 293) describes for most immigrant populations also obtains with Colombians. That is, the only people who ordinarily remain monolingual in Spanish after ten or more years in the U.S. are those who migrate in middle age or later, have little access to English-speaking contacts, and never achieve regular employment.

These speakers immigrated to the United States at various ages. Two of these 20 informants came to the United States as young children, two arrived when they were teenagers, and the rest immigrated after the age of twenty. Sixteen of them came from Barranquilla; one came from Cartagena, Bolívar two from the Pacific coast, and one from Armenia, Quindío. According to Colombian social class structure, these individuals were from middle and lower class extraction prior to immigrating to the United States. According to their education and occupational status, they can be considered to belong to the middle and working classes in the United States. As is typically found in immigrant communities, most of these informants hold occupations that are below the socioeconomic status they had in Colombia. In terms of their occupations, they fall into three categories. Five of them retained the white-collar status they had in Colombia. Six of them retained their blue-collar status, and ten traded their white-collar status in Colombia for blue-collar status in the United States. As has happened traditionally with Colombian immigrants in New York City, almost all of the participants in my research first settled in Queens upon their arrival. Their social networks are typical of most Colombian immigrants. They start by associating mostly with other Colombians, and gradually expand their social networks to include people from other parts of the Spanish-speaking world. The younger members of the New York Colombian community also associate with English-dominant peers and often communicate in English with those of Latino backgrounds.

My analysis of the future in the Spanish of New York Colombians was intended to show the results of the direct contact of Colombian Spanish with English as well as with other dialects of Spanish. In this study I sought to answer the following research questions:



*First, how are the morphological future, the simple present, and the periphrastic future distributed in the Spanish of New York Colombians when they indicate future time, and how do internal constraints affect these variants?*

*Second, are the constraints affecting the forms under study in the New York Colombian community the same that affect them in Colombia? If not, why not?*

As I explored the data to answer my first research question, I conducted a series of parallel statistical analyses for each variant of the expression of futurity examined in this study (morphological future, simple present, and periphrastic future). To carry out these analyses I used the 2001 windows version of Goldvarb, a multivariate statistical method. In my analysis, I tested a total of nine internal factor groups which operate at three syntactic levels. Three factor groups operate at the whole clause level: imminence of a future event (near, unbounded, and distant); clause length (one to five, six to eight, and more than eight words long) and clause type (declarative, negative, conditional and interrogative). I tested three factor groups that operate at the subject level: grammatical number of the subject (singular or plural), presence and position of the subject (covert or overt, and pre- or post-verbal) and grammatical person and animacy of the subject (first and second person, third person human, and third person non-human). I focused on the verb in exploring the constraints which operate at the predicate level. In so doing, I tested three factor groups: length of morphological future inflection (type of verb in terms of syllable length of infinitive and morphological future conjugation), presence or absence of time markers and verb transitivity.

To answer my second research question and to test Guy's (2000) theory, I compared the constraints affecting the expression of futurity in New York City to those which affect the expression of futurity in the non-contact setting of Barranquilla, Colombia explored in Orozco (2005). Barranquilla, one Colombia's main port cities, is located on the Caribbean coast. According to the dialectal classifications for Latin American Spanish by Lipski (1994:6) and Quezada Pacheco (2000:154), Barranquilla is part of the Carib/Arawak dialectal region which includes the Antilles and the coastal regions of Colombia and Venezuela.

### 3. Results

The results of this study are important in terms of what happens in the early stages of a direct language contact situation resulting from sustained immigration. My presentation of the results is divided into two parts. First, I present the distribution of the three variants in the speech of New York Colombians. Second, I discuss the internal factors whose correlation with a specific variant is statistically significant. In order to facilitate the comparison between the results found in the New York Colombian community and those found in Barranquilla, I have included the results presented in Orozco (2005) in each one of the tables given below.

### 3.1 Distribution of variants

The distribution of forms that New York Colombians use interchangeably in expressing futurity is presented in Table 1. In both populations, the periphrastic future is the most frequently used of the three variants. The simple present ranks second in terms of its frequency of occurrence, and the morphological future registers the lowest frequency of the three forms under study. This distribution of forms reflects that, while the periphrastic future occurs more frequently in New York than in Colombia, both the morphological future and the simple present appear less frequently.

The fact that the periphrastic future is the undisputed variant of choice by New York Colombians is congruent with reports indicating that the periphrastic future is the most frequently occurring expression of futurity throughout the Spanish-speaking world (Silva-Corvalán 1988, 1994; van Naersen 1983:58; Zentella 1997a). The higher frequency of occurrence of the PF is also consistent with reports of its most frequent occurrence in monolingual varieties of Spanish such as those of Bauhr (1988), Orozco (2005), Sedano (1993), Silva-Corvalán and Terrell (1989), and Westmoreland (1997) among others. Moreover, these results are consistent with the fact that, when Spanish is in direct contact with other languages, the periphrastic future is found to occur more frequently than in non-contact situations. As a matter of fact, the PF has been found to occur more frequently in situations of contact with English by Gutiérrez (1995), Silva-Corvalán (1994), and Villa Crésap (1997), as well as in situations of contact with Quechua by Escobar (1997) and Niño-Murcia (1992).

The frequency of 30.3% registered by the simple present in New York suggests that this form will continue to share the expression of futurity with the periphrastic future. This is perhaps a result of the frequent appearance of the simple present in sequences of future time clauses which usually start with the periphrastic future, and less often with the morphological future, and then include clauses in the simple present, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) *Si voy a ehtá el uno aquí y el otro allá, ¡pueh entonceh no me caso!*  
 'If [I]'m going to be one here and the other one there, well then [I] don't get married!'

The frequency of occurrence registered by the morphological future, 7.21%, represents a dramatic decrease in the use of this variant in New York compared to its occurrence in Barranquilla. This result is consistent with reports that the occurrence of the MF is receding in educated Mexican Spanish (Moreno de Alba 1970), Mexico,

Table 1. Distribution of Forms for New York Colombians and Barranquilleros

| Form                 | Raw Frequency |              | Percentage |              |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
|                      | New York      | Barranquilla | New York   | Barranquilla |
| Morphological Future | 133           | (269)        | 7.21%      | (18.14%)     |
| Simple Present Tense | 559           | (533)        | 30.30%     | (35.94%)     |
| Periphrastic Future  | 1,153         | (681)        | 62.49%     | (45.92%)     |
| Total                | 1,845         | (1,483)      |            | 100.0%       |

Argentina, Ecuador, and Chile (Lope Blanch 1972:144), Colombia (Montes Giraldo 1962, 1985), as well as in the Spanish of the Colombian, Dominican, and Puerto Rican communities in New York City (Zentella 1990b).

In the following pages, I will discuss the linguistic factors which proved to be the most significant in the occurrence of the three variants. In a Goldvarb analysis with statistical significance determined using a threshold for  $p$  of 0.05, individual probabilities greater than 0.5 favor the occurrence of a variant, while those less than 0.5 disfavor it. The further a value is from 0.5, the stronger the effect of that factor. Values presented within square brackets are not statistically significant.

### 3.2 Factors significant in the occurrence of the variants

A total of eight linguistic factor groups are statistically significant in the occurrence of the three variants: imminence of future event, clause length, type of clause, grammatical person and animacy of the subject, grammatical number of the subject, length of morphological future inflection, presence of a time marker, and verb transitivity. The results presented in Tables 2 and 3 show that, both in New York City and in Barranquilla, the tendencies registered by the linguistic forces for the SP and the PF are largely mirror images of each other. When the PF is not significant, an opposition between MF and SP occurs. I will focus my discussion of these internal factors on the effects of the factor groups which best illustrate the differences between the two populations: grammatical number of the subject, and length of morphological future inflection.

#### 3.2.1 *Grammatical number of the subject*

In examining the effect of this factor group, I explored the impact of singular versus plural clause subjects. In New York, as well as in Colombia, grammatical number of the subject reached statistical significance in the occurrence of both the MF and the SP but not in that of the PF. The morphological future is favored by plural subjects and disfavored by singular subjects, and the opposite occurs with the SP. As presented in Table 2, the same tendencies found in New York City were found in Barranquilla. However, plural subjects favor the MF more strongly in New York than in Barranquilla, and singular subjects exert a stronger disfavoring effect on this variant in New York than in Barranquilla.

One likely hypothesis for the favorable effect of plural subjects on the occurrence of the MF is the frequent occurrence of statements in which the subject is unknown, a phenomenon that also obtains in English and other languages. When unknown subjects occur, they are marked in the third person plural. In vernacular usage, as illustrated in (5), the occurrence of plural subjects has overgeneralized and overspilled to affect verb inflection. While standard Spanish calls for the use of *habrá* for both singular and plural third person inflections of *haber* 'be, exist', speakers usually produce *habrán*, a form which reflects the third person plural inflection.

Table 2. Effect of Grammatical Number of the Subject

| Factor               | MF    | N        | %   | SP    | N        | %   | PF    | N         | %   |
|----------------------|-------|----------|-----|-------|----------|-----|-------|-----------|-----|
| <i>New York City</i> |       |          |     |       |          |     |       |           |     |
| Plural               | .69   | 48/508   | 9%  | .42   | 135/508  | 27% | [.52] | 325/508   | 64% |
| Singular             | .43   | 85/1337  | 6%  | .53   | 424/1337 | 32% | [.49] | 828/1337  | 62% |
| I = input            | I=.03 | 133/1845 | 7%  | I=.26 | 559/1845 | 30% | I=.65 | 1153/1845 | 63% |
| <i>Barranquilla</i>  |       |          |     |       |          |     |       |           |     |
| Plural               | .59   | 72/363   | 19% | .39   | 98/363   | 27% | [.54] | 198/363   | 54% |
| Singular             | .47   | 197/1119 | 18% | .54   | 434/1119 | 39% | [.49] | 488/1119  | 43% |
| I = input            | I=.14 | 269/1483 | 18% | I=.34 | 533/1483 | 36% | I=.45 | 681/1483  | 46% |

- (5) *Ahí habrán quienes se beneficien y habrán quienes que no.*

‘There will be those who benefit, and there will be those who will not.’

Additionally, as reported in Orozco (2005), these findings can be explained in terms of two morphosyntactic features which are characteristic of the future paradigm of the simple present in the indicative mood. First, the second and third person plural inflections of the simple present are homophonous and could lead to ambiguity. As a result, speakers may avoid using plural subjects when they use the simple present to avoid ambiguity in their statements. Second, the first person plural paradigm of the simple present is homophonous with that of the simple past tense of first and third conjugation verbs (those ending in *-ar* and *-ir*). Without sufficient contextual information or if a speaker does not provide additional details, as illustrated in (6), a statement could ambiguously refer to the past, the present or the future.

- (6) *Empezamos temprano.*

‘[We] started/start early.’

### 3.2.2 Length of morphological future inflection

I used a complex factor group to explore the effects of length of MF inflection while obtaining detailed information about how the expression of futurity is simultaneously constrained by length of infinitive, length of MF paradigm and verb regularity. To account for the nature of Spanish verbs more accurately in terms of length of MF inflection and infinitive length, I started by classifying the factors in this group as follows: verbs with multisyllabic MF inflection, verbs with irregular disyllabic MF, and monosyllabic verbs.

Verbs with multisyllabic MF inflection include those verbs whose infinitives may be two syllables in length (e.g., *cantar* ‘to sing’ > *cantaré* ‘I will sing’) or longer (e.g., *trabajar* ‘to work’ > *trabajaré* ‘I will work’). The MF conjugation of multisyllabic verbs is three or more syllables long, and their MF inflections invariably follow regular patterns. The second factor in this group consists of verbs with disyllabic infinitives whose MF forms are both disyllabic and irregular. They comprise twelve of the most frequent Spanish verbs whose syncopated future inflections feature what Stockwell

(1965:116ff.) calls “theme variations.” In seven of them (*caber* ‘to fit’, *decir* ‘to say’, *haber* ‘to be, exist’, *hacer* ‘to make, do’, *poder* ‘to be able to’, *querer* ‘to want’, *saber* ‘to know’), the theme vowel is syncopated when they are inflected as in *sabré* ‘I will know’. In the remaining five (*poner* ‘to put’, *tener* ‘to have’, *salir* ‘to leave’, *valer* ‘to be worth’, *venir* ‘to come’), the theme vowel is replaced by an epenthetic /d/ yielding forms such as *pondré* ‘I will put’. I will subsequently refer to these verbs as disyllabic irregulars.

Monosyllabic verbs constitute the third main factor in terms of length of MF inflection. Although these verbs are irregular, their MF conjugations are disyllabic and follow regular patterns (e.g., *ver* ‘to see’ > *veré* ‘I will see’). Since there are only four monosyllabic verbs in Spanish (*dar* ‘to give’, *ir* ‘to go’, *ser* ‘to be’ and *ver* ‘to see’), I initially tested them individually to more accurately account for their impact on the expression of futurity. Furthermore, due to their common features and to similar tendencies registered in preliminary analyses, I merged *ser* and *ver* into a single factor to conduct all subsequent analyses. Consequently, I used a total of five factors in this group: verbs with multisyllabic MF inflections, disyllabic irregulars, *ser* and *ver* as a single factor, *dar*, and *ir*.

As with the results for grammatical number of the subject, those for length of morphological future inflection registered statistical tendencies which pull in the same directions as those found in Colombia. In New York, as occurred in Barranquilla, length of morphological future inflection proved to be statistically significant in the occurrence of all three variants. As can be seen in Table 3, the results for the SP and the PF appear, for the most part, to be in opposition to each other. At the same time, *ser* and *ver*, irregular disyllabic verbs, and *dar* show an opposition between MF and SP. In contrast, multisyllabic verbs and *ir* show an opposition between MF and PF. These results also indicate that multisyllabic verbs promote the occurrence of PF at the expense of both the MF and SP. The SP is disfavored by multisyllabic verbs more strongly than the MF. In both Barranquilla and New York, disyllabic irregulars exert a favorable effect on the SP at the expense of the other two variants. These verbs disfavor the PF more strongly than the MF. *Dar* simultaneously favors both the SP and the PF on the one hand, and strongly inhibits the MF, on the other. *Ir* favors both the MF and SP while exerting a negative force on the PF. Also, in both populations shown in Table 3, the combined effect of *ser* and *ver* promotes both the MF and PF while disfavoring the SP.

As indicated by Orozco (1997), the favorable effect that the combined forces of *ser* and *ver* exert on the MF with a Goldvarb weight of .69 is perhaps a result of their occurrence in clichés and fossilized formulaic expressions. The use of these expressions has arguably spilled over and speakers also use the MF in statements where these verbs indicate futurity. In fact, when *ser* occurs in the MF, it only appears in the corpus in the third person singular *será* ‘s/he/it will be’, as illustrated in (7) and (8), which is highly consistent with the fossilized forms.

Table 3. Effect of Length of Morphological Future Inflection

| Factor               | MF    | N        | %   | SP    | N        | %   | PF    | N         | %   |
|----------------------|-------|----------|-----|-------|----------|-----|-------|-----------|-----|
| <i>New York City</i> |       |          |     |       |          |     |       |           |     |
| <i>Ser &amp; Ver</i> | .69   | 29/221   | 13% | .21   | 31/221   | 14% | .69   | 161/221   | 73% |
| <i>Ir</i>            | .74   | 11/105   | 10% | .74   | 66/105   | 63% | .20   | 28/105    | 27% |
| Multisyllabic        | .48   | 63/958   | 7%  | .44   | 241/958  | 25% | .57   | 654/958   | 68% |
| Disyllabic Irregular | .43   | 29/511   | 6%  | .69   | 209/511  | 41% | .35   | 273/511   | 53% |
| <i>Dar</i>           | .20   | 1/50     | 2%  | .56   | 12/50    | 24% | .52   | 37/50     | 74% |
| I = input            | I=.03 | 133/1845 | 7%  | I=.26 | 559/1845 | 30% | I=.65 | 1153/1845 | 63% |
| <i>Barranquilla</i>  |       |          |     |       |          |     |       |           |     |
| <i>Ser &amp; Ver</i> | .74   | 74/191   | 39% | .26   | 37/191   | 19% | .55   | 80/191    | 41% |
| <i>Ir</i>            | .54   | 14/81    | 17% | .70   | 47/81    | 58% | .29   | 20/81     | 24% |
| Multisyllabic        | .46   | 112/747  | 15% | .46   | 229/747  | 31% | .58   | 406/747   | 54% |
| Disyllabic Irregular | .46   | 65/422   | 15% | .65   | 206/422  | 49% | .38   | 151/422   | 35% |
| <i>Dar</i>           | .38   | 4/41     | 10% | .51   | 14/41    | 34% | .56   | 23/41     | 56% |
| I = input            | I=.14 | 269/1483 | 18% | I=.34 | 533/1483 | 36% | I=.45 | 681/1483  | 46% |

- (7) ... *eso será toda la puta vida contra los pobres.*  
 ‘That will be all frigging life against the poor.’
- (8) ... *o sea, yo no creo que eso... no lo veo yo como que la tecnología ha avanzado tanto pero no se si será pa bien o pa mal.*  
 ‘... that is, I do not believe that that ... [I] don’t see it like the technology has advanced so much, but [I] don’t know if [it] will be for good or for bad.’

In general terms, as with irregular disyllabic verbs, the frequency of *ser* and *ver* in the PF is greater in New York (73%) than in Barranquilla (41%), and that of the MF is smaller. Both the frequency of occurrence and the statistical weight of *ser* and *ver* seem to be shifting from the MF to the PF while remaining fairly constant with the SP. The current state of affairs seems to stem from the transfer of domains from morphological to periphrastic futures discussed by Fleischman (1982). According to Schwegler (1990) this transfer of domains represents a natural outcome of the change from synthetic to analytic future forms that the Romance languages are currently experiencing.

The results for *ir* show that in New York City as well as in Barranquilla, this verb promotes both the MF and SP while strongly disfavoring the PF. The favoring effect of *ir* on the MF and SP is greater in New York than in Barranquilla while its disfavoring effect on the PF is also greater in New York (.20) than in Barranquilla (.29). The greater disfavoring effect on the PF that *ir* registers in New York, as discussed below, is arguably the result of contact with English. One reason for the favoring effect of *ir* on the SP may be that this verb is already associated with future marking as result of participating in the formation of the periphrastic future. Additionally, the co-occurrence of *ir* in the same sentence with the temporal adverb *mañana* ‘tomorrow’ illustrated in (9) conveys a sense of expectedness or scheduledness. This is consistent with the combination of a planned event and an appropriate temporal modifier which produces an expected future interpretation. Moreover, this context also implies a statement of the subject’s

intention which constitutes “an important aspect of the meaning of future” (Bybee et al. 1994: 256).

- (9) *Mañana voy a la casa del hijo y a la oficina.*  
 ‘Tomorrow [I] go to his son’s house and to his office.’

These results also appear to stem from the evolution of *ir* from lexical verb to auxiliary. Additionally, the evolution in the semantic nature of *ir* is manifested in the fact that it often occurs with the PF in its reflexive form *irse* ‘leave, get away’, as illustrated in (10). This serves as evidence that, when lexical verbs become auxiliaries, their original meanings gradually fade as has occurred with *haber*. When the situation in the New York Colombian community is further compared to what happens in Barranquilla, it becomes apparent that the transformation of *ir* into an auxiliary already occurred before the onset of direct contact with English. Furthermore, the comparatively scarce occurrence of *ir* in the PF parallels what occurs in Liberian English as reported by Singler (1984: 348) where *go* seldom occurs as the main verb in the equivalent periphrastic construction.

- (10) ... *todo el mundo se va a ih de ehte paih, no, digo de Colombia, pero...*  
 ‘... everybody is going to leave this country, no, I mean, Colombia, but...’

In promoting the PF, multisyllabic verbs register similar values in Barranquilla (.58) and in New York (.57). However, while in Barranquilla these verbs promote the PF more strongly than any other type of verb, in New York they are outweighed by the combined forces of *ser* and *ver* acting as a single factor. These results, as illustrated in (11), confirm speakers’ preference for regular forms evidenced in Barranquilla and throughout the Spanish speaking world as indicated by Elcock (1960: 367). One reason why multisyllabic verbs promote the PF may be because it is the default future form in Spanish. As attested by Elcock (1960), Spanish speakers have traditionally preferred to use regular forms in expressing futurity. This would justify the higher frequency of those verbs whose occurrence does not involve any irregular paradigms. At the same time, if the occurrence of disyllabic irregular verbs with PF is constrained, that of multisyllabic verbs is not. In general, the results for multisyllabic verbs suggest that direct contact with English has not had a drastic effect on how they affect the variants.

- (11) *Dentro de unos años la tecnología va a estar tan avanzada que la gente ya puede viajar a la luna, etcétera...*  
 ‘In a few years, technology is going to be so advanced, that people then could travel to the moon, etcetera ...’

The favoring effect that irregular disyllabic verbs have on the SP may also be a consequence of their higher frequency in Spanish. As shown in Table 3, disyllabic verbs are virtually non-occurring in the MF, appearing in the MF only 6% of the time when they occur indicating futurity. When the results from the two populations are further compared, we can see that while there are small differences in the Goldvarb values, there are relatively big differences in the frequencies registered in Barranquilla and

New York. For instance, while disyllabic irregulars registered a frequency of 15% in Barranquilla, their frequency in New York was only 6%.

The results for *dar* indicate that, in both populations, this verb favors both the SP and PF while strongly disfavoring the MF. These tendencies may indicate that in using *dar* to express futurity, New York Colombians avoid the MF to make sure their statements do not imply conjecture or lack of certainty. In fact, there is only one occurrence of *dar* in the MF. Although the tendencies for the SP and the PF pull in the same direction, the favorable effect of *dar* on SP is greater than that on the PF. This shift may be a result of how language contact has impacted the semantic nature of *dar*. Like *ser* and *ver*, *dar*, is a verb inherited from Latin, appears in numerous idioms, and has acquired various other meanings. As a consequence, the meanings of *dar* associated with either the SP or the PF seem to have separate semantic domains. While *dar* appears more frequently with its traditional meaning of ‘give’ in the SP, as in (12), it occurs in the PF with other meanings and in idioms such as *darse cuenta* ‘realize,’ as in (13).

- (12) *Si el pelao rehponde, pueh... te damoh media beca.*  
 ‘If your kid responds, well... we[’ll] give you half a scholarship.’
- (13) ... *ellos se van a dar cuenta... bueno ella no hace esto.*  
 ‘... they are going to realize... well she does not do this.’

In general, whereas multisyllabic and most monosyllabic verbs favor PF, disyllabic irregulars and *ir* do not. Additionally, in terms of length of morphological future inflection, we find the same factors pulling in the same direction as in Barranquilla. The infrequent occurrence of disyllabic irregulars in the MF fuels the argument that their irregularity has a disfavoring effect on the MF. The overall results for this factor group suggest that when it comes to length of MF inflection, we have the same forces in action regardless of contact. Due to the complexity of the Spanish conjugational patterns, the effect of verb length on the occurrence of the variable leaves some open questions to which further research should help provide more definite answers.

#### 4. Discussion

In line with the statement of purpose stated in the introduction, I compared the internal factors significant in the expression of future time in Colombia and New York. In so doing, I tested Guy’s theory that the factors which constrain language change and variation are consistent within different segments of a speech community. These results clearly answer my second research question (Are the constraints affecting the forms under study in the speech of New York Colombians the same that affect them in Colombia? If not, why not?). The internal factor groups significant for New York Colombians are all the same factors which are significant for the Colombia-based speakers, and their tendencies also pull largely in the same directions. According to Guy’s (2000) theory that members of a speech community share common constraints



in terms of a variable, this implies that we are dealing with two segments of the same speech community.

When the results for the New York Colombian population are compared to those for Barranquilla, we can see some differences that may be attributable to the effects of a relatively short period of contact with English. The observed differences may also be the result of New York Colombians' adjustment to contact with all of the other varieties of Spanish spoken in their new environment or even an early manifestation of dialect leveling. These results lend validity to Guy's (2000) theory that the factors constraining language change and variation are consistent across different segments of a speech community. Furthermore, these results seem to be congruent with Silva-Corvalán's hypothesis that in language-contact situations a number of changes affecting the secondary language are internally motivated since "they are in progress in the 'model' monolingual variety before intensive contact with another language occurs" (1994:208).

## 5. Conclusions

I started by briefly describing the linguistic situation of the Colombian community in New York City. I used data obtained from sociolinguistic interviews with twenty Colombian residents of the New York City area to examine the distribution of the morphological future, the periphrastic future, and the simple present tense when they express futurity. As occurs with a non-contact population in Barranquilla, Colombia, the PF future is the most frequently occurring of the three variants in New York. It is followed in order of frequency by the SP and the MF respectively. The results of Goldvarb statistical analyses also revealed that the same eight linguistic factor groups which are significant in the expression of futurity in Colombia are also statistically significant in New York City. I also explained the effect of grammatical number of the subject and length of morphological future inflection whose individual factors exert very similar constraints in both New York and Barranquilla. This similarity in the tendencies of individual linguistic factors implies that Colombians in Barranquilla and New York are still members of one larger speech community.

The distribution of future time forms discussed earlier reflects the preferential use of the PF in the expression of simple futurity. The PF has not only claimed the dominant role in the expression of futurity that the SP shared with the MF (Kany 1951), but has also largely replaced the morphological form. As Orozco (2005:64) states, "[t]he frequent occurrence of verbal periphrases to replace inflections in Spanish represents a consequence of the so-called instability of futures." This phenomenon, which stems from the tendency of future paradigms to be recast periodically from modal VPs, is discussed by Fleischman (1982:31); Bybee et al. (1991, 1994); and Dahl (1985, 2000); among others. In a larger context, the distribution of the variants explored in this study appears to be the result of a process known as cyclicity. This is a crosslinguistic evolutionary process which affects verbal morphology and triggers a number of inter-

nal syntactic and morphological adjustments. Gutiérrez (1995:214), (Silva-Corvalán 1994: 52), and van Naersen (1995:461), among others, have discussed this large Indo-European historical cycle as it affects Spanish. According to Fleischman (1982), Givón (1971), and Schwegler (1990), during this cyclical process, a language changes from being primarily synthetic to predominantly analytic, eventually becoming synthetic again. As a result of cyclicity, and on its way to becoming the default expression of futurity in Spanish, the periphrastic future has undergone grammaticalization. One potential implication of the effect of cyclicity on Spanish advanced by Fleischman (1982:104) would be the eventual agglutination of the periphrastic future resulting in a reduction such as *voy a cantar* ‘[I]’m going to sing’ > *yo vacantar* (cf. Anderson 1979; Westmoreland 1997:381).

In addition to the distribution of variants, the general effect of the internal constraints indicates that the MF is following a pattern already followed by other receding forms which have developed new semantic domains such as the present subjunctive indicative. For instance, Escobar (1997) reports the occurrence of the MF as a modality marker in Peruvian Spanish in contact with Quechua, and Niño Murcia (1992) discusses the use of the MF in commands in Ecuadorian Spanish. Rosenblat (2002) also indicates that the MF is developing new domains, and this phenomenon has also been attested crosslinguistically (Bybee et al. 1991, 1994; Ultan 1978) for receding forms. As with Orozco (2005), these results make the prospect of what social constraints could tell us an interesting one. Furthermore, this situation may reflect that, as a result of direct contact with English and other Spanish dialects, a change which started in Colombian Spanish prior to the onset of language contact has accelerated in New York City. However, due to the nature of the sociolinguistic situation at hand, teasing apart the effects of contact with English from those of contact with other varieties of Spanish is virtually impossible.

In conclusion, speakers are still affected by the normative effect of the morphological future. In New York, this normative effect is attenuated, and an underlying change in progress toward the periphrastic future is manifested. This ongoing change is aided by contact effects including the influence exerted by bilingualism in English. In general, linguistic factors play a very important role in a speaker’s choice of a form to express future time. However, further research is needed to satisfactorily answer the questions that still remain open regarding the individual forces of some internal factors.

## References

- Agudo, J. A. 1985. Uso discursivo de ‘ir’ en el habla urbana culta de Sevilla. In *Sociolingüística andaluza 3: el discurso sociolingüístico*, V. Lamiquiz (ed.), 121–136. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Anderson, E. W. 1979. The development of the Romance future tense: Morphologization and a tendency toward analyticity. *Papers in Romance* 1: 21–35.
- Bauhr, G. 1989. El futuro en *-ré* e *ir a + infinitivo* en español peninsular moderno. *Uso discursivo de ‘ir’ en el habla urbana culta de Sevilla*. Goteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

- Bybee, J. and Pagliuca, W. 1987. The evolution of future meaning. In *Papers from the Seventh International Conference on Historical Linguistics, 1985*, A. Giacalone Ramat, O. Carruba and G. Bernini (eds.), 109–122. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, J., Pagliuca, W. & Perkins, R. 1991. *Back to the Future: Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Vol. II, E. Traugott & B. Heine (eds.), 17–58. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, J., Perkins, R. & Pagliuca, W. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Dahl, Ö. 1985. *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dahl, Ö. 2000. The grammar of future time reference in European languages. In *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*, Ö. Dahl (ed.), 309–328. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- DeCamp, S. 1991. *The Linguistic Minorities of New York City*. New York NY: Community Service Society, Dept. of Public Policy, Population Studies Unit.
- Elcock, W. D. 1960. *The Romance Languages*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Encyclopedia of New York, The. 1994. St. Clair Shores MI: Somerset Publishers.
- Escobar, A. M. 1997. From time to modality in Spanish in contact with Quechua. *Hispanic Linguistics* 9: 1–36.
- Fleischman, S. 1982. *The Future in Thought and Language: Diachronic Evidence from Romance*. New York City NY: CUP.
- Givón, T. 1971. Historical syntax and synchronic morphology: an archaeologist's field trip. *Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, April 16–18*, 394–415.
- Gutiérrez, M. J. 1995. On the future of the future tense in the Spanish of the southwest. In *Spanish in Four Continents: Studies in Language Contact and Bilingualism*, C. Silva-Corvalán (ed.), 214–223. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Guy, G. R. 2000. A identidade lingüística da comunidade de fala: paralelismo interdialetoal nos padrões de variação lingüística. *Organon* 14(28/29):17–32. (Serial date 2000, published 2002).
- Hadley, A. O. 2001. *Teaching Language in Context* (3rd edn.). Boston MA: Heinle and Heinle.
- Kany, C. 1951. *American-Spanish Syntax* (2nd edn.). Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lipski, J. M. 1994. *Latin American Spanish*. London: Longman.
- Lope Blanch, J. M. 1972. *Estudios sobre el Español de México*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Montes Giraldo, J. J. 1962. Sobre la categoría de futuro en el Español de Colombia. *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* 17: 527–555.
- Montes Giraldo, J. J. 1982. El español de Colombia: Propuesta de clasificación dialectal. *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* 37: 23–92.
- Montes Giraldo, J. J. (ed.). 1985. *Estudios sobre el Español de Colombia*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Moreno de Alba, J. 1970. Vitalidad del futuro de indicativo en el español hablado en México. *Anuario de Letras* 8: 81–102.
- Niño-Murcia, M. 1992. El futuro sintético en el español norandino: Caso de mandato atenuado. *Hispania* 75: 705–713.
- Orlov, A. and Ueda, R. 1980. Central and South Americans. In *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, S. Thernstrom (ed.), 210–217. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Orozco, R. 1997. Distribution of future time forms in Colombian Spanish. Paper presented at N.W.A.V.E 26, Université Laval, Quebec, Canada.
- Orozco, R. 2004. A Sociolinguistic Study of Colombian Spanish in Colombia and New York City. PhD Dissertation, New York University.

- Orozco, R. 2005. Distribution of future time forms in Northern Colombian Spanish. In *Selected Proceedings of the 7th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, D. Eddington (ed.), 56–65. Somerville MA: Cascadilla. ([Http://www.lingref.com](http://www.lingref.com), document #1086).
- Quesada Pacheco, M. A. 2000. *El Español de América*. Cartago, Costa Rica: Editorial Tecnológica de Costa Rica.
- Ramírez, A. G. 1995. *Creating Contexts for Second Language Acquisition: Theory and Methods*. White Plains NY: Longman.
- Rosenblat, A. 2002. *El Español de América*. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho.
- Schwegler, A. 1990. *Analyticity and Syntheticity: A Diachronic Perspective with Special Reference to Romance Languages*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sedano, M. 1993. El futuro morfológico y la expresión *ir a* + infinitivo en el español hablado de Venezuela. (Ms). Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1988. Oral narrative along the Spanish-English bilingual continuum. In *On Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan Linguistics*, J. Staczek (ed.), 172–184. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1994. *Language Contact and Change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. New York: OUP.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. and Terrell, T. 1989. Notas sobre la expresión de futuridad en el español del Caribe. *Hispanic Linguistics* 2: 191–208.
- Singler, J. V. 1984. Variation in Tense-Aspect-Modality in Liberian English. PhD Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles.
- Stockwell, R. P. 1965. *The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Sturmer, P. 1995. Colombian Americans. In *Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America, V 1*, J. Galens, A. Sheets & R. V. Young (eds.), 326–338. New York City NY: Gale.
- Torres Cacoullos, R. 2000. *Grammatization, Synchronic Variation, and Language Contact: A Study of Spanish Progressive -ndo Constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ullian, R. 1978. The nature of future tenses. In *Universals of Human Language*, Vol. 3: *Word Structure*, J. H. Greenberg (ed.), 83–123. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.
- van Naersen, M. M. 1983. Ignoring the reality of the future in Spanish. In *Second Language Acquisition Studies*, K. M. Bailey, M. H. Long & S. Peck (eds.), 56–67. Rowley MA: Newbury House.
- van Naersen, M. M. 1995. The future of the future in Spanish foreign language textbooks. In *Studies in Language Learning and Spanish Linguistics in Honor of Tracy Terrell*, P. Hashemipour, R. Maldonado and M. van Naersen (eds.), 457–470. New York NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Villa Crésap, D. 1997. *El Desarrollo de Futuridad en el Español*. Mexico City: Amacalli Editores.
- Weinreich, U. 1967[1953]. *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Westmoreland, M. 1997. The dialectalization of Spanish future tense usage. *Word* 48(3): 375–395.
- Zentella, A. C. 1990a. Lexical leveling in four New York City Spanish dialects: Linguistic and social factors. *Hispania* 73(4): 1094–1105.
- Zentella, A. C. 1990b. Defining social and linguistic variables in the study of subject pronouns in U.S. Spanish. Paper presented at the XI Spanish in the United States Conference, Chicago, IL.
- Zentella, A. C. 1997a. Spanish in New York. In *The Multilingual Apple: Languages in New York City*, O. García and J. Fishman (eds.), 167–201. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Zentella, A. C. 1997b. *Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican Children in New York*. Malden MA: Blackwell.



## Quantitative evidence for contact-induced accommodation

### Shifts in /s/ reduction patterns in Salvadoran Spanish in Houston

Jessi Elana Aaron and José Esteban Hernández

University of Florida / University of Texas, Pan-American

Studies on dialect accommodation, focusing on the acquisition of new features, have found age of arrival to be a significant factor in acquisition patterns (e.g. Chambers 1992). Regarding /s/ reduction among Salvadorans in Houston, quantitative analysis shows that accommodation may also involve the redistribution of already present features. Sociolinguistic data show that this contact situation has led many Salvadorans to accommodate their speech to Mexican patterns, particularly for socially salient features, like /s/ reduction. Various factors are tested for statistical significance in /s/ reduction: the social factor of age of arrival is found to have the strongest effect; surrounding phonological segments also show significance. Intensity of contact, however, does not, pointing to accommodation as a general social – rather than simply individual – phenomenon.

#### 1. Introduction

An abundant literature on dialect contact suggests that acquisition patterns are often affected in contact situations. One of the recurrent questions in this literature has been that of a possible cut-off age at which individuals may no longer integrate new dialect features into their linguistic repertoires. In addressing this issue, some studies have focused on the way in which the age of arrival of an individual to an area where two dialects of the same language meet shape acquisition patterns (Chambers 1992; Payne 1980; Williams & Kerswill 1997). Chambers (1992:689), for example, shows that age of arrival is the only differentiating factor in the variable acquisition of dialect features. He proposes that individuals who arrive to a new dialect area at the age of 7 or under will be able to acquire those dialect features that characterize the new dialect, while individuals that are 14 years or older will not have this capability. Those between these ages will vary in their ability to acquire the new dialect's features.

Other studies have shown that from very early on children partake in the variation patterns of their speech community (Roberts & Labov 1995; Kerswill 1995, 1996). However, situations of dialect contact bring in an additional component. While children's first exposure to language is in their home variety, children who enter into dialect contact situations at young ages are also faced with patterns of variation during acquisition unlike those of the home environment, as soon they are introduced to outside contexts, such as daycares, schools, or through familial socialization with speakers of the mainstream variety. In this way, then, young children arriving to a region where a dialect other than their own is spoken acquire the distribution patterns of the dialect spoken at home first, and at a later point start acquiring the patterns present in the dialect of the community at large.

In dialect contact, the modification of the speech patterns of the groups or individuals involved may differ considerably from one situation to another. In many cases, the outcome of dialect contact depends heavily on the distribution of features in the contact dialects. Speakers may, for instance, acquire a feature not previously present in their own dialect, as described by Chambers 1992. Alternatively, speakers may come into contact with a dialect that has a feature already present in their home dialect, but with different patterns of distribution. In this case, speakers may alter the frequency or distributional patterns of this feature to more closely mirror patterns present in the larger community. This type of dialect accommodation is the kind we find in the Salvadoran Spanish of Houston, Texas.

The present study focuses on the contact situation between Salvadoran and Mexican Spanish in Houston. We offer an empirical account of the way in which the contact with Mexican Spanish is affecting the patterns of /s/ reduction in the speech of Salvadorans, and examine how the linguistic attitudes that Salvadorans have towards their own dialect may influence the extent or distribution of dialect accommodation in /s/ reduction patterns. First, in a qualitative analysis of Salvadorans residing in Houston, we find that Spanish speakers in Houston are aware of the distinction between the full realizations of /s/ and its reduced variants, suggesting that the competing realizations in Salvadoran Spanish may be attributed in part to the general social pressures prevalent in this contact situation.

Second, we provide a statistical analysis of the linguistic and social factors affecting /s/ realization in the Salvadoran Spanish of Houston. This analysis is carried out through the multiple regression analysis program GoldVarb (Rand & Sankoff 1990). This program, particularly suited for the quantitative evaluation of patterns of variation in natural data, allows for the simultaneous consideration of all factors believed to have a possible effect on the phenomenon in question, and provides information on the statistical significance of each factor when all factors are considered simultaneously. In this case, both linguistic and social factors hypothesized to have a possible effect on the variation between the two possible realizations of /s/ – full ([s]) or reduced ([h] or [Ø]) – are considered in the analysis.

## 2. /s/ reduction

The major phonological difference between Salvadoran Spanish and the predominant northeastern Mexican varieties in Houston is that several consonants in the former undergo a process of reduction unparalleled in the Mexican contact variety. Of these, the reduction of /s/ has received by far the most attention in the literature (Canfield 1960, 1981; Lipski 1988, 1989, 1994, 2000). This attention is particularly noteworthy when we consider the sporadic attention that Salvadoran Spanish as a whole has received. The academic discussion is perhaps a reflection of the amount of attention that Mexicans in Houston seem to pay to this same feature, which usually accompanies any stereotyped attempt to imitate Salvadoran speech (Lipski 1989: 105).

Reduction of /s/ has also been noted in several regions of Mexico. Moreno de Alba (1994:94), for example, finds widespread reduction of /s/ mostly in coastal areas, such as Campeche, Tabasco, Chiapas, Guerrero, Nayarit, Sinaloa, and Sonora, though he also observes isolated inland pockets of reduction in the rural areas of Nuevo León, southern Tamaulipas, and Chihuahua. Lipski (1994) finds a similar geographical distribution of /s/ reduction, and interestingly notes that in rural areas of northwestern Mexico, /s/ is reduced even word initially. He remarks, however, that this tendency “carries a heavy negative stigma, and is avoided by educated urban residents, whose pronunciation scarcely differs from that of central Mexico (1994:280).” Without doubt, the coast of Veracruz is the region that Mexicans most closely associate with /s/ reduction, a tendency that is evident in televised performances in which actors attempt to imitate the region’s dialect by exaggerating their /s/ reduction. However, Lipski (1994:282) argues that:

While this was true in earlier times, the sociolinguistic impact of central Mexican Spanish, particularly the prestige dialect of Mexico City, has had strong impact on the speech of Veracruz, and educated *veracruzanos* frequently maintain sibilant [s], particularly phrase-finally. Among the lower socioeconomic strata of Veracruz, reduction of /s/ is much more common, but is combined with some unstressed vowel reduction and devoicing which creates a configuration different from typical Caribbean patterns. Even a short distance inland in Veracruz, weakening of /s/ drops off rapidly.

Thus, while /s/ reduction is found in some varieties of Mexican Spanish, it is not widespread in the Mexican American dialect or in the urban dialects of the northeastern Mexican states of Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas, which prevail in the Houston area. In fact, reduced /s/, as Lipski (1988: 115) notes, often conjures up images of Salvadoran, not Mexican, speakers: “one characteristic of the Salvadoran dialect, as compared with the relatively conservative northern and central Mexican dialects, is the weakening of several consonantal articulations, and the consonant most readily associated with these processes is /s/.”



### 3. Data and methodology

The data for this study were taken from twelve sociolinguistic interviews conducted with speakers born in El Salvador who have lived in Houston for at least 5 years. The speakers included eight men and four women, ranging in age from 19 to 63. The same interviewer, a speaker of Mexican Spanish who has lived in the community for 4 years, recorded all speech samples. In order to account for the frequencies of /s/ reduction and realization, the first 100 instances of syllable final [s], [h], and [Ø] were extracted from each speaker in five-minute speech samples, transcribed after fast-forwarding the first five minutes of each interview. This resulted in a total of 1200 tokens. From this total, we excluded apparently lexicalized forms of the verb *estar*, such as *-ta* and *-taba*, or *-sta* and *-staba*. Furthermore, we excluded any occurrence whose following phonetic segment was either a lexicalized reduced form of *estar* 'to be', an /s/, or unintelligible. These exclusions amounted to a total of 54 tokens, or around 4% of the data.

The data were later subjected to multiple regression variable rule analysis using GoldVarb (Rand & Sankoff 1990). GoldVarb is a computerized statistical program that allows for the comparison of the influence of numerous noninteracting factors on a particular variable. Within each factor group, for example, word class, each factor must present variation, that is, it must occur with both fully realized and reduced /s/. If a factor does not present variation in the dependent variable, then it must be excluded from analysis. Once this is done, GoldVarb determines the factor groups that have a statistically significant effect on the dependent variable. Each factor is given a *probability weight* between 0 and 1, such that any weight above 0.5 favors the use of the application value, while any weight below 0.5 disfavors it. The further the weight is from 0.5, the stronger the favoring or disfavoring effect of this element. These weights determine the hierarchy of constraints, the 'grammar,' so to speak (Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001:92–93), underlying /s/ reduction. Each factor group, in turn, has a *range* of probability weights, determined by subtracting the weight of the most disfavoring (lowest) factor in the group from that of the most favoring (highest). These ranges show the *magnitude of effect* of a factor group on the dependent variable: the higher the range, the stronger the effect of that factor group.

Here, six independent variables were considered in the variable rule analysis. Most obvious to any study of phonological variation are linguistic factors, which may affect pronunciation due to phonotactics, possibility of ambiguity or meaning loss, or word frequency (Bybee 2001). To address such concerns empirically, we included the following factors in the statistical analysis: word class, word stress, previous and following phonetic segment, and morphemic status. Word position (i.e. word-medial or word-final), a final factor that was examined in initial analyses, was eventually discarded, due to its statistical interactions with morphemic status and following phonological segment. Two social factors were also hypothesized to play a role in /s/ reduction in this contact situation: first, the age of the speaker upon arrival to the area of contact, as proposed by Chambers (1992); and second, intensity of contact, measured by a three-factor, six-point scale, measuring (a) friends, (b) family, and (c) co-workers of

the participants who spoke Mexican Spanish. Intensity of contact, however, was later excluded from the statistical analysis when preliminary analyses showed it had no significant effect on /s/ reduction; instead, this factor will be discussed separately. A third social factor, time in the United States, was not considered in this analysis due to its strong correlation with the age of arrival of the participants.

#### 4. Demographics

Figures from the 1990 census show that at least 40,475 Salvadorans live in the Houston area, compared to 625,929 individuals who claim Mexican origin and who constitute the major Spanish-speaking group in the area (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993). The growth in the Salvadoran community, however, is a phenomenon that has materialized mainly over the past 20 years. Today, Salvadorans in the area can be estimated to surpass one hundred thousand (Lipski 1988). The numbers proposed by Lipski seem reasonable, considering that attempts to estimate the total number of Salvadorans in the area are clouded by the dynamics of Salvadoran immigration. First, many undocumented immigrants tend to go unreported in census figures. Second, a continuous movement of Salvadorans to the area means that the face of immigration changed significantly within the ten-year period in which the census was undertaken.

At any rate, the official census figures alone make Salvadorans the second-largest Spanish-speaking group in the area. These numbers suggest that Salvadorans have the potential to create strong community ties, which could help in preserving cultural and linguistic identity, and in many ways they have. Yet Salvadorans in the area have experienced a strong integration with the Mexican community as well. Evidence for cultural integration is manifest in the fact that Salvadorans and Mexicans tend to share work and housing patterns (Lipski 1988, 1989; Rodriguez 1987), which has been accompanied by an increase in bicultural marriage and friendships. In our sample of twelve speakers, this pattern is patent: five have Mexican spouses; one of the speakers who is single has a Mexican brother-in-law; one has a Mexican son-in-law; two of the speakers who are single claim to have a Mexican best friend; and eight claim to work primarily alongside Mexican coworkers.

Table 1 shows the intensity of contact the speakers in our sample had with Mexicans in family, work, and friendship. In terms of family, contact was considered high if the speaker lived with one or more Mexicans, medium if there was a Mexican in the family who did not live with them, and low if there were no Mexicans in the family. For work, high means that most co-workers are Mexican, medium that some are Mexican and some Salvadoran, and low that the speaker works only with Salvadorans, does not work outside the home, or does not use Spanish at work. For friendship, contact was considered high intensity if a speaker reported having mostly Mexican friends or having a Mexican best friend, medium if a speaker reported having some Salvadoran friends as well as Mexican, and low if a speaker reported having no Mexican friends.

Table 1. Intensity of contact with Mexicans among speakers, percentages

|            | Low | Medium | High |
|------------|-----|--------|------|
| Family     | 33  | 8      | 58   |
| Work       | 25  | 17     | 58   |
| Friendship | 8   | 33     | 58   |
| General    | 25  | 17     | 58   |

As we can see in Table 1, over half of all participants have a high level of contact with Mexicans in their daily lives, while only a quarter have low levels of contact.

## 5. Language attitudes

Before moving on to the statistical analysis, it is imperative that we explore the central reason for our interest in /s/ reduction in this particular contact community. Reduction of /s/ is just one of many features of Salvadoran Spanish that differ from Mexican Spanish. Why, then, might it offer any more evidence for dialect accommodation than any other feature? It appears that all features, at least in the minds of speakers, were not, in fact, created equal. Trudgill (1986: 12) argues that dialect features seem to have different degrees of “saliency,” making some features “more prominent in the consciousness” of speakers than others. This underlying principle suggests that in a dialect contact situation, the distribution of a feature present in the original dialect of the speaker, but not in the new dialect, could be more affected if speakers regard it as salient. In Houston, where /s/ reduction is not associated with the speech of Mexicans, lower frequencies of /s/ reduction among Salvadorans would suggest that they are somewhat conscious of the notoriety of /s/ reduction in their own speech.

We would also expect that if a feature regarded as salient by Spanish speakers in Houston shows major modifications in its variation, the modifications may be because Salvadorans want to model their own speech as much as possible after that of Mexicans. This raises an important question: why would Salvadorans want to imitate the linguistic patterns in the Mexican dialect? In many studies, changes in the frequency of a particular feature are often considered to be an effect of accommodation. Trudgill (1983: 143), for example, suggests that accommodation entails phonetic or other linguistic adjustments made in order to “approximate one’s language to that of one’s interlocutor, if they are regarded as socially desirable and/or if the speaker wishes to identify with them and/or demonstrate good will towards them.”

In the case of Houston, we can assume that the numerical importance of Mexicans in the area is a major reason for dominance of the Mexican dialect. Beyond demographic factors, it is also significant that the Mexican dialect is considered relatively conservative in its retention of consonants in comparison with the Salvadoran dialect; to some extent, due to the preponderance of prescriptivist ideals, Salvadorans may find this conservatism worthy of emulation (see Milroy and Milroy 1999: 77–98). Finally,

the Mexican community in Houston represents the oldest and most well established Spanish-speaking group in the area, offering Salvadorans the possibility of blending in to a strong community if they so desire.

For the most part, the awareness of distinct phonological and morphosyntactic features in Houston seems to translate into negative attitudes towards Salvadorans and, more particularly, towards Salvadoran speech. Strong negative attitudes towards this dialect in Houston are clearly reflected in many of the interviews. A recurrent preoccupation with language issues is especially seen in speakers who arrived in Houston at the age of 18 or younger. In (1), for example, the speaker refers to the way that Salvadorans and Mexicans in her husband's soccer team relate to each other. Her perception that Mexicans and Salvadorans do not get along is clearly linked to linguistic prejudices among the two groups, and not necessarily to physical confrontation.

- (1) *...No rozan, no se llevan [mexicanos y salvadoreños]. Siempre viven criticándose. Que si hablaste así, que si hablaste allá [risas] ... (HouSal 98 #9-A CP)*  
 '...They don't get along [Mexicans and Salvadorans]. They're always criticizing each other. If you spoke like this, if you spoke like that [laughter]...'

Despite negative attitudes, the contact and interaction between Salvadorans and Mexicans in Houston is intense. However, while both groups are in contact with speakers of a dialect other than their own, any pressure provoked by an awareness of linguistic differences seems to be one-sided, putting pressure on the speech of Salvadorans, but not Mexicans. In (2), the speaker, now a bilingual schoolteacher, talks about his linguistic choices when he was in high school, claiming that, even back in high school, the features in his speech could not be considered Salvadoran, perhaps due to a conscious effort on his part to avoid ridicule.

- (2) *y no sé nomás no quería [hablar] porque tal vez me iba- se iban a burlar de mí so entonces, este, aunque- yo no hablaba ¿verdá? como de El Salvador porque pues cuando viene aquí uno aprende lo de la demás gente. (HouSal 98 #3-A CD)*  
 'and I do not know I just did not want [to talk] because maybe I would- they would make fun of me so then, ugh, even though- I did not talk, right?, like from El Salvador because well when you come here you learn the ways of the rest of the people'

In (3), the speaker, now a university student, is able to point out some of the particular lexical and morphosyntactic features that were the source of derision from his high school classmates.

- (3) *Antes [los mexicanos] me hacían chistes, y quizá por eso no decía mucho también. Me hacían chistes por ser salvadoreño, por decir 'cipote' o 'vos' o ... Es diferente porque los mexicanos a veces dicen 'tú', se tratan de tú, y no es porque lo queramos decir porque sale naturalmente, hay muchas palabras que son distintas y todavía stereotypes, lo estereotipan a uno. (HouSal 98 #1 MP)*  
 'Before, [Mexicans] used to joke about me, and maybe that's why I didn't say much, too. They would joke about me because I was Salvadoran, for saying *cipote* 'boy' or *vos* 'you' or ... It's different because Mexicans sometimes say *tú* 'you', they address each

other by *tú* 'you', it's not because we want to say it because it comes out naturally, there are many words that are different and still stereotypes, they stereotype you'.

A clear pattern seems to emerge among these speakers, in which school turns out to be a major place of contact for some of these early-age-of-arrival speakers, but of contact that is often associated with negative pressure directed at the differences in their speech by their Mexican peers. A similar view is shared by the speaker in (4), whose Salvadoran 'accent' is the source of ridicule from his high school classmates. In both examples (3) and (4), the speakers recognize that the Salvadoran and the Mexican dialects differ, and they also stress that linguistic output is not always a conscious process. In general terms, the younger speakers showed a greater preoccupation with ethnic relations, which in their contact with Mexicans usually involved clashing over language issues. This may also be symptomatic of a more prolonged and perhaps intimate contact between younger Salvadorans and Mexicans, due to the close environment that schools provide and at an age of strong peer pressure.

- (4) *-casi eran puros chicanos, se, se me hizo difícil pero pos se burlan de uno como- que viene con un acento también diferente de hablar... (...)*  
*-háblame un poco sobre lo que dijiste ahorita que por el acento te veían como diferente ¿no?*  
*-oh pues eh- pues uno tiene uh- bueno los salvadoreños tenemos un acento diferente ¿no? se nota y yo no lo he perdido todavía, es algo que uno se creció, yo me crecí hablando de esa manera y hasta cuando hablo inglés yo puedo tener el acento salvadoreño, a veces, a veces que yo me doy cuenta lo trato de, de eliminar ¿no? de sacarlo pero y si se me olvida lo, vuelvo lo, lo sigo haciendo porque pues a veces ... es difícil este ... (HouSal 98 #4-A EO, emphasis added)*  
 ?-they were almost all Chicanos, it was difficult for me but well they make fun of you how- that you come with an accent also different way of speaking ...(...)  
 -talk to me a little about what you said now of how because of the accent they saw you as different, right?  
 -oh well um- well you have uh- well the Salvadorans we have a different accent, right? you notice and I haven't lost it yet, it's something that you grow with, I grew up talking like that and even when I speak English I can have the Salvadoran accent, **sometimes, sometimes I realize that I try to, to eliminate it, to eliminate, right? to get it out but if I forget again I keep doing it because well sometimes ... it's difficult um ...?**

School is usually the place in which speakers who arrived at an earlier age tell of their harshest experiences. In their accounts, some of the Salvadoran speakers shunned a Salvadoran identity. The speaker in (5), for instance, consistently avoided identifying himself with either group, while, in turn, the speaker in (6) clearly puts emphasis on his efforts to identify himself with Chicanos, which also implies a probable change in his speech. Speakers' previous descriptions of Salvadoran-Mexican interactions in Houston mentioned that some Salvadorans attempt to blend into the Mexican community, which necessarily involves an effort to do away with those dialect features that most glaringly distinguish Salvadoran from Mexican Spanish, e.g. *voseo* (Lipski 1989, 2000; Schreffler 1994). This explanation usually suggests a utilitarian motiva-

tion, i.e. to blend in with the community or, in some cases, to avoid direct deportation to Central America.

- (5) *Se insultaban entre ellos, entre ellos mismos, um, entre mexicanos y salvadoreños, conflicto... no, tú sos de El Salvador o tú sos mexicano o tú sos guatemalteco y yo no decía nada, ¿para qué? Siempre había esa confrontación y yo no quería esa confrontación...* (HouSal 98 #1-A MP)

‘They would insult each other, among themselves, um, among Mexicans and Salvadorans, conflict... no, you’re from El Salvador or you’re Mexican or you’re Guatemalan and I wouldn’t say anything, what for? There was always that confrontation and I didn’t want that confrontation...’

- (6) – ... *porque según yo... que era de aquí, que había nacido aquí, que era americano y todo.*  
 – *¿Podrías pasar como americano?*  
 – *No tanto así, pero nacido aquí.*  
 – *¿Como chicano?*  
 – *Como chicano, en esa, en esa categoría. Como un chicano y ya que... Sí, pues así me sentía yo porque todos mis amigos eran así [chicanos]...* (HouSal 98 #3-A CD)  
 ‘... because according to me... that I was from here, that I had been born here, that I was American and all.  
 – Could you pass as an American?  
 – Not to that extent [not that much], but born here.  
 – As a Chicano?  
 – As a Chicano, in that, in that category. As a Chicano and since... Yeah, well, that’s how I felt, because all my friends were like that [Chicanos]...’

The interviews showed clear differences between younger and older-age-of-arrival speakers. Younger-age-of-arrival speakers discussed mainly their life in the United States, while older-age-of-arrival speakers discussed their life in El Salvador, the civil war, and their journey to the United States. The contrasting discourses reflected the differences in the lifestyles of the two groups, one that grew up in El Salvador, and another that grew up in Houston. Growing up in Houston for many of the younger-age-of-arrival speakers meant dealing with interethnic issues more closely and at an earlier age, when identity formation was at its height. For some of the older-age-of-arrival speakers, heightened dialect awareness occurred when they first crossed into Mexico on their way to the United States, as illustrated in (7).

- (7) *bueno, en Chiapas fue cuando... uno coge el miedo tú coges el miedo ya de, pues ya estás en territorio mexicano ya, ya vas a empezar a, a hacer lo que te dijeron, ¿vedá? tener cuidado y mira pa’ todos los lados y fijate a quién le preguntas, no hables [risas] con acento y, y para adelante...* (HouSal 98 #6-A JG, emphasis added)

‘well, in Chiapas was when... you get scared you get scared from, well, you’re in Mexican territory already, you’re going to start to, to do what they told you, right? to be careful and look everywhere and watch who you ask, don’t talk [laughter] with an accent and, and move ahead...’

The speaker in (8) avoids direct deportation to El Salvador by convincing American immigration officers at the border that he and a friend are Mexican.

- (8) *y en Camargo nos dijeron [los agentes de la migración] que, qué andábamos haciendo, no nosotros somos mexicanos que venimos a tomarnos unas birrongas de este lado y que aquí y que allá...* (HouSal 98 #13-A RH, emphasis added)  
 ‘and in Camargo [the INS agents] asked us what we were doing, no we’re Mexicans who came to drink some beers on this side and this and that ... [in his best rendition of ‘Mexican’ Spanish]’

In (9), one of the speakers claims that his speech patterns seem to have changed so much that Mexicans sometimes do not recognize him as Salvadoran. He seems to be aware that Salvadorans and Mexicans in the community now seem to have similar speech patterns.

- (9) *muchos amigos ahora que tengo... mexicanos no saben que yo soy de El Salvador ni cuenta se dan, hasta a veces que yo, yo les digo que yo soy salvadoreño y... y no me creen, piensan que estoy jugando con ellos... (...) pos sí pos ahora ya, ya los mexicanos y los salvadoreños hablan iguales ya no es como antes...* (HouSal 98 #4-A EO)  
 ‘many friends now that I have... Mexicans don’t know that I’m from El Salvador they don’t even realize, even sometimes when I, I tell them that I’m Salvadoran and... and they don’t believe me, they think that I’m playing with them... (...) well yeah, well now Mexicans and Salvadorans talk the same it’s not like before..’

Even though we have claimed that under some circumstances Salvadorans see the benefit of integrating into the Mexican community, we also believe that changes in frequencies of a particular dialect feature could respond to other external pressures, such as negative attitudes from other Spanish speakers.

An interesting study done by Hart-González (1985) in the Washington, D.C., area, where Salvadorans constitute a significant sector of the Hispanic community, sheds some light on the reasons underlying dialect accommodation in the contact situation in Houston. Hart-González (1985:79) asks South American and Central American participants to “rate eighteen national varieties of Spanish on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 was the best.” We should note that speakers of Mexican Spanish did not participate in the rating. Once dialects were rated, they were separated into three categories: high prestige (1.0–2.0); middle prestige (2.1–4.4); and low prestige (4.5–5.0). Her findings show that Mexican and Salvadoran Spanish are placed in parallel ranges by the two groups of participants. South Americans rank Mexican Spanish as an upper middle prestige variety (3.3) and Salvadoran as a low prestige variety (4.8), occupying the end of the scale. Salvadorans also rank Mexican Spanish as an upper-middle prestige variety (2.4) and Salvadoran as a low prestige variety (4.7), again occupying the end of the scale. It is interesting to note that Central Americans rated Mexican Spanish higher than South Americans (0.9 difference) and Salvadoran Spanish lower than South Americans (0.1 difference).

One of the most frequently mentioned characteristics of Salvadoran Spanish that differs from the variety of Mexican Spanish spoken in Houston is that of /s/ reduction. We believe that /s/ reduction is a particularly salient feature of Salvadoran Spanish, and as such, it offers quantitative evidence for the linguistic impact of the social pressures discussed above. In the next section, we will examine how the distribution of this

salient feature illuminates these pressures while simultaneously demonstrating their limitations in the face of competing linguistic and cognitive factors.

## 6. Quantitative analysis

Table 2 provides the results of our multivariate analysis. Of the three factors that were found to have a statistically significant effect on /s/ reduction, two were phonological: following phonological segment and, with a lesser magnitude of effect, preceding phonological segment. In the case of following phonological segment, reduction was favored by a vowel following the /s/, with a weight of .70, slightly disfavored by consonants and pauses, and highly disfavored by glides, at .20. This finding parallels the results found by Brown and Torres Cacoulos 2001 for Mexican Spanish in Chihuahua, where “the crucial phonetic condition [for /s/ reduction] is the presence of a following vowel” (Brown & Torres Cacoulos 2001). In the case of the preceding phonological segment, we see that speakers are most likely to reduce when the /s/ is preceded by a diphthong or [a]/[o] (with probability weights of .58 and .57, respectively), are less likely to reduce when it is preceded by [e] (.40), and least likely to reduce when /s/ comes after a high vowel (.26). Word class, morphemic status, and stress showed no significant effect on /s/ reduction patterns.

As we can see, by far the most influential factor in distributional patterns of /s/ pronunciation in this community is, indeed, age of arrival. Shown in Table 2, this factor group has the highest range, at 78, indicating that when it is considered along with all other included factor groups, age of arrival has the highest magnitude of effect on /s/ realization. Here, full /s/ realization tends to increase as the age of arrival in each group decreases, showing that age of arrival is an inverse correlate of /s/ realization, with those who arrived as children reducing less than adolescents, who, in turn, reduce less than those who arrived as adults over the age of 25. We do not, however, see this pattern in the speakers who arrived at the youngest ages; in fact, there are no major differences in /s/ reduction frequencies between those speakers that make up the 8 to 14 group and the 7 and younger group. Instead, all Salvadorans who arrived at the age of 14 or younger used a fully realized /s/ almost exclusively. Looking at the probability weights, the variable rule analysis in Table 2 reveals very similar weights for the youngest (0–7) and second-youngest (8–14) groups, at .22 and .14, respectively. Furthermore, in this hierarchy, we see that those who arrived as young adults (15–25) slightly favor reduction at .69, while the oldest group (26+) highly favors reduction at .92. Given this evidence, we see no empirical reason to distinguish between the 0–7 group and the 8–14 group for this community.

---

1. This Chi-square/cell value of 0.9574 indicates a good level of reliability. As Young and Bayley (1996: 272) note, ‘error values below 2.0 (conservatively 1.5) are good; they indicate that the statistical model produced by VARBRUL fits the raw data.’



Table 2. Results of Variable Rule Analysis: Factors affecting reduction, i.e. [h] or [Ø]

| Factor group                          | %  | Probability weight | % of data |
|---------------------------------------|----|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>Age of Arrival</i>                 |    |                    |           |
| 26+                                   | 43 | .92                | 25        |
| 15–25                                 | 13 | .69                | 24        |
| 0–7                                   | 2  | .22                | 16        |
| 8–14                                  | 1  | .14                | 33        |
| Range                                 |    | 78                 |           |
| <i>Following Phonological Segment</i> |    |                    |           |
| Vowel                                 | 26 | .70                | 27        |
| Consonant/Pause                       | 11 | .43                | 70        |
| Glide                                 | 8  | .20                | 2         |
| Range                                 |    | 50                 |           |
| <i>Preceding Phonological Segment</i> |    |                    |           |
| Diphthong                             | 22 | .58                | 6         |
| [a]/[o]                               | 18 | .57                | 57        |
| [e]                                   | 10 | .40                | 31        |
| [i]/[u]                               | 4  | .26                | 4         |
| Range                                 |    | 32                 |           |

$p < .01$ ; Log likelihood =  $-332.552$ ; Chi-square/cell =  $0.9574^1$

\* Factor groups not selected as significant: word class, morphemic status, stress.

As mentioned in Section 3, a second social factor, intensity of contact, was excluded from the variable rule analysis due to the statistical interactions created by the extremely low reduction rate of 2% among speakers with a medium level of intensity of contact (note in Table 3 that only 4 of 189 tokens are reduced in this group). Furthermore, preliminary analyses showed that intensity of contact, taken into account alongside other factors, had no statistically significant effect on /s/ reduction. Nevertheless, it would seem initially plausible that it would not be, in fact, age of arrival, but contact intensity, that shapes /s/ reduction patterns. Quantitative evidence, however, suggests otherwise. Table 3 shows /s/ reduction rates among speakers according to low, medium, and high levels of contact (see Section 4 for an explanation of these categories).

As we can see, while there are great differences between intensity groups, the results suggest no systematic pattern. Low-level and high-level contact intensity groups have similar /s/-reduction rates (21% and 17%, respectively), while those with a medium level have a much lower rate (2%). These percentages suggest that dialect accommodation in Houston is not dependant upon individual contact patterns, but rather propelled by social pressures found within the society in general, regardless of personal interaction.

Another factor initially hypothesized to have an effect on /s/ reduction, but ultimately excluded from variable rule analysis, was that of the word position of the /s/, i.e. word-medial or word-final. This factor group was excluded because it was not an

**Table 3.** Reduction percentage rates according to intensity of contact

|        | Reduced N | %  |
|--------|-----------|----|
| Low    | 59/283    | 21 |
| Medium | 4/189     | 2  |
| High   | 112/647   | 17 |

**Table 4.** /s/ reduction according to word position

|             | Reduced N | %  |
|-------------|-----------|----|
| Word-medial | 15        | 7  |
| Word-final  | 160       | 16 |

$P < .000$

independent variable when examined along with other factor groups, a requirement for accurate variable rule analysis results. The statistical interaction among word position and other factors is especially patent with the morphemic status factor group: morphemic /s/ in Spanish is always word-final.

Despite these statistical interactions, word position did hold the possibility of further insight into /s/ reduction patterns, and so it was examined independently. Some might argue that word-final /s/, due to its common morphemic status, would be less likely to reduce, since reduction (especially deletion) of a morpheme could lead to possible ambiguity. However, as we already saw in Table 2, morphemic status is not a significant factor in /s/ reduction in these data. Furthermore, repeated studies have found that morphological ambiguity does not significantly affect rates of /s/ reduction, most likely because in discourse true contextual ambiguity is quite rare (Poplack 1980). Our results for word position further support this finding; in fact, as shown in Table 4, /s/ reduction is actually more prevalent word-finally, that is, when it is possibly morphemic, at 16%, while word-medial /s/ reduction occurs at a rate of only 7%.

## 7. Conclusion

The contact situation between Salvadoran and Mexican Spanish speakers in Houston sheds some light on the process that occurs when two varieties that have differing frequencies of a shared feature come together. Here, we have focused on the way in which language contact has affected /s/ reduction distribution among Salvadorans. First, the analysis of the interviews showed that general attitudes toward the Salvadoran variety of Spanish, and indirectly toward Salvadoran identity, tend to be somewhat negative. It was proposed that speakers who arrived in Houston at younger ages seem to have been more affected by these attitudes because they obviously came in contact with the Mexican variety at an earlier age, and at a critical time for their linguistic and

social formation. At the same time, it seems that older-age-of-arrival speakers have more utilitarian reasons for adjusting their variation patterns. Some of them talked about adjusting variation patterns early on in their journey through Mexico, and some later on, in trying to blend into the Mexican-dominant Spanish-speaking community in Houston.

A quantitative analysis of /s/ distribution among Salvadorans showed that the decrease in /s/ reduction frequencies is tied directly to the speakers' age at the time of arrival to the contact area. It was proposed that the nearly categorical use of a fully realized /s/ by speakers who arrived at a younger age points to the saliency of /s/ in the community. The fact that this salient feature of Salvadoran Spanish has been nearly lost in speakers who arrived before the age of 14, and lost somewhat by speakers who arrived between 15 and 25, is not surprising, given the numerical and social importance of Mexicans in Houston.

It is interesting that the results do not completely support Chambers' claim that individuals under the age of 7 seem to acquire dialect features at a higher rate than those between the ages of 7 and 14. This difference in results may be due to the fact that different situations give rise to different outcomes. Many dialect accommodation situations do not involve a radical change, such as the acquisition of a brand new feature of the new dialect or the complete loss of a particular feature in the home dialect. Instead, in many contact situations, we are actually dealing with instances of accommodation in the distributional patterns of features that are overtly or unconsciously associated with the original dialect in favor of those associated with the new dialect. For instance, in Houston, the process involved the *adjustment in the frequency* of a feature rather than the *acquisition* of a particular feature. This type of situation, in which a feature is already present in the home dialect, may allow older speakers to accommodate their speech in ways that would not be possible if they were dealing with a totally new feature. Furthermore, our analysis clearly shows that accommodation does occur, though to a lesser extent, after the age of 14, suggesting perhaps that the modification of distributional patterns affects most speakers (albeit not equally) and not only those in younger age groups. Such a subtle pattern of accommodation may pass unperceived in casual observation, and may only be brought to light through quantitative analysis of language in use.

Finally, the present work has important repercussions for studies dealing with dialect leveling in situations in which Spanish varieties come in contact in the United States, showing how attitudes behind salient linguistic features, and the overlapping of a feature with social meaning in contact varieties, can help explain both why certain features may be targeted as sites of accommodation, and why certain features may be more easily acquired by accommodating speakers.

## References

- Brown, E. L. and Torres Cacoullos, R. 2001. Spanish /s/: A different story from beginning (initial) to end (final). Paper presented at the Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages 31, Chicago.
- Bybee, J. 2001. *Phonology and Language Use*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Chambers, J. K. 1992. Dialect acquisition. *Language* 68(4): 673–705.
- Canfield, D. L. 1960. Observaciones sobre el español salvadoreño. *Filología* 6: 29–76.
- Canfield, D. L. 1981. *Spanish Pronunciation in the Americas*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hart-González, L. 1985. Pan-Hispanism and subcommunity in Washington DC. In *Spanish Language Use and Public Life in the United States*, L. Elias-Olivares, E. A. Leone, R. Cisneros & J. Gutiérrez (eds.), 73–88. The Hague: Mouton.
- Kerswill, P. 1995. Phonological convergence in dialect contact: Evidence from citation forms. *Language Variation and Change* 7: 195–207.
- Kerswill, P. 1996. Children, adolescents, and language change. *Language Variation and Change* 8: 177–202.
- Lipski, J. 1988. Central American Spanish in the United States: Some remarks on the Salvadoran community. *Aztlán* 17: 91–123.
- Lipski, J. 1989. Salvadorans in the United States: Patterns of intra-Hispanic migration. *National Journal of Sociology* 3: 97–119.
- Lipski, J. 1994. *Latin American Spanish*. New York NY: Longman.
- Lipski, J. 2000. The linguistic situation of Central Americans. In *New Immigrants in the United States*, S. L. McKay & S. L. C. Wong (eds.), 189–215. Cambridge: CUP.
- Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. 1999. *Authority in Language: Investigating Standard English*. London: Routledge.
- Moreno de Alba, J. 1994. Mexican Spanish: Lexical vs. phonetic isoglosses. *Thesaurus* 1: 58–76.
- Payne, A. C. 1980. Factors controlling the acquisition of the Philadelphia dialect by out-of-state children. In *Locating Language in Time and Space*, W. Labov (ed.), 143–78. New York NY: Academic Press.
- Poplack, S. 1980. Deletion and disambiguation in Puerto Rican Spanish. *Language* 56: 371–85.
- Poplack, S. & Tagliamonte, S. 2001. *African American English in the Diaspora*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rand, D. & Sankoff, D. 1990. *GOLDVARB: A variable rule application for the Macintosh*. Montréal: Université de Montréal.
- Roberts, J. & Labov, W. 1995. Learning to talk Philadelphian: Acquisition of short [a] by preschool children. *Language Variation and Change* 7: 101–12.
- Rodríguez, N. P. 1987. Undocumented Central Americans in Houston: Diverse populations. *International Migration Review* 31: 4–26.
- Schreffler, S. B. 1994. Second-person singular pronoun options in the speech of Salvadorans in Houston, Texas. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 13: 101–19.
- Trudgill, P. 1983. *On Dialect*. New York NY: New York University.
- Trudgill, P. 1986. *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1993. *1990 Census of population – social and economic characteristics: metropolitan areas*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Williams, A. & Kerswill, P. 1997. Dialect change in a new town. *Issues and Methods in Dialectology*, A. R. Thomas (ed.), 46–54. Bangor: University of Wales, Bangor.
- Young, R. & Bayley, R. 1996. VARBRUL analysis for second language acquisition research. *Second Language Acquisition and Linguistic Variation*, R. Bayley & D. R. Preston (eds.), 253–306. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.



## Está muy diferente a como era antes

### *Ser* and *Estar* + adjective in New Mexico Spanish<sup>1</sup>

Michelle L. Salazar

University of New Mexico

The presence in Spanish and other Romance languages of two copular verbs, both able to form constructions with the same adjectives and participles, has been the cause of competition for semantic space since the 12th century (Vaño-Cerdá 1982). Recent studies (Cortés-Torres 2004; De Jonge 1993; Gutiérrez 1994; and Silva-Corvalán 1986) have shown the struggle continues in bilingual varieties of Spanish as well as in monolingual varieties. The innovative use of *estar* in contexts that were prescriptively reserved for *ser* was examined in New Mexico Spanish using data from the New Mexico Colorado Spanish Survey (Bills & Vigil 1999). Employing a variationist approach, the influence of several sociolinguistic factors on the variable use of the two copulas was evaluated quantitatively using GoldVarb (Rand & Sankoff 1999), a variable rule application program. Results for linguistic factors show the greatest magnitude of effect for type of adjective, followed by grammatical person, the presence of a time adverbial, codeswitching, the presence of an intensifier, and verb tense (which was not selected as significant). Of the three social variables evaluated, level of education was significant while gender was not, and the factor of age of speaker was eliminated due to incoherent results. These results concur with those of the other researchers and show that the same factors effecting the slow, gradual change in the usage of *estar* in both educated and uneducated dialects in Mexico City, Caracas, Morelia, Cuernavaca, and Los Angeles are also at work in the archaic and stigmatized northern New Mexico/southern Colorado variety of Spanish.

---

1. I would like to thank Garland Bills and Neddy Vigil for granting permission to use the New Mexico Colorado Spanish Survey for this project, as well as María Dolores Gonzales and Catherine Travis for helping with extra materials and information. I would also like to acknowledge the indispensable help of Rena Torres Cacoullos, Jessi Aaron, and Matt Alba in navigating the GoldVarb program.

## 1. Introduction

The presence in Spanish and other Romance languages of two copular verbs, both able to form constructions with the same adjectives and participles, has been the cause of competition for semantic space since the 12th century (Vaño-Cerdá 1982). Historically, the context of copula + adjective has been dominated by *ser*, but recent studies have shown an innovative use of *estar* that is a semantic extension into domains previously associated only with *ser*. Cortés-Torres (2004) looked at the Spanish of Cuernavaca, Mexico; Gutiérrez (1992, 1994) did a study in Morelia, Mexico; De Jonge (1993) compared the educated and popular speech of Mexico City, Mexico, with that of Caracas, Venezuela; and Silva-Corvalán (1986, 1994) studied the bilingual Spanish of Los Angeles, California. The present study examines “the earliest European variety in the United States” (Bills 1997) – the northern New Mexico/southern Colorado dialect – with data derived from the New Mexico Colorado Spanish Survey (Bills & Vigil 1999).

The two verbs had already undergone a great deal of grammaticization before the 12th century as they made their way into Spanish from Latin. According to Penny (1991:5), the existence of the two Spanish copulas in spoken Latin has been deduced by making comparisons with other Romance forms without benefit of any written confirmation. Such a comparison reveals that the spoken Latin ancestor likely had three syllables with the last being *-re*. *Estar* comes from *stare* ‘to stand’, but *ser* has dual parentage, having been formed from the syncretization of *esse* ‘to be’ and *sedere* ‘to sit, be seated’. The Old Spanish verb form was *seer* which was capable of conveying both meanings in medieval times. Other Romance languages provide evidence of the same merger, e.g. French *serai*, Italian *saro* (162).

Pountain (1982) describes three developments of *stare* in Romance. In Italian and Rumanian, it retains part of the original lexical meaning, and there has been some development of copular and auxiliary functions. In French, it has totally disappeared. In Spanish and Portuguese, it has been kept as a verbal copula which is obligatory in some contexts, but which has also experienced a reduction in its lexical meaning. Catalán also has two copulas, *ésser* and *estar*, and Falk (1979a) contrasts them in depth with the ones from Spanish.

The encroachment of *estar* into *ser* territory has been a slow and gradual process. Silva-Corvalán states that two factors have contributed to this context-specific process – “the semantic transparency of the choice between *ser* and *estar*, as well as to changes in the manner of conceptualizing the relationship between the subject referent and the attribute ascribed to it” (1994: 120). Semantic transparency refers to the ease with which meanings can be deciphered. For someone learning English, *eye doctor* is transparent whereas *ophthamologist* is opaque (Kaye 2005). Perhaps *nuevomexicano* ‘New Mexican’ is more transparent leading to a conservative choice, *es... nuevomexicano* (see Example 6), and *precioso* ‘precious’ is more opaque leading to an innovative choice, *está... precioso* (see Example 2).

The relationship between subjects and their attributes has been explored by Falk who proposed that “the primary function of a copula is to serve as a link between the subject and a category of words that by themselves cannot form a predicate. Since they are semantically empty, or almost empty, their mission is to ascribe to the subject” (My translation, 1979a: 16–17). However, Silva-Corvalán observes that, “the fact that there exists an opposition between *ser* and *estar* suggests that these forms do carry some semantic load” (1994: 100). Navas Ruiz adds his observation that these verbs do more than just link elements together, but express various ways that a quality can belong to a subject. He abandons the term copula and substitutes “attributive verb” (1963: 24–25).

The previous research done on this functional sector has focused on the use of the two copulas, either conservatively (following prescriptive norms), or innovatively, indicated by the use of *estar* with an ever increasing number of adjectives in new semantic domains. Cortés-Torres (2004) conducted semi-directed interviews and administered questionnaires to 36 residents of Cuernavaca, then employed variable rule analysis to analyze several linguistic, social, and stylistic factors. She looked at type of adjective and type of subject; age, gender, and educational level; and the spoken and written data. Falk’s notion of class frame and individual frame was used to determine innovativeness versus prescriptive use. Falk (1979b) proposed two semantic modalities for governance of the *ser/estar* opposition. His *visión de norma general* or class frame calls for the use of *ser* as in *Ana es alta* ‘Ana is tall’ because Ana belongs to a class of people who are tall. Falk’s *visión de norma individual* or individual frame calls for the use of *estar* as in *Ana está alta* ‘Ana is tall’ meaning that she is tall in comparison to her own tallness at a previous time. Gutiérrez (1992, 1994) conducted interviews with 26 speakers in the monolingual speech community of Morelia and used the class frame opposition to determine the innovative use of several types of adjectives. In a later study, Gutiérrez (1994) examined the social factors of educational level and socioeconomic class. In her observations of the Spanish used by different generations in Los Angeles, Silva-Corvalán encountered a trend toward the “obliteration of the class frame opposition” (1994: 105). De Jonge hypothesized that the motivation behind innovative uses of *estar* “will become more syntactic and less pragmatic” (1993: 111). He examined adjectives associated with expressions of age in both educated and popular speech and paid special attention to the presence of time adverbials and intensifiers.

### Research questions

In order to compare the data from the New Mexico Colorado Spanish Survey (Bills & Vigil 1999) with these previous studies, uses of *ser* and *estar* + adjective or past participle were evaluated with consideration for prescriptive norms employing Falk’s (1979b) notions of class frame and individual frame with the following question in mind: How does the northern New Mexico/southern Colorado corpus compare to others in terms of innovation? As in the study by Silva-Corvalán, “the coding of *estar* as conservative or innovative for every token takes the sentence and the discourse/pragmatic context into account” (1986: 599).



However, one of the main purposes of this research was to investigate the factors involved in the choice of *estar* without regard for prescriptive tradition, so a second question was proposed: When examined using a variationist approach, what factors predict the use of *estar*? Finally, because of the context-specific nature of this gradual change, a third question was asked: What are the rates of use of *estar* with individual lexical items?

## 2. The corpus

The New Mexico Colorado Spanish Survey (Bills & Vigil 1999) was conducted in the 1990s by researchers, graduate students, and trained community members in order to produce a linguistic atlas of the oldest European variety of Spanish in the United States (Bills 1997). More than three hundred consultants were interviewed in several New Mexico towns and one in southern Colorado. Only a small portion of these interviews had been transcribed prior to this study, and all available transcriptions were used. The question and answer format that was employed did not allow for the lengthy narratives elicited in traditional sociolinguistic interviews. At times, speakers were asked to read from lists of words or name items in photographs. Some new transcription of interviews containing more extended discourse was also done, and is now available for future research.

For the present study, twenty different speakers were represented in approximately seven hours of tapes and transcripts. Eight were male and twelve were female. Seven speakers were under the age of fifty, four were between fifty and seventy, and nine were over seventy. Information on the educational levels of the speakers was available, but not on their socioeconomic class. Seven of the speakers had eight years or fewer of formal education and thirteen had eight years or more.

## 3. Methodology

A total of 307 tokens was extracted of *ser* or *estar* + adjective or participle from the transcriptions. Tokens were coded for the following eight linguistic factors:

1. Choice of copula: *ser* or *estar*, the dependent variable. Examples (5) and (6).
2. Conservative vs. innovative use: *es diferente* vs. *está diferente* 'it's different'. This factor was evaluated for inclusion in Table 1, but was eliminated from the variable rule analysis (Table 2) due to crossover effects caused by the categorical use of *estar* with certain adjectives such as *casado* 'married', *enfermo* 'sick', and *vivo* 'alive' (Table 3). Also, the 89 tokens that didn't conform to prescriptive grammar were heavily skewed in the adjective type of "age". The categories were interacting and could not both be included. Furthermore, Geeslin describes a high degree of variability in copula choice among native speakers, twenty-five of whom agreed on only 9 of 28 items on a written

instrument, leaving us with a variable native-speaker baseline (2005:125). As long ago as 1942, Bull proposed that the old rules for the use of *ser* and *estar* referring to time as a factor (whether something is temporary or permanent), inherent characteristics, and the contrasting attributes of condition and quality, be removed from Spanish language classrooms (443). Claiming that “to perpetuate them ... is to perpetuate fraud on the students”, he stated that “few states are more temporary than being young and none more permanent than being old, and yet both are described by native speakers with either copula” (295). Based on these arguments, it is reasonable to exclude prescriptive tradition as a factor and simply examine other linguistic and social factors that may affect copula choice.

3. Verb tense: *era diferente* ‘it was different’ (past) vs. *es diferente* ‘it is different’ (present). Lujan’s (1981) work with aspect motivated the coding of this factor.

4. Lexical item: Those that occurred five times or more were coded individually (Table 3). According to Falk, “... there are strong correlations between *estar* and certain lexemes” (My translation, 1979:36).

5. Adjective type: See examples (1), (2), (3) and (4) for types based on the categories used by Silva-Corvalán – size, age, physical appearance (animate), description (non-animate), evaluation, sensory character, and miscellany (1986:599). Cortés-Torres (2004) included only five categories: physical description, age, size, evaluation, and personal characteristics while Gutiérrez (1992:117) employed ten: age, size, physical appearance (persons, animals, or things), description (inanimate objects), moral character (persons), perception (sensations perceived by speaker), color, social status, evaluation (to qualify both animate and inanimate objects), and other (including mental and physical states).

The categories coded for in the present study were age, size, physical appearance (animate), description (inanimate), sensory characteristics, evaluation, moral character, social/ethnic, and other. Size and sensory characteristics had few tokens and were knocked out of the analysis due to categorical use with *ser* and were combined with description. Moral character and social/ethnic had few tokens and favored the choice of *ser* as did evaluation so those three types were combined. Physical appearance had few tokens and favored the use of *estar* as did the category “other”, so those two types were combined.

6. Presence or absence of an intensifier such as *muy* ‘very’ or *más* ‘more’: This factor was motivated by syntactic considerations (De Jonge 1993). Examples (1), (2), (3), and (6).

7. Presence or absence of a time adverbial: Time adverbials such as *ya* ‘already, no longer’ or *cuando* ‘when’. De Jonge (1993) found that these adverbials strongly influenced the choice of *estar* in expressions of age. Examples (1) and (5).

8. Code-switching: This factor was motivated by Silva-Corvalán’s (1994) work with Los Angeles Spanish, a bilingual variety she evaluated synchronically across three generations of speakers with results showing that longer contact with English in the third generation produced a greater degree of innovative uses of *estar*. The coding was not

done using local syntactic criteria as exemplified in (7) and (8) as only seven tokens follow this pattern, but in a more global sense meaning that if the speaker code-switched anywhere in the phrase or during the interchange on that topic, they were considered to be in 'code-switching' mode (Poullisse 1997).

### 3.1 Examples

#### Adjective type and Intensifiers

##### Age

- (1) *Nosotros estábamos muy jóvenes.* (O,117-1A3,8,297)  
'We were very young.'

##### Descriptive (inanimate)

- (2) *...y español que está más precioso.* (P,88-1A2,15,530)  
'...and Spanish which is so precious.'

##### Evaluation

- (3) *...era muy rehuevón, no le importaba.* (C,RC-B,331)  
'...he was very lazy, he didn't care.'

##### Other (physical description, states of being)

- (4) *Es lo que estoy impuesto nomás.* (P, 76-1A1,16,575)  
'It's just what I'm used to.'

##### Time adverbial

- (5) *...hace seis meses ahora que estoy sola yo.* (MJ,76-1A1,4,135)  
'...it's been six months now that I am alone.'

##### Intensifier

- (6) *...su español es muy nuevomexicano.* (M,A1-A, 139)  
'...her Spanish is very New Mexican.'

##### Code-switching

- (7) *...estaba medio damp you know.* (JV, 204-1A,1,245)  
'...it was sort of damp you know.'
- (8) *Pues yo creo que está fair.* (MJ,76-1A1,15,518)  
'Well, I think it's fair.'

Tokens were coded for the following three social factors: age, gender, and level of education. The variable rule analysis program, GoldVarb (Rand & Sankoff 1999), was used to determine the significance of factor groups and their relative magnitude of effect.

#### 4. Results

The comparative results of the total overall use of *estar* in innovative contexts in different regions are listed in Table 1.

As can be seen from the data in Table 1, the contact varieties (New Mexico/Colorado and Los Angeles) show a higher percentage of innovative use of *estar* than the two monolingual varieties (Cuernava and Morelia). In the Los Angeles study, bilingual members of different generations of the same families were interviewed, and results showed that language contact appears to accelerate a change already underway in a language (Silva-Corvalán 1986:587). It is interesting to note that the variety with the highest overall percentage of innovative use of *estar* is the one described as rural and archaic (Bills 1997). It might be expected that this isolated dialect would be more conservative, but this is further evidence of an internally-driven linguistic change.

The results of the variable rule analysis are given in Table 2. The first column lists the factors. Under adjective type, "Other" is the largest group and includes the original category of physical description (animate) as well as many adjectives that refer to mental and physical states of being (*ocupado* 'busy', *empachado* 'constipated', *cierto* 'sure'). The column labeled "N" represents the number of uses of *estar*, and the next column is the percentage of uses of *estar* out of total uses of both *ser* and *estar* in that particular context. The next column is the factor weight. A higher factor weight indicates that the factor favors the choice of *estar* more than other factors within the same group. The final column is the percentage of the data within that factor group where the specified conditions or contexts are present and includes usage of both copulas.

The factors in Table 2 are arranged in order from highest to lowest range. The range provides information about the magnitude of the effect and indicates which factors are better predictors of what the effect will be. Results for linguistic factors show the greatest magnitude of effect for type of adjective, followed by the presence of a time adverbial, codeswitching, the presence of an intensifier, and verb tense which was not selected as significant. Adjective type is the most influential factor group in this data, and the type "age" highly favors (70%) the choice of *estar* concurring with De Jonge's (1993) observations in the Spanish of Mexico City and Caracas. The descriptive type neither favors nor disfavors the choice and the evaluation type disfavors it (it was chosen in only 28% of the cases). Again, whether the copula chosen was used in the traditional prescriptive manner or innovatively (in new semantic domains) is not

Table 1. Innovative use of *estar*

| Variety             | % overall | Reference           |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| New Mexico/Colorado | 53        | (present study)     |
| Los Angeles         | 34        | Silva-Corvalán 1994 |
| Cuernavaca          | 23        | Cortés-Torres 2004  |
| Morelia             | 18        | Gutiérrez 1994      |

Table 2. Factors contributing to the choice of *estar*

| Factor  | N   | %  | Factor Weight | % of data |
|---|-----|----|---------------|-----------|
| <i>Adjective type*</i>                        |     |    |               |           |
| Other (physical description, states of being) | 67  | 79 | .797          | 29        |
| Age   | 26  | 70 | .642          | 12        |
| Descriptive (inanimate: color, size)          | 30  | 49 | .452          | 20        |
| Evaluation ( <i>bueno, difícil</i> )          | 34  | 28 | .254          | 39        |
| Range   |     |    | 543           |           |
| <i>Time Adverbial*</i>                        |     |    |               |           |
| Adverbial present ( <i>cuando, ya</i> )       | 35  | 76 | .759          | 15        |
| None  | 122 | 47 | .450          | 85        |
| Range   |     |    | 309           |           |
| <i>Code-switching*</i>                        |     |    |               |           |
| Yes   | 46  | 65 | .703          | 23        |
| No  | 111 | 47 | .436          | 77        |
| Range   |     |    | 276           |           |
| <i>Education*</i>                             |     |    |               |           |
| Eight years or fewer                          | 116 | 58 | .571          | 65        |
| More than eight years                         | 41  | 38 | .370          | 35        |
| Range   |     |    | 201           |           |
| <i>Intensifier*</i>                           |     |    |               |           |
| Intensifier present ( <i>muy, más</i> )       | 62  | 55 | .619          | 37        |
| None  | 95  | 49 | .430          | 63        |
| Range   |     |    | 189           |           |
| <i>Gender</i>                                 |     |    |               |           |
| Male  | 112 | 54 | .528          | 68        |
| Female  | 45  | 46 | .440          | 32        |
| <i>Verb tense</i>                             |     |    |               |           |
| Past  | 87  | 53 | .516          | 56        |
| Present                                       | 63  | 49 | .479          | 44        |

\*Factors selected as significant

included in these results. Neither were the semantic distinctions such as *está viva* 'she's alive' and *es viva* 'she's lively' taken into account.

The next most influential factor group was that of time adverbials. Even though they were present in only 15% of the tokens, they favor the use of *estar* 76% of the time. These results support De Jonge's hypothesis that "the motivation for the use of the new form will become more syntactic and less pragmatic" (1993:111). The presence of an intensifier, although only slightly favoring *estar* (55%), is also a source of syntactic motivation. Code-switching, as it was broadly defined in this study, favors the use of *estar* 65% of the time. More data would need to be analyzed with a narrower definition to fully explore this factor. Verb tense was not selected as significant and the use of past tense only slightly favors (53%) selection of *estar*.

Of the three social factors evaluated here, education, as seen above, correlates most strongly with the results of the other studies. Cortés-Torres (2004) found an increased

frequency of innovative use of *estar* among the less educated, and Gutiérrez (1994) found the most resistance to an increased use of *estar* among the more highly educated. Silva-Corvalán (1986) observed increased use of *estar* not only as a consequence of prolonged bilingualism, but also of reduced access to a formal variety of the language. The factor group of gender was not chosen as significant, but female speakers (who provided 68% of the tokens) slightly favored *estar* over *ser*. In Cuernavaca, Cortés-Torres (2004) found increased use of *estar* among women with less education, but also among men with more education. The age of speaker factor group was eliminated from the analysis due to incoherent results. Perhaps due to the inequality of number of speakers in the age groups (only four were in the middle group), no trend could be established. More data would be needed to satisfactorily evaluate this factor group. Gutiérrez (1994) found that those under the age of thirty were more innovative (18%) than those over thirty (13%) and Cortés-Torres (2004) found that adults between the ages of thirty-one and forty-nine were the most innovative.

The results for individual lexical items are shown in Table 3.

In the case of *mexicano* 'Mexican', used categorically with *ser* in this data, it was difficult to determine if the lexeme was being used as an adjective or a noun (which would require the use of *ser*). The author used the criteria of presence of an article – *un mexicano* 'a Mexican' – as an indication that the term was being expressed as a noun. As can be seen, the final three items, 'married', 'sick', and 'alive', are used categorically with *estar*, but the adjective 'dead' is used four out of ten times with *ser*. A deeper analysis of the semantic relationships involved would be required to draw conclusions about these individual lexical items. In the case of *grande* 'big' and *chico* 'small', which may

Table 3. Use of *estar* with individual lexical items

| Lexical item     |                    | % use with <i>estar</i> | N   | % of data |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----|-----------|
| <i>mexicano</i>  | 'Mexican'          | 0                       | 6   | 2         |
| <i>bueno</i>     | 'good'             | 11                      | 28  | 9         |
| <i>diferente</i> | 'different'        | 25                      | 12  | 4         |
| <i>difícil</i>   | 'difficult'        | 29                      | 7   | 2         |
| <i>trabajoso</i> | 'difficult'        | 33                      | 6   | 2         |
| <i>joven</i>     | 'young'            | 38                      | 8   | 3         |
| <i>mejor</i>     | 'better'           | 40                      | 5   | 2         |
| <i>grande</i>    | 'big, old'         | 43                      | 7   | 2         |
| <i>bonito</i>    | 'pretty'           | 44                      | 9   | 3         |
| <i>duro</i>      | 'hard (difficult)' | 50                      | 6   | 2         |
| <i>muerto</i>    | 'dead'             | 60                      | 10  | 3         |
| <i>listo</i>     | 'intelligent'      | 80                      | 5   | 2         |
| <i>ciego</i>     | 'blind'            | 83                      | 6   | 2         |
| <i>chico</i>     | 'small, young'     | 87                      | 15  | 5         |
| <i>casado</i>    | 'married'          | 100                     | 5   | 2         |
| <i>enfermo</i>   | 'sick'             | 100                     | 10  | 3         |
| <i>vivo</i>      | 'alive'            | 100                     | 7   | 2         |
| All others       |                    | 53                      | 144 | 47        |

refer to either size or age, a further analysis shows that of the seven occurrences of *grande*, three are references to age and are all used with *estar* while four are used with the meaning 'size' and are linked with *ser*. Fourteen of the fifteen tokens of *chico* were references to age and thirteen of those were used with *estar*.

## 5. Conclusions and future directions

In conclusion, in spite of four centuries of isolation and its resulting archaic nature, the northern New Mexico/southern Colorado Spanish dialect exhibits innovative use of the copular verb *estar* in combination with adjectives and participles at a higher frequency than the contact variety of Los Angeles and the monolingual varieties of Cuernavaca and Morelia. Code-switching and the presence of an intensifier favor the use of *estar* as does a lower level of education. Adjective type and the presence of a time adverbial are the factors most likely to cause a speaker to choose *estar*.

The New Mexico Colorado Spanish Survey (Bills & Vigil 1999) has been a useful resource for this study in spite of its limitations. The survey was conducted with a specific purpose – to provide a linguistic atlas of a historic region and preserve evidence of a dialect that may disappear before the end of the 21st century. In order to complete a more in-depth study of this phenomenon and others present in this dialect, more and longer recorded interviews would need to be conducted and transcribed, creating a large enough corpus to allow researchers to determine tendencies and trends. The longevity of the people of this region lends itself to the type of synchronic study done by Silva-Corvalán in Los Angeles with a striking difference – the younger generation is not the third, but the fifth, sixth, or even the twelfth generation since the arrival of the Spanish language in 1598.

## References

- Bills, G. D. 1997. New Mexican Spanish: Demise of the earliest European variety in the United States. *American Speech* 72(2): 154–171.
- Bills, G. D. & Vigil, N. 1999. *New Mexico Colorado Spanish Survey*. Albuquerque NM: University of New Mexico.
- Bull, W. E. 1942. New principles for some Spanish equivalents of 'to be'. *Hispania* 25: 509–517.
- Cortés-Torres, M. 2004. ¿Ser o estar? La variación lingüística y social de estar más adjetivo en el español de Cuernavaca, México. *Hispania* 87(4): 788–795.
- De Jonge, B. 1993. Pragmatismo y gramaticalización en el cambio lingüístico: Ser y edad en expresiones de edad. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 41: 99–126.
- Falk, J. 1979a. *Ser y estar con atributos adjetivales*. Estocolmo: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Falk, J. 1979b. Visión de norma general versus visión de norma individual. *Studia neophilológica* 51: 275–293.
- Geeslin, K. L. 2005. *Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries to Improve the Analysis of Second Language Data: A study of copula choice with adjectives in Spanish*. Munich: Lincom.

- Gutiérrez, M. J. 1992. The extension of *estar*: A linguistic change in progress in the Spanish of Morelia, Mexico. *Hispanic linguistics* 5: 109–141.
- Gutiérrez, M. J. 1994. La influencia de ‘los de abajo’ en tres procesos de cambio lingüístico en el español de Morelia, Michoacán. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 18(3): 257–269.
- Kaye, A. S. 2005. Semantic transparency and number marking in Arabic and other languages. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 50(1): 153–196.
- Lujan, M. 1981. The Spanish copulas as aspectual indicators. *Lingua* 54.165–210.
- Navaz Ruiz, R. 1963. *Ser y estar: estudio sobre el sistema atributivo del español*. Salamanca: Acta Salamanca.
- Penny, R. 1991. *A History of the Spanish Language*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Poullisse, N. 1997. Language production in bilinguals. In *Tutorials in Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic perspectives*, A.M.B. de Groot and J.F. Kroll. (eds.), 201–224. Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Pountain, C. 1982. ESSERE/STARE as a Romance phenomenon. In *Studies in the Romance Verb*, N. Vincent & M. Harris (eds), 139–160. London: Croom Helm.
- Rand, D. & Sankoff, D. 1999. Goldvarb. [www.crm.umontreal.ca/~sankoff/GoldVarb\\_Eng.html](http://www.crm.umontreal.ca/~sankoff/GoldVarb_Eng.html).
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1986. Bilingualism and language change: The extension of *Estar* in Los Angeles Spanish. *Language* 62: 587–608.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1994. *Language Contact and Change*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Vaño-Cerdá, A. 1982. *Ser y estar + adjetivos: Un estudio sincrónico y diacrónico*. Tübingen: Narr.





PART V

*Bozal* Spanish



## Where and how does *bozal* Spanish survive?

John M. Lipski

The Pennsylvania State University

*Bozal* Spanish – pidginized language once spoken by African-born slaves acquiring Spanish under duress – has usually been approached only through historical reconstruction based on second-hand written documents. Central to the debate over the reconstruction of *bozal* language is the extent to which *bozal* speech exhibited consistent traits across time and space, and the possibility that Afro-Hispanic pidgins may have creolized across large areas of Spanish America. Literary imitations – all of questionable validity – are insufficient to resolve the issue; only first-hand data from legitimate Afro-Hispanic speech communities may shed light on earlier stages of language contact. The present study reviews four sources of authentic data: surviving Afro-Hispanic linguistic isolates; collective memories of recently disappeared *bozal* speech; ritualized representations of *bozal* language; descendents of return-diaspora *bozal* speakers. The surviving Afro-Hispanic speech communities that have been studied to date are found in Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador. These speech communities exhibit only a few deviations from monolingual Spanish, and do not suggest the prior existence of a stable Spanish-derived creole. New data are presented on a recently-discovered Afro-Bolivian speech community, where a fully restructured Afro-Hispanic dialect still survives. The Afro-Bolivian dialect provides a scenario for the formation of reconstructed varieties of Spanish in the absence of a pan-American creole. Ritualized representations of *bozal* language are found among the *negros congos* of Panama and in Afro-Cuban *santería* and *palo mayombe* ceremonies. Collective recollections of recent *bozal* language are found in Cuba, where the last African-born *bozales* disappeared less than a century ago. Finally, return-diaspora speakers have been reported for Benin, Nigeria, and Angola, and may be found elsewhere in West Africa. By combining data from these remaining sources and comparing them with literary and folkloric texts, a more realistic reconstruction of emergent Afro-Hispanic contact varieties can be obtained.

### 1. Introduction

It is well-known that Africans who learned Spanish in adolescence or adulthood spoke with the characteristics of second-language learners, at times exhibiting areal characteristics of specific African language families, and in other cases replicating errors

found among L<sub>2</sub> speakers of Spanish worldwide (Lipski 2005 and references therein). There exists a large and diverse corpus of literary imitations of the speech of *bozales*, beginning in Spain at the turn of the 16th century, and continuing into colonial Spanish America beginning in the early 17th century and lasting until the early 20th century. Many of the linguistic features of these imitations are typical of all learners of Spanish: unstable subject-verb and noun-adjective agreement, use of disjunctive object pronouns instead of clitics, confusion of the copular verbs *ser* and *estar*, misuse of common prepositions, and avoidance of grammatically complex sentences containing subordinate clauses. Other traits are found in Afro-Iberian creoles and probably represent the influence of African areal features: prenasalized consonants, paragogic vowels used to produce open CV syllables, *in situ* questions, double negation, and use of adverbial particles instead of verbal inflection for tense, mood and aspect. Finally, many of the literary imitations are simply grotesque racist parodies, devoid of any resemblance to the true results of Afro-Hispanic language contacts.

Central to the debate over the reconstruction of *bozal* language, especially in Latin America, is the extent to which *bozal* speech exhibited consistent traits across time and space, and the possibility that Afro-Hispanic pidgins may have creolized across large areas of Spanish America. This discussion is summarized in Lipski (1986e, 1987b, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1995, 1998). The abundant bibliography of studies based on corpora of literary, musical, and folkloric texts has broadened the discussion to include a wide range of hypotheses and scenarios, but ultimately the texts in question are imitations or recollections produced by non-*bozal* authors, and therefore of debatable validity. Only evidence from authentic speech communities can round out the discussion, and the search for such remnants among contemporary Afro-Latin American groups is one of the most exciting research ventures of contemporary Spanish linguistics. The following sections will briefly summarize the types of authentic *bozal* evidence to be had, together with some examples of recent discoveries, and concluding with an enumeration of the challenges still remaining.

Remaining fragments of *bozal* Spanish that go beyond popular culture imitations (e.g. as in popular music, jokes, stereotyped imitations) can be found in the following situations:

- *Isolated enclaves* of Afro-Hispanic speech where post-*bozal* forms coexist with regional varieties of contemporary L<sub>1</sub> Spanish
- *Ritualized folkloric reproductions* of earlier *bozal* speech
- *Collective recollections* of the speech of the last remaining *bozal* speakers
- *Descendants of return-diaspora bozal speakers*

The following paragraphs will discuss each of these categories, with more emphasis placed on little-known or recently discovered configurations.

## 2. Remaining enclaves of post-*bozal* speech

There exist several isolated Afro-Hispanic speech communities throughout Latin America where traces of apparently post-*bozal* Spanish coexist with regional vernacular varieties. In most cases deviations from standard Spanish are limited to occasional lapses of agreement not found among monolingual Spanish speakers lacking the former *bozal* connection. In a few cases words or grammatical elements once found in *bozal* speech have survived, and in a very few instances regional vernacular dialects coexist with truly restructured post-*bozal* Afro-Hispanic varieties. The following chart

Table 1. Surviving post-*bozal* speech communities

| Country        | Region                         | Researchers                                      | Principal traits   |
|----------------|--------------------------------|--|--|
| Bolivia        | Yungas                         | Lipski   | invariant verbs, paragogic vowels, invariant plurals, plural marking only on first element of NP, loss of final consonants, <i>ele</i> , zero prepositions, possible use of particle <i>ta</i> |
| Colombia       | Chocó                          | Ruíz García, Schwegler                           | double negation, occlusive prevocalic /d/, occasional lapses of agreement  |
| Colombia       | San Basilio                    | Morton, Schwegler                                | double or postposed negation, occasional lapses of agreement, postposed genitives  |
| Cuba           | Oriente, etc.                  | Ortiz López, Schwegler                           | <i>elle</i> , <i>agüe</i> , occasional double negation   |
| Dominican Rep. | Villa Mella, etc.              | Green, Megenney, Ortiz López, Schwegler (Lipski) | double negation, occlusive /d/, occasional lapses of agreement, possible use of preverbal particle <i>a</i> (Green)  |
| Ecuador        | Chota Valley                   | Lipski, Schwegler                                | lapses in S-V and N-Adj agreement, loss of prepositions, possible <i>ele</i>   |
| Mexico         | Costa Chica (Guerrero, Oaxaca) | Aguirre Beltrán, Althoff                         | occasional lapses of agreement, paragogic vowels, loss of prepositions   |
| Paraguay       | Camba Cua                      | Lipski   | occasional invariant plurals, 3rd person singular as invariant verb, lapses in N-Adj agreement   |
| Peru           | coast, Chincha                 | Cuba, Lipski                                     | prevocalic occlusive /d/, occasional /r/ > [d], occasional lapses of agreement   |
| Trinidad       | various                        | Lipski, Moodie                                   | occasional lapses of agreement, loss of prepositions, loss of final consonants, possible use of preverbal <i>ta</i> (Moodie)   |
| Venezuela      | Barlovento                     | Domínguez, Megenney, Mosonyi et al.              | occasional lapses of agreement, neutralization /r/-/rr/, /r/, /d/ > [d], onset cluster reduction   |

illustrates the principal post-*bozal* communities investigated to date (corresponding references are in the bibliography):

From the chart it can be seen that few traces remain to indicate what pidginized *bozal* Spanish may have actually been like. Some representative samples are:

Chocó, Colombia: double and postposed negation:

*Yo no lo sé no* ‘I don’t know’ (Schwegler 1996a)  
*Él no ha vuelto no* ‘He hasn’t returned’ (Ruíz García 2000)  
*No me había ocurrido esas cosas más no* ‘I didn’t think of those things any more’ (Ruíz García 2000)  
*Ellos no le hacen caso a él no* ‘They don’t pay attention to him’ (Ruíz García 2000)  
*Pero atracan no.* ‘They don’t assault’ (Ruíz García 2000)  
*Por no verme acostada ahí, ellos llegan aquí no* ‘Since they didn’t see me lying there, they didn’t come here’ (Ruíz García 2000)

Afro-Dominican examples – interpreted as post-creole remnants by Green (1997, 2002) but based on fieldwork by John Lipski, Luis Ortiz and Irene Pérez Guerra possibly also representing cognitive language disorder:

*No yo no a mendé e zapote no.* ‘I don’t sell zapotes’  
*sí, a siguiú* ‘yes, [she] went on’  
*A cogé aquellos mango.* ‘[I] picked those mangoes’  
*Hay muchacho sí tabajá sí.* ‘There are young men who work hard’  
*yo no hacé eso* ‘I didn’t do that’

Vestigial Spanish of Trinidad (Lipski 1990):

*Tó nojotro trabajaban [trabajábamos] junto* ‘We all worked together’  
*Yo tiene [tengo] cuarenta ocho año* ‘I am 48 years old’  
*Asina, yo pone [pongo] todo* ‘I put everything like that’  
*Yo no sabe [sé] bien* ‘I don’t know [it] well’  
*yo mimo [misma] me enfermó [enfermé]* ‘I myself became ill’  
*nosotro ten[emos] otro pehcado que se come bueno* ‘We have another fish that is good to eat’  
*Tú tiene [cuando tú tengas] tiempo, viene aquí* ‘When you have time, come here’  
*yo tiene [tengo] cuatros helmano* ‘I have four siblings’

Examples of Spanish-Palenquero hybrids (Morton 1999):

*Esa agua ta malo* ‘That water is bad’  
*Nosotros no quedamo con ese grupo no* ‘We didn’t stay with that group’  
*Yo no conocí al abuelo mí* ‘I didn’t know my grandfather’  
*Yo había a tenía [hubiera tenido] experiencia* ‘I would have had experience’

Chota Valley, Ecuador (Lipski 1982, 1986a, 1986d, 1987a):

*se trabajaban en las haciendas vecino* ‘People worked on neighboring estates’  
*sobre la materia mismo de cada pueblo* ‘with [building] materials from each community’  
*era barato la ropa, barato era* ‘Clothing was cheap, really cheap’

*hay gente colombiano* ‘there are Colombian people’  
*yo soy [de] abajo* ‘I’m from down [in the valley]’  
*depende [de] las posibilidades del padre* ‘it depends on the father’s possibilities’  
*San Lorenzo que queda muy cerca con [de] la Concepción* ‘San Lorenzo is very near to Concepción’  
*a poca costumbre se le tiene cuando mucha fuerte está la fiebre* ‘the custom when there is a very high fever’

The Spanish spoken in the Afro-Colombian village of Palenque de San Basilio is in contact with the creole language Palenquero, itself the product of the Spanish, Portuguese, Kikongo, and possibly other languages once present in a 17th century maroon community. The *bozal*-like features of Palenquero Spanish are due to contact with the creole language, rather than direct descendents of *bozal* Spanish. In the remaining cases so few non-standard Spanish manifestations remain that in the absence of knowledge of the former presence of *bozal* speakers it would be difficult to connect contemporary speech patterns with an earlier pidgin.

The only exception to this extreme erosion of post-*bozal* leftovers comes in the Bolivian Yungas, where I have recently discovered tiny groups of speakers of a highly restructured Afro-Hispanic dialect that more closely resembles a true creole language such as Palenquero than post-*bozal* remnants found elsewhere in Latin America (Lip-ski, forthcoming a, b). These speakers, who live in isolated hillside squatter communities in the remote tropical valleys of the Yungas to the northeast of La Paz are arguably the oldest surviving Afro-American speech community, and the oldest community members continue to speak a dialect (used only within the extended family groups), combining severe phonetic reduction of final /s/ and /r/ (unlike the highly resistant /s/ and /r/ in surrounding Bolivian dialects), use of the third person singular verb as invariant verb form, marking of plural /s/ only on the first element of the NP as in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, use of the invariant plural article *lo/lu*, lack of gender concord in NPs, null articles, invariant plurals, many null prepositions, and considerable reduction of complex sentences. Some examples of this unique dialect are:

*lo peón < los peones* ‘the peons,’ *lo mujé < las mujeres* ‘the women,’ *persona[s] mayó < personas mayores* ‘older people,’ etc.  
*tiene su mujé, mujé aprendió tomá* ‘he had a wife, his wife started to drink’;  
*mujé murió año pasao* ‘the wife died last year’;  
*mayordomo pegaba gente, patrón atrás de mayordomo* ‘the overseer beat the people, the landowner was after the overseer’;  
*negro muy poco fue [a la guerra]* ‘black people rarely went [to the Chaco war]’  
*[yo] nació [en] Mururata* ‘I was born in Mururata’;  
*tengo un hermano allá [en] Coroico* ‘I have a brother there in Coroico’;  
*en este tiempo di cosecha siempre nojotro va [al] trabajo* ‘in this harvest season we always go to work’;  
*¿Bo tiene juamía de quién?* ‘What family do you belong to?’  
*nojotro tiene jrutita; yo no entiende eso de vender jruta* ‘we have fruit, I don’t understand about fruit’;



*yo creció junto con Angelino; nojotro creció loj do* 'I grew up with Angelino, the two of us grew up together'  
*ello vivía, ello salía mi avisá aquí* 'they lived, they came to tell me here';  
*¿de qué nojotro pobre va viví?* 'What are we poor folks going to live on?'

The features of Afro-Yungueño Spanish are unlike those of any other contemporary or reconstructed Afro-Hispanic dialect, although all fit generally into established contact variety patterns.

### 3. Ritualized folkloric imitations that include *bozal* speech

In addition to the use of post-*bozal* remnants in Afro-Hispanic speech communities, imitations of earlier *bozal* language occur in a number of ritualized events throughout Latin America. Most center around two categories of activities: the first is the Carnival tradition, and the second are religious ceremonies in which the speech of *bozal* ancestors is imitated, either through song or through spirit possession in which the possessed individual purportedly channels the voice of an ancestor. The most extensive Carnival-time reproduction of earlier *bozal* speech – although by no means the most trustworthy – comes in the ritualized speech of the *negros congos* 'Congo blacks' of Panama, centered around the colonial ports of Portobelo and Nombre de Dios. The core bibliography on the *congo* rituals includes Béliz (1959), De la Rosa Sánchez (1988), P. Drolet (1980a, 1980b), R. Drolet (1980), Franceschi (1960), Joly (1981), Laribe (1968, 1969), Lipski (1985, 1986b, 1986c, 1989, 1997), Romero (1975), Smith (1975), Tejeira Jaén (1974). During the spring Carnival season and at other times Afro-Hispanic residents of these communities – whose daily speech is simply the local vernacular Spanish – employ a deformed variety of Spanish referred to as *hablar congo* 'Congo talk' and which contains, in addition to humorous distortions of patrimonial Spanish words, a considerable number of African or pseudo-African lexical items grafted onto a Spanish grammatical system with Spanish functional categories. The *congo* dialect spoken only by Afro-colonial Panamanians, is in some way related to the linguistic situation which obtained among black slave and free groups in colonial Panama, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries, when slave trade through Portobelo was at its peak. Members of the community assert that *congo* speech is the direct descendent of the speech of the *negros bozales*, but the reality is much more complex. Nowadays, speaking *congo* involves a high degree of verbal improvisation and prowess, based on the notion of saying things 'backwards' (Spanish *al revés*, which also means 'upside down' and 'inside out'). According to Afro-Panamanian oral tradition, during the colonial period Spanish slaveowners would allow their African slaves some liberties during the Carnival season, allowing the slaves to wear castoff finery, which the slaves put on backwards or inside out as a visual demonstration of their resistance to slavery. Contemporary *congo* speakers use semantic reversals, such as *vivi* (Spanish *vivo*) 'alive' to mean 'dead,' *entedo* (Sp. *entero*) 'whole' to mean 'broken,' etc. True

*congo* adepts can put on dazzling improvisations, at times also introducing formulaic phonetic deformations into each word. These deformations are neither entirely random nor completely systematic, but fall somewhere in between. Nearly all *congo* speakers routinely realize /r/, /rr/, /l/, and /d/ as stop [d] (e.g. [ka-de-te-da] for *carretera* ‘road’; [e-te-dao] for *este lado* ‘this side’), which departs sharply from normal Panamanian pronunciation, in which postvocalic voiced stops do not occur. These neutralizations are found in other Afro-Hispanic dialects; in particular the three-way neutralization suggests a Bantu substratum. Also frequent is the interchange of *-o* and *-a* at the end of nouns and adjectives or their replacement by *-e* or *-i* (e.g. *vivi* < *vivo* ‘alive’). Word-internal vowels may be substituted apparently at random, but when more than one vowel is replaced there is usually vowel harmony (e.g. *cumpuñeda* < *compañero* ‘comrade,’ *punumeño* < *panameño* ‘Panamanian’). Some speakers introduce an epenthetic [r] or semivocalic [i] to create onset clusters (e.g. *pripa* < *pipa* ‘coconut’; *momriento* < *momento* ‘moment’), and there are occasional shifts of /l/ to [r] in onset clusters (*diabria* < *diablo* ‘devil’; *fraquito* < *flaquito* ‘skinny’); the latter change is reminiscent of Portuguese and may reflect the early presence of Portuguese slave traders arriving in Portobelo, the principal Spanish port supplying slaves to the Pacific region of South America. Under the layer of verbal improvisation and word play lies a rather systematic suspension of noun-adjective and subject-verb agreement in fashions which closely parallel literary or attested specimens of earlier *bozal* Spanish. Awareness of popular stereotypes of “black” Spanish from other times and places is almost nonexistent in this region, given the traditionally low literacy rate and the lack of availability of literary or popular culture works which would facilitate propagation of ethnolinguistic stereotypes. Any similarities between *congo* dialect and early *bozal* Spanish must be due either to fortuitous similarities, highly unlikely in the case of specific evolutions, or of the transmission, distorted across time and through the jocularity of Carnival, of previous Afro-Hispanic language. Modern *congo* leftovers do not suggest a complete creolization of earlier Afro-Panamanian Spanish, but rather a series of second-language approximations which fell short of the systematic restructuring implicit in creolization. An example of *congo* speech is (Lipski 1986b, 1986c, 1989); the translation is very approximate:

*¿Y tú qué haces ahí padoo? Y si tu te pones entedo. Te vas a ponede er cudo Mayadi, aquí pade cubuyete ... y ahoda que vas a ayudá ... si no hay ná que llodá, y uhtede qué hacen en mi dancho, eh, qué dicen ustede, ya ehtama acuanda, e pa da útima todavía fatta prusupia, vengan todo que sacúa se ehta cuando ...* ‘What are you doing standing [sitting] there? You’re going to get whole [break yourself up]. You’re going to bust your ass, Mayadi, falling off the roof. And now what are you going to help [with], if there is nothing to cry about, and what are you all doing on my property, what do you say, what is today’s date, and finally we don’t have any budget [money], come and get it’

Some examples of phonetic deformation in *congo* speech:

*zucria* < *azúcar* ‘sugar’, *padencia* < *Palenque* ‘Palenque’, *poquitria* < *poquito* ‘little bit’, *ahodamima* < *ahora mismo* ‘right now’, *diabria* < *diablo* ‘devil’, *momrienta* < *momento*

'moment', *guguntu* < *garganta* 'throat', *pringamá*, *bricamá* < *Panamá* 'Panama', *codó* < *color* 'color', *crado* < *claro* 'of course', *jubriá* < *hablar* 'speak', *cocopraya* [*coco de playa*] < *cocotero* 'coconut palm', *chadé* (< *chalet*) < *rancho* 'shack', *sumuna sunta* < *Semana Santa* 'Holy Week', *conobriá* < *carnaval* 'Carnival', *mugaña* < *mañana* 'tomorrow', *trumuya* < *trasmallo* 'fish net', *cufié* < *café* 'coffee', *pringadigui* < *cigarillo* 'cigarette', *mundebrió* < *Nombre de Dios* 'name of God', *pogriá* < *pagar* 'to pay', *madeda bronzó* < *madera de bronce* 'zinc', *agua sodiya* < *agua de chorillo* (or perhaps *agua de soda*) < *aguardiente* 'liquor'

Congo words of unknown origin:

*Dumia* (possibly < *rumiar*) 'to eat'

*jopia* 'to smoke'

*cudia* (possibly < *acudir*) 'to come'

*mojongo* / *mojobrio* 'wife'

*jotá* 'to drink'

*sopodín* 'motorboat'

*potoñá* 'to leave'

*jurumingue* 'child'

*Fuda* 'liquor' (possibly < [*agua*] *pura* 'pure water', or [*aguardiente*] *puro* 'pure liquor', this word may derive from the Panamanian expression *fulo* 'Caucasian, blond fair-skinned person', a word of African origin. *Fuda* may also reflect Kikongo *fúla* 'foam (e.g. on palm wine)' or from Fula *fuda* 'gunpowder')

A few vestiges of earlier *bozal* Spanish also survive in the lyrics of Panamanian folk dances, particularly the *Zaracundé* (Rhodes 1998). This dance, also known as *El Cuenequé* or *Danza de los negros bozales*, is currently performed in the town of Los Santos (with a very small population of African origin), but was once performed during Carnival season in other parts of Panama. One of the characters of this ritual dance is the *Negro bozá*, a pronunciation reflecting the truncation of final consonants in Afro-Hispanic speech; final /r/ is frequently deleted in vernacular Panamanian Spanish, but final /l/ almost never falls in contemporary speech. Other characters' names also reflect *bozal* confusion of Spanish morphological endings: *Pajarité* [*pajarito* 'little bird'], *Fransisqué* [*Francisco*]. The *Negro bozá* chants phrases which include Afro-Hispanic *bozal* language, including *yo tené* [*yo tengo* 'I have'], *la huerté* [*la huerta* 'the garden'], *yuqué* [*yuca* 'yucca'], *tamarindé* [*tamarindo* 'tamarind'], *papayé* [*papaya*]. The song even contains a non-inverted question, frequent in the Spanish Antilles but not common in contemporary Panamanian Spanish (except among creole English-speaking Afro-Antilleans, probably through the influence of English creole; see Bishop 1976:62). *¿Cuántos hijos tú teneis?* 'How many children do you have?' (Arosemena Moreno 1984). The frequent replacement of Spanish final *-o* and *-a* by *-e* is similar to phenomena attributed in literature to Haitian L<sub>2</sub> speakers of Spanish in the Dominican Republic, and actually verified by Ortiz López (1999a, 1999b, 2001).

In Cuba Schwegler (2005) and Fuentes and Schwegler (2005) have discovered some Afro-Cuban ritual songs from the *palo monte* tradition that contain fragments of earlier *bozal* language, evidently reflecting the *paleros'* belief that the voices of ances-

tors speak during their ceremonies. In addition to containing admixtures of Spanish and Kikongo lexical items, some of the *palero* songs contain fragments in *bozal* grammar, containing invariant verb forms, derived from the third person singular, as well as the invariant copula *son*, independently attested in Afro-Cuban Spanish (Lipski 1999, 2002):

*Yo te llama con mi maña* ‘I call you with my sorcery’  
*Riba mundo son bacheche [saludable]* ‘The world is healthy’

Castellanos (1990) also observed the speech of Afro-Cuban religious practitioners during their spiritual trances, when they purportedly speak with the voices of *bozal* ancestors. Although it is not permitted to record these ceremonies, Castellanos’ recollections include many typical *bozal* features including non-agreeing verbs and use of disjunctive object pronouns:

*ta miní kun yo* ‘he/she is coming with me’  
*akoddá ri yo* ‘(he) remembered me’

#### 4. Individual and collective recollections of former *bozal* speech

In Cuba, the last slave-importing country of Spanish America and in which *bozal* Africans could be found through the first half of the 20th century, individual and collective memories of *bozal* speech persist to this day. Older Cubans remember the phrase used scornfully to describe uneducated black Cubans in previous decades: *es un negro de “yo va di, yo va veni”* ‘he’s just a black who says *I be go, I be come.*’ Cuban writers and composers continue to produce texts in which reasonably accurate *bozal* imitations are used, based on the recollections of Cuba’s oldest inhabitants. One example comes in the well-known film *La última cena* ‘The Last Supper’ by Thomas Alea, where the *bozal* language was created in consultation with Cuban linguists. In addition to hundreds of literary imitations, Alea had a large number of purportedly authentic *bozal* texts from which to draw his inspiration. One of the earliest apparently authentic Cuban *bozal* imitations comes at the end of the 18th century, and is cited even today (Perl & Grosse 1994; Castellanos & Castellanos 1988:101f.). At the end of the 18th century, the Spanish priest Nicolás Duque de Estrada living in Havana published a manual for other priests to teach the Catechism to African-born *bozales*. Although both condescending and designed to convince Africans that slavery was the will of God (portrayed as the “great overseer”), the approximations to *bozal* language show nothing other than simplified Spanish with lapses in agreement and many circumlocutions (Laviña 1989):

*yo soi un pobre esclavo, yo tiene dos gallinas no más, gente tiene suelto su cochino, cochino come mi gallina. Yo ya no tiene con que comprar tabaco ni nada ... ¿yo va andando en cueros?* ‘I’m a poor slave, I have only two chickens, someone lets their hog run

loose, the hog eats my chicken. I have nothing to buy tobacco or anything. Should I go around naked?’

A very interesting comment on *bozal* Spanish in early 19th century Cuba comes from unpublished correspondence between the Cuban scholar José de la Luz Caballero and the American encyclopedist Francis Lieber. Lieber queried whether Afro-Cubans spoke a creole language and whether a creolized Spanish was used in religious teachings (as suggested by the recently published *Catecismo*) or in other literature. Luz Caballero’s response confirms other observations, that *bozales* spoke imperfect Spanish but without the consistent restructuring and transmission to successive generations found in creole languages. He also confirmed that Spanish priests at times spoke deliberately reduced Spanish when confessing the slaves, as suggested by Duque de Estrada’s catechism. In other notes Luz Caballero offers an extensive critique of Duque de Estrada’s pseudo-*bozal* imitations, indicating a high degree of awareness of Afro-Cuban pidginized Spanish, including this comment in an 1835 letter (these as yet unpublished documents were kindly furnished to me by Clancy Clements and Stuart Davis):

Q: *¿La población de color de esa [isla] habla aun un criollo?* ‘Does the black population speak a creole language?’

A: *Casi todas las preguntas . . . descansan en el supuesto de que existe un dialecto criollo en la isla de Cuba distinto de la lengua española, así como hay francés criollo y otros dialectos de las demás lenguas europeas en las colonias de otras naciones. Pero no es así, y diré sencillamente lo único que hay en el particular. Los africanos corrompen la lengua cada uno a su modo, y esta corrupción consiste principalmente en el modo de pronunciar, lo que, como bien claro se ve, no constituye un dialecto especial, al que podamos darle el nombre de criollo. Esto es tan cierto, cuanto que a los blancos nos es más fácil entender a unos negros más que otros, y a los pertenecientes a una nación más que a los de otra: los congos v.g. se explican y pronuncian con más claridad que los carabalíes; pero siempre es la misma lengua española la que todos hablan, aunque estropeándola casi individualmente diríamos [...] advertiré que es costumbre que los curas y capellanes, antes de confesar y dar la comunión a los negros, les expliquen el dogma y la moral de un modo que esté a su alcance, y por consiguiente usando un lenguaje corrompido.* ‘Almost all the questions ... are based on the premise that in Cuba there is a creole language separate from Spanish, such as French creole and other European-derived creoles in the colonies of other nations. Each African deforms [Spanish] in his own way, mostly in pronunciation, which clearly does not constitute a special dialect that we could call a creole. This is true even though we whites can understand some blacks better than others, and those from certain ethnic groups more than others. The *congos* speak more clearly than the *carabalíes*; but it is always the same Spanish language spoken by all, although deformed on an individual basis ... I should mention that before confession and communion, the priests and chaplains usually explain dogma and morals in a fashion that [the slaves] can understand, namely using a corrupt language’

In 1963, a 104-year-old former slave – Esteban Montejo – was interviewed and taped by the Cuban writer Miguel Barnet, whose interest lay more in relating 19th century slave revolts with the Cuban Revolution than in reconstructing Afro-Hispanic language and culture. Although Montejo was Cuban-born and spoke vernacular Cuban Spanish, he

recalled the speech of *bozales* (including his African-born father) and offered detailed imitations:

*Criollo camina allá adonde yo te diga, que yo te va a regalá a ti una cosa ... Usté, criollo, son bobo ... mire, usté ve eso, con eso usté consigue tó en cosa ... Mientras tú trabaja mayombe, tú son dueño e tierra ... Tú son bueno y callao, yo va a contá a ti una cosa ...*  
 ‘White man, walk there where I tell you and I’ll give you something ... you white man are a fool ... look you see that, with that you can get everything ... while you practice *palo mayombe* [Afro-Cuban ritual] you’re the master of the earth ... you are good and discreet, I’m going to tell you something’

Luis Ortiz has traveled to extremely isolated areas of eastern Cuba to interview elderly Afro-Cubans, many of whom were over 100 years old, and who vividly recalled the speech of now-deceased *bozales*. Most of the recollections fit with the pattern of Spanish as a second language, although in Havana itself, some Afro-Cubans recall having heard *bozal* language that might have been more internally coherent, and therefore possibly the first stages of a true creole. Among the more L<sub>2</sub>-like *bozal* recollections are (Ortiz López 1998):

*Carajo, yo te va joder ... Yo va sarúa [saludar] al niño Otavio ... vá vení o yo ta aquí ... yo te ve se cuento de toro cosa de que to pasó ... poqque yo ta vení de lo tiera mía de llá de lo de lo Africo ... yo mirá tú do ece ... ahora yo te va catigá ... yo tumbar caña la colonia ...*  
 ‘Damn, I’m going to screw you ... I’m going to greet young Octavio ... he will come or I’m here ... I’m going to tell you everything that happened ... because I came from my homeland over there in Africa ... I saw you twice ... now I’m going to punish you ... I cut sugar cane in the colony’

Given that no true *bozal* Spanish speakers still remain, individual recollections of actual *bozal* speech – albeit clouded by the passage of more than half a century – are the next most accurate source of data. Collective recollections are less reliable, since stereotyping and parody is also possible, but taken together these accounts provide the only living link to the pidiginized Spanish used by African-born speakers just at the end of the slaving period.

## 5. Descendants of return-diaspora *bozal* speakers

There is a final possible hunting ground for surviving traces of earlier Afro-Caribbean Spanish, which to date has received absolutely no attention from linguists. Indeed, the geographical location where such a search might begin seems incredible at first sight: West Africa, the very region from which the majority of Africans arriving in the 19th century Caribbean were taken. In the final decades of the 19th century, there arose “return to Africa” movements in Brazil and Cuba, as well as in some Caribbean colonies. Many African-born Brazilians and even some of their descendants returned to Nigeria and especially Benin, where their descendants still identify themselves as “Brazilians” (Cunha 1985; Krasnowolski 1987; Turner 1975; Olinto 1964; Verger 1969). This re-

verse diaspora actually began towards the end of the 18th century, where Brazilian slaves who had been freed or purchased their freedom established themselves in Whydah, Dahomey, where they maintained Brazilian customs and lifestyle, and at times even participated in the final decades of the Atlantic slave trade. Afro-Cubans also returned to Africa, but in smaller numbers, and beginning well past the first decades of the 19th century. It is possible that in Benin they blended in with the already established Afro-Brazilian population, an easy task, both culturally and linguistically. The most well-documented Afro-Cuban return migration was to Nigeria, the homeland of the Yoruba-speaking *Lucumíes*. Africans who had spent decades in Cuba began returning to Nigeria as early as the 1840's, and in the 1850's a document produced in Lagos quotes one returnee as describing the difference between slave-holding within Africa and slavery in the Caribbean (Pérez de la Riva 1974: 175): *Los negros no Jesús: los blancos todo religión* 'black people [don't have] Jesus; white people [are] all religion.' This brief statement suggests that *bozal* Spanish made its way back to West Africa. More than a century later, in fact just over a decade ago a Cuban scholar (Sarracino 1988) visited Lagos, Nigeria, where he met children and grandchildren of these repatriated *bozales*, some of whom were able to converse in (presumably *bozal*) Spanish (also Pérez de la Riva 1974). Unfortunately, neither recordings nor detailed linguistic observations were made, and given the political instability and urban explosion of Lagos, Nigeria, the chances of recovering *bozal* language in this West African setting grow slimmer by the day. Rural areas of Nigeria and Benin, where family oral traditions still predominate over mass media culture, may still be viable sites for Afro-Hispanic field research. Finally, the Cuban linguist Sergio Valdés Bernal, who lived for a time in Angola, reports meeting a (possibly *bozal*) Spanish-speaking descendent of a Cuban slave in that African nation.

## 6. Conclusions

Despite the critical importance of obtaining samples of the last living *bozales* or their immediate offspring, almost no field research has been done by contemporary Latin American linguists. Elderly former slaves or the children of former slaves are among the most marginalized citizens of the Spanish Caribbean, and within these nations there has been little interest in tapping the vast historical and cultural knowledge which they represent. Unlike what happened in many former British and French Caribbean colonies, the Spanish Caribbean nations are not run by primarily Afro-American governments, and there have been no nationwide African roots revival movements which would stimulate interest in the language and customs of Afro-Hispanics. As an example of the contrast in national attitudes, the Trinidadian historian and linguist Maureen Warner-Lewis (1991: xx) writes of newly independent Trinidad that

In the second half of the twentieth century there were still people alive who remembered their ancestors from Africa and who could sing and speak in African tongues.

This had important implications for our sense of historical depth, our sense of historical and cultural possession, as well as our ability to reconstruct the processes of cultural transmission in the New World.

Although the same situation obtained for the Spanish Caribbean, there was no comparable interest in tracing the African roots of countries which still continued to identify themselves as anything but African; in South American countries, where denial of negritude has reached even greater proportions, even less attention has been devoted to Afro-Hispanic linguistic studies.

The preceding remarks have demonstrated that much work has been done to uncover remaining traces of *bozal* language, while many challenges remain. Some trails are completely cold, others may still be viable but will require considerable ingenuity and just plain good luck to be traversed. Results to date do not provide definite answers to the ongoing debates over possible creolization of Afro-Hispanic language, nor on the possible monogenesis of all or even most Afro-Hispanic dialects. Most surviving *bozal* manifestations are so fragmentary as to provide only the most ambiguous testimony. Afro-Hispanic dialects such as the Chota Valley of Ecuador may have been influenced by surrounding Quechua speakers, while the Afro-Bolivian dialect of the Yungas, which bears little resemblance to any other *bozal* attestation past or present, was formed long ago and in such complete isolation from both African and European speakers. It is a counterexample to the strongest monogenetic hypotheses and may shed light on other Afro-Hispanic contact phenomena, but can only be fitted into the full perspective of *bozal* language after additional comparative research is undertaken.

In summary, recent and surprising discoveries of hitherto unsuspected speakers and speech communities provide compelling motivation to continue the search for authentic specimens of *bozal* Spanish. Only by comparing surviving speech and living memories with historical reconstruction can the full contribution of Africa to America be appreciated.

## References

- Aguirre Beltrán, G. 1958. *Cuijla: Esbozo etnográfico de un pueblo negro*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Althoff, D. 1994. Afro-mestizo speech from Costa Chica, Guerrero: From Cuaji to Cuijla. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 18: 242–256.
- Arosemena Moreno, J. 1984. *Danzas folklóricas de la villa de Los Santos*. Panama: Banco Nacional de Panamá.
- Béliz, A. 1959. Los congos: Afro-Panamanian dance-drama. *Américas* 11(11): 31–3.
- Bishop, H.A. 1976. Bidialectal Traits of West Indians in the Panama Canal Zone. PhD Dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College.
- Castellanos, I. 1990. Grammatical structure, historical development, and religious usage of Afro-Cuban *bozal* speech. *Folklore Forum* 23(1–2): 57–84.
- Castellanos, J. & Castellanos, I. 1988. *Cultura afrocubana 1: El negro en Cuba, 1492–1844*. Miami: Ediciones Universal.



- Cuba, M. 1996. *El castellano hablado en Chincha*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Escuela de Posgrado.
- De la Rosa Sánchez, M. A. 1988. El juego de los tambores congos (tradición oral afroestizada de Panamá). In *Segundo Congreso Nacional Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios Afroasiáticos, Universidad Veracruzana, Jalapa, Veracruz, 3 al 5 de jul de 1985*, G. Quartucci (ed.), 153–177. México: El Colegio de México.
- Domínguez, L.A. 1989. *Vivencia de un rito loango en el Tambú*. Caracas: Talleres de Hijos de Ramiro Paz.
- Drolet, P. 1980a. The Congo Ritual of Northeastern Panama: An Afro-American expressive structure of cultural adaptation. PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois.
- Drolet, P. 1980b. *El ritual congo del noroeste de Panamá: Una estructura afro-americana expresiva de adaptación cultural*. Panama: Instituto Nacional de Cultura.
- Drolet, R. 1980. Cultural Settlement along the Moist Slopes of the Caribbean, Eastern Panama. PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois.
- Franceschi, V. 1960. Los negros congos en Panamá. *Lotería* 51: 93–107.
- Fuentes Guerra, J. & Schwegler, A. 2005. *Lengua y ritos del Palo Monte Mayombe: Dioses cubanos y sus fuentes africanas*. Frankfurt/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana.
- Green, K. 1997. Non-standard Dominican Spanish: Evidence of partial restructuring. PhD Dissertation, City University of New York.
- Green, K. 1999. The creole pronoun *i* in non-standard Dominican Spanish. In *Lenguas criollos de base lexical española y portuguesa*, K. Zimmermann (ed.), 373–387. Frankfurt: Vervuert.
- Green, K. 2001. The past tense marker *a*: Palenquero in San Cristóbal (Dominican Republic). In *Palenque, Cartagena y Afro-Caribe: Historia y lengua*, Y. Moñino & A. Schwegler (eds.), 137–148. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Joly, L. G. 1981. The ritual play of the Congos of north-central Panama: Its sociolinguistic implications [Sociolinguistic Working Papers 85]. Austin TX: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.
- Krasnowolski, A. 1987. *Les Afro-brésiliennes dans les processus de changement de la Côte des Esclaves*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolinskich.
- Laribe, L. 1968. *Nombre de Dios et les 'regnes de Congos'*. Panama: Alliance Française Panamá.
- Laribe, L. 1969. *Les 'regnes de Congos' de Nombre de Dios*. Panama: Alliance Française Panamá.
- Laviña, J. (ed.). 1989. *Doctrina para negros: Explicación de la doctrina cristiana acomodada a la capacidad de los negros bozales, de Nicolás Duque de Estrada*. Barcelona: Sendai.
- Lipski, J. 1982. El valle del Chota: enclave lingüístico afroecuatoriano. *Boletín de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española* 10(2): 21–36 [1989].
- Lipski, J. 1985. The speech of the *negros congos* of Panama: Creole Spanish vestiges? *Hispanic Linguistics* 2: 23–47.
- Lipski, J. 1986a. Lingüística afroecuatoriana: El valle del Chota. *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica (Valladolid)* 2: 153–76.
- Lipski, J. 1986b. The *negros congos* of Panama: Afro-Hispanic creole language and culture. *Journal of Black Studies* 16: 409–28.
- Lipski, J. 1986c. El lenguaje de los *negros congos* de Panama. *Lexis* 10: 53–76.
- Lipski, J. 1986d. Lingüística afroecuatoriana: El valle del Chota. *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica (Valladolid)* 2: 153–76.
- Lipski, J. 1986e. Convergence and divergence in *bozal* Spanish. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 1: 171–203.
- Lipski, J. 1987a. The Chota Valley: Afro-Hispanic language in highland Ecuador. *Latin American Research Review* 22: 155–70.

- Lipski, J. 1987b. The construction *ta* + infinitive in Caribbean bozal Spanish. *Romance Philology* 40: 431–450.
- Lipski, J. 1989. *The Speech of the Negroes Congos of Panama*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lipski, J. 1990. Trinidad Spanish: Implications for Afro-Hispanic language. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 62: 7–26.
- Lipski, J. 1991. Origen y evolución de la partícula *ta* en los criollos afrohispanicos. *Papia* 1(2): 16–41.
- Lipski, J. 1992a. Sobre el español bozal del Siglo de Oro: Existencia y coexistencia. *Scripta philologica in honorem Juan M. Lope Blanch, t. I*, 383–396. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Lipski, J. 1992b. Origin and development of *ta* in Afro-Hispanic creoles. In *Atlantic Meets Pacific: A global view of pidginization and creolization*, F. Byrne and J. Holm (eds.), 217–231. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lipski, J. 1993. On the non-creole basis for Afro-Caribbean Spanish. *Research Paper No. 24*. Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico.
- Lipski, J. 1995. Literary ‘Africanized’ Spanish as a research tool: Dating consonant reduction. *Romance Philology* 49: 130–167.
- Lipski, J. 1997. El lenguaje de los *negros congos* de Panamá y el lumbalú palenquero: Función sociolingüística de criptolectos afrohispanicos. *América Negra* 14: 147–165.
- Lipski, J. 1998. El español bozal. In *América negra: Panorámica actual de los estudios lingüísticos sobre variedades criollas y afrohispanas*, M. Perl & A. Schwegler (eds.), 293–327. Frankfurt: Vervuert.
- Lipski, J. 1999. Evolución de los verbos copulativos en el español bozal. In *Lenguas criollas de base lexical española y portuguesa*, K. Zimmermann (ed.), 145–176. Frankfurt: Vervuert.
- Lipski, J. 2002. Génesis y evolución de la cópula en los criollos afro-ibéricos. In *Palenque, Cartagena y Afro-Caribe: Historia y lengua*, Y. Moñino & A. Schwegler (eds.), 65–101. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Lipski, J. 2005. *A History of Afro-Hispanic Language: Five centuries and five continents*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Lipski, J. Forthcoming a. El dialecto afroyungueño de Bolivia: En busca de las raíces el habla afrohispanica. *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana*.
- Lipski, J. Forthcoming b. Afro-Yungueño speech: The long-lost “black Spanish”? *Spanish in Context*.
- Megenney, W. 1985. Africa en Venezuela: Su herencia lingüística y cultura literaria. *Montalbán* 15: 3–56.
- Megenney, W. 1990a. *Africa en Santo Domingo: La herencia lingüística*. Santo Domingo: Museo del Hombre Dominicano.
- Megenney, W. 1990b. Basilectal speech patterns of Barolvento, Venezuela. *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 7(2–3): 245–260.
- Megenney, W. 1990c. Barolvento, los Andes y las tierras bajas: Parangón de características fonológicas. *Motanlbán* 22: 147–174.
- Megenney, W. 1993. Elementos criollo-portugueses en el español dominicano. *Motalbán* 25: 149–171.
- Megenney, W. 1999. *Aspectos del lenguaje afronegroide en Venezuela*. Frankfurt: Vervuert.
- Moodie, S. 1986. El español de Trinidad: Variabilidad y desgaste articulatorio. *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica (Valladolid)* 2: 177–96.
- Moodie, S. 1991. Morphophonemic illformedness in an obsolescent dialect: A case study of Trinidad Spanish. *Orbis* 34: 215–230.
- Moodie, S. MS. Basilectal survivals in post creole Caribbean Spanish. Ms, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.
- Morton, T. 1999. Codeswitching, variation and dialect formation: The Spanish of San Basilio de Palenque (Colombia). Presented at NWAV 28, University of Toronto and York University.

- Mosonyi, E. E., Hernández, M. and Alvarado, E. 1983. Informe preliminar sobre la especificidad antropolingüística del ‘luango’ de Barlovento. *Actas del III Encuentro de Linguistas*, 159–167. Caracas: Instituto Pedagógico de Caracas, Departamento de Castellano, Literatura y Latín, Departamento de Idiomas Modernas.
- Olinto, A. 1964. *Brasileiros na Africa*. São Paulo: Edições GRD.
- Ortiz López, L. 1998. *Huellas etno-sociolingüísticas bozales y afrocubanas*. Frankfurt: Vervuert.
- Ortiz López, L. 1999a. El español haitiano en Cuba y su relación con el habla bozal. In *Lenguas criollas de base lexical española y portuguesa*, K. Zimmermann (ed.), 177–203. Frankfurt: Vervuert.
- Ortiz López, L. 1999b. La variante hispánica haitianizada en Cuba: Otro rostro del contacto lingüístico en el Caribe. In *Estudios de lingüística hispánica: Homenaje a María Vaquera*, A. Morales et al. (eds.), 428–456. Río Piedras: Editorial de la UPR.
- Ortiz López, L. 2001. El sistema verbal del español haitiano en Cuba: Implicaciones para las lenguas en contacto en el Caribe. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 20(2): 175–192.
- Perl, M. and Grosse, S. 1994. Dos textos de ‘Catecismos para Negros’ de Cuba y de Haití – criollo o registro didáctico simplificado? Presented at Colóquio de Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola, Universidade de Brasília, September 1994.
- Pérez de la Riva, J. 1974. Antiguos esclavos cubanos que regresan a Lagos. In *Contribución a la historia de la gente sin historia*, P. Deschamps Chapeaux and J. Pérez de la Riva (eds.), 163–190. Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.
- Rhodes, E. 1998. Saracundé of Panama: A look at the dance on the street and on the stage. In *The art of the moment: Looking at dance performance from inside and out (Proceedings of the 31st Annual Conference Congress on Research in Dance)*, N. Stokes (ed.), 133–140. Columbus IL: Ohio State University, Department of Dance.
- Romero, F. 1975. ‘Rey Bayano’ y los negros panameños en los mediados del siglo XVI. *Hombre y Cultura* 3(1): 7–39.
- Ruíz García, M. 2000. El español popular del Chocó: Evidencia de una reestructuración parcial. PhD Dissertation, University of New Mexico.
- Sarracino, R. 1988. *Los que volvieron a Africa*. Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.
- Schwegler, A. 1991. El español del Chocó. *América Negra* 2: 85–119.
- Schwegler, A. 1994. Black Spanish of highland Ecuador: New data and fuel for controversy about the origin(s) of Caribbean Spanish. Presented at the XXIV Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, University of California Los Angeles and University of Southern California, March 1994.
- Schwegler, A. 1996a. La doble negación dominicana y la génesis del español caribeño. *Hispanic Linguistics* 8: 247–315.
- Schwegler, A. 1996b. ‘*Chi ma nkongo*’: *Lengua y rito ancestrales en El Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia)*. Frankfurt: Vervuert. (2 Vols).
- Schwegler, A. 1999. Monogenesis revisited: The Spanish perspective. In *Creole Genesis, Attitudes and Discourse* [Creole Language Library 20], J. Rickford and S. Romaine, 235–262. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schwegler, A. 2005. Habla bozal: Captivating new evidence from a contemporary source (Afro-Cuban “Palo Monte”). In *Studies in Contact Linguistics: Essays in honor of Glenn G. Gilbert*, J. Fuller and L. L. Thornburg (eds.). Bern: Peter Lang.
- Schwegler, A. and Morton, T. 2003. Vernacular Spanish in a microcosm: Kateyano in El Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia). *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 1: 97–159.
- Smith, R. 1975. The Society of los Congos of Panama. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University.
- Tejeira Jaén, B. 1974. Los congos de Chepo. *Patrimonio Histórico* 1(3): 129–48.

- Turner, J. M. 1975. *Les Brésiliens: The impact of former Brazilian slaves upon Dahomey*. PhD Dissertation, Boston University.
- Verger, P. 1969. *Formation d'une société brésilienne au Golfe de Behnin au XIXème siècle*. Dakar: Centre de Hautes Etudes Afro-Ibéro-Américaines de l'Université de Dakar.
- Warner-Lewis, M. 1991. *Guinea's other suns: The African dynamic in Trinidad culture*. Dover MA: Majority Press.



## The appearance and use of *bozal* language in Cuban and Brazilian neo-African literature

William W. Megenney

University of California, Riverside

Towards the end of the 19th century, in both Cuba and Brazil, scholars became increasingly interested in the contributions of African slaves to the formation of these societies. In Cuba, the ethno-historical and scientific studies of Fernando Ortíz, among others, inspired numerous writers to produce literary works reflecting *el ethos del negro* as an integral part of Cuban society. These writings, which evoked numerous Afro-Cuban themes, were supposedly written in a style of language that reflected how Afro-Cubans spoke as a consequence of contact between Spanish and various Sub-Saharan languages. Similar literary works were produced in Brazil. During the 19th century, waves of African slaves to Brazil, above all from the Kwa group, left an indelible imprint on the society. Along with the various scientific studies that emerged from this time, the *Semana de Arte Moderna* served to inspire authors to write literary works aimed at capturing cultural trends termed “*neoafronegroide*.” One important aspect of this was language use. This chapter analyzes the literary antecedents of these movements in Cuba and Brazil as well as the language of these texts. Did these texts authentically reproduce Creole or *bozal* varieties of language, or did they merely produce varieties of literary style that achieved a kind of “African ambiance”? This research also demonstrates a few ways in which these authors incorporated *bozal* varieties into their writings, principally in poetry.

### 1. Sociolinguistic antecedents

In the present study, we would like to examine some of the manifestations present in Brazilian and Cuban literature which are the result of scientific studies published by Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, Fernando Ortiz and Gilberto Freyre, with respect to the impact which they had on the production of neo-African literary themes. Based on a broader recognition of the African presence in the Americas, the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX saw the emergence of a new interest in the influences which the sub-Saharan nations had produced in the formation of the Brazilian and Cuban national characters.

In Brazil, Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, a medical doctor from the state of Maranhão, following the trend which had emerged at the end of the XIX century dealing with the study of comparative religions, began to investigate the so-called *sincretismo* that demonstrated itself as a link between the sub-Saharan religions and Catholicism, which had formed in the New World. After elaborating on his study about penal responsibilities (we remember that Fernando Ortiz did the same thing in Cuba), Nina Rodrigues began to dedicate his efforts to the study of Afro-Brazilian religions (1896, 1982 [1933]) and to the phenomenon of the *quilombos* of runaway slaves (1988, 1954 [1905]) and of the *caboclos* 'country folk'.

The question of racial nationality in Brazil acquires foremost importance during the turn of the XIX century. *O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos* represents the first scientific study done in Brazil on black fetishes and one of the studies responsible for the catalytic inspiration of future sociological, linguistic, ethnological and anthropological studies, in addition to many other creative works of literature, in poetry and prose, which deal with various aspects of the black African presence in Latin America, which we will call *neo-black-African*.

With the strictest impartiality and following the most scientific patterns, Nina Rodrigues begins to explore the realities of Afro-Brazilian religions according to the parameters of ethnology. One of the goals of the study of fetish animism is the discovery of the sociological principles which are normally not visible. A study such as this will necessarily have to discover how pure the African practices and beliefs have been maintained within Brazilian society.

After the death of Nina Rodrigues in 1906 (in Paris), Manuel Querino attempts to continue working on the study of the black in Brazil, but he dies in 1923, thus creating a hiatus in the investigative work of the so-called Africanism. Recognizing the importance of Querino's work, Arthur Ramos publishes Querino's studies in 1938, under the title *Costumes africanos no Brasil*. One of Querino's major preoccupations had been the perseverance of interviews with the last surviving Africans in Brazil, before being confronted with the danger of losing these most valuable fonts of historical information.

The continuation of neo-African investigations in Brazil consisted of a type of struggle between Arthur Ramos, who represented the *orthodox line* (cf. di Leo, p. 49), and the sociologist Gilberto Freyre, who represented the *line of renewal*, with new ideas about how to conduct science. According to Freyre, Ramos misinterpreted Nina Rodrigues' studies, which, in turn, gave it an undeserved appearance of shallow analytical work, although Ramos had wanted to give the opposite impression. Freyre had returned from his European and US trips full of new ideas and ready to use them in his quest to rediscover his country. He was the principal moving force of the First Brazilian Congress of Regionalism of 1926, which came about mainly due to the ideas Freyre

had acquired from his teachers and peers at Columbia University<sup>1</sup> in New York City. The results of this Congress, in addition to the ideas proposed at the meeting called the *Semana de Arte Moderna* (São Paulo 1922), created the possibility of inspiring not only the generation of the early XX century, but also of future generations, which also would follow the patterns set down for the study of the regions of Brazil and of black African traits in Brazil, as part of science and literature.

Certain Afro-American studies dealing with lexicon and grammar (i.e., dictionaries, grammars), also appeared in Brazil and Cuba. Di Leo (2001:55–62) has dedicated a part of his book to explaining the appearance of these works. In addition, Jorge Castellanos (2003:93–106) has discussed the contributions made by the first social studies of this type in Cuba. In Brazil, those who have distinguished themselves as pioneers in Afro-American lexical and grammatical studies are Jacques Raimundo, with his *O Elemento Afro-Negro na Língua Portuguesa* and *A Língua Portuguesa no Brasil*, and Renato Mendonça, with his *O Português do Brasil* and *A Influência Africana no Português do Brasil*. In Cuba, it is the *Diccionario provincial casi-razonado de voces cubanas* (1836) by Esteban Pichardo, that marks the beginning of this type of study in the Caribbean, although it is true that the study contains many words of indigenous origin which the author has confused with black African.

At the same time, Fernando Ortiz writes his *Nuevo catauro<sup>2</sup> de cubanismos* (1923), followed by his *Glosario de afronegrismos* (1924), which, just as Pichardo's work, contains indigenous words which are defined as African. According to Di Leo (2001:62), speaking about Ortiz's *Glosario*, Rafael Salillas's *Hampa: antropología picaresca* (1898), had been the text which Fernando Ortiz chose in 1906 as a model to begin documenting (from Spain) African things in Cuba. At that time, the topic of conversation was criminology; around the end of the 20s, ethnographic discussions had changed and Ortiz felt obligated to subtitle his brief history of the *cocoricamo* as "a theoplasmic concept". But, as time goes by there is a tradition which is maintained far from the ups and downs of the social sciences: the literary tradition, one of the richest in the Spanish language, and Ortiz will return to this tradition once and again in his published works. Ortiz's thesis, then, is that in Cuba *bozal* 'slaves arriving directly from Africa' coincides with *picaro* "rogue". (Translation mine)

It is noteworthy that Di Leo gives an extra amount of emphasis to the literary tradition. Ortiz recognizes the role that literature has as a provider of knowledge to the general public, and this is why he so generously provides it for his readers during his career as researcher in the field of sociological studies.

---

1. These included the Brazilian Anísio Teixeira, Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Melville Herskovits, Ruediger Bilden, Francis Butler Simkons and Ernest Weaver.

2. Di Leo (2001:58) explains the term *catauro* in the following way: "... it refers to a kind of backpack made of *yaguas* (a type of palm frond) which the backwoodsman uses to put his/her personal things while traveling." (Translation mine)



Speaking of sociological or social studies, we can again look at Jorge Castellano's work (2003) in order to have an outline of the first of these works which appear in Cuba. According to Castellanos, there are many studies in the XIX century dealing with economics and sociology that include sections about the black African population. The first one mentioned by Castellanos is José Antonio Saco who, as he talks about slavery, sometimes provides important data while at other times he hands us superficial studies in which we immediately sense his lack of knowledge of the true character of the African.

Castellanos also talks about Antonio Bachiller y Morales, who had gathered several articles in the journals *El Mundo Nuevo* and *América Ilustrada*, which appeared in 1872 and 1874, in a book titled *Los negros*, in which he talks about black slavery, the blacks in Cuba, in South Carolina (USA) and on some Caribbean islands, as well as about the black centers of worship (*cabildos*) and the *ñáñigos* (subdivision of blacks in Cuba). Although the data offered by Bachiller y Morales are not always trustworthy nor detailed, they represent some of the first manifestations of studies having to do with the slave trade and the blacks in the Americas.

Finally, Castellanos mentions Francisco Calcagno, his novels and his essay *Poetas de color: Plácido, Manzano, Rodríguez, Echemendía, Silveira, Medina*, published in Havana in its fifth edition in 1887.

In the section of the book titled "*Jerarquía de razas vs. Unidad nacional*", Castellanos dedicates a relatively large passage to the description of the work by the French doctor Henri Dumont, who became a member of the Cuban Academy of Sciences. Castellanos says the following about the historical importance of a work by Dumont:

Between 1866 and 1870 he wrote an essay titled *Antropología y Patología Comparada de los Negros Esclavos*, which remained unpublished until it was translated by Castellanos and published by Fernando Ortiz in several numbers of the *Revista Bimestre*, from May to June, 1915. *This work constitutes the first systematic attempt to study the Cuban black in the XIX century according to the principles of the infant science of Anthropology.* (2003: 103) (translation and italics mine)

In this pioneering study done by Dumont, the author discusses the neo-African religions, the ethnicities, the African origins of the slaves, and the blacks living on the plantations, their illnesses, their birth and death indices, their criminality and *even their linguistic tendencies*. Unfortunately, this essay contains many errors, imprecise and inexact material as well as false conclusions. Nonetheless, it is its historical value that is important.

In the same book (2003), Castellanos includes Fernando Ortiz, Rómulo Lachatañeré and Lydia Cabrera, as "the three pioneers" of black African studies and writings in Cuba. As a matter of fact, according to our point of view regarding the historical classification of the existence of *black African material* in the Americas, we could place Ortiz on both sides of an imaginary dividing line (of two periods) as one of the initiators of sociological works about the black (e.g., *Hampa afro cubana*, *Los negros brujos*), and, based on these same sociological studies, as one of the first investigators to display a

broader base of sociological studies surrounding the black American (e.g., *La africanía en la música folklórica de Cuba* and *Los negros curros*).

Regarding Rómulo Lachatañeré, we could place him in the second phase, since his work was inspired by the initial research material discussed here. Lachatañeré wrote *¡Oh, mío Yemayá!* and *Manual de santería*.

Lydia Cabrera, the third person mentioned by Castellanos as a pioneer in Afro-black studies in Cuba, has a very long bibliography (see, for example, Mariela Gutiérrez's studies about her). Cabrera is also part of the second phase of authors who were inspired by the studies of the first phase. Castellanos has discussed her wide scientific and literary production, from her black stories to a work about an excursion she organized to the lagoon of San Joaquín (1973).<sup>3</sup>

Castellanos discusses Cabrera's new and audacious methodology of noting and publishing verbatim all the interviews with Afro-Cuban informants, the details of which she explains in the prologue of her book, *El Monte*. As might be expected, Castellanos dedicates ten pages of his book (2003) to a discussion of the contents and value of this *anthropoetic* (according to Guillermo Cabrera Infante 2003: 199) work by Cabrera.

It is, then, with this incomplete<sup>4</sup> introduction of the anthropological and sociological precursors of the black African literary movements in the Americas that we intend to offer a small study of some of the works of Brazilian and Cuban authors who were influenced in one way or another by these predecessors. We will study the poets who fall within a period close to the first one which inspired them. The poets of later generations, closer to our own time, will only be mentioned by name due to lack of space in this article. At the same time, it will not be possible to identify specific cases or examples of influence, rather only generalizations, since the works which served to inspire later productions did so in a framework of overall big picture manifestations. One of the fundamental elements which figures prominently in the later literary expressions is *language* and the use of language to represent the notion of *nation*, i.e. the African past of the black or mulatto and the expression of his/her roots, tribal or general, in the literary productions. And here, *language* refers not only to the use of vocabulary of African origin, but also to the type of literary expression molded according to the patterns of *neo-black-African* and how this is transmitted to the reader.

---

3. This excursion took place in 1956, but the work in question did not appear until 1973 due to political disturbances in Cuba.

4. We could have included, for example, Roger Bastide, who was one of the most daring pioneers in the study of neo-African cults in Brazil. In Cuba, Alexander von Humboldt and Juan Francisco Manzano could have been included herein.

## 2. Neo-Black-African and the poets

A few white poets tried to imitate the black African language with the idea of obtaining maximum proficiency in poetic orality with respect to the transmission of their message. The blacks/mulattoes who wrote in their black African language (called *lengua*) did it as part of their feelings of pride in their writings, showing their readers their place in the neo-African tradition of the New World and the special literary value of this in the history of Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian literature. As such, part of their message was that this literature merits a place along side of all canonical literature that is written according to the norms and practices of the acrolect. The poets of color who chose to write according to these norms were no doubt afraid that they would not, in fact, form part of the higher ranks of the white poets. As Bastide (1997: 17) has so aptly expressed while speaking of African and Brazilian poetry:

But the movement came from the whites and, on the whole, was directed by them. And even the poets of color frequently opposed this, because they saw in this evaluation of African things an obstacle to their assimilation. (translation mine)

Even so, it is true that “each poet sees African things through his/her own sensibility.” (1997: 47).

### 2.1 Linguistic aspects

As an integral part of the discussion about component parts of the *language* used in the songs, poems and prose (and here more like poetry than prose) of the neo-black-African movement, it is important to point out what Lienhard mentions (1998: 80) in his analysis of the kind of communication that existed between the Portuguese and the blacks in the Congo/Angola area during colonial times. By doing this we can better understand the semantic nuances present in some of the examples seen here in the literature produced as part of the neo-black-African movement in the Americas. It is even possible that the cognitive semantics of these examples may contain traces of what was heard in the land of the Bantus during the first centuries of the Portuguese domination there. As Lienhard explains:

The examples cited<sup>5</sup> suggest a symmetry of a *dialogue* of violence between Europeans and Africans. If the language of the Europeans was war-like, the Africans responded with prideful language. (1998: 80)

It is interesting to note the exchange of messages between the Portuguese in Angola and the so-called *macunzes* or ambassadors of the indigenous nations since they demonstrate portions of the reactions of these Africans toward the Europeans who wanted to take them from their native lands and ruin their lives in a new environment. This kind

---

5. The examples cited come from XVI century documents written in the Congo/Angola area by P. Baltasar Afonso, João Mendes de Vasconcelos, Jerónimo Castaño and Dom Gregório Affonço.

of reactionary violent language spit out at the threats of the Portuguese serve as the basis for propositional meanings and attitudes<sup>6</sup> in the texts analyzed herein, since the authors of the neo-black-African movement are successful at transmitting many of the thoughts and attitudes that we can observe in the writings and oral messages which were transcribed in the XVI and XVII centuries in the parts of Africa taken over by the Europeans.

Something worthy of note in these communications is the importance of the oral message found in the African philosophy. This is found in the literature produced by the American neo-Afro-blacks as part of the emphasis put on the production of poetry in which orality takes center stage, as well as in the prose, which is more poetic, i.e., more dependent on orality for its expression than other narrative pieces outside of the neo-black-African movement.

Likewise, it is important not to forget the inspiration gotten from the folkloric ancestors, some of whom Ramón Guirao has included in his anthology (1938:3–25). Here we find, for example, “*Cantos de cabildo*”, “*Cantos de comparsa*”, “*Canto para toque de rumba*”, “*Canto funeral*”, “*Son*”, “*Décimas*”, “*Diálogo*” (of a black creole), and “*Exclamaciones de un negro en las fiestas efectuadas con motivo de la inauguración del patrono del pueblo de Artemisa, San Marcos, el día 25 de abril de 1857*”, many of which are anonymous. These works not only express the customs and the thoughts of the blacks in the days of slavery, but they are also found written in what we may call *lengua*, i.e., onomatopoeic expressions which imitate words of sub-Saharan origin, in addition to the use of certain literary techniques which reflect phonetic and morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies of black speech, e.g., the omission of word final or syllable final [-s], the interchange of [r] and [l], the omission of [r-] or of [l-] in [r/l] + C clusters with the concomitant lengthening of the C: *verdad* ‘truth’ → *beddá*, the use of “s” in stead of “c” or “z”<sup>7</sup>, the use of “b” in stead of “v”, to show that the black does not have the fricative allophone of /b/, that his/her pronunciation is always occlusive [b] between

---

6. Propositional meanings are those which indicate and directly describe the sufferings of the slaves, the ex-slaves and the descendents of the slaves by means of an artistic language formed according to prescriptive norms of established literature of the western world. A propositional *attitude* goes beyond a mere description or reflection of past events by allowing semantic connotations to show themselves *between the lines*, thus permitting a more profound textual interpretation while manifesting to us of the present century those feelings, attitudes and offensive and defensive reactions of the people who took part in the slave trade. This is how the past becomes present, suggesting subjective interpretations juxtaposed onto the objective ones. Crystal (1997:313) explains the meaning of *propositional attitude* in the following manner: “The notion of **propositional attitude** captures the point that propositions are not just bearers of truth, but means of enabling the speaker to express such attitudes as belief, hope, and doubt, as in ‘A believes that *p*’. If *p* is an object of belief and *q* is not, then *p* and *q* cannot be the same proposition. The verbs are called ‘verbs of propositional attitude’ and attitude reports of this kind help to provide a frame of reference for studying the nature of propositional meaning.”

7. This custom, which is also found in other Afro-black writings, evidently serves the purpose of advising the readers who are *ceccantes* (use the interdental voiceless fricative phoneme) that this /θ/ is

vowels. Regarding morphosyntax, we find expressions such as “*Tu boca son la capuyo*” (1938: 16), in which there is no number or gender agreement.

Some of these neo-black-African poets, such as Juan Francisco Manzano, Emilio Ballagas (most of his work), or José Rodríguez Méndez, used a formal, careful style of language in their poetry, following the grammatical rules of *español culto* ‘cultured Spanish’. Others, such as Ignacio Villa, Marcelino Arozarena, or Nicolás Guillén, used a common type of language which contains many of the phenomena discussed above. Villa used a construction which was not seen very often, but which appears in Spanish- and Portuguese-based creole languages,<sup>8</sup> i.e., *tá + verbal INF* (e.g., “*Calota tá morí*” ‘Carlota has died’, 1938: 184), which shows us that this construction was still being used in the XX century among the people of color in Cuba, since we note that Villa was born in 1902.<sup>9</sup>

In order to show the kind of *language* used by some of the Cuban poets, we would like to present an unpublished poem by Ignacio Villa, “*Calota tá morí*”:

|                                   |                                     |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ¡José Isabé!...                   | ‘Joseph Isabel! ...                 |
| José Isabé,                       | Joseph Isabel,                      |
| Biene pronto pá que tú mira be... | Is coming soon for you to see ...   |
| ¡Ay, Dió!...                      | Oh, God ...                         |
| Calota, poqué tú murí. (5)        | Carlota, why did you die.           |
| Ya me deja,                       | You have left me,                   |
| Calota...                         | Carlota ...                         |
| Mira... que yo no tien que jasé   | Look... I don’t have anything to do |
| Si tú te ba.                      | If you go                           |
| ¡Dió! (10)                        | God!                                |
| Calota no deja solo               | Carlota don’t leave me              |
| Yo ahorita,                       | alone now                           |
| Calota...                         | Carlota ...                         |
| Mira... yo quié morí tambié       | Look... I want to die too           |
| Si tú te ba (15)                  | If you go                           |

not present. By the XIX century this phoneme did not exist in the speech of the Spanish Americans in general, so it was really not necessary to make such a consonantal substitution.

8. The Spanish-based creole languages are Palenquero, Papiamentu and the Spanishi creole of the Philippines. The Portuguese-based languages are popular Brazilian Portuguese, Caboverdeano, Guinea-Bissau, the Gulf of Guinea creoles (São Tomé, Angolar, Príncipe, Annobón), Indo-Portuguese, Sri Lanka, Papiá Kristang, Macanese and Malayo-Portuguese.

9. Lipski (1994: 117–120) speaks of the possible origin of this construction, emphasizing that “It is striking that among the scores of Afro-Hispanic texts, from Spain and all Latin America and spanning nearly 400 years, the combination *ta + V<sub>inf</sub>* is found only (1) in a very small number of texts, (2) in the nineteenth century, (3) in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Even in the nineteenth century Afro-Caribbean corpus, constructions based on *ta* alternate with the archetypical *bozal* pattern or incorrectly conjugated verb forms. No instance of *ta* occurs in the large Afro-Hispanic corpus from Argentina, Uruguay, or Peru, nor in scattered texts from other regions.” (p. 119) See also Friedemann, Nina S. de & Carlos Patiño (1983: 120), and Lipski (1987).

|                                   |                               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ¡Dió!...                          | God!                          |
| Mira José Isabé.                  | Look Joseph Isabel.           |
| Prito malo                        | The bad one                   |
| Ya se yeba Calota                 | takes Carolta away            |
| Y deja solo yo. ¡Eh!... (20)      | And leaves me alone. Oh! ...  |
| José Isabé...                     | Joseph Isabel ...             |
| Yo tá yorá poque Calota           | I am crying because Carlota   |
| Ya tá morí.                       | has died.                     |
| José Isabé...                     | Joseph Isabel ...             |
| Yo tá yorá poque Calota (25)      | I am crying because Carlota   |
| Ya tá morí...                     | has died ...                  |
| Calota tá morí                    | Carlota has died              |
| Cuando jase fata yo.              | When I feel [her] absence.    |
| José Isabé...                     | Joseph Isabel ...             |
| Yo la yorá poque Calota (30)      | I cry for her because Carlota |
| Ya tá morí...                     | has died ...                  |
| Adió Calota.                      | Good bye Carlota.             |
| Adió, Calota,                     | Good bye, Carlota,            |
| José Isabé...                     | Joseph Isabel ...             |
| Yo tá yorá poque Calota (35)      | I cry because Carlota         |
| Ya tá morí...                     | has died ...                  |
| Ya muertero ya llevá              | Death has taken her           |
| Mi Calota...                      | My Carlota ...                |
| Adió, Calota.                     | Good bye, Carlota.            |
| Adió, Calota (40)                 | Good bye, Carlota             |
| José Isabé...                     | Joseph Isabel ...             |
| Yo tá yorá poque Calota           | I cry because Carlota         |
| <i>Ya tá morí.</i> (1938:184–186) | has died. <sup>9</sup>        |

As one can note, not only do we find the changes mentioned above, but also the use of the INF without *ta* (*murí*, l. 5), the apocope of word-final [-l] (*Isabé*), the use of the subject pronoun for the object, postposed after the verb (*y deja solo yo* ← *y me deja solo*, l. 20), the omission of [l-] before a C without the lengthening of the C (*fata* ← *falta*, l. 28),<sup>10</sup> the use of “y” in stead of “ll”, emphasizing the lack of the lateral palatal phoneme /λ/ in the speech of the black,<sup>11</sup> the apocope of word-final [-n] (e.g., *quíé* ← *quien*, *tambié* ← *también*, l. 14), the lack of person/verb form agreement (e.g., *yo no*

10. It is possible that this word should have been written as ‘fatta’, to coincide with the other cases in which the C which follows the liquid sound becomes lengthened. According to my own experience, this phenomenon occurs without exception (e.g., in Cartagena, Colombia), although it is, of course, possible that in Cuba the [l] is omitted without the corresponding lengthening of the following C.

11. This phoneme did not exist in Cuba in the XX century, but it did exist, and continues to exist today, in Paraguay and certain parts of the Andes (Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador). The orthographic “y” in these cases would perhaps show the Paraguayan or Andean reader that the pronunciation should be [j], the palatal approximate.

*tien* ← *yo no tengo*, l. 8), the aspiration of “h-” in certain words (e.g., *jasé* ← *hacer*, l. 8),<sup>12</sup> and the alternation between unstressed [o] and [u] (e.g., *morí* ~ *murí*, ll. 5, 14).

Many of the changes can also be found in other poets, some of whom we have already mentioned. Some are very well known, such as Nicolás Guillén, Marcelino Arozarena, and Emilio Ballagas. Others, such as José Zacarías Tallet, a white poet born in Matanzas in 1893, or José Antonio Portuondo, also a white poet, born in Santiago de Cuba, are perhaps less well known. We may cite some lines from Zacarías Tallet as an example of an imitation of black speech:

|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Quintín Barahona            | ‘Quintín Barahona (proper name)              |
| Su bamba de negro congo     | His black Congolese lip                      |
| Se prolonga, se prolonga    | stretches out, stretches out                 |
| Y se pone ancha y dorá      | And becomes wide and golden                  |
| Cuando e negrito pilongo,   | When the little black guy,                   |
| Quintín, (5)                | Quintín,                                     |
| Tocando tu conettín,        | Playing his cornette                         |
| Hasiéndote e comebola       | Becoming as one who eats a ball              |
| Tú canta pa ti en la chola, | You sing for yourself in your [black] attire |
| Quintín:                    | Quintín:                                     |
| En la fietta liberá: (10)   | In the free fiesta:                          |
| Nieto de la negra conga,    | Grandson of the black Congolese lady         |
| Se pega su conettín         | Plays his cornette                           |
| Y resopla de beddá...       | And really plays it...                       |
| Pero cuando miá pa e sielo  | But when he looks up to heaven               |
| Y te queda como lelo (15)   | And it becomes dull.                         |
| «Apiaso me dió boteya       | «Apiaso gave me a bottle                     |
| y yo boté po Barona».       | and I gave my vote of confidence to Barona». |
| Tú ere Quintín Barahona     | You are Quintín Barahona                     |
| Negro cubano na má. (19)    | Only a Cuban black?                          |

It is interesting to note here that in all of the instances except one the poet follows the “rules” of black speech; he does not, however, with the word *conettín*, which should have been written *connetín*, showing the elision of the preconsonantal “r” of *cornetín* with the concomitant lengthening of the following consonant.

### 3. The neo-black-African poetic work

#### 3.1 Brazil

As we have already stated, Brazil was also witness to a wave of “black African” works, inspired in large part by the sociological and anthropological studies of the XIX cen-

12. Some linguists have thought that this may reflect an older pronunciation of “h-”, the one derived from “f-” (e.g., *fazer* [fadzer] > *hazer* [xadzer > *hacer* [aθer]), while others maintain that it could be a remnant of a syntactically preceding [s] > [h], as in *es hacer* [ex aser] or [eh aser].

tury and the beginning of the XX century. Also, as in Cuba, there were black writers who produced artistic works, with much difficulty during the colonial period. In his study, *Poetas do Brasil*, Roger Bastide dedicates an entire chapter to the discussion of this topic (i.e., “The incorporation of African Poetry into Brazilian Poetry”), in which he discusses both periods of black African (*poesia afronegroide*) poetic production. During the colonial period this poetry was of a satirical and blasphemous nature.

The precursors of the neo-black-African movement in Latin America make up part of a continuous presence of the black figure in Brazilian (and Cuban) literature which is strengthened with the advent of the aforementioned sociological and anthropological studies and it will culminate as it presents an image of the black/mulatto having been syncretized and metamorphosed into something totally new, totally *creole*.

In the middle of all of this, Brazil experiences something which does not occur in Cuba, i.e, the *Week of Modern Art* of 1922 in São Paulo. Part of this *week* has to do with the rediscovery of the country through its history, a large part of which is its slavery and its Afro-black experience. One particular and important facet of this experience (which fits along side of the so-called *indigenismo*, e.g., *Macunaíma* of Mário de Andrade) is the use of *language (língua)* of the black person to emphasize his/her aspect which is totally *creole*, Brazilian (i.e., neither Portuguese nor African, but rather a mixture of the two) and the role that this *creole* has within the total scenario of all that is “modern”.

As a good example of this, Oswald de Andrade plays with the slang used by the Brazilian blacks, as we see in the following little poem, titled *O gramático*:

|                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Os negros discutiam              | ‘The blacks argued                        |
| Que o cavalo sipantou [espantou] | that the horse got scared                 |
| Mas o que mais sabia             | But he who really knew                    |
| Disse que era                    | Said that it [the verb form] was [another |
| Sipantarrou. (1997:308)          | wrong verb form].’                        |

The question now is: who were those who first participated in the neo-black-African literary movement which was the consequence of the sociological and anthropological studies of the XIX century and of the few Afro-black writers of the XIX and XX centuries? One of the first to appear was Cassiano Ricardo, who was a direct product of the Brazilian Modernist movement, as was Jorge de Lima.

Among Jorge de Lima’s poems we find a collection titled “*Poemas Negros*”, in which we have verses that thematically treat Afro-Brazilian subjects and which employ many words of Afro-Brazilian origin. Some of the titles are indicative of the contents of the poems: “*Bangüê*”, “*Quichimbi serêia negra*”, “*Benedito Calunga*”,<sup>13</sup> “*Exu comeu Tarubá*”, “*Ancila Negra*”, “*O Banho das Negras*”, “*Obambá é batizado*”, “*Rei é Oxalá, Rainha é Iemanjá*”, “*Janáina*” (another name for *Iemanjá*), and “*Xangô*”. Perhaps the poem

---

13. Jorge de Lima has a novel titled *Calunga*, which is a social work in which the main character, Lula Bernardo, is a symbol of the rebellious character shown by the author against misery, the latifund system and the unfair advantage taken by the powerful over the poor.



which best reflects the use of Afro-black or Afro-Brazilian vocabulary is “*Poema de Encantação*”:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Arraial d’Angola de Paracatu,<br>Arraial de Mossâmedes de Goiás,<br>Arraial de Santo Antônio do Bambê,<br>Vos ofereço quibebê, quiabo, quitanda,<br>quitute, quingombô.<br>Tirai-me essa murrinha, esse gôgo, esse urufá,<br>que eu quero viver molecando, farreando,<br>tocando meus ganzás!   | ‘Hamlet in Angola of Paracatu [place name],<br><br>Hamlet in Mossâmedes of Goiás,<br>Hamlet in Santo Antônio do Bambê,<br>I offer you various kinds of food all beginning<br>with [k].<br>Take away all those sorrowful impediments<br>because I want to live like a mulatto, partying<br>and playing my rattles!<br>Stream of the Hide-a-way of Palmares<br>Stream of the mouth of the [river] Quizongo,<br>Stream of Exu [a devil] of Bodocô,<br>I offer you marihuana and other victuals. |
| Arroio dos Quilombos de Palmares<br>Arroio do Desemboque do Quizongo,<br>Arroio do Exu do Bodocô,<br>vos ofereço maconha de pito, quitunde,<br>quibembe, quingombô.<br>Assim, sim!<br>Arraial d’Angola de Paracatu,<br>Arraial do Campo de Goiás,<br>Arraial do Exu do Aussá,<br>vos ofereço quisama, quinanga, quilengue,<br>quingombô.<br>Tomai acaçá, abará, aberém, abau!<br>Assim, sim!<br>Tirai-me essa murrinha, esse gogô, esse urufá!<br><i>Vos ofereço quitunde, quitumba, quelembé,<br/>quingombô. (1997:97)</i> | Yeah, man!<br>Hamlet of Angola of Paracatu,<br>Hamlet of the Field of Goiás,<br>Hamlet of Exu of Aussá,<br>I offer you more victuals.<br><br>Take yet more victuals!<br>Yeah, man!<br>Free me from those bonds that tie me down!<br>I offer you these victuals.’   |

The placement of this poem in the Afro-Brazilian slums gives it an air of the presence of all the spirits (Port. *orixás*) which came to Brazil with the African slaves during the colonial period. In an effort to appease these spirits, the poet offers them some familiar things which, at the same time, create a typical Afro-Brazilian atmosphere. The first list of things, in the fourth verse, are different kinds of Afro-Brazilian foods: *quibebê* ‘mashed squash’, from kiMbundu *kibebe* (Chatelain 1888–89; Alves 1951),<sup>14</sup> *quiabo* ‘okra’, from kiMbundu *quingombô*, *gombô*, *quigombô*, *quingobô*, *quitanda* ‘a small stand where fruits and vegetables are sold’, from kiMbundu *kitanda* ‘the selling of goods in an open air market’, *quitute* ‘various types of food’ – in Spain, *tapas*, from kiMbundu *kitutu* ‘indigestion’, *quingombô* ‘okra’, from the kiMbundu examples already seen. Immediately, in the first line of the poem, the poet asks that all pesty things (*murrinha*, *gôgo*, *urufá*), be removed, so that he can be free and able to enjoy life as a good black (*moleque*), who fools around and plays the rattles (*ganzás*).

14. All of the references to kiMbundu referring to origins of the words in question were found in these two dictionaries. Also, some kiMbundu sources were found in Turner 1974 (1949). The *ki-* of kiMbundu is a prefix meaning ‘language’.

In the second strophe we find references to the famous maroon community of Palmares, by the Quizongo River (African River?), to the rogue spirit *Exu do Bodocô*,<sup>15</sup> and to the *Exu do Aussá*,<sup>16</sup> with references to other slum areas, to which are also offered *quisama* (?), *quinanga* ‘wooden bowl in the form of a bucket used by the northeastern country folk to keep their food’, *quilengue* (?), *quitunde* ‘the name of a village, São Luis do Quitunde, in the state of Alagoas’, *quitumba* (?), *quelembe* (?). It is possible that these unknown words are inventions of our poet, made up to add a more African-like ambiance through the use of neologisms which imitate the sounds of legitimate African words, such as the word *quemacambó* used by some poets of the Afro-Cuban movement.

### 3.2 Cuba

Of all the selections provided by Emilio Ballagas in his *Mapa . . .* (1946), the only poem which appears written in an Afro-black type language (in all the other poems the authors use a standard Spanish) is “*Canto de bodas*”, by Creto Gangá (1811–1871):

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Los casados. Nengrito má fortuná<br>no lo salí lan Guinea<br>¡Jah! Bindita hora que branco<br>me lo traé neta tierra.<br>Ya yo son libre, (5)<br>yo tá casá<br>mi su amo memo<br>me libertá.             | “The married ones. Unlucky little black<br>did not leave Guinea<br>Ha! Happy hour that the white man<br>brought me to this land.<br>Now I am free,<br>I am married<br>my master himself<br>freed me.              |
| El Coro. ¡Guah! ¡Guah! ¡Guah!<br>¡Baila, carabela, (10)<br>meníalo la pata!<br>Cañuto son libre<br>Y casa cum Pancha.  | The chorus. Ha, ha, ha!<br>Dance, caravel,<br>shake that foot!<br>The slaves are free<br>to marry Pancha.   |
| Los Casados. La tierra branco son grori<br><br>Quando se jalla amo güeno. (15)<br>¡Jah! La mía son critiano<br>y como súcara memo.<br>Ya yo son libre,<br>Yo tá casá,<br>Mí amo memo (20)<br>Me libertá, | The married ones. The land of the whites is<br>glorious<br>When one finds a good master.<br>Ha! Mine are Christians<br>and just like sugar.<br>I am now free,<br>I am married,<br>My very own master<br>freed me, |
| El Coro. ¡Guah! ¡Guah! ¡Guah! (22)   | The Chorus. Ha! Ha! Ha!   |

15. Of all the spirits included in Cacciatore’s *Dicionário* (1977: 121–124), the *Exu do Bodocô* does not appear.

16. This spirit does not appear in Cacciatore’s *Dicionário* (1977) either. They may be either spirits which are only locally known or combinations of names created by the poet.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| ¡Baila carabela!, etc. (23)   | Dance caravel, etc.  |
| Los Casados. Niño branco ta guaitando como nengrito lo baila. (25)    | The married ones. The white kid is behaving like a black when dancing.   |
| ¡Jah! La nengrita lo dise:<br>Dió dá salú gente branca.               | Ha! The little black gal says it:<br>God gives health to the white folk. |
| Ya yo son libre,<br>Yo tá casá,<br>Mi su amo memo (30)<br>Me libertá. | I am now free,<br>I am married,<br>My very own master<br>freed me.       |
| El Coro, ¡Guah! ¡Guah! ¡Guah!   | The Chorus, Ha! ha! ha!  |
| ¡Baila, carabela,<br>menialo la pata!                                 | Dance, caravel,<br>shake that foot!                                      |
| Cañuto son libre (35)<br>Y casá cum Pancha.                           | The slaves are free<br>to marry Pancha. <sup>7</sup>                     |

In this poem the theme is somewhat unexpected, for rather than painting a scene of sorrow and pain, which would depict the slaves' suffering, we see that the blacks who suffer with bad luck are the ones "left behind" in Guinea, since here this particular couple of married blacks gives thanks for having been brought to Cuba and for having fallen into the hands of Christian masters who have given them their freedom and permission to marry.

Regarding the language used here, we find phonological and morphosyntactic changes, such as those which appear in the Golden Age of Peninsular Spanish literature (cf. Lipski 1986) and in the black Cuban and Brazilian literary characters (and some other countries) of the XX century.

The phonological, morphophonemic (= phonotaxis), and morphosyntactic changes noted are (1) the epenthetic and paragogic nasal sound (/N/) before a C (*Nengrito*, *lan Guinea*), (2) the apocope of a word-final liquid (*má* ← *mal*), (3) aphaeresis and apocope and the elimination of a liquid before a C (*fortuná* ← *afortunado*), (4) the apocope of word-final "-r" of the verbal infinitive (*salí*, *traé*), (5) vowel raising (*bindita* ← *ben-dita*), (6) the exchange of liquid sounds (*branco* ← *blanco*, *groria* ← *gloria*), (7) the syncope of the alveolar fricative /s/ (*neta* ← *nesta* ← *en esta*, *critiano* ← *cristiano*), (8) the aphaeresis (or haplology) of the initial syllable of a word (*tá* ← *está*), (9) the apocope (haplology) of the final syllable of a word (*casá* ← *casado*), (10) what appears to be the lowering of a high vowel ([i] → [e]), but since we do not generally find this kind of change in the Afro-black language (usually it is vowel closing), we can postulate a Portuguese influence (i.e., from Portuguese *mesmo* 'same'),<sup>17</sup> or perhaps a trace of old Spanish (i.e., *mesmo*), (11) the use of the infinitive without the final "-r" for a finite form of the verb (*libertá* ← *libertó*), (12) the change of word-final "-y" (the last part of a falling diphthong, [o<sup>i</sup>]), a /N/ (nasal), or possibly the interchange of the verbal person/number (*son* ← *soy*), (13) what appears to be a fusion of the possessive adjective + noun (which does occur in creole languages), i.e., "*mi su amo*" = [miswámo],

17. See, for example, Naro (1978) or Megenney (1984).

in which “*su amo*” becomes one word in the mind of the speaker,<sup>18</sup> (14) the simultaneous use of the direct object pronoun and the definite article, which occupy the same module,<sup>19</sup> (15) the verb *casarse* appears without the reflexive, as it does in Portuguese or in old Spanish (*y casa cum Pancha*), (16) vowel raising [o] → [u], plus regressive assimilation<sup>20</sup> (*cum* ← *con*), (17) the aspiration (as in old Spanish) of “h” (*jalla* ← *halla* [Øaja]), (18) acoustic equivalence (*güeno* ← *bueno*), (19) interchange and lack of gender agreement (*la mío* ← *el mío*), (19) aphaeresis and paragogy in *azúcar* (*súcara*),<sup>21</sup> written with “s” rather than “z”, indicating the absence of the *ceceo* (i.e., [θeθeo]), (20) apocope of word-final “-d” (*salú* ← *salud*, *libertá* ← *libertad*), (21) the use of a typical Afro-black word, i.e., *guaitando* ← *aguaitando* ‘looking intensely’, (22) the omission of words (ellipsis) (*Dió dá salú [a la] gente branca*).

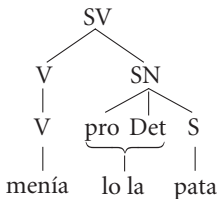
Of the Cuban poets which appear in Ballagas’ classification (1946) called “*Época Actual*”, the only ones who use the Afro-black language in some of their poems are Nicolás Guillén and Emilio Ballagas. The others speak about the black people, but without using the linguistic third dimension of the language typical for them. We are all very familiar with Guillén’s poems and probably with “*Para dormir a un negrito*” by Emilio Ballagas, so there is no need to cite them here. Perhaps less well known is Ballagas’ poem titled “*Lavandera con negrito*”, which we will cite here as an example of how the poet takes advantage linguistically of creating a typical Afro-black ambience:

Eta tarde lo bañé  
y ya etá otra bé'echo puecco.  
¡Como buelba'á comé tierra  
te ba cogé la confrontá .....  
Ba'ber que traé una grúa (5)

This afternoon I gave him a bath  
and he is already dirty like a pig again,  
If you dare eat dirt again  
you are really going to get it ...  
It will be necessary to get a derrick

18. In the history of the Spanish language, for example, the Arabic definite article transferred over into Spanish as part of the noun, e.g., Arabic *al kasr* → Spanish *el alcázar*. Also, in the Philippines, some Spanish words were transferred over into Philippine English with the definite article attached to the noun as part of one word, e.g., *la puerta* → *lapuerta*, as in “Please open *the lapuerta*”.

19. In this case, the arboreal structure would be:



20. Here the assimilation is the “-n” of “con” which acquires the bilabial point of articulation of the “P.” of “Pancha”.

21. The late Celia Cruz surely would have used *súcara* in her songs, because of the “flavor” of the word (her favorite) and because of the antepenultimate accentual rhythm which is so common in the *música guarachosa*.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Pa'lebantá                                   | To pick up                                   |
| Al negro Tomás Jasinto                       | the black guy, Tomás Jasinto                 |
| Que no quiere caminará .....                 | He doesn't want to walk ...                  |
| ¡Caridá!                                     | Caridad [proper name]!                       |
| ¡Caridá! (10)                                | Caridad!                                     |
| Sigue alante con la ropa                     | Go ahead with the clothes                    |
| Que yo me quedo con él                       | I'll stay here with him                      |
| Pa'quitarle la perreta ... ..                | and cure him of this naughtiness ...         |
| Tu ba'bé Tomás                               | You'll see, Thomas                           |
| ¡Tú ba a bé quién puede má! (15)             | You'll see who wins!                         |
| ¡Ya abrió la jaiba, San Lázaro!              | Saint Lazarus comes with his tricks!         |
| ¡Que negro má rebirao!                       | What a turned-around blacky!                 |
| Tan mobío y tan lijoso ...                   | Really raudy and grating                     |
| No hay casi pa'la chaúcha ...                | Ain't got almost not even small change ...   |
| ¡Ba'ábé pa'coge automobí ..... (20)...       | Got to pay for the car ...                   |
| Tomás Jasinto,                               | Thomas Jasinto,                              |
| tan bedá como que me ñamo Paula              | so true as my name is Paula                  |
| que tú te ba lebantá y ba a seguí caminando. | you are going to get up and keep on walking. |
| Me boy a quitá e sapato,                     | I'm going to take my show off,               |
| Pa'da'te cranque, moreno... . (25)           | and give you a whack, black boy ...          |
| Caridá ...                                   | Caridad ...                                  |
| ¡Caridá!                                     | Caridad!                                     |
| Sigue alante con la ropa ...                 | Go ahead with the clothes ...                |
| que se hace ta'de po Dió.                    | it's getting late, my goodness.              |
| El negro se ha encangrejao (30)              | The black boy has become very naughty        |
| Y boy a tené que da'le                       | And I am going to have to                    |
| candela, como al macao. (1946: 132, 133)     | swat him, like he deserves.                  |

Even though other poets of the Afro-black movement in Cuba do not utilize the typical phonological language, many employ onomatopoeic words or forms taken from the *ñáñigo* (< Yoruba), *anagós* (also called *lucumies*, from the Yoruba) or *Mayombes*<sup>22</sup> (from kiKongo, see Laman 1936), to augment the Afro-black feelings in their verses. In Alejo Carpentier's "Liturgia", for example, we find the following in the eighth strophe:

Endoco endiminoco 'Onomatopoeic words.'  
 efire bongó.  
 Enkiko baragofia  
 ¡yamba ó!

The word *bongó* refers to the drum *bongó* and *yamba* means 'evil, bad' in Anagó. (Cabrera 1970).<sup>23</sup>

22. See Fuentes Guerra/Schwegler 2005, for examples of Mayombe words (*Palo Monte Mayombe*).

23. According to Cabrera's dictionary (1970:222), the word *O* means 'yes' and 'you'. We may compare this with Yoruba *ó* (high tone), which is 'he/her' and *o* (mid tone) 'you'.

#### 4. Conclusion

As part of the socioliterary tradition we find the neo-black-African movements appearing in Latin America, especially in Cuba and Brazil, as a result of a new interest in this theme which has sprung up in part based on the historical and anthropological studies (and in Cuba, criminological) carried out on the slave trade in colonial and post colonial Latin America. This is how some authors, poets and prose writers, inspired by these early works of social science, begin to express the African voice in their literature through the customs and the language of the Afro-Americans, something which heretofore had been ignored or avoided on purpose by Latin American writers.

Regarding the linguistic forms which several authors have provided in their writings as part of this neo-black-African movement, we may first say that many of them have preferred to write in a standard language – either Spanish or Portuguese – in order to obtain the acceptance of their colleagues who formed part of the literary canon. Others have preferred to use language which is grammatically similar to the *bozal* language of the colonial period, which imitates the speech of the descendents of the black slaves as it has remained preserved in the Afro-black Latin American communities. There are even white writers who have given themselves over to the task of producing this kind of speech, which has undoubtedly created an ambiance which is more faithful to the neo-black-African reality.

Within this literature there is more *lengua* ('language' of a black African nature) in the poetry than in the prose; and even in the prose (as opposed to collections of poetry) most of the text that appears in *lengua* is found in the poetry or in the songs interweaved in the prose. The reproduction of *lengua* in the poetry and the prose for the most part is a faithful reflection of the linguistic patterns found in the studies of the pidgin and creole languages which have been published by anthropologists and linguists. Sometimes we have found what appear to be onomatopaeic expressions which the authors use to enhance the Afro-black ambiance by way of certain combinations of sounds that we relate to African language sounds. At the same time, we have discovered that some of these onomatopaeic structures are actually legitimate onomatopaeic words which are found in certain sub-Saharan languages, and this establishes the authenticity of some of these vocabulary items which our neo-black-African Latin American writers have used in their literary creations.

With respect to the other words of supposed African origin, we have seen that some of them may, indeed, be certified as true sub-Saharan words, many of which come from kiMbundu (Chatelain 1888–89), kiKongo (Laman 1936), Yoruba (Fashagba 1991; Crowther 1870) – especially with respect to the names of the spirits – or from Ewe/Fon (Westermann 1954), also referring to names of spirits.

The phonetic reproduction in this literature has been found quite faithful to the oral renditions which we have heard in Brazil and Cuba, which, at the same time, reflect patterns we have seen in linguistic studies of pidgin, *bozal* and creole languages found in the Caribbean and in Brazil.

## References

- Alves, Padre A. 1951. *Dicionário Etimológico Bundo-Português*. Lisboa: Tipografia Silvas, Lda., 2 volumes.
- Ballagas, E. 1946. *Mapa de la poesía negra americana*. Buenos Aires: Pleamar.
- Bastide, R. 1997. *Poetas do Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo.
- Bastise, R. 1997. 'Le spiritisme de Umbanda', *Miscelânea de estudos dedicados a Fernando Ortiz por sus discípulos, colegas y amigos*. Vol. I. La Habana: Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País.
- Cabrera, L. 1970. *Anagó, vocabulario lucumí (el yoruba que se habla en Cuba)*. Miami: Colección del Chicherekú y Rojas.
- Cacciatore, O. G. 1977. *Dicionário de Cultos Afro-Brasileiros*. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária.
- Castellanos, J. 2003. *Pioneros de la etnografía afrocubana*. Miami: Ediciones Universal.
- Chatelain, H. 1888–89. *Grammática elementar do kiMbundu ou língua de Angola*. Ginebra, Typ. de Charles Schuchardt.
- Crystal, D. 1997. *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fashagba, J. A. 1991. *The First Illustrated Yoruba Dictionary*. Toronto: S.I.
- Friedemann, N. S. & Rosselli, P. R. 1983. *Lengua y sociedad en el Palenque de San Basilio*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Fuentes Guerra, J. & Schwegler, A. 2005. *Lengua y ritos del Palo Monte Mayombe (Dioses cubanos y sus fuentes africanas)*. Madrid: Vervuert Iberoamericana.
- Crowther, Rev. S. 1970. *A Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language*. London: Church Missionary Society.
- Guirao, R. 1938. *Órbita de la poesía afrocubana 1928–37*. La Habana: Ucar-García y Cía.
- Laman, K. E. 1936. *Dictionnaire kikongo-français*. Brussels: Librairie Falk fils.
- Leo, O. di. 2001. *El descubrimiento de África en Cuba y Brasil, 1889–1969*. Spain: Editorial Colibrí.
- Lienhard, M. 1998. *O mar e o mato (Histórias da escravidão / Congo-Angola, Brasil, Caribe)*. São Salvador da Bahia: EDUFBA/CEAO.
- Lipski, J.M. 1986. Golden Age 'Black Spanish': Existence and Coexistence. *Afro-Hispanic Review* 5: 7–12.
- Lipski, J.M. 1987. The construction of *ta* + infinitive in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish. *Romance Philology* 40: 431–50.
- Lipski, J.M. 1994. *Latin American Spanish*. London: Longman.
- Megenney, William. 1984. Traces of Portuguese in three Caribbean creoles: Evidence in support of the monogenetic theory. *Hispanic Linguistics* 1(2): 177–189.
- Naro, A. 1978. A study on the origins of pidginization, *Language* 54:314–47.
- Nina Rodrigues, R. 1896. O animismo fetichista dos negros baianos. *Revista Brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro.
- Nina Rodrigues, R. 1982 [1933]. *Os africanos no Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora Nacional.
- Nina Rodrigues, R. 1988. *Estudos sobre a escravidão negra (apresentação e organização de Leonardo Dantas Silva)*. Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco-Massangana.
- Nina Rodrigues, R. 1954 [1905]. *A Tróia negra (Erros e lacunas da História de Palmares)*. Bahia: Progresso.
- Turner, L. D. 1974 [1949]. *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Westermann, D. 1954. *Wörterbuch der Ewe-Sprache*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

# Index

## A

- Abrupt change 237  
Acquisition 3–6, 8, 10, 19, 20,  
24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 85, 197,  
247, 257, 327, 328, 340  
Adolescente / adolescent /  
adolescencia 41, 42, 45,  
109, 197, 281, 293, 337, 357  
Africa / African / Africano  
215, 357, 358, 362, 364–369,  
376–383, 386–389, 393  
Afro- 215, 357–369, 377–379,  
381–384, 387–393  
Age 4, 5, 7, 10–19, 26–30, 38,  
64, 72, 83, 90, 122, 159, 160,  
197, 200, 257–263, 267, 271,  
295–298, 303–306, 309, 312,  
313, 327–340  
Andes / Andean 191–198,  
200–208, 237–244, 246, 248,  
250, 385  
Anglicismo / anglicism 41, 43,  
50–56, 94  
Anthropoetic 381  
Argentina 195, 228, 311, 316,  
384  
Así que 155, 158, 159, 160, 162,  
164, 167–169  
Aspect 24, 28, 29, 30, 37, 66,  
67, 296, 297, 349, 358  
Attitude/actitud 44, 49, 67,  
81–83, 86–90, 92, 96, 97,  
101–103, 105–108, 111, 113,  
114, 119, 120, 122, 128, 130,  
184, 191, 193, 195, 197, 198,  
204, 207, 208, 239, 261,  
270–272, 328, 332, 333, 336,  
339, 340, 368, 383  
Aventura 176, 177, 181

## B

- Bachata 173, 176, 177, 183, 184

## Bilingual / bilingüe /

- bilingualism / bilingüismo  
3–6, 10, 11, 16, 18–29, 23–38,  
50, 56, 61, 65, 81–97, 112, 122,  
126, 135, 136, 138, 142, 149,  
151, 153, 154, 157, 158, 160,  
165–169, 174, 175, 183, 192,  
193, 195–197, 212, 214, 216,  
219, 220, 222, 225, 230,  
237–250, 253–269, 275, 276,  
285, 291, 293, 296, 305, 313,  
323, 333, 345, 346, 349, 351,  
353  
Bolivia / Bolivian 193, 194,  
196, 238, 359, 361, 369, 385  
Borrowing 101–106, 109,  
238–240, 260  
Bozal / Bozal Spanish 230,  
357–369, 377, 379, 384, 393  
Brazil / Brazilian 301, 361,  
367, 368, 377–379, 381, 382,  
384, 386–388, 393

## C

- Calque 191, 194–196, 200–208  
Catalan 6, 19, 43, 101, 102, 105,  
107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114,  
123, 212, 215, 254, 263, 346  
Child / children / childhood  
3–7, 9–16, 18–20, 24, 26–28,  
31, 38, 85, 86, 89, 90, 94, 96,  
102, 107, 109, 112, 122, 123,  
126–130, 135, 138, 140, 143,  
145, 147, 150, 154, 199, 249,  
250, 260, 263, 268, 270, 298,  
313, 328, 337, 364, 368  
Chile / Chilean 19, 43, 311, 316  
Classroom 24, 38, 61, 63–66,  
68–71, 77, 83, 105, 109, 127,  
130, 135, 136, 138–141, 145,  
147, 149, 161, 163, 167, 349

## Codeswitching / Cambio de

- Código 135–139, 141,  
145–151, 173, 174, 176, 345, 351  
Cognitive Limitation Theory  
16, 19  
Colombia / Colombian 29,  
44, 138, 196, 213–216, 277,  
281–284, 292, 293, 309–316,  
318, 320–323, 357, 359, 360,  
361, 385  
Como 153, 155–158, 160, 162,  
163, 165–169  
Conflict 88, 114, 123, 124, 205,  
295, 296, 298, 302, 303, 305,  
306  
Copula 12, 13, 253–272, 345,  
346–349, 351, 354, 358, 365  
Corpus Planning 101, 102, 114  
Creole / Créole / Criollo 175,  
211–220, 225, 357, 358, 360,  
361, 364, 366, 367, 377, 383,  
384, 387, 390, 393  
Cross-linguistic influence /  
Contact induced change /  
Contacto interlingüístico  
191, 192, 194, 195, 198, 207,  
237, 271, 285, 290, 291, 293  
Cuba / Cuban 44, 95, 215, 275,  
277, 281–284, 291–294, 357,  
359, 364–368, 377–281,  
384–387, 389–393  
D  
De-castilianization 101, 102,  
106–108, 111, 114  
Dice 191, 194, 195, 200  
Differentiated teaching /  
instruction / classrooms /  
activities / tasks 61, 68, 69,  
72  
Diglossia 119, 120, 123, 127,  
129, 250, 270  
Directive 137, 142, 143, 147



- Disagreement 137, 142–144, 148, 158
- Discourse Marker / Discourse Particle 153–155, 159, 160, 162, 163, 165–167, 169, 195, 204, 206–208
- Dominican / Dominicano / Dominican Republic 43, 44, 91, 176, 183–186, 211, 213–216, 218–220, 222, 226–228, 230, 231, 275, 277, 281–185, 291, 292, 294, 311, 326, 357, 359, 364
- E**
- Ecuador / Ecuadorian 195, 196, 238, 275, 277, 281, 282m, 284, 292, 293, 311, 316, 323, 357, 359, 361, 369, 385
- Edad 7, 42, 45–48, 72, 159, 220, 222, 277–289, 292
- Education / educación / educational / educativo 47, 54, 68, 84–89, 92, 93, 96, 104, 109, 110, 111, 112, 120, 121, 126, 127, 138, 154, 160, 197, 204, 257, 258, 261–263, 267, 268, 271, 277, 313, 345, 347, 348, 350, 352, 353
- Entonces 155, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 167–169
- Epistemic marker 191–193, 196, 200, 206–208
- Estar 12, 71, 253–262, 264–272, 330, 345–349, 351–354, 358
- F**
- Fused system hypothesis 5
- Future tense / Futurity 197, 297, 309, 311–323
- G**
- Galicia / Galician 103, 119–131, 253–256, 258–266, 268–272
- Gender (grammatical) 11, 241, 246, 364, 384, 391
- Gender / género / sexo / sex (social identity) 41, 46–48, 54–56, 157, 253, 258, 260–270, 272, 295, 297–306, 345, 347, 350, 352, 353
- Grammaticalization 204, 208, 297, 323
- Grinstead's hypothesis 6, 20
- Guy's Theory 309, 312, 314, 321, 322
- H**
- Haiti / Haitian / Haitiano / hatianizado 211, 212, 214–220, 222, 225, 226, 230, 364
- Heritage language 23, 94, 153, 154, 155, 166, 170
- Heritage language learner / student 61, 63, 65–71, 77, 78
- Heritage speaker 24, 26, 28, 29, 31, 34, 36–38, 40, 61, 152
- Houston 62, 66, 327–336, 338–340
- I**
- Identity / identidad 88, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 103, 107, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 130, 131, 136, 137, 144, 149–151, 170, 175, 184, 279, 331, 334, 335, 339
- Imperfect 28, 29, 66, 71, 198, 200, 295, 297, 299, 300, 301–306
- Incomplete acquisition / imperfect learning 22, 24, 27, 238, 240
- Index / índice 45, 46, 50, 135, 143, 144, 147–150, 172, 380
- Indicative 23–26, 29, 30, 32–37, 295, 299–306, 311, 317, 323
- L**
- Language contact / lenguas en contacto / contacto lingüístico / contacto interlingüístico / contacto interdialectal / contacto 24, 41, 55, 153, 192, 214, 216, 218, 219, 225, 226, 237–240, 254, 255, 271, 272, 275–277, 281, 285, 290, 291, 293, 309, 312, 314, 321–323, 339, 351, 357, 358
- Ideology 122, 129
- Léxico disponible 41–43, 45, 47, 51–56
- Loyalty 106, 119, 123–125, 129, 260
- M**
- Markedness Model 135–137, 139, 141, 143–150
- Mean length of Utterance (MLU) 4, 6, 11, 12, 14–17, 19
- Mexico / México / Mexican / Mexicano 8, 24, 27, 29, 43–45, 47, 51, 54, 56, 74, 75, 89, 138, 149, 160, 256–258, 269, 275, 277, 279–284, 291, 293, 311, 315, 327–337, 339, 340, 345, 346, 351, 353, 397, 399
- Mixed ability 61, 63–66, 68–70, 77
- Monolingual / monolingüe / monolingualism / monolingüismo 3–6, 16, 18–20, 23, 26–33, 35, 37, 40, 50, 82, 84, 88–90, 92, 94, 126, 156, 158, 165, 166, 175, 180, 211, 216, 219, 220, 243, 244, 247, 250, 253–257, 259–263, 265, 266, 268, 269, 272, 311, 313, 315, 322, 345, 347, 351, 354, 357, 359
- Mood 23, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 67, 195, 311, 317, 358
- Multilingual / multilingualism 87, 94, 95, 97, 122, 249
- N**
- Narrative / narrativo 179, 183, 193, 229, 295–306, 348, 383
- Negation / Negación 211–218, 220–231, 314, 318, 358–360
- Network Theory 239
- New Mexico / New Mexican / Nuevomexicano 62, 88, 167, 242, 311, 345–348, 351, 354
- New York / Nueva York / Neoyorquino 43, 92, 93, 174, 176, 256, 275–281, 284–287, 290, 292, 293
- Non-standard / nonstandard / no-estándar 90, 119, 121, 163, 165, 167, 191, 198, 203, 204, 206, 208, 215, 219, 270

- Normal Transmission 237, 239
- Null subject 5, 15, 16, 302
- Number / number agreement 11, 241, 246, 247, 314–318m, 322, 384, 390
- O**
- Object drop 5
- Objetivización / objectification 174, 177, 179, 180–183, 185, 186
- Overt subject 3–9, 12–20, 302
- P**
- Past perfect 191, 193, 194, 198–200, 207
- Policy 83, 85–88, 92, 93, 96, 101, 103, 107, 110–112, 125, 261
- Punctor 154–160, 162–169
- Peru / Peruvian 29, 191, 193, 195, 196, 203, 238, 239–242, 250, 323, 357, 259, 384, 385
- Presupposition / presuposición 25, 27, 216, 230
- Preterite / preterit 28, 29, 66, 70, 193, 194, 198, 295, 297, 299–306
- Present perfect 191, 193, 194, 198, 200, 207
- Proficiency 5, 26, 28, 30–38, 63, 65, 67, 83, 90, 91, 95, 96, 104, 109, 112, 138, 140, 142, 145, 150, 160, 165, 211, 248, 249, 261, 263, 313, 382
- Pronombre personal sujeto / explícito / expreso 276, 278–290, 292, 293
- Pronombre nulo 276, 278–280, 282, 283
- Puerto Rico / Puerto Rican / puertorriqueño 29, 43, 44, 81–87, 89–97, 176, 213, 219, 231, 256, 257, 269, 275, 277, 281–284, 290–296, 299, 305, 306, 311, 316, 384
- Pues 191, 195, 196, 202–206, 208
- Purism 94, 102–106, 113, 114
- Q**
- Quechua 175, 191–208, 238–241, 243, 244, 249, 315, 323, 369
- R**
- Recién llegado 275–294
- Register 63, 67, 69, 102, 105, 153–155, 160–165, 167–170, 270
- S**
- /s/ 327–332, 336–340, 361–390
- Salvadoran 327–329, 331–337, 339, 340
- Sequential Approach 135–137, 139, 141, 145, 147, 147–150
- Ser 12, 71, 76, 253–259, 264, 265, 269, 318–321, 345–249, 351, 353, 354, 358
- Silva-Corvalán's hypothesis 322
- Simplification 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 34, 238, 247
- So 155, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 167–169
- Social class 121, 200, 258, 271, 272, 313
- Spanish for native speakers / SNS 61–66, 68–71, 77
- Speech Act 137, 142, 143, 147
- Standard / estándar / standardization 19, 89, 90, 92, 103, 109, 110, 113, 114, 119, 120, 121, 123–131, 162, 163, 193, 198, 201, 202, 205, 206, 207, 208, 212–215, 271, 316, 359, 393
- Style 153–155, 169, 258, 295, 296, 302, 303, 305, 306, 377, 384
- Subjetivación / subjectification 173, 174, 177, 179, 180, 182–186
- Subjunctive 23–27, 30, 32–40, 70, 197, 299, 323
- T**
- Tense 13, 24, 25, 28–30, 37, 191–194, 197–200, 207, 295–306, 315, 317, 322, 345, 349–352, 358
- Theory 16, 24, 239, 309, 311, 312, 314, 321, 322
- V**
- Valencia / Valencian 43, 101–114, 254, 260
- Varbrul / Variable Rule 299, 330, 337–339, 345, 347, 348, 390, 391
- Variety 9, 63, 89, 93, 97, 102, 104, 105, 119, 121, 123–125, 127, 129–131, 154, 166, 169, 237–240, 243, 246, 249, 254, 270, 302, 323, 328, 329, 336, 339, 345, 346, 348, 349, 351, 352, 354, 362



In the series *IMPACT: Studies in language and society* the following titles have been published thus far or are scheduled for publication:

- 22 **POTOWSKI, Kim and Richard CAMERON (eds.):** Spanish in Contact. Policy, Social and Linguistic Inquiries. 2007. xx, 397 pp.
- 21 **HUTCHBY, Ian:** The Discourse of Child Counselling. 2007. xii, 145 pp.
- 20 **FENYVESI, Anna (ed.):** Hungarian Language Contact Outside Hungary. Studies on Hungarian as a minority language. 2005. xxii, 425 pp.
- 19 **DEUMERT, Ana:** Language Standardization and Language Change. The dynamics of Cape Dutch. 2004. xx, 362 pp.
- 18 **DEUMERT, Ana and Wim VANDENBUSSCHE (eds.):** Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present. 2003. vi, 480 pp.
- 17 **TRINCH, Shonna L.:** Latinas' Narratives of Domestic Abuse. Discrepant versions of violence. 2003. x, 315 pp.
- 16 **BRITAIN, David and Jenny CHESHIRE (eds.):** Social Dialectology. In honour of Peter Trudgill. 2003. x, 344 pp.
- 15 **BOXER, Diana:** Applying Sociolinguistics. Domains and face-to-face interaction. 2002. xii, 245 pp.
- 14 **WEBB, Victor:** Language in South Africa. The role of language in national transformation, reconstruction and development. 2002. xxviii, 357 pp.
- 13 **OAKES, Leigh:** Language and National Identity. Comparing France and Sweden. 2001. x, 305 pp.
- 12 **OKITA, Toshie:** Invisible Work. Bilingualism, language choice and childrearing in intermarried families. 2002. x, 275 pp.
- 11 **HELLINGER, Marlis and Hadumod BUSSMANN (eds.):** Gender Across Languages. The linguistic representation of women and men. Volume 3. 2003. xiv, 391 pp.
- 10 **HELLINGER, Marlis and Hadumod BUSSMANN (eds.):** Gender Across Languages. The linguistic representation of women and men. Volume 2. 2002. xiv, 349 pp.
- 9 **HELLINGER, Marlis and Hadumod BUSSMANN (eds.):** Gender Across Languages. The linguistic representation of women and men. Volume 1. 2001. xiv, 329 pp.
- 8 **ARMSTRONG, Nigel R.:** Social and Stylistic Variation in Spoken French. A comparative approach. 2001. x, 278 pp.
- 7 **McCAFFERTY, Kevin:** Ethnicity and Language Change. English in (London)Derry, Northern Ireland. 2001. xx, 244 pp.
- 6 **RICENTO, Thomas (ed.):** Ideology, Politics and Language Policies. Focus on English. 2000. x, 197 pp.
- 5 **ANDREWS, David R.:** Sociocultural Perspectives on Language Change in Diaspora. Soviet immigrants in the United States. 1999. xviii, 182 pp.
- 4 **OWENS, Jonathan:** Neighborhood and Ancestry. Variation in the spoken Arabic of Maiduguri, Nigeria. 1998. xiv, 390 pp.
- 3 **LINELL, Per:** Approaching Dialogue. Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives. 1998. xvii, 322 pp.
- 2 **KIBBEE, Douglas A. (ed.):** Language Legislation and Linguistic Rights. Selected Proceedings of the Language Legislation and Linguistic Rights Conference, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, March, 1996. 1998. xvi, 415 pp.
- 1 **PÜTZ, Martin (ed.):** Language Choices. Conditions, constraints, and consequences. 1997. xxi, 430 pp.