

# Spanish in Colombia and New York City

Language contact meets  
dialectal convergence

Rafael Orozco

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# Spanish in Colombia and New York City

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## **Volume 46**

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*This volume is dedicated to my family, my mentors,  
and the consultants whose voices provided the data  
analyzed here.*



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# Preface

Gregory R. Guy

Rafael Orozco is well known to scholars engaged in sociolinguistic studies of Spanish. He has published a number of studies of Spanish in Colombia and the Colombian diaspora in the US, and works on dialectological and sociolinguistic diversity in Spanish and language contact between Spanish and English. In this capstone work, he presents a detailed analysis of sociolinguistic variation comparing speakers in Barranquilla with Colombian speakers in New York City. The data are drawn from two original corpora of sociolinguistic interviews, conducted by Orozco himself in both locations, using a common interview protocol, and including a social cross-section of both speech communities. As such, these materials permit unique insights into two fundamental issues: the effects of language contact, and the stability of the grammar of variation.

The work examines three morphosyntactic variables that are particularly relevant for illuminating these issues. Each of the variables has at least one variant that is syntactically or morphologically similar to the corresponding English construction, and another that is dissimilar. Hence the data allow Orozco to investigate whether the contact with English promotes structural convergence, by favoring the usage of the more English-like alternative. Each of the variables is also subject to a relatively complex web of linguistic constraints – contexts that favor the choice of one or another variant. This makes it possible to address the question of whether these constraints, which effectively define the grammar of these variables, are stable across the different speech communities. This has ramifications for the first question: if there are contact influences, are they simply quantitative, in the sense of increasing the overall rate of use of variants that are more congruent with English, or are they qualitative – producing changes in this grammar of constraints on where variants occur?

The variants in question are (1) expressions of futurity; (2) expressions of nominal possession; and (3) the use of overt vs. null sentential subjects. For indicating future time reference, Spanish speakers have three options: the inflected future (*cantaré* ‘I will sing’), the periphrastic future (*voy a cantar* ‘I’m going to sing’), and the simple present (*canto* ‘I sing’). The first of these lacks a comparable English form, while the second is parallel to the most common English construction, *I’m going to sing*. Spanish possessive constructions similarly include three

alternatives: *su casa*, *la casa*, *la casa de él* 'his house'. Again, the first form parallels the English construction, while the English equivalents of the other two are atypical for expressing possession.

Null subjects are mostly ungrammatical in English, save in a few highly restricted syntactic and discursive contexts (cf. Travis & Lindstrom 2016). But a number of quantitative studies have shown that null subjects predominate over overt subjects in most varieties of Spanish. Crucially, however, there is a substantial set of linguistic constraints on the use of overt subjects that appear to be relatively stable across varieties, even while the rate of subject expression varies considerably.

Orozco takes this 'relative stability' of predictor effects as a central theoretical focus of this work. A considerable body of work has argued for a model of variation in which the contexts and constraints governing variant selection are stable across dialects, speech styles, and time, thus constituting the 'grammar' of the variable process. In this model, what rises or falls in different dialects, styles, speakers, etc. is the overall rate of use of the several variants. Orozco offers us a stringent test of this theory of interdialectal parallelism by comparing his Barranquilla speakers with his New York City Colombian expatriates on the three morphosyntactic variables. The NYC speakers are all experiencing intensive language contact, not only with English, but with speakers of many other dialects of Spanish, including Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Mexicans. If the predictor effects on the variables, distinguished in a multivariate analysis from overall rates, are consistent in the NY and Barranquilla speakers, this will support the variationist model of grammar.

Orozco's results, as readers will see, provide strong confirmation of this model; the predictor effects are remarkably consistent between the two speaker groups. But at the same time, the results provide consistent evidence for a broad quantitative trend towards accommodation to English-like structures, likely as a consequence of the cognitive processes of bilingualism.

The results for futurity show that the periphrastic future predominates, as is true throughout the Spanish-speaking world, but it is used much more often in New York than in Barranquilla. Nevertheless, the effects of linguistic constraints such as morphological future inflection length, adverbial specification, and temporal distance are highly consistent between the two speech communities. Orozco wrestles with the problem of explaining these constraints, appealing to discourse-level information, cognitive processing factors, grammaticalization, the development of formulaic expressions, etc. He further concludes that the morphological inflected future is on its way out as an active option for expressing futurity in the productive grammars of his subjects.

In situations where possession is indicated or implied, the Spanish preference for using the definite article rather than the overt possessive adjective is well known. This alternation is often discussed in terms of the nature of the 'possession'

relationship, distinguishing, for example, the inalienable possession of body parts from alienable ones like inanimate objects. Orozco confirms that such semantic relationships have a strong effect on this variable, but finds that a number of other factors also influence the choice, notably discourse-level phenomena – prior reference, topicality, emphasis, focus, etc.

The alternation between overt and null pronominal subjects in Spanish has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, in part because it is a paradigmatic example of syntactic variability, perhaps instantiating a syntactic parameter. The treatment of this variable in the present volume is therefore of considerable interest for its implications for linguistic theory, as well as for language contact and language typology. Orozco's results are illuminating on all these points. There is a significant difference between his Barranquilla sample (34% overt subjects) and his NYC Colombians (43%), supporting a conclusion that contact with English, a non-null subject language, is inducing a quantitative boost to overt subject usage, which is a challenge to non-quantitative parametric models of such variation. Orozco also demonstrates a range of other factors influencing this variation, including syntactic, semantic, and discourse-level properties. One persistent puzzle in the study of this variable is the putative effect of different semantic classes of verbs on rates of null subject rates. Orozco makes a notable contribution to this debate by demonstrating that many of the verbs that compose such classes in fact behave idiosyncratically, suggesting that the various categories that have been used in previous studies, such as 'mental activity' and 'external activity', do not form natural classes with respect to their influence on this variable. Priming, continuity of reference, person/number, etc. also have significant effects.

Drawing as it does on classic sociolinguistic studies of the two speech communities, this work also presents a comparative study of how the social structure of variation in the home country may be reorganized in the emigrant setting, where new social conditions and social relations obtain. Orozco investigates various aspects of the social distribution of the variables. Notable results include a systematic decline in the use of the morphological (inflected) future and rises in that of the possessive adjective with earlier age of arrival in the USA, and different effects of gender and age in the diaspora as compared to the homeland. The work is a pioneering effort at understanding how social meanings, indexicalities and identities will change as social contexts and relationships are reconfigured. This book provides a model for the study of such issues which will hopefully stimulate further comparative work.



## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

### 1.1 Preliminary remarks

Language variation, being a fact of life, has existed for as long as language has. Language presents itself to us in the form of orderly but undivided heterogeneity (Chambers 2002; Penny 2000: 3). Variation is almost infinitely subtle, and occurs along all parameters i.e. syntactic, semantic, morphological, phonological, social, geographical, and so on. Language change constitutes a natural outcome of variation. Despite being perpetual, to the average person linguistic change advances so imperceptibly that measuring its pace or speed is a virtually impossible task. In that regard, we could formulate the analogy that a century in the life of a language is equivalent to a decade, or perhaps less, in the life of a human being. Once we contrast the language spoken today in a given speech community with that of several decades ago, by examining its diachronic variation, we can begin to see how it has changed.

Language change, the main object of study of historical linguistics, has been explored for over a century. Nevertheless, the scholarly study of language variation represents a recent endeavor dating back to the early 1960s. The first two decades of variationist research were dominated by studies focusing on American English. After becoming of age in the latter part of the 20th century, variationist studies have experienced unprecedented growth in the 21st century. They continue to grow exponentially both in terms of the sheer number of studies being conducted as well as in terms of the languages and language varieties explored. Although variationist investigations of Spanish constitute a major share of contemporary sociolinguistic studies, variation in the Romance languages remains understudied.

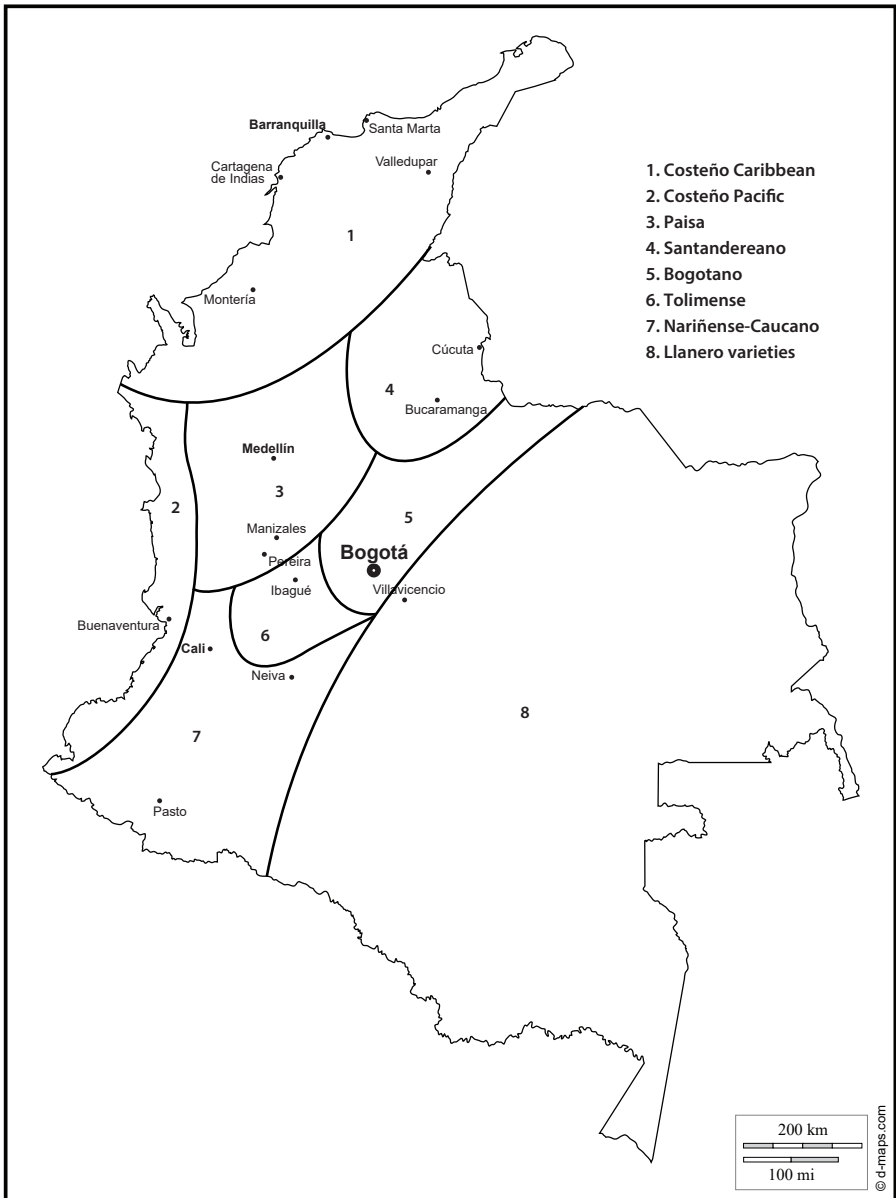
This volume is devoted to the study of variation in Colombian Spanish in two dynamic settings: the Caribbean city of Barranquilla and the Colombian community in metropolitan New York City. This monograph focuses on the study of three linguistic variables: the expression of futurity, the expression of nominal possession, and subject pronoun expression (SPE). As will be seen in the chapters that follow, the future and the possessive have barely been explored in variationist studies. On the other hand, although SPE has been intensely studied, variationist research on this linguistic variable in Colombian Spanish continues to be scarce.

## 1.2 Colombian Spanish

The Republic of Colombia, located at the northern tip of South America and with a population of 49,321,188 as of July 2017, constitutes the largest Spanish-speaking South American country and the third in the world after Mexico and the U.S. Colombia's linguistic situation is one of multilingualism, made up of four components: Castilian Spanish, the national language, approximately seventy surviving indigenous languages, *Rom*, language spoken by gypsies scattered around the country, and two creole languages: *Palenquero*, spoken in the village of San Basilio de Palenque – located in the Caribbean region, approximately 60 km. southeast of Cartagena – and *Isleño*, spoken in the archipelago of San Andrés y Providencia (Orozco & Díaz-Campos 2016; Patiño Rosselli 1991; Rodríguez Cadena 2008; Lenguas de Colombia <<http://www.lenguasdecolombia.gov.co>>). Colombian Sign Language (LSC), officially recognized in 1996 (FENASCOL <<http://fenascal.org.co>>), is also used by the Colombian deaf community. Similar to what happens throughout Latin America, Colombian Spanish reflects indigenous and African influences (Zamora & Guitart 1982). The African influence, especially strong in the coastal regions, is attested in *Palenquero*, the creole language spoken in San Basilio de Palenque (Lipski 2012; Montes Giraldo 1962a; Schwegler & Morton 2003) in the Caribbean region, and in the Spanish of the Chocó *departamento* (state or province), on the Pacific coast (Correa 2012; Montes Giraldo 1974). Concurrently, Colombian Spanish enjoys a good reputation (Alfaraz 2002) and is often popularly regarded as the most comprehensible spoken Spanish in Latin America (Arango Cano 1994: 40).

The Colombian dialect regions are mainly congruent with geographical, demographic, and cultural criteria (Flórez 1961; Montes Giraldo 1982; Orozco 2004; Orozco & Díaz-Campos 2016) that have been corroborated in the *Atlas lingüístico-etnográfico de Colombia* (ALEC) and that match the Latin American dialectal classifications (Henríquez Ureña 1921; Lipski 1994: 6; Quesada Pacheco 2010: 182; Zamora & Guitart 1982: 178–180). Concurring with Henríquez Ureña (1921), Montes Giraldo (1982: 12) divides Colombia into two macro dialect areas, a classification that also incorporates the main distinctions traditionally made by most Colombians. One of these macro dialects is *Costeño*, as an inhabitant of the Colombian coastal regions is called. The other has been called *Cachaco* (Orozco 2004: 30, 2009a: 97), after the word used by *Costeños* to refer to those from the Colombian interior, especially, the Andean highlands. The main phonological features of the Latin American and Peninsular lowlands are noticeable in the *Costeño* macrodialect – subdivided into Caribbean and Pacific (Montes Giraldo 1982). The *Cachaco* macrodialect corresponds to the interior of the country and is spoken by most Colombians (77%).

The eight main Colombian continental dialect regions are presented in Figure 1. The *Costeño Caribbean* region comprises the northernmost coastal lands. Likewise, the *Costeño Pacific* region comprises most of the Chocó departamento



**Figure 1.** Colombian dialect regions

Map source: <[http://d-maps.com/carte.php?num\\_car=70439&lang=en](http://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=70439&lang=en)>



and the rest of the western lowlands. The remaining six varieties constitute the Cachaco macro dialect. *Paisa* is spoken mainly in the Antioquia departamento whose capital is Medellín, the second largest Colombian city. This is the variety spoken to the south of the Caribbean region and to the east of the Pacific coast. *Santandereano* is spoken in the departamentos of Norte de Santander and Santander del Sur, located to the east of Antioquia, the southeast of the Caribbean coast and along the Venezuelan border. *Bogotano* is spoken on the central Andean plateau that includes the District of Bogotá and the Cundinamarca departamento. The *Tolimense* variety is spoken in the area to the southwest of the *Bogotano* region and south of the Antioquia departamento. *Nariñense-Caucano* is the variety spoken in the Colombian southwest, along the Ecuadorian border region. The *Llanero* varieties are spoken in the Colombian southeastern regions. Interestingly, the *Bogotano* variety has approximately 11.7 million speakers, constituting roughly a quarter of the national population, which inhabits 4% of the Colombian territory. In contrast, the *Llanero* varieties have approximately 2.7 million speakers (6% of the national population); most of them being multilingual indigenous people (Mahecha 2011; Rodríguez Cadena 2008). They are spread over 657,735 km<sup>2</sup> (58% of the national territory) mainly made of sparsely populated jungle and rainforests. These lands span over ten *departamentos* (states or provinces) and include the *Amazonia* and *Orinoquia*, two of the five Colombian geographical regions.

The Colombian Spanish varieties also participate in the processes of variation and change in progress that are characteristic of contemporary Spanish. Thus, the phenomena discussed in this chapter are not exclusive to Colombia; they rather constitute representative instances of the different evolutionary continua found throughout the Hispanic World (cf. Penny 2000). After addressing dialectology, I discuss the most outstanding sociolinguistic aspects pertaining to Colombian Spanish.

### 1.2.1 Colombian dialectology

Colombia is one of the most studied Latin American nations with respect to its dialectology (Lipski 1994: 204). Colombian Spanish has received scholarly attention since the latter part of the 19th century, starting with the poet and philologist Rufino José Cuervo's *Apuntaciones críticas del lenguaje bogotano* – published in 1872 – the first linguistic study of any variety of Colombian Spanish. However, not much was done until the *Instituto Caro y Cuervo* (ICC) was established in 1942. This institution served to restart linguistic studies in Colombia, and its contribution was so important that most of the research on Colombian Spanish completed during the 20th century was produced by members of the ICC dialectology

department (Montes Giraldo 1995: 137). In fact, the bulk of 20th century linguistic research on Colombian Spanish was mainly devoted to contributions to the six volumes of the *Atlas Lingüístico-Etnográfico de Colombia (ALEC)*, directed by Luis Flórez and published between 1981 and 1983. The *ALEC* was the first such project completed in a Latin American nation (Montes Giraldo 1995: 78). The ICC has also played a pivotal role as the main conduit of research on Colombian Spanish through the publication of its journal, *Thesaurus*, and the dozens of volumes published as part of the series entitled *Biblioteca de Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo*. Whereas the Cachaco variety, particularly the speech of Bogotá has been studied since the nineteenth century, the *llanero* varieties constitute the most understudied Colombian Spanish dialects, a fact reflected on the *ALEC*, which included very little information about the vast territory where they are spoken.

One of the most productive areas of linguistic scholarship in the Colombian territory has been in the area of Creolistics with studies devoted to Colombia's two documented creoles: *Isleño*, spoken in the San Andrés and Providencia archipelago, and *Palenquero*, spoken in the village of San Basilio de Palenque. To date, most research on the Colombian creoles has focused on Palenquero, perhaps due to its exceptional status as one of the only two surviving Spanish-based creoles in all of Latin America (cf. McWhorter 1995). Studies on Palenquero have examined a diverse array of issues from a variety of different perspectives, including its origin, characteristics, intonational system, as well as its revival and future prospects (cf. Lipski 2012; Orozco & File-Muriel 2012, and numerous references in both of these works). Equally interesting research has been carried out on the language contact situation in the San Andrés and Providencia archipelago. For instance, Patiño Rosselli (1986) and Bartens (2002, 2009) have conducted several comparative studies exploring some of the lesser-known varieties of Western Caribbean Creole English, including *Isleño*. Bartens (2002) provides a clear picture of the Spanish-*Isleño* language contact situation. A general tendency noted by Orozco & File-Muriel is that English-lexified *Isleño* is in contact with Spanish as the prestige language; there is no stable diglossia of any kind on the Colombian islands; and a shift to Spanish is under way (2012: 14).

Besides Cuervo's (1939[1872]) seminal work on the speech of Bogotá, the valuable contributions to Colombian dialectology by Flórez (1950, 1951, 1961), Montes Giraldo (1962a, 1974, 1982, 1985, 1995), and the *ALEC* (1981–1983) provide a robust foundation to the linguistic study of Colombian Spanish. Additionally, a recent collective volume (File-Muriel & Orozco 2012) strives for taking a fresh look at Colombian Spanish at the turn of the 21st century from perspectives not previously approached. However, most scholarship on Colombian Spanish whether dealing with dialectology, politeness, or language attitudes has been devoted mainly to the Cachaco macrodialect while research exploring the coastal

varieties, as pointed out by Castellanos (1980), Orozco (2010: 196), and Placencia (2007: 86), respectively, is rather scarce.

The greatest differences between the two Colombian macrodialects lie in their phonetic and phonological features (Orozco & Díaz-Campos 2016). These differences mainly emerge from the variable surface realization of coda [d, s, n, l, r]. Specifically, the variable pronunciation of postvocalic /s/, which carries several sociolinguistic implications, is considered the greatest distinction between the Costeño and Cachaco varieties (Flórez 1961; Lipski 1994; Montes 1982; Quesada Pacheco 2010). The consistent articulation of /s/ as a sibilant in the Cachaco varieties constitutes a prestige marker. On the other hand, the Costeño macrodialect exhibits weakening, aspiration, and complete elision of coda /-s/, a phenomenon that is also characteristic of the Spanish spoken in Andalusia and in the Latin American lowlands (Becerra 1985; Canfield 1988; Cury 2000; de Granda 1977; Lafford 1982, 1986; Montes 1982: 35–36). In fact, Costeño speakers consistently pronounce the sequence *seis pesos* with aspiration of final /-s/ as [sej̥h.'pe.soh], and also with its complete elision as [sej̥.'pe.so]. Contrary to what occurs in the Andean region, the elision of /-s/ enjoys covert prestige in the coastal regions. Another phenomenon pertaining to the articulation of /s/ consists in its reduction in pre-nuclear position, i.e., syllable initially, and between vowels (Brown & Brown 2012; Cuervo 1939[1872]; Flórez 1973; Montes 1996), illustrated in the pronunciation of *señora* as [xe.'ño.ra] and *nosotros* as [no.'xo.tros]. Although this reduction of syllable-initial /s/ occurs throughout Colombia, it is more frequent the Andean region. Despite constituting an exceptional phenomenon (Lipski 1994: 209), it remains underexplored in sociolinguistic studies (Brown & Brown 2012: 90).

The liquids [r, ɾ, l] constitute other interesting instances of variable articulation. /r/ is uniformly produced as a geminate, with a trill, syllable-initially. /ɾ/ consistently undergoes lenition and elision word-finally, especially in the coastal regions, as occurs in the Caribbean and Chile (Lipski 1994). The elision of coda /-ɾ/ is especially frequent in vernacular and informal speech (Rodríguez Cadena 2011) and is analogous to phenomena attested in other Romance languages, namely Portuguese and French. In Spanish, the elision of /-ɾ/ in word-final position (/ -ɾ/ > [ø]) occurs frequently in verb infinitives; for instance, *salir* 'leave, get out' is often produced as [sa.'li]. As occurs in Cuba, on the southern Caribbean Coast, including the port city of Cartagena, pre-consonantal liquid phonemes undergo several processes of phonetic and phonological transformation. These include their velarization and glottalization as well as the gemination of the following consonant, being this last phenomenon the most frequent. Consequently, the phrase *Alberto el turco* can be realized with velarization as [ag.'beg.to.eg.'tug.ko], with glottalization as [aʔ.'beʔ.to.eʔ.'tuʔ.ko], an even as [ab.'bet.to.et.'tuk.ko] with

gemination. The lenition of preconsonantal liquid codas is circumscribed mainly to the southern Caribbean region. Consequently, it is not characteristic of the speech of Barranquilla or the northern part of this territory; it constitutes perhaps the greatest difference between northern and southern Caribbean speech (Orozco 2009a).

The following articulatory phenomena also occur in Colombian Spanish. *Yeísmo* has generalized and spread to all Colombian varieties (Espejo Olaya 2013) and several allophones exist, being most frequent in the Caribbean region its weakened articulation (Rodríguez Cadena 2013). As occurs in other Latin American Spanish varieties, intervocalic /d/ frequently undergoes elision, especially with the *-ado* and *-ido* past participial endings. Besides, coda /-d/, as with /-s/ and /-r/, also undergoes elision, especially word-finally; for instance, *pared* ‘wall’ is frequently realized as [pa.'re]. The velarization of /b/ and /w/ can result in the pronunciation of the words *abuela* as [a.'ʝue.la] and *marihuana* as [ma.ri.'ʝua.na], respectively. At the same time, the pronunciation of vowels does not present marked regional differences. The variable diphthongization of hiatuses that is observable in *maíz* [ma.'is] > ['majs] and *petróleo* [pe.'tro.le.o] > [pe.'tro.ljo] constitutes another phenomenon documented throughout Colombia (Garrido 2007, 2014).

Morphosyntactically, Colombian Spanish is characterized by its relative uniformity (Orozco 2004: 39). As a consequence of this uniformity, clear syntactic and morphological isoglosses could not be established in the Linguistic Atlas of Colombia (Montes Giraldo 1982). For example, the temporal past, as occurs throughout Latin America, is variably expressed by means of five tenses in the indicative mood: the preterit (*hablé* ‘[I] spoke’), the present perfect (*he hablado* ‘[I] have spoken’), the imperfect preterite (*hablaba* ‘[I] would/used to speak’), the pluperfect (*había hablado* ‘[I] would have spoken’) and the past perfect (*hube hablado* ‘[I] had spoken’) (Seco 1996: 267–269). The preterite and the imperfect occur most frequently whereas the present perfect is used rather sparingly. The expression of futurity, as will be seen in Chapter 2, adjusts to what occurs throughout the Hispanic World. It is expressed by means of a tripartite linguistic variable where the periphrastic future (*voy a cantar* ‘[I]’m going to sing’) predominates. The present indicative (*canto mañana* ‘[I] sing tomorrow’) constitutes a frequent alternative while the morphological future (*cantaré* ‘[I] will sing’) registers a very reduced usage as a marker of futurity. Consequently, the morphological variant is used nowadays mainly as a modal and aspectual marker (Montes Giraldo 1962b; Orozco 2005, 2007a). Nominal possession, the topic of Chapter 3, is also expressed by means of a tripartite linguistic variable. For instance, the equivalent to *my friends* can be expressed by means of possessive adjectives (*mis amigos*), definite articles (*los amigos*) and possessive periphrases (*los amigos míos*), respectively. The possessive

periphrasis constitutes an innovation that occurs frequently in the Costeño variety (Orozco 2010).

Costeño vernacular speech features the use of *ha* – the third person singular of the auxiliary *haber* ‘have’ – in place of the first person singular inflection *he* ‘(I) have’ with resulting forms such as *Yo lo ha visto antes* ‘I have seen it before’ (Orozco 2009a: 99). The focalizing or emphatic *ser* ‘be’ (*estamos es sorprendidos* ‘It is surprised that we are’) is a phenomenon characteristic of Colombian Spanish that occurs in all of its varieties (Curnow & Travis 2004; Méndez Vallejo 2012; Montes Giraldo 1996). The redundant reduplication of non-tonic clitics is usual among working class Costeño speakers. This phenomenon is similar to a paradigm documented in Chilean Spanish and that results in constructions such as *El amigo mío dijo que él me lo iba a traérmelo* ‘My friend said that he was going to bring it to me it’ (Silva-Corvalán 1981). Another morphological phenomenon characteristic of vernacular speech is the variation between *-mos* and *-nos* in first person plural verbal inflections, resulting, for instance, in the pronunciation of *ibamos* ‘we would go’ as *íbanos*. This phenomenon has also been documented in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world including the Caribbean, Mexico, Venezuela and Spain (Arthur & Díaz-Campos 2012; Bentivoglio & Sedano 1992; Escobar & Potowski 2015: 62; Quesada Pacheco 2010: 120). Another morphosyntactic phenomenon observed in Colombia is the pluralization of the verb *haber* (Kany 1951: 213–215). However, it has not been sociolinguistically investigated in Colombia despite, as Díaz-Campos (2014) indicates, having been studied elsewhere in the Hispanic World.

The variable usage of subject personal pronouns in Colombia concurs with what is customary around the Hispanic World with higher frequency of overt subjects in the coastal than in the Andean varieties (Hurtado 2005b; Orozco 2009a, 2015a). The usage of second person singular pronouns and their corresponding verb morphology, with their intrinsic pragmatic repercussions related to address forms – including the exceptional usage of four of them – constitutes the most outstanding morphosyntactic variable in Colombian Spanish (Lipski 1994: 213). *Ustedeo* has traditionally dominated in the Andean region (Quesada Pacheco 2010: 89), where *tuteo* has been making inroads since the latter part of the 20th century. *Voseo* predominates on the Pacific Coast where a reduced use of *tuteo* is also observed. As with the rest of the Hispanic Caribbean, *tuteo* dominates on the Atlantic coast (Montes Giraldo 1982), where the use of *tú* has started to expand to contexts where *ustedeo* has traditionally been preferred (Millán 2014; Orozco 2009a). Similar to what occurs in Central America, in the *Paisa* variety, spoken in the Antioquia departamento, we find a tripartite system. Besides *tú*, *vos*, and *usted*, numerous speakers employ a mixed system, using more than one of these pronouns as they interact with the same interlocutor. Despite the dominance of

*ustedeo*, *voseo* is usual in contexts of solidarity and intimacy, especially among youngsters (Millán 2014). Another address form that occurs mostly in the Bogotano variety is *su merced*, which frequently alternates with *usted* and has connotations of formality.

### 1.2.2 Sociolinguistic variation

Empirical variationist studies on Colombian Spanish constitute a fairly recent development. These studies have mainly focused on phonology and subject pronoun expression (SPE). Research on phonological variation includes studies on the most contemplated phonological variable in Hispanic linguistics: the weakening (i.e. aspiration and deletion) of implosive /s/. These investigations were pioneered by Lafford with her (1982) study of the pronunciation of coda /-s/ in Cartagena, a city on the Caribbean seaboard. Subsequent work includes an analysis of the role of socioeconomic status, age, and gender in Cartagena (Lafford 1986), and a study of the reduction of stops in consonant clusters in a rural Spanish variety spoken in Antioquia (Correa Ramirez 1990). Studies of phonological phenomena have continued to appear in the 21st century as follows. File-Muriel (2007, 2009) analyzes the role of lexical frequency on the variable articulation of coda /-s/ in Barranquilla; Brown (2009a) investigates coda /-s/ reduction in Cali; Brown (2009b) looks at the role of lexical frequency in four different s-weakening dialects, including that of Cali. In their 2010 study, File-Muriel and Brown quantify s-lenition in terms of three acoustic measurements, including duration, centroid, and voicelessness. Brown and Brown (2012) explore the reduction of /s/ in pre-nuclear position, i.e., syllable initially, and between vowels.

Sociolinguistic SPE studies on Colombian Spanish are even more recent, having started in the 21st century. Hurtado's (2001) investigation of SPE among South Florida Colombians constitutes the first of such studies. In subsequent work, Hurtado (2005a, 2005b) also analyzes SPE among residents of Bogotá. Subject personal pronouns have also been explored in the Spanish of the city of Cali (Travis 2005b, 2007), in Barranquilla (Orozco & Guy 2008; Orozco 2015a), and among Colombians in NYC (Otheguy & Zentella 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007; Orozco 2017). Orozco, Méndez Vallejo and Vidal-Covas (2014) examine the effects of verb semantics on pronominal expression among speakers from Barranquilla, and Colombian residents of NYC. Moreover, other variationist studies on Colombian Spanish have explored the expression of futurity (Méndez Vallejo 2008; Orozco 2005, 2015b), the expression of possession (Orozco 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2012), the use of impersonal pronouns (Hurtado 2012), *yeísmo* (Espejo Olaya 2013; Rodríguez Cadena 2013), and second person singular address forms (Hurtado Idárraga 1994; Lamanna 2012; Millán 2014).



The sociolinguistic situation of San Basilio de Palenque, as discussed above, continues to receive scholarly attention. Nevertheless, the rest of the Colombian coastal regions remains relatively understudied although Costeño was the first Colombian Spanish variety explored in a variationist study (Lafford 1982). After approximately two decades, other variationist studies exploring Costeño started to appear. File-Muriel (2007, 2009) studies the effect of lexical frequency on coda /-s/ production in Barranquilla; Rodríguez Cadena (2013) analyzes *yeísmo* and the variation in the production of /-r/ (2012) also in Barranquilla. Studies focusing on morphosyntactic variation include research on the expression of futurity (Orozco 2005), the expression of nominal possession (Orozco 2010), and SPE (Orozco & Guy 2008; Orozco 2015a). Other topics examined in Costeño include semiotics (Escamilla 1998), politeness (Escamilla, Morales, Torres & Henry 2004), and language contact with speakers of Arabic in Maicao, Guajira (Martínez Albarracín 2006, 2013). Additionally, the Barranquilla corpus collected as part of the *Proyecto para el Estudio Sociolingüístico del Español de España y América* (PRESEEA) represents an important contribution that stands to help mitigate the dearth of research on Costeño Spanish.

The Colombian lexicon, as occurs throughout Latin America, contains countless words of indigenous origin at all lexical levels. These include toponyms (*Boyacá, Cundinamarca, Guaviare, Tolima, Vichada*), names of animals (*curí* ‘guinea pig,’ *mico* ‘ape,’ *morrocoy* ‘tortoise,’ *pisco* ‘turkey,’ *sinsonte* ‘mockingbird’), names of plants (*achiote* ‘annatto,’ *arracacha* ‘variety of yucca,’ *curuba* ‘edible fruit,’ *pitahaya* ‘cactus-like plant,’ *zapote* ‘sapodilla’), food items and beverages (*carantanta* ‘corn soup,’ *changua* ‘soup or broth,’ *chicha* ‘fermented maize drink,’ *guarapo* ‘sugar cane drink,’ *mote* or *mute* ‘thick soup made of starchy roots’) and many other lexical classifications. The presence of words of indigenous origins has contributed to the abundant regional lexical differences that have been documented in the *ALEC* (1981–1983) and in several other publications<sup>1</sup> (Orozco & Díaz-Campos 2016). These lexical differences combined with the aforementioned articulatory and phonological differences appear to be the main source of the dialectal distinctions found in Colombian Spanish. While the indigenous and African influences are stronger in the Costeño lexicon, as Lipski affirms, “[t]he lexicon of the Colombian highlands is mostly derived from patrimonial Spanish words” (1994: 216). Colombian Spanish has also incorporated numerous foreign

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1. See, for instance, León Rey (1955) who deals with the speech of the Cundinamarca departamento; Sánchez Camacho (1958) deals with the Santander departamento; Vélez Uribe (1998) with the Antioquia departamento and surrounding regions, and Cury (2000), who describes Costeño Caribbean speech.

borrowings, namely anglicism from American English. As occurs internationally, most borrowings are frequently found in the scientific, technological, sports, and entertainment vocabulary.

Colombia, as the rest of the Hispanic World, is subject to the popular perception that awards higher prestige to urban speech at the expense of that of rural areas. This fact has to do with large cities being the center of social and political power. This is the case of Bogotá. Internationally the Spanish of the Colombian Andean region is popularly evaluated positively (Alfaraz 2002), as it is considered very similar to that spoken in the central and northern Iberian Peninsula (Arango Cano 1994: 40). The sociolinguistic prestige of Bogotá is quite strong, and its speech patterns have traditionally been considered the national norm. In turn, this has helped maintain the prestige of Bogotano speech (Villa Mejía 2001: 29), which is spoken by the Colombian elite since Bogotá is home to most of Colombia's highest status individuals. As pointed out in Orozco (2004), the Bogotano prestige is consonant with worldwide tendencies where the national capitals have traditionally been favored. In turn, the prestige cascades down and the speech of provincial capitals is considered the norm throughout the country. Phonetically, varieties of Colombian Spanish run from the coastal varieties, which feature drastic consonantal reductions, to the Cachaco, i.e., Andean highland, dialects which are very conservative in terms of their pronunciation.

Furthermore, Colombian Spanish is spoken beyond the Colombian territory in diasporic settings. The largest concentrations of Colombians in other Hispanic countries are found in Spain, Mexico, and Venezuela. There are also sizeable concentrations of Colombians in the United Kingdom, Italy and Canada. However, the largest concentration of Colombians abroad, by far, is found in the United States, where the estimated population of Colombian origin already surpassed two million a decade ago (Bérubé 2005). The first Colombian community in the US formed in New York City a century ago (Orozco 2007a: 312). According to US Census figures, today Colombians constitute the largest segment of the population of South American origin in the United States (<<http://www.census.gov/dataviz/visualizations/072/>>), where the largest concentrations of Colombians are found in metropolitan New York City, Miami FL, Orlando, FL, Los Angeles, and Houston, respectively. There are also sizeable numbers of people of Colombian origin in many other American cities.

As we continue to learn about language variation and change in Colombian Spanish, it is important to look beyond the Colombian territory as studies of Colombian Spanish in the United States have also started to emerge (cf. Hurtado 2001, 2005a, 2005b, 2012; Lamanna 2012; Orozco 2004, 2007, 2012, 2015b, 2017; Otheguy & Zentella 2007, 2012; Ramírez 2007, among others). The contact with English and with many other varieties of Spanish encountered by Colombian



Spanish in the US provides fertile ground for the expansion of studies on Spanish in North America. The Colombian communities in the United States provide ideal opportunities for empirical exploration of the simultaneous effects of language contact and dialect leveling on an immigrant population. This direct contact situation provides a unique opportunity for short-term, diachronic as well as longitudinal observation. Such studies, “may make it possible to clarify basic problems involving longer time spans as well” (Weinreich 1967[1953]: 104). The research in this volume aims to contribute to our collective knowledge of Colombian Spanish in the United States and to provide baseline data for further research.

### 1.3 Spanish in New York City

Language contact in North America predates the arrival of Europeans. The founding of St. Augustine by Spanish conquistadors in 1595 marks the beginning of long-term contact between European and indigenous languages. This contact intensified as speakers of English and, subsequently, many other European languages settled in North America. As English became the dominant language in the territory that would become the United States and Canada, it also came into contact with numerous other languages from the rest of the world. However, most speakers of languages other than English have traditionally assimilated and eventually shifted into English monolingualism (Vildomec 1963: 45; Fasold 1984: 10). Amastae & Elías-Olivares (1982: 133) and Potowski (2010: 4), respectively indicate that this shift has usually obtained with most native American and immigrant communities even if some groups have remained bilingual longer than others.

On the other hand, as Fasold indicates, “sociocultural groups that were overwhelmed by dominant-group migration such as Chicanos, Acadian French, and some native American groups have maintained their languages for much longer” (1984: 10). Other cases where ancestral languages have been maintained are those of French in Quebec, Louisiana, and New England as well as that of Pennsylvania German. Additionally, as Wardhaugh (1987: 245) points out, in cities like New York immigrant groups have “preserved certain distinctive ways” in their speech even if they have not preserved their languages. He adds that new immigrants no longer rush to be ‘melted down,’ if they ever did (p. 247).

English and Spanish have been in direct contact in the Americas for approximately 400 years. As several scholars including Mar-Molinero (1997), Silva-Corvalán (1994a: 10), Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), and Zentella (1997a) indicate, this contact has been intensified by the continuous migration of Spanish speakers to the US, a process that has helped reinforce the maintenance of Spanish at the societal level. According to United States Census figures, the

number of Spanish-speaking people in the US surpassed 30 million at the turn of the millennium, and as of July 2002 Latinos constitute the second largest ethnic group in the United States with a population of over 50 million. Nowadays the concentration of Spanish speakers in the United States constitutes the second largest Spanish-speaking population in the world. Census figures also reveal that 70% of the nation's Spanish-speaking population resides in five states: California, Texas, Florida, New York, and Illinois. In New York, Spanish speakers are primarily clustered in the New York City metropolitan area. Moreover, census records reveal that 75% of all Latinos residing in the state of New York live in New York City.

Contact between English and Spanish in New York City dates virtually to the founding of the city. *The Encyclopedia of New York* (1994) reports that Spanish-speaking people began to settle in Manhattan in 1625, a year after the city was founded with the name of New Amsterdam. In 1870 there were 2,062 Spanish speakers in New York constituting 2.2 percent of the city's population. The number of Spanish-speaking people in NYC remained relatively low until a few years after the U.S. took possession of Puerto Rico in 1898. Shortly afterwards, the number of Puerto Ricans migrating to New York increased progressively. Zentella (1997a: 169, 2004: 187) reports that the Puerto Rican migration reached massive proportions between 1945 and 1955, with more than 50,000 Puerto Ricans arriving in New York each year. In 1950, 83% of all Puerto Ricans in the U.S. were living in NYC (García 1997: 28), and by 1960 Puerto Ricans constituted 81% of all Latinos in the city. U.S. Census figures indicate that New York is the city with the largest Latino population in the United States. Today the number of Spanish-speaking New Yorkers surpasses two million<sup>2</sup> speakers (roughly 28% of the city's population), making Spanish the de-facto second language in NYC (cf. Otheguy & Zentella 2012).

The results of linguistic contact involving Spanish-speaking communities in the United States are addressed in many works that describe the current state of the Spanish language, especially those dealing with Spanish in the Western Hemisphere (Escobar & Potowski 2015; López Morales 2009; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Penny 2000, 2002; Silva-Corvalán 1994a, 1995). The literature on the linguistic situation of Spanish-speaking communities in the United States focuses mainly on communities of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban ancestry since these communities, as Escobar and Potowski (2015: 7ff.), López Morales (2009), and

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2. There are more speakers of Spanish in New York City than in eight Latin American capitals. The 1,904,320 New Yorkers who reported speaking Spanish at home in the 2010 census surpass the number of inhabitants of each of the following cities: Asunción, La Paz, Montevideo, Panama City, San Jose, Santo Domingo, San Salvador, and Tegucigalpa.

Zentella (1997a) point out, represent the three major dialects of Spanish spoken in the United States. Work addressing the linguistic situation of other Spanish-speaking groups, most notably Dominicans (Zentella 1990; Lamboy 2000) and Central Americans (Lipski 2000, 2008) has also started to appear. The literature on Mexican-American Spanish, which includes Bayley and Pease-Alvarez (1996, 1997); García (1982, 1995); Siva-Corvalán (1988, 1991, 1994a, 1994b, 2004); Valdés (1982, 1988, 2000), and many others, focuses largely on communities in the Southwest, from Texas to California.

Research on Spanish in New York City originated with studies on the linguistic situation of its Puerto Rican community. These studies began with descriptive works on the influence of English on the Spanish of New York Puerto Ricans (Porges 1949) and that of Jersey City residents (Kreidler 1958). These studies set the stage for larger projects that started with *Bilingualism in the Barrio* (Fishman, Cooper & Ma 1971), the first large-scale study of (Puerto Rican) Spanish in metropolitan New York City. In discussing the linguistic situation of Puerto Ricans in New York, Zentella (1997a, 1997b, 2000) describes a continuum going from exclusive use of Spanish by older individuals and newcomers to exclusive use of English by youngsters who have either not acquired Spanish or shifted to English-only communication patterns. Urciuoli's work on New York City Puerto Ricans' experiences and perceptions of bilingualism contributes to our understanding of the social interactions found in their community. She asserts (1991, 1994) that bilinguals' perceptions of language boundary, i.e. where Spanish ends and English begins and vice versa, vary depending on socioeconomic status, particular relationships, and the dynamics of gender. Other well-known studies of Puerto Rican Spanish in New York City include the work of García & Cuevas (1995), Pedraza (1985), Pedraza, Attinasi & Hoffman (1980), Poplack (1980), Poplack & Pousada (1981), Poplack, Pousada & Sankoff (1982), and Zentella (1981, 1997b), among others.

Since New York City is home to Spanish speakers with several different national origins, there is the question of whether there is a New York City Spanish dialect or a collection of the different dialects spoken there. Zentella (2004) asserts that the Caribbean Latinos who live in New York City constitute the largest Caribbean Spanish speech community found anywhere. As a result, the Spanish spoken in New York City reflects a heavy influence of Caribbean Spanish, specifically that of Puerto Rico. Therefore, if a New York City dialect of Spanish exists, it could arguably be considered another variety of Caribbean Spanish. Due to increased contact with all varieties of Spanish, New York City Spanish has started to show dialect leveling, especially in terms of its lexicon. This leveling has been noted by Zentella (1990, 1997a) who considers it a unifying effect on the Spanish spoken in New York.

The Spanish of New York City, as customarily occurs, closely resembles that spoken in its speakers' places of origin (cf. Escobar & Potowski 2015; García & Otheguy 1988: 178; Lipski 2008), especially in terms of its phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics. New York City Spanish phonology shows the main Caribbean Spanish characteristics (cf. Lipski 1994, 2008). One of its most salient features is the high variability of coda /-s/. Word-finally, especially at the end of a segment, it is either aspirated or deleted, as illustrated in (1). When coda /-s/ is found word-internally, it has different surface realizations which respectively include aspiration, glottalization, or the gemination of the consonant immediately following /s/, as illustrated in (2).

- (1) *nosotros* 'we' [no.'so.tros] > [no.'so.troh] > [no.'so.tro]
- (2) *especial* 'special' [es.pe.'sja] > [eh.pe.'sja] > [ep.pe.'sja]

Another phonological feature of Caribbean Spanish frequently found in New York is the realization of coda /-r/ as /l/, especially word internally, as illustrated in (3). The velarization, and glottalization, of coda liquids as well as the gemination of the consonant immediately following a liquid, which according to Lipski (1994, 2008), are also characteristic of Cuban Spanish, are found in New York as well. This phenomenon, illustrated in (4) is also found in Colombian Costeño Spanish, as discussed in 1.2.1 above.

- (3) *carne* 'meat' ['kar.ne] > ['kal.ne]
- (4) *el puerto* 'the port' [el.pue.to] > [ep.pue.to]

These phonological processes – aspiration or deletion of coda /-s/, and so on – are found even in the speech of Latinos whose English shows no trace of a Spanish accent and who consistently pronounce all of their /s/s and /r/s in English.

One characteristic of the morphosyntax of New York City Spanish also found in the Colombian Costeño dialect, is the more frequent use of *tuteo* (the predominant use of familiar second personal singular pronoun *tú* 'you') over *voseo* or *ustedeo* (the predominant use of formal you). The inversion in the placement of the pronoun in ¿cómo *tú* estás? 'how are you?' is another Caribbean feature which is prominent in New York. Elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world, including both the Costeño and Cachaco macro dialects of Colombia, an overt subject follows the verb in questions, and ¿cómo estás (*tú*)? 'how are you?' is the norm. Moreover, New York City Spanish is known for its apparent overuse of overt pronominal subjects (Lipski 2008: 124–125). This observation has been quantitatively validated, as Otheguy and Zentella (2007, 2012: 69) established an overall pronominal rate of 34% for New York City Spanish. This pronominal rate is significantly higher than those of 17% for Lima, Peru (Cerrón-Palomino 2014), 21%

for Madrid, Spain (Enríquez 1984), and 22% for Mexico City (Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015).

Concurrently, the lexicon of the Spanish spoken in New York City shows obvious signs of direct contact with English. In the same way that lexical differences constitute the main source of dialectal differences throughout the Spanish-speaking world, the lexicon is an important feature which differentiates the Spanish spoken in New York from that spoken elsewhere. The continuous infusion of English loanwords constitutes an active source of change for New York City Spanish while it helps to unify the Spanish spoken there. Additionally, the Spanish of New York City contains lexical items from many of the countries that are represented there. It also shows dialect leveling and convergence due to increased contact with other varieties of Spanish. Zentella (1997a: 173) indicates that while most New York Latinos use their own dialects at home and with others from their country, they use the emergent New York City variety in interacting with others outside their home. Another factor that influences the Spanish of New York is intermarriage between speakers of different Spanish varieties. This leads the people involved to find a common ground in communicating. Moreover, “illegal immigrants who try to pass as Puerto Ricans, and South/Central American activists who identify with the plight of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans have found it useful to blend linguistically by adopting /-s/ deletion” (Zentella 1997a: 177). If, as indicated by current demographic projections, the Latino population of New York City continues to increase, we can only expect that Spanish will maintain its status as the city’s undisputed second language.

As a consequence of the evolution of the New York Colombian community, the Spanish spoken by New York Colombians also appears to inevitably evolve. Orozco (2004: 56) identifies four different sources of leveling on New York City Colombian Spanish. First, as with NYC Spanish, Colombians from all over the country coexist in New York. Second, Colombian Spanish is heavily influenced by other varieties of Spanish, most strongly by Caribbean Spanish, and a number of New York Colombians also come from the Caribbean coast. Third, the Spanish of New York City influences Colombian Spanish in Colombia as well due to frequent visits from New York Colombians. Additionally, English influences Colombian Spanish directly and indirectly. Thus, due to cultural imperialism and globalization, Colombian Spanish had already been influenced by English before Colombians settled in the United States. Generally speaking, the occurrence of borrowings in the speech of New York Colombians is increasingly proportional to their proficiency in English. For instance, the numerous English loanwords and calques found in Colombian Spanish, as attested by Haensch and Werner (1993: 241ff.), are a reflection of a strong American cultural influence in Colombia. However, due to being a relatively

new community, most English interference in Colombian Spanish is realized in the form of lexical borrowings.

The borrowings that enter the Spanish of New York Colombians come from two sources. Some come from Caribbean Spanish (*un chin* ‘a little,’ *guagua* ‘bus, van’). The second type of borrowings that occur in Colombian Spanish come from English via New York City Spanish. Some loanwords are English neologisms borrowed into Spanish as soon as they are coined, such as *Facebook* and *Instagram*. Some others fill gaps in the Spanish lexicon by providing words with no Spanish equivalents such as *chat* and *selfie*. Still others contribute to unifying New York City Spanish in cases where an English word has various dialectal Spanish equivalents such as “cake” and “ride.” As indicated by Orozco (2004: 59), many of these loanwords also find their way into the Spanish spoken around the world.

Furthermore, there has been lexical expansion for some words such as *coraje* which in Colombia means ‘courage’ or ‘bravery,’ and in New York has taken on the meanings of ‘anger’ and ‘passion’ more often found in Caribbean Spanish. As with loanwords, calques already established in New York City Spanish also find their way into the Spanish of Colombian New Yorkers. One example of a noun that constitutes a calque from English is *aplicación* ‘application.’ This word, whose preferred Spanish meaning is ‘dedication,’ has incorporated the English meaning of ‘an act of applying, request or petition.’ Other examples of calques are *renta* ‘rent,’ *registrarse* ‘to register,’ and *romperse* (of a machine or an appliance) ‘break down.’

The study of Colombian Spanish in the US is still in its infancy. The earliest studies include Hurtado’s (2001) sociolinguistic analysis of variable pronominal usage among Colombians and Colombian Americans in Miami-Dade County, Florida, Ramírez’s (2003) study of pronominal expression in impersonal sentences among Colombians in New York State, and Orozco’s (2004) preliminary analysis of the future and the possessive in the New York City Colombian community. Those studies have been followed by research further exploring those issues (Hurtado 2005a, 2005b; Orozco 2007a, 2007b, 2015b; Ramírez 2007). Additionally, Montoya (2010) analyzes the expression of possession by Colombians and Latinos of various other backgrounds in New York State, and Lamanna (2012) compares the use of second person singular pronouns in Bogotá and the North Carolina Piedmont Triad.

Despite large numbers of Colombians in the United States, Lamanna (2012) indicates that Colombians do not constitute the largest Hispanic group in any of the major North American Spanish-speaking conglomerates. Thus, the status of Colombian Spanish as a minority variety within larger minority language communities makes it an even more interesting research endeavor because it is outnumbered by other Spanish dialects. The Colombian community in metropolitan

New York City provides an ideal opportunity to explore the effects of language contact and dialect contact on an immigrant population. New York Colombian Spanish will probably continue to resemble the Spanish spoken in Colombia at least for one more generation as Colombians assimilate more and more to life in the United States. If, as expected, the maintenance of Spanish in New York continues, the Spanish of second generation Colombians may show signs of leveling despite the continued influx of people from Colombia. After all, there are many New York Colombians who feel that, since it is second to English in New York, the Spanish spoken there is acceptable for local life even if purists in Colombian might object to the way it is spoken.

In some cases, patterns of population replacement, such as that of Colombians in New York City, have turned whole neighborhoods from English-speaking areas into Spanish-speaking ones. In the New York Colombian community, Spanish continues to be the dominant language due in part to the continuous influx of immigrants. However, dialect leveling, convergence, and contact with other languages, especially English, also spur change in the Spanish spoken by New York Colombians. Since – as Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 9) point out – the borderline between dialect interference and foreign language interference is often fuzzy, the co-occurrence of change in the subordinate language and shift to the host language is expected to take place, especially if the setting simultaneously favors both processes. I will now turn my attention to the discussion of my research methodology.

## 1.4 Methodology

The sections that follow describe the methodology employed to study the Spanish of Barranquilla as well as that of the Colombian Community in metropolitan New York City.

### 1.4.1 The speech communities

#### *Barranquilla*

Barranquilla, known as Colombia's Golden Gate, is located exactly at 10° 57' 50"N 74° 47' 57"W. Its population of 1,146,359 inhabitants ranks fourth in Colombia and makes it the largest city in the Colombian Caribbean region and one of the largest cities in all of the Caribbean. The migration pattern of people moving from rural to urban areas found throughout Latin America also affects Barranquilla. Since this city attracts people from all over northern Colombia, the Spanish spoken there, the northern coastal variety of Colombian Spanish called



Costeño, has become representative of that region (Orozco 2004: 65). According to Spanish dialectal classifications (Lipski 1994: 6; Quesada Pacheco 2010: 182; Zamora & Guitart 1982: 182ff., *inter alios*), Costeño is part of the Carib/Arawak region, which includes the Antilles and the coastal regions of Colombia and Venezuela.

### *The New York Colombian community*

The first Colombian community in New York, also the first such community in the US, dates back – approximately a century – to the late 1910s when a few hundred Colombians settled in Jackson Heights, Queens (Sturner 1995; Zentella 1997a). By 1940, there were almost 2,000 Colombians in NYC (Orlov & Ueda 1980: 213). An important sociolinguistic change started to take place in the 1960s when the previous longtime residents of Jackson Heights, mainly European-Americans, began to relocate to the suburban counties surrounding New York City. It was this exodus, combined with the Immigration Act of 1965, that opened the doors of Jackson Heights to new arrivals, including many from Colombia. Orlov and Ueda (1980: 214) indicate that by 1970 some 27,000 Colombians lived in NYC. They were joined in Jackson Heights by Latinos from many different countries, especially from the Dominican Republic.

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 hotbed of the New York Colombian community. As a consequence of the constant influx of new arrivals, Colombians started to spread out to surrounding neighborhoods including Astoria, Corona, Elmhurst, Flushing, and Woodside, as well as to the rest of the city. At the same time, Colombian communities were developing in other parts of the New York metropolitan area such as Westchester and Putnam counties, and Long Island in New York as well as Bergen, Hudson, and Passaic counties in New Jersey. According to Sturner (1995: 329), while in 1994 there were 86,000 legal Colombian residents in NYC, Colombians also constitute one of the largest groups of undocumented immigrants. Moreover, 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.

New York City has attracted people from all over Colombia, predominantly from the largest urban areas; thus, the Spanish of the New York Colombian community can be expected to include features from various dialect regions. The sociolinguistic situation of the NYC Colombian enclave is quite captivating since its language is simultaneously found in direct contact with English as well as with a number of other varieties of Spanish. As indicated above (§1.2.2), the direct



contact between Colombian Spanish and English, a situation of relatively recent inception, provides a singular opportunity for short-term diachronic analysis, which may provide answers to basic questions also involving longer time spans (Weinreich 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 their neighborhoods as they interact with other Colombians. Moreover, they inevitably add features of another Spanish dialect (Orozco 2015b). As they become acclimated to their new sociolinguistic surroundings, 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 indicated above (§1.3), is heavily Caribbean.

#### 1.4.2 Data: The corpora and the speakers

The data used to conduct this study was culled from two corpora. The *Corpus del Castellano Barranquillero* (CorCaBa) and the *Corpus del Español Colombiano en Nueva York* (CEsCoNY). CorCaBa, consists of 38.5 hours of sociolinguistic conversations conducted between 1997 and 1999 with twenty-five (13 women and 12 men) residents of the metropolitan area of Barranquilla, Colombia. The consultants were born between 1912 and 1984 with their ages ranging at data-gathering time from 15 to 85 years old, and their educational achievement from middle school to some graduate education. All of the informants resided in middle and working class neighborhoods in the Barranquilla metropolitan area, having spent most of their lives within a hundred miles of their birthplace. Their native dialect is Costeño, the Colombian variety of Caribbean Spanish. CorCaBa has been transcribed into 187,500 words (440 pages). It has been used in several pilot studies for this volume (cf. Orozco 2004, 2005, 2007b; Orozco & Guy 2008).

The second corpus that provided data for this study was the *Corpus del Español Colombiano en Nueva York* (CEsCoNY), collected at the turn of the 21st century. CEsCoNY consists of 27 hours of conversations with 20 (10 women and 10 men) Colombian residents of metropolitan NYC. This corpus has been transcribed into 162,530 words (428 pages). The consultants were born between 1929 and 1986, with their ages ranging at data gathering time between 16 and 78 years old. Three of them were teenagers, two were in their twenties, seven in their thirties, four in their forties, and four older than fifty. All consultants were born in Colombia and immigrated to the US at various ages. Two of them came to the US as young children, two arrived as teenagers, and sixteen immigrated after the age of twenty. Most of them came to the US from the Caribbean coast (17 from Barranquilla); the rest are originally from the Pacific coast but have lived in Caribbean communities for many years. According to Colombian social class structure, all consultants

were from middle and lower class extraction prior to immigrating to the US. Their education and occupational status also place them in the middle and working classes in the US. Interestingly, most of these informants suffered a socioeconomic status decline to a lower level than what they had in Colombia. Thus, occupationally, they fall into three categories. (I) Five of them retained the white-collar status they had in Colombia. (II) Six retained their blue-collar status, and (III) nine traded their white-collar status in Colombia for blue-collar status in the US. Their educational attainment ranges from elementary school to graduate education. Upon their participation, five of them had not finished high school, four had high school diplomas, six had attended post-secondary institutions in Colombia, three were attending college in the US, and two had attended graduate school in the United States.

All consultants are native speakers of Spanish with various degrees of proficiency in English, ranging from what Torres Cacoullos (2000: 24) calls near monolingualism or survival English to native-like fluency in English. As has happened traditionally with Colombian immigrants in NYC, most of the consultants first settled in the borough of Queens upon arrival. Their social networks are typical of most Colombian immigrants', initially associating mostly with other Colombians, and gradually expanding their social networks to include people from other Hispanic backgrounds (Orozco 2007a: 312) before venturing to associate with non-Hispanics. Younger New York Colombians also associate with English monolinguals and English-dominant peers and often communicate in English with those of Latino backgrounds. Except for the youngest speakers, the rest are Spanish-dominant even if they extensively use English in diglossic patterns occupationally. Whereas older New York Colombians speak English with a strong Spanish accent, most of the younger ones do not (Orozco 2004: 80). 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.

### 1.4.3 Hypotheses and research questions

I seek to answer the following overarching research questions.

- a. *What predictors condition the sociolinguistic variables under study (the expression of futurity, the expression of possession, and subject pronoun expression) in Colombian Costeño Spanish?*

- b. *Are the internal and external predictors respectively conditioning language variation in both speaker cohorts the same, and are the effects of individual factors also the same?*
- c. *Are there greater differences or similarities in the effects of internal or external predictors?*
- d. *How do direct language contact with English and contact with New York City Spanish affect Colombian Spanish? Is Colombian Spanish more strongly affected by contact with English or by dialectal convergence with New York City Spanish?*
- e. *What are the implications of the existing variation, and how does this variation fall within the larger context of cross-linguistic phenomena?*

Concurrently, I seek to test the main hypothesis that *both speaker cohorts are still members of the same speech community*. This hypothesis probes the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000), according to which the factors that condition language variation and change are consistent within different segments of a speech community. Additionally, I test the hypothesis that *the variation existing in the three variables under study is largely the result of internal rather than external constraints*. I based these hypotheses on the findings of sociolinguistic investigations in different parts of the Hispanic World (Blas Arroyo 2007, 2008; Geeslin & Guijarro-Fuentes 2007; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007; among others), as well as variationist studies of the expressions of futurity (Orozco 2005, 2007a, 2007b), subject personal pronouns (Orozco & Guy 2008; Orozco 2009a, 2015a; Orozco, Méndez Vallejo & Vidal Covas 2014), and possession (Orozco 2009b, 2010, 2012) in Colombian Costeño Spanish that show variation to result mainly from internally-motivated forces. Moreover, I seek to answer research questions and probe hypotheses specific to each chapter in this volume as I explore each linguistic variable under study in terms of internal and external constraints that will be discussed in Chapters 2 through 5.

## 1.5 Scope of the volume

This book commemorates the 100th anniversary of the formation of a Colombian enclave in New York City – the first such enclave in the United States. This volume – part of a larger, ongoing exploration – aims to contribute to the emerging body of sociolinguistic literature on Colombian Costeño Spanish as well as to that on Colombian Spanish in the U.S. While regional variation in Colombian Spanish has been widely explored for over half a century (Orozco 2004: 50), empirical sociolinguistic variationist studies have gradually appeared in recent years (Orozco

2009a: 96). Nevertheless, variationist studies on Costeño Spanish are still scarce (Orozco 2010: 196). By the same token, despite constituting the largest segment of the population of South American origin in North America, the linguistic situation of expatriate Colombian communities continues to be understudied. Thus, a volume devoted exclusively to language variation and change in Colombian (Costeño) Spanish in the United States is well overdue. With this monograph, I hope to contribute to mitigate the existing void in language variation research in the Hispanic World,

The initial conceptualization of this book stems from my dissertation research (Orozco 2004), and its contents originate from various sources. Certain sections constitute revised and expanded versions of papers presented at conferences whose written versions subsequently became articles or book chapters. I am grateful to my audiences in those meetings and to the anonymous readers of various manuscripts for their comments, which certainly helped enhance these pages. This volume is unique in that it focuses on Colombian Costeño Spanish comparing it to the speech of Costeño residents of New York City. The studies in this volume employ current theoretical approaches to linguistics while examining topics that remain largely unexplored or understudied. From the perspective of linguistic subjects, this book combines a local examination of features central to the study of language variation and change in Spanish, namely the marking of future time expression and subject pronoun variability, with an examination of a feature often noted but rarely analyzed quantitatively: nominal possession. In terms of its origin and content, this volume is unique in several ways. Among other things, it provides a comparative empirical study of Spanish in two understudied speech communities constituted by the city of Barranquilla, Colombia and the New York City Colombian community. By presenting quantitative and qualitative analyses and looking at the sociolinguistic situation of the two communities, I intend to provide a background for further variationist research.

The remainder of this volume is devoted to three main themes corresponding to the study of three – apparently unrelated – linguistic variables: the expressions of futurity, nominal possession and pronominal subjects, respectively. Due attention is also paid to the social forces that condition each one of these linguistic variables. Chapter 2 constitutes a variationist analysis of the expression of futurity in terms of the three variants used to express futurity in the indicative mood: the simple present (*canto mañana* ‘I sing tomorrow’), the morphological future (*cantaré mañana* ‘I will sing tomorrow’), and the periphrastic future (*voy a cantar mañana* ‘I’m going to sing tomorrow’). I examine the distributions of variants in both speaker cohorts. Concomitantly, I use multivariate statistical analyses to identify the effects of linguistic predictors that operate at three morphosyntactic levels: the whole clause (e.g., temporal distance), the subject (e.g., grammatical

person), and the predicate (e.g., length of morphological future inflection). I compare the effects of linguistic predictors in both speaker cohorts as I assess the impact of language contact and dialect convergence on the expression of futurity. Furthermore, I discuss the implications of my results as they relate to findings in other speech communities.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the, largely sociolinguistically unexplored, expression of nominal possession, as Colombians express possession by means of a tripartite linguistic variable consisting of possessive adjectives (*su casa* ‘her house’), definite articles (*la casa* ‘her [the] house’), and possessive periphrases (*la casa de ella* ‘her house’). I patterned my analysis of this linguistic variable after that of the expression of futurity. Thus, I also discuss the distributions of possessive variants and identify the effects of linguistic predictors that operate at three morphosyntactic levels: (a) the whole clause (e.g., distance between the referent and the possessive), (b) the subject (e.g., type of subject), and (c) the genitive NP (e.g., semantic category of the possessed noun). In general, findings regarding the Spanish possessive help increase our understanding of variation in contemporary Spanish as they provide a data baseline for further research in other speech communities in Colombia and elsewhere.

Chapter 4 explores variable subject pronoun expression (SPE). The alternation of overt and null pronominal subjects as in *nosotros cantamos* and *cantamos* both meaning ‘we sing’ constitutes a Latin morphosyntactic feature still present in Spanish. After reviewing the current status of pronominal expression in Spanish, I discuss the predictors analyzed, which incorporate those conditioning SPE in other communities (cf. Flores-Ferrán 2002, 2004; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Travis 2007; Torres Cacoullós & Travis 2011; Carvalho & Bessett 2015; *inter alia*). The overall pronominal rates for each speaker cohort quantitatively corroborate established Spanish dialectal classifications. In general, the statistically significant higher pronominal rate in NYC appears to result from the simultaneous influence of contact with English and dialect leveling, as Colombians interact with speakers from areas with high pronominal rates, i.e., the Caribbean. SPE is significantly conditioned by seven linguistic predictors with the effects of grammatical person/number of the subject and switch reference, respectively, being the strongest. In general, as with the future and the possessive, linguistic constraints reveal a great deal of congruity between both speaker groups and with findings in other Hispanic speech communities. Thus, these tendencies attest to the very consistent nature of structured linguistic variation. At the same time, this chapter also shows that, despite the similarities in the effects of linguistic predictors, some differences have started to emerge in the effects of verb semantics. These emerging differences suggest that we need to reevaluate how to most profitably study the effects of the verb on SPE.

Chapter 5 is devoted to how social predictors condition the three linguistic variables under study (futures, nominal possession, and SPE). The external pressures on these variables in Barranquilla tell us about the tendencies in effect prior to the onset of direct language contact whereas those in New York City tell us about what happens during the early stages of simultaneous contact with English and other varieties of Spanish. In general, we have bigger differences between the two speaker groups in terms of social factors than in terms of linguistic constraints. While some constraints on a given variant are the same, as in the case of the future, some are different. Furthermore, the individual factors conditioning the future in both populations do not exert the same pressures. Overall, sociolinguistic roles appear to be different in the two segments of the macro speech community of speakers of Colombian Spanish. Thus, we may be in the presence of differences that have arisen in response to the new sociolinguistic landscape in which New York Colombians find themselves.

The concluding chapter, Chapter 6, provides an overview of the main hypotheses tested throughout this monograph, summarizes the main findings, and presents relevant conclusions regarding the three linguistic variables explored. That chapter also discusses how the linguistic situation under study reflects the impact of linguistic contact on language variation and change. The emerging differences in the effects of the predictors conditioning language variation between Barranquilla and New York City appear to indicate that different linguistic variables are susceptible to different linguistic pressures, particularly under the effects of language contact found in NYC. Thus, it is plausible that as language contact intensifies, pronominal usage will be even more susceptible to the influence of English than both the possessive and the expression of futurity. In general, the findings help increase our understanding of the sociolinguistic forces that impact language variation and change with regards to Spanish in Colombia and the United States, Spanish in contact with other languages, and generally, linguistic contact. In addition, I address important crosslinguistic issues regarding language contact, variation and change.

This volume aims to contribute to the emerging body of sociolinguistic literature on Colombian Spanish in general, and specifically on Colombian Spanish in the US. In particular, this volume intends to provide a snapshot of language variation and change in Colombian Costeño Spanish at the turn of the 21st century based on a comparison of the speech of Barranquilla, Colombia to that of the metropolitan New York City Colombian enclave. The results of this comparative analysis unearth the effects of the simultaneous contact of Colombian Spanish with English as well as with other dialects of Spanish. This research also reveals that dialect contact can influence linguistic phenomena below the individual speaker's level of consciousness without influencing other behavior. Our results help increase our understanding of variation in contemporary Spanish and of how the

linguistic and social forces conditioning language variation in Colombian Spanish conform to or depart from established sociolinguistic theory. More importantly, the findings open up interesting possibilities for future research.

I have tried to make this book accessible to readers with no special expertise, so it is intended to be useful to experienced practitioners as well as to those with a general interest in language. The immense research possibilities that Colombian Spanish offers have given rise to an increasing number of studies that extends beyond the national borders and that has been shared by linguists from Colombia and abroad, mainly the United States. As with variationist research around the world, since the turn of the 21st century, there have been a score of fascinating studies exploring Colombian Spanish from an array of different areas of linguistics, including dialectology, sociolinguistics, contact linguistics, syntax, phonology, morphology, and typology, often from an interdisciplinary approach. I hope that this volume will inspire linguists, whether they have worked on Colombian Spanish or not, to carry out research in this still understudied nation or to explore in other speech communities some of the phenomena studied here.

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## The expression of futurity

This chapter explores the expression of futurity in terms of the distribution of its variants (morphological future, periphrastic future, and simple present) and the linguistic predictors that condition them. The more frequent occurrence of the periphrastic form and the reduction in the morphological future usage are congruent with findings throughout the Hispanic World. The similarity of predictor effects found to exist between Barranquilla and New York City suggests that, despite the influence of language contact, the two speaker cohorts are still members of the same speech community. Moreover, the results indicate that the change in progress from the preferential use of the morphological future to that of the periphrastic future seems to have accelerated in the diasporic setting. The findings help explain other instances of morphosyntactic variation, especially those involving analytic and synthetic variants, thus augmenting our knowledge of language variation and change.

### 2.1 The expression of futurity in Spanish

The expression of futurity constitutes an instance of variation inherited by the Romance languages from Latin. As Orozco (2009a: 99, 2015b: 1) indicates, futurity in the indicative mood is expressed in Spanish by means of a tripartite linguistic variable whose variants are the morphological future (MF), the simple present tense (SP), and the periphrastic future (PF); illustrated in (5), (6), and (7), respectively.

- (5) *Cantaré mañana.* (MF)  
 ‘[I] will sing tomorrow’.
- (6) *Canto mañana.* (SP)  
 ‘[I] sing tomorrow’.
- (7) *Voy a cantar mañana.* (PF)  
 ‘[I]’m going to sing tomorrow’.

#### 2.1.1 The morphological future (MF)

The disappearance of the Classical Latin future indicative led to the emergence of the Vulgar Latin future (Lapesa 1955: 54; Posner 1966: 161–162; Poulter 1990: 82).



As opposed to the Classical Latin future which was a synthetic form, the new future that developed in Vulgar Latin and became predominant in the Iberian Peninsula, consisted of an analytical form combining an infinitive and the present tense of the auxiliary verb *HABERE* ‘have’ as in (8a). This paradigm became the preferred expression of futurity and developed into the future forms of Castilian, Catalan, French, Italian, Occitan, Portuguese, and Rhaeto-Romance as Vulgar Latin evolved into the modern Romance languages, (Penny 2002: 206). After Castilian branched off from Vulgar Latin, the two elements of the future indicative continued to exist as relatively independent parts of a periphrasis. Subsequently, as this analytical form continued to grammaticalize, it underwent a process of phonological agglutination and stress shift which resulted in a synthetic form as illustrated in (8b).

- (8) a. *CANTĀRE + HABEŌ*  
 ‘[I] will sing.’  
 b. *cantar + he > cantaré*  
 ‘[I] will sing.’

Throughout the continued evolution of the morphological future, its semantic domain expanded. Today, in addition to futurity, it is used to express the semantic notions of modality (including indeterminacy, doubt, conjecture and supposition) and commands. Some of these uses of the MF are illustrated below in (9) through (12).

- (9) *Eso será difícil.*  
 ‘That [will] would be difficult.’  
 (10) *¡Ni se sabe cuándo vendrán!*  
 ‘It’s not known when [they] will come!’  
 (11) *¿Quién será?*  
 ‘Who [will] would [that] be?’  
 (12) *¡Llegaremos a tiempo?*  
 ‘Will [we] arrive on time?’

### 2.1.2 The simple present (SP) or futurate present

The Spanish simple present indicative, which developed directly from the Classical Latin present tense, has multiple semantic and pragmatic roles. Besides having the obvious domain of the temporal present, it is used to express futurity and the historical present, as occurs in English. When it indicates present time, the simple present may refer to an action that is occurring at the moment of speaking or to a habitual action, as in (13) and (14), respectively. Moreover, the simple present

extends its meaning metaphorically to indicate either past time, as in (15), or futurity as in (16), a phenomenon known as the futurate present (Valenzuela Soto 1996: 21; Rojo & Veiga 1999: 2900ff.).

- (13) *Hace calor.*  
‘[It] is hot.’
- (14) *Tomamos café por las mañanas.*  
‘[We] drink coffee in the morning.’
- (15) *En ese momento empieza a llover.*  
‘At that moment [it] starts to rain.’
- (16) *Juan viene dentro de tres días.*  
‘Juan comes in three days.’

According to Elcock (1960: 105) and Penny (2002: 206), as a consequence of the Classical Latin future conjugation disappearance, the present tense was commonly used to indicate futurity in spoken Latin. Moreover, in the Romance languages of central and southern Italy there is no future tense, and the present has continued to convey the meaning of futurity (Elcock 1960: 106).

### 2.1.3 The periphrastic future (PF)

The periphrastic future originated as one of several constructions which appeared in spoken Latin as a result of the disappearance of the Classical Latin future. Penny (2002: 206) indicates that Latin speakers used paradigms, originally without future reference, “to emphasize that the situation concerned did not belong to the present.” One of these constructions reported by Penny, which was used in all Romance languages, included the optional use of the preposition *AD* ‘to,’ as illustrated in (17a). This Latin analytical paradigm subsequently developed into the Spanish periphrasis formed by the simple present indicative of *ir* ‘go’ + *a* ‘to’ + infinitive, as illustrated in (17b), which is equivalent to the English periphrastic form *to be going to + infinitive*.

- (17) a. *EŌ VADO (AD) CANTĀRE*  
‘I go (to) sing.’
- b. *Voy a cantar*  
‘[I]’m going to sing.’

The use of this periphrasis as a future marker in Castilian has been traced back to the 13th century (Aaron 2006: 268). However, its widespread usage to express futurity in Modern Spanish appears to be a 20th century development. Thus, variation has led to (ongoing) change in the expression of futurity.

#### 2.1.4 The future around the world

Variationist research clearly shows the PF dominating the Spanish expression of futurity across the board (see Table 2.1) with an average usage frequency of 74.1%. The SP registers 14.7%, and the MF has the smallest share of the distribution with only 11.1%. The PF's consistent dominance is consonant with reports that this form is the most frequently occurring variant of futurity throughout the Spanish-speaking world (Blas Arroyo 2008; Escobar 1997; Silva-Corvalán 1988, 1994a; van Naerssen 1983: 58, 1995; Zentella 1997b: 190, among others). The figures in Table 2.1 are also congruent with the periphrastic future usually occurring more frequently when Spanish is in direct contact with other languages. Thus, the PF has been found to occur more frequently in communities where Spanish is in contact with English (Silva-Corvalán 1994a; Zentella 1997a, 1997b, among others) and Quechua (Escobar 1997; Niño-Murcia 1992), respectively.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 2.1.** The future across the Spanish-speaking world (focus on MF)

Community	MF	SP	PF
Dominican Republic (Silva-Corvalán & Terrell 1989)	1.8%	7.2%	90.9%
Louisiana Mexicans Kyzar (2014)	2.7%	25.3%	72.0%
Chile (Silva-Corvalán & Terrell 1989)	3.4%	4.5%	92.1%
Southwest U.S. (Gutiérrez 1995)	3.8%	7.5%	88.7%
New York Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b)	4.1%	17.2%	78.7%
San Juan, Puerto Rico (Claes & Ortíz López 2011)	7.4%	20.1%	72.5%
Xalapa, Mexico Kyzar (2014)	7.2%	28.6%	64.2%
Morelia, Mexico (Gutiérrez 1995)	8.6%	18.6%	72.8%
Andalusian Spanish (Osborne 2008)	14.7%	40.7%	44.6%
Puerto Rico (Silva-Corvalán & Terrell 1989)	20.9%	4.2%	74.9%
Mexico City (Gutiérrez 1995)	23.2%	25.8%	51.0%
Venezuela (Silva-Corvalán & Terrell 1989)	23.5%	1.5%	75.0%
Average frequencies	11.1%	14.7%	74.1%

As Table 2.1 shows, the SP usually occurs more frequently than the MF, with robust usage frequencies in Mexico, and Spain. Besides validating the SP's status as an established futurity marker, which according to Elcock (1960: 105), already existed in Late Latin, these figures suggest that the SP will remain indefinitely as an alternative to the PF. Whereas the MF still maintains respectable usage levels

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3. The case of Castellón, in Valencia, Spain, (Blas Arroyo 2008), where contact with Catalán appears to promote the use of the MF, represents a notable exception to this pattern.

in Mexico City and Venezuela, its frequency has dropped to less than 15% in most other speech communities. These figures corroborate reports of the MF being a receding form in the Americas (Escobar 1997), Colombia (Montes Giraldo 1962b, 1985), and Mexico (Moreno de Alba 1977). They are also congruent with the account that the MF has virtually disappeared in Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, and Mexico (Lope Blanch 1972: 144).

Additionally, studies focusing on the alternation between the PF and MF also show the former as the most frequent variant of futurity (Table 2.2). Obviously, the results of such studies should be considered with the caveat that they report higher frequencies for both the MF and PF (cf. Blas Arroyo 2008; Lastra & Martín-Butragueño 2010; Sedano 1994) than studies which incorporate the SP as a futurity marker. That is, including the SP will necessarily lower the relative frequency rates of both MP and PF. For instance, the MF frequencies of occurrence in Table 2.2 are all higher than the MF average frequency around the Hispanic World (11.1%) in studies that explore the expression of futurity as a tripartite linguistic variable reported in Table 2.1.

**Table 2.2.** The future in other hispanic speech communities

Community	MF	PF
Mexico City (Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2010)	16%	84%
Caracas, Venezuela (Sedano 1994)	22%	78%
Castellón, Valencia, Spain (Blas Arroyo 2008)	46%	54%

Moreover, as Table 2.3 illustrates, the PF also appears consistently as the most frequent of the three variants of futurity in other Romance languages including most varieties of spoken French (Poplack & Turpin 1999), Brazilian Portuguese (Poplack & Malvar 2007; Thomas 1969; Kahane & Hutter 1953), Lisbon Portuguese as well as in creole languages (Fleischman 2009[1982]).

**Table 2.3.** The future in French and Portuguese

Community	MF	SP	PF
Quebec French (Poplack & Turpin 1999)	20%	7%	73%
Informal written Brazilian Portuguese (Poplack & Malvar 2007)	9%	14%	77%
Informal spoken Brazilian Portuguese (Poplack & Malvar 2007)	0.5%	7%	92.5%

In general, this situation reflects a crosslinguistic pattern where there has always been more than one way of expressing future reference (Dahl 1985: 110; Fleischman 2009 [1982]: 1; van Naerssen 1995: 461, *inter alios*). The current state of the distribution of futurity variants is a consequence of the crosslinguistic process of

diachronic cyclicity which affects verbal morphology, triggering multiple internal syntactic and morphological adjustments. Gutiérrez (1995: 214), Orozco (2007a: 327), and Silva-Corvalán (1994a: 52), among others, have discussed this large evolutionary cycle as it affects Spanish. In this cycle, the language changes from being primarily synthetic to predominantly analytic and eventually becomes synthetic again (Fleischman [2009]1982; Schwegler 1990). As part of this cyclical process, the periphrastic future has grammaticalized on its way to becoming the default expression of future time in Spanish.

The purpose of the variationist study reported in this chapter is manifold. First, I determine the distribution of futurity variants as they are used by Colombians in Barranquilla and the New York City metropolitan area, respectively. Second, I identify the linguistic predictors which most strongly condition the three variants of futurity and discuss their impact. As with the rest of this volume, 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.

## 2.2 Methodology

This study was conceived as an empirical variationist analysis of the Spanish expression of futurity such as that conducted by Gutiérrez (1995), and it was intended to allow an easy replicable procedure. In the sections that follow, I will first discuss my research methodology. It consists of research questions and hypotheses, the predictors explored and the envelope of variation. I subsequently present the results of this study (§ 2.3 and 2.4).

### 2.2.1 Research questions and hypotheses

This analysis of the expression of futurity aims at answering two main research questions and probing two hypotheses formulated in line with this volume's main hypothesis that language variation in the Spanish of Barranquilla, Colombia and the New York Colombian enclave is conditioned by the same internal predictors and that individual factors exert similar pressures in both settings. The following research questions guide the present chapter.

- a. *How are the morphological future, the simple present, and the periphrastic future distributed in Barranquilla, Colombia, and in the Spanish of New York Colombians when these paradigms indicate futurity?*
- b. *What internal predictors condition the three futurity variants in both speaker cohorts, and what are their effects?*

These research questions contribute to determine how the distribution of futurity variants in Colombian Spanish fits within those found in other communities and included in Table 2.1. Concurrently, I probe the following hypotheses.

- a. *While the distribution of futurity variants is essentially the same in both speaker cohorts, the periphrastic future occurs more and the morphological future less frequently in New York City than in Barranquilla.*
- b. *The expression of futurity is conditioned by the same internal predictors in both Barranquilla and New York, and most individual factors exert similar conditioning pressures in both settings.*

I grounded these hypotheses on the aforementioned reports of the expression of futurity in Spanish as well as on other findings as follows. Silva-Corvalán (1994a: 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. Orozco (2005) provides a preliminary analysis of the internal predictors conditioning the expression of futurity in Colombian Costeño Spanish. Additionally, the present study answers a series of research questions and hypotheses regarding each one of the predictors examined in this study of the expression of futurity that are presented below.

### 2.2.2 Predictors examined

To answer the above research questions and test all hypotheses pertaining to the expression of futurity, I explored the effects of nine linguistic predictors that operate at three different morphosyntactic levels: the whole clause, the subject, and the predicate, respectively. I based my choice of constraints on the findings of a pilot study of the expression of futurity in Colombian Spanish (Orozco 2005) and coded the data using the factors specified below.

- a. Clause-level predictors
  - i. *Clause length*: one to five words long, six to eight words long, and longer than eight words.
  - ii. *Clause type*: declarative, conditional, interrogative, negative.
  - iii. *Temporal distance*: near future (events expected to take place within six months), distant future (events expected to occur more than six months after the moment of speaking), and unbounded future (events in which the near and the distant future overlap).

- b. Subject-level predictors
  - i. *Grammatical number of subject*: singular or plural.
  - ii. *Grammatical person and animacy of the subject*: first person, second person, third person human, third person non-human.
  - iii. *Presence and position of the subject*: overt subject, null subject, pre-verbal subject, post-verbal subject.
- c. Predicate-level predictors
  - i. *Adverbial specification*: Preverbal time marker present, postverbal time marker present, absence of time makers.
  - ii. *Length of MF inflection*: I divided verbs into six factors as follows. Each monosyllabic verb as a stand-alone factor (*dar* 'give', *ir* 'go', *ser* 'be', *ver* 'see'). The fifth factor consists of irregular verbs with disyllabic MF forms such as *hacer* 'do, make' and *tener* 'have.' The sixth and last factor consists of verbs whose MF conjugation has three or more syllables<sup>4</sup> such as *cantar* 'sing' > *cantará* 'I will sing.'
  - iii. *Verb transitivity*: transitive versus non-transitive verbs.

### 2.2.3 The envelope of variation and the analysis

The envelope of variation (cf. Bayley 2004: 124ff.) employed in the present analysis adheres to the principle of accountability (Labov 1972: 72). It also incorporates Bybee & Pagliuca's (1987) conceptualization of future meaning as well as Silva-Corvalán & Terrell's description of temporal futurity (1989: 200). Additionally, it concurs with criteria followed in previous variationist studies of futurity in Colombian Spanish (Orozco 2005, 2015b). Thus, I set the envelope of variation for this study according to the characteristics of the linguistic variable used to express futurity discussed above (Section 2.1). I focused this analysis on the alternation of the MF, SP, and PF when they denote temporal futurity, i.e., when they convey posteriority to the moment of speaking. I included a clause in the analysis only if all three futurity variants were likely to occur. Thus, I excluded all other (non-future) uses of the three futurity variants such as instances of the MF indicating conjecture or doubt as well as those of the MF or PF functioning as imperative. With a total of 3,329 tokens, I conducted a series of parallel statistical regression analyses for each variant of futurity in each corpus using rbrul and Language Variation Suite as my quantitative tools. 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

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4. Verbs of this type may be regular or irregular and their infinitives may be two syllables in length (*cantar* 'sing') or longer (*trabajar* 'work').

immigration. As I walk the reader through my results, I begin by setting forth the distribution of futurity variants. Then I discuss the linguistic conditioning on the variants and, subsequently, draw conclusions and formulate their implications.

### 2.3 Distribution of variants

The frequency distribution for the variants of futurity (Table 2.4) answers this chapter's first research question. It shows that the periphrastic future is the most frequently occurring futurity variant in Colombia as well as in New York. Both the morphological future and the simple present appear less frequently. The SP ranks second, and the MF registers the lowest frequency. This constitutes a reflection of what occurs throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

The frequency of occurrence registered by the morphological future in NYC, 7.2%, represents a dramatic decrease in the use of this variant compared to its occurrence in Barranquilla. This result is consistent with reports that the occurrence of the MF is receding across the board as discussed above in § 2.1.4.

**Table 2.4.** Distribution of futurity variants

Form	Barranquilla	New York City
Morphological Future (MF)	18.2% (270)	7.2% (133)
Simple Present Tense (SP)	35.9% (532)	30.3% (559)
Periphrastic Future (PF)	45.9% (681)	62.5% (1,154)
Total	100% (1,483)	100.0% (1,846)

The frequencies registered by the simple present which, as in the rest of the Hispanic World, occurs more frequently than the MF perhaps result from the frequent appearance of the simple present in sequences of future time clauses. These usually start with the periphrastic future, and less often with the morphological future, and then include clauses in the simple present, as illustrated in (18).

- (18) *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 fact that the PF occurs with the greatest frequency in both Barranquilla and New York is congruent with the aforementioned reports (§ 2.1.4) of the PF being the preferred expression of futurity in the Spanish-speaking world (Kýzar 2014; Orozco 2005, 2015b; Sedano 1994; Silva-Corvalán & Terrell 1989; Westmoreland 1997, among others). Moreover, these results are consistent with the fact that the



periphrastic future consistently occurs more frequently in communities where Spanish is in situations of direct linguistic contact than in non-contact situations (cf. Escobar 1997; Gutiérrez 1995; Niño-Murcia 1992; Silva-Corvalán 1994a; Villa Crésap 1997; among others).

The frequency differences between Barranquilla and NYC registered for each futurity variant are statistically significant. The increased usage of the PF in New York compared to Barranquilla has a  $p$ -value of  $< 2.2^{-16}$  ( $X^2 = 90.6085$ ,  $df = 1$ ). Concurrently, the difference between the two cohorts in the use of the SP has a  $p$ -value of  $.00007564$  ( $X^2 = 11.3452$ ,  $df = 1$ ); and the decrease in frequency for MF has a  $p$ -value of  $< 2.2^{-16}$  ( $X^2 = 92.4005$ ,  $df = 1$ ). In general, the differences in usage frequencies between Barranquilla and New York reflect the impact of language contact and linguistic convergence on Colombian Spanish with the Puerto Rican-dominated Spanish of New York City, where the PF occurs more frequently and the MF less frequently than in Colombian Spanish (Orozco 2015b). In the pages that follow, I discuss the effects of the linguistic predictors that condition the expression of futurity. I address the effects of social constraints in Chapter 5.

## 2.4 Internal conditioning effects

In general, the results of this study identify the internal predictors which significantly condition the expression of futurity in Colombian Spanish. These results reveal a complex pattern of linguistic forces with such predictors as length of MF inflection being significant in the occurrence of all three variants in both speaker cohorts. The expression of futurity is conditioned by a total of eight linguistic predictors: (i) *clause length*, (ii) *clause type*, (iii) *temporal distance*, (iv) *grammatical number of the subject*, (v) *grammatical person and animacy of the subject*, (vi) *adverbial specification*, (vii) *verb transitivity*, and (viii) *length of morphological future inflection*. In general, the statistical tendencies registered by the factors within each predictor reflect an opposition between the SP and the PF. When the PF is not significant, an opposition between MF and SP occurs. The results also reveal that *ser* 'be' and *ver* 'see' strongly promote the retention of the MF. However, such factors as the absence of time markers and multisyllabic verbs, respectively, exert a favorable effect on the expansion of the PF.

For the most part, the predictors which condition the occurrence of each futurity variant are the same. My discussion of these predictors and the effects of their individual factors will follow the same order in which the constraints were presented in § 2.3. That is, I will first discuss predictors at the clause level; then I will discuss those at the subject level, and I will close my discussion with those at the predicate level. I address the statistical tendencies registered by each linguistic

predictor as it conditions the MF, the SP, and the PF. In Tables 2.5 to 2.13 and subsequently, individual probability values closer to one favor the occurrence of a variant while those closer to zero disfavor it. The further a value is from 0.5, the stronger the effect of that factor. Values presented within brackets correspond to predictors that did not reach statistical significance.

### 2.4.1 Clause-level predictors

All three clause-level predictors that we explored significantly condition the expression of futurity. In both speaker cohorts, clause length and clause type condition both the SP and the PF but not the MF. Concurrently, temporal distance conditions all three futurity variants in Barranquilla but only the MF and SP in New York.

#### *Clause length*

Due to their similar tendencies in an early multivariate test, I merged into a single factor (a) clauses six to eight words long and (b) clauses longer than eight words. The effects of clause length, presented in Table 2.5, show that this predictor reached statistical significance in the occurrence of the SP and PF but not for the MF. The same patterns obtain for both speaker cohorts, revealing that (a) statements shorter than 6 words favor the occurrence of the SP with probability values of .54 and .56 in Barranquilla and New York, respectively, whereas statements longer than 5 words disfavor this variant, and (b) statements longer than five words promote the appearance of the PF (.54 in Barranquilla and .56 in New York) whereas statements shorter than six words inhibit it.

**Table 2.5.** Effects of clause length\*

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
< 6 Words	[.50]	83/468	18%	<b>.54</b>	188/468	40%	.46	197/468	42%
6 or more words	[.49]	187/1015	18%	.46	344/1015	34%	<b>.54</b>	484/1015	48%
Range/p-value		[.891]		<b>8</b>	.00719		<b>8</b>	.0183	
I = input	I = .41	270/1483	18%	I = <b>.36</b>	532/1483	36%	I = .41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
< 6 Words	[.52]	45/705	6%	<b>.56</b>	251/705	36%	.44	409/705	58%
6 or more words	[.48]	88/1141	8%	.44	308/1141	27%	<b>.56</b>	745/1141	65%
Range/p-value		[.061]		<b>12</b>	2.71 <sup>-5</sup>		<b>12</b>	1.85 <sup>-5</sup>	
I = input	I = .04	133/1846	7%	I = <b>.28</b>	559/1846	30%	I = .60	1154/1846	63%

\* In this and all subsequent tables reporting statistical tendencies, the specific factors that most significantly favor a given variant are presented in bold print.

Although we learn from these results what happens in terms of clause length when Colombians express futurity, basically that there are clear patterns in how clause length constrains futurity, the reasons for such patterns are not quite clear. Thus, accounting for why longer clauses favor the PF and shorter clauses favor the SP proves to constitute a formidable challenge. Perhaps speakers associate the length of the periphrasis (three words) with longer clauses and that of the SP (one word) with shorter ones. In sum, we might be in the presence of a cognitive phenomenon prompted by speakers' mental processing that renders this predictor as a topic for further research. The similar tendencies that we have in both communities as well as in New York Puerto Rican Spanish (Orozco 2015b: 358) may be indicative of the effects of interdialectal parallelism. It appears that as the occurrence of the MF as a marker of futurity has declined, so has the conditioning effect of clause length on this variant.

### *Clause type*

Based on similar tendencies found in preliminary analyses, I merged (a) declarative and conditional clauses as one factor as well as (b) interrogative and negative clauses as another factor. Thus, I carried out all subsequent analyses using these two factors. Results (Table 2.6) show that, in both communities and as with clause length, type of clause conditions the SP as well as the PF but not the MF. While declarative and conditional statements jointly favor the SP, negative and interrogative statements disfavor the occurrence of this variant. In other words, the tendencies for SP are in complementary distribution with those for PF. Declarative and conditional statements have a favorable effect on the SP with probability values of .55 and .60 in Barranquilla and New York, respectively. In contrast, negative and interrogative statements favor the occurrence of PF with respective probability values of .56 in Barranquilla and .57 in New York.

The favorable effect that declarative and conditional statements jointly have on the occurrence of the SP may be a consequence of the decline in the use of the Spanish conditional tense attested by Silva-Corvalán (1994a). Thus, in terms of futurity, Colombians seem to be using the SP in place of the conditional tense because in this case, the PF would be an unlikely choice. On the other hand, the favorable effect that negative and interrogative statements jointly exert on the occurrence of PF may be a reflection of the semantic transformation that the periphrasis is undergoing. One reason why negative together with interrogative statements favor the occurrence of the PF may be that, in becoming the default future form in Spanish, the PF started to acquire additional semantic colorations which are natural characteristics of future forms attested crosslinguistically. As stated above (§ 2.1.1), these include the semantic notions of modality (including supposition, doubt, indeterminacy, and conjecture) that in Spanish are indicated

Table 2.6. Effect of clause type

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Declarative/ conditional	[.53]	225/1192	19%	.55	443/1192	37%	.44	524/1192	44%
Negative/ interrogative	[.47]	45/291	16%	.45	89/291	31%	.56	157/291	54%
Range/p-value		[.204]		.10	.0105		.12	.000487	
I = input	I = .14	270/1483	18%	I = .36	532/1483	36%	I = .41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
Declarative/ conditional	[.48]	89/1408	6%	.60	477/1408	34%	.43	842/1408	60%
Negative/ Interrogative	[.53]	43/437	10%	.40	82/437	19%	.57	312/437	71%
Range/p-value		[.061]		.20	1.54 <sup>-8</sup>		.14	1.53 <sup>-6</sup>	
I = input	I = .04	133/1846	7%	I = .28	559/1846	30%	I = .60	1154/1846	63%

by the expression of future time (Gutiérrez 1995; Sedano 1994; Silva-Corvalán 1994a). Consequently, PF is regularly used in interrogative statements of conjecture as in (19). Additionally, speakers seem to have associated the PF with future time negative and interrogative statements, leaving SP as an unlikely choice in interrogative contexts.

- (19) *¿Dónde vamos a dar con un equipo así?*  
 'Where are we going to end up with a team like that?'

On the other hand, declarative and conditional clauses favor the SP at the expense of negative or interrogative statements more strongly in New York than in Barranquilla. As Silva-Corvalán (2001: 3ff.) points out, there is an ongoing shift in Spanish as a result of which the conditional has started to be used instead of the imperfect subjunctive. This shift is part of the ongoing recasting of the Spanish TMA system and has been observed in Mexican American Spanish (Silva-Corvalán 1994a) and in Covarrubias, Province of Burgos, Spain. Although not statistically significant, the results for the MF indicate a shift in the effects of clause type. Whereas in Barranquilla interrogatives and negatives disfavor MF, in the New York Colombian community these clauses have started to favor the MF and declarative or conditional clauses to disfavor it. This shift may indicate that as the use of the MF declines, perhaps frozen formulaic expressions which indicate modality and which may not fully entail posteriority are providing MF with a lifeline. The development of new semantic domains for the

MF has been noted in Ecuadorian Spanish by Niño Murcia (1992) and in other varieties of Spanish by Rosenblat (2002). Additionally, it corresponds to a larger crosslinguistic tendency indicated by Bybee & Pagliuca (1987: 118ff.) and Ultan (1978), respectively.

### *Temporal distance*

In Barranquilla, temporal distance significantly conditions all three futurity variants. In New York, it conditions the MF and the SP but not the PF. The results presented in Table 2.7 show an opposition between the MF and the other two variants in Barranquilla, as well as an opposition between the MF and the SP in New York. Statements in the distant or unbounded future promote the occurrence of the MF with probability values of .65 and .68 in Barranquilla and New York, respectively. Conversely, statements in the near future favor the occurrence of both the SP (.53) and the PF (.56) in Barranquilla, as well as that of the SP in New York with a probability value of .57. These results are congruent with what happens in Puerto Rican Spanish (Claes & Ortíz López 2011: 63) and in the NYC Puerto Rican community (Orozco 2015b: 358ff.). They also confirm my hypotheses that statements in the distant and the unbounded future would favor the MF. However, my hypothesis that statements in the distant and the unbounded future would exert a more favorable effect on the MF in Barranquilla than in New York was not confirmed. Both distant and unbounded future are similar in that they disfavor the SP, which implies that speakers see the SP as lacking a semantic notion of heightened temporal distance.

**Table 2.7.** Effect of temporal distance

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Distant & unbounded	.65	199/778	26%	.47	254/778	33%	.44	325/778	42%
Near future	.35	52/616	8%	.53	238/616	39%	.56	326/616	53%
Range/p-value	30	2.15 <sup>-13</sup>		6	.00621		12	6.23 <sup>-7</sup>	
I = input	I = .15	270/1483	18%	I = .36	532/1483	36%	I = .41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
Distant & unbounded	.68	95/951	10%	.43	237/951	25%	[.51]	619/951	65%
Near future	.32	20/709	3%	.57	279/709	39%	[.49]	410/709	58%
Range/p-value	36	9.99 <sup>-11</sup>		14	6.63 <sup>-6</sup>			[.27]	
I = input	I = .03	133/1846	7%	I = .28	559/1846	30%	I = .61	1154/1846	63%

For both speaker cohorts, the tendencies for MF are consonant with those found in Castellón, Valencia, Spain (Blas Arroyo 2008: 94), Puerto Rico (Claes & Ortíz López 2011: 63), and the New York Puerto Rican community (Orozco 2015b: 358ff.), among others. Furthermore, as occurs in the U.S. Southwest according to Gutiérrez (1995: 223), the tendencies that Barranquilla and New York speakers show for the MF are also congruent with the syntactic and semantic features traditionally attributed to the MF. According to Solé and Solé (1977: 7), the MF “responds to a concept of subsequence or posteriority in relation to a given point.” Even if MF is no longer the preferred form in the expression of futurity, it still retains its traditional semantic domain of posteriority. As opposed to many other languages which have separate forms for near and distant future (Singler 1984: 343), Spanish does not (Comrie 1985: 46). The MF, however, continues to be associated with heightened temporal distance and is favored in the expression of posteriority when a situation is perceived as more distant (Gutiérrez 1995: 223). The fact that speakers have continued to use the MF to indicate the lack of imminence of the events in their statements further indicates that MF has not completely relinquished its traditional semantic domain of posteriority to PF (Fleischman 2009[1982]). Thus, the MF has maintained one of its intrinsic properties despite having lost its hegemony in the expression of futurity. Another reason why statements in the distant or unbounded future favor MF may be that speakers use this variant to avoid ambiguity since the simple present may lead listeners to interpret certain statements as indicating general truth or as referring to the habitual present rather than to the future.

The finding that statements in the near future promote the occurrence of both the SP and the PF seems to indicate that the meaning of imminence continues to be attached to both of these futurity variants, and the use of the SP and the PF can be argued to convey a sense of immediacy. Additionally, statements in the near future favor the SP for the obvious reason of providing the link of present-tense marking to near-present events. The results for the SP suggest that, because of contact with English, both the frequency of occurrence and the favorable effect that statements in the near future have on the SP are greater in New York than in Barranquilla. Only with reference to the SP, direct contact with English seems to have resulted in a lower frequency and a greater disfavoring effect of statements in the distant or unbounded future for New York Colombians (25% in NYC, 33% in Barranquilla). Moreover, the opposition between the SP and the MF may suggest that speakers prefer to use SP to indicate the proximity of an event. Although (as stated above), Spanish does not have separate forms for near and distant future, New York Colombians use the MF and the SP to specify the distance or the imminence of future events, respectively.

As a consequence of the increasing use of the PF, this form seems to be in the process of acquiring semantic features which were traditionally associated with

the MF. As a result of the transfer of domains from MF to PF, the meaning of imminence that, according to Fries (1927), was once characteristic of PF is no longer attached to it. Fleischman (1983: 186ff.) indicates that as go futures became the default futures in most Romance languages and in English, they evolved from markers of 'current relevance' to exponents of tense. This former present orientation is also indicated by labels meaning immediate future once given to PF (Binnick 1991). Furthermore, as a consequence of both direct language contact and the ongoing transformation of the expression of futurity, speakers now readily associate the periphrasis with a sense of posteriority (cf. Sedano 1994: 232). Thus, the ability of PF to occur with the unbounded and the distant future reflects that it has been undergoing a semantic shift away from a specific meaning of imminence on its way to becoming a full-fledged marker of futurity. More to the point – PF is the all-purpose future marker. As a result of the change in progress in the expression of futurity, the PF seems to be in the process of acquiring semantic features which were traditionally associated with the MF. In sum, the tendencies exhibited by clause-level predictors, especially temporal distance, validate the theory of interdialectal parallelism; they condition the expression of futurity in both Barranquilla and New York City, and the effects of their individual factors are essentially the same.

#### 2.4.2 Subject-level predictors

At the subject level, the expression of futurity is conditioned by two predictors: (a) *grammatical number* and (b) *grammatical person and animacy*. Conversely, *presence and position of the subject* does not significantly constrain futurity in either community.

##### *Grammatical number of the subject*

The findings for grammatical number of the subject also reveal the same tendencies in both speaker cohorts. As with temporal distance, this predictor significantly conditions all three futurity variants in Barranquilla but only the MF and SP in New York City. The figures presented in Table 2.8 show that the tendencies for the SP run contrary to those for the MF and PF, respectively. In Barranquilla, plural subjects promote the MF with a statistical weight of .55 and the PF with a value of .54; singular subjects promote the SP with a weight of .58 and disfavor plural subjects (.42). In New York, in the absence of a significant conditioning effect of the PF, plural subjects favor the MF (.62) at the expense of the SP (.44). Concurrently, singular subjects promote the SP (.56) and disfavor the MF (.38).

Table 2.8. Effect of grammatical number of the subject

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Plural	.55	72/363	20%	.42	99/363	27%	.54	192/363	53%
Singular	.45	198/1120	18%	.58	433/1120	39%	.47	489/1120	44%
Range/p-value	10	.0187		16	4.06 <sup>-6</sup>		7	.0335	
I = input	I = .15	270/1483	18%	I = .36	532/1483	36%	I = .41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
Plural	.62	48/508	9%	.44	135/508	27%	[.52]	325/508	64%
Singular	.38	85/1338	6%	.56	424/1338	32%	[.48]	829/1338	62%
Range/p-value	24	2.73 <sup>-5</sup>		12	.000413			[.236]	
I = input	I = .03	133/1846	7%	I = .28	559/1846	30%	I = .61	1153/1846	63%

One likely hypothesis to account for the favorable effect of plural subjects on the MF may be the frequent occurrence of statements in which the subject has no specific referent, a phenomenon – explored by Lapidus & Otheguy (2005) – that also obtains in English and other languages. When unspecific subjects occur, as in (20), they are marked in the third person plural.

- (20) *Tendrán que ponerle un reemplazo mientras tanto.*  
 ‘They will have to put in a replacement in the meantime.’

Additionally, as reported in Orozco (2005: 58), the effects of grammatical number of the subject 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 tense (*ustedes/ellos cantan* ‘you/they sing’) are homophonous and could lead to ambiguity. Consequently, speakers may avoid using plural subjects when they use the simple present to avoid ambiguity in their statements. For instance, it is not clear whether in (21) the subject of *salen* ‘[you/they] leave’ as well as that of *llegan* ‘[you/they] arrive’ is in the second or the third person plural.

- (21) *Si salen el lunes temprano, llegan a hora de almuerzo.*  
 ‘If [you/they] leave early on Monday, [you/they] arrive at lunch time.’

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 (22), a statement could ambiguously refer to the past, the present, or the future.



- (22) *Empezamos temprano.*  
 ‘[We] started/start early.’

*Grammatical person and animacy of the subject*

In Barranquilla, preliminary results revealed that first and second person subjects as well as third person human subjects have similar tendencies in the occurrence of all three futurity variants. That is, animacy of the subject proved to exert a greater effect than grammatical person. Thus, Barranquilleros make a greater distinction between human and non-human subjects than between first, second and third person subjects. In view of that, I recast the factors and tested the opposition between human and non-human subjects. Despite conditioning futurity in both speaker cohorts, the effects of this predictor (Table 2.9), more specifically, the individual factor tendencies pattern differently. Animacy of the subject, however, proved to exert a greater effect than grammatical person in both cases, with non-human subjects favoring the MF and disfavoring the PF, and human subjects having the opposite effect.

**Table 2.9.** Effect of grammatical person and animacy of the subject

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Non-human	.56	141/523	27%	[.50]	191/523	37%	.46	191/523	37%
Human	.44	129/960	13%	[.49]	341/960	36%	.54	490/960	51%
Range/p-value	.12	.0014			[.949]		.08	.00655	
I = input	I = .15	270/1483	18%	I = .36	532/1483	36%	I = .41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
First person	.29	13/390	3%	.65	171/390	44%	.40	206/390	53%
Second person	.69	8/99	8%	.31	17/99	17%	.62	74/99	75%
Third person human	.42	39/688	6%	.52	194/688	28%	.52	455/688	66%
Third person non-human	.61	73/669	11%	.53	177/669	26%	.46	419/669	63%
Range/p-value	.40	6.17 <sup>-5</sup>		.34	2.48 <sup>-6</sup>		.22	.000651	
I = input	I = .03	133/1846	7%	I = .28	559/1846	30%	I = .60	1153/1846	63%

The results show that in Barranquilla the grammatical person and animacy of the subject reached statistical significance in the occurrence of the MF and the PF but not in the appearance of the SP. There is complementary distribution with non-human subjects favoring the MF (.56) while disfavoring the PF (.46), and vice versa. These results indicate that the ongoing evolution of the Spanish future is

promoted by human and disfavored by non-human subjects. As illustrated in (23), non-human subjects occur frequently in the MF.

- (23) *Este, **funcionarán los servicios**, lo que es agua, luz, teléfono, gas, todas esas cosas.*  
 ‘Eh, **the public utilities will work**, that is water, electric, telephone, gas, all those things.’

On the other hand, the favorable effect human subjects have on the PF may be prompted by the fact that this variant is most strongly promoted by first and second person subjects, respectively, which refer exclusively to humans. This is illustrated in (24) where human subjects appear in both clauses. Additionally, these results may be explained in terms of intentionality since, as illustrated in (24), the PF is by nature more volitional and –in the first person, especially – indicates intention. In contrast, the MF appears as being more factual, and it is favored by non-human subjects which do not have intentions

- (24) *Y yo ... “no vas a tomar nada porque no te voy a dar nada.”*  
 ‘And I .... “[you]’re **not going to drink** anything because [I]’m **not going to give** you anything.’”

While in Barranquilla person and animacy of the subject is not significant in the occurrence of the SP, in New York it is. The results presented in Table 2.9 show that first person subjects favor the SP with a statistical weight of .65, disfavor the PF (.40), and disfavor the MF even more (.29). Second person subjects have the opposite effect. That is, whereas they are the strongest promoters of the MF (.69) and the PF (.62), second person subjects disfavor the SP (.31). Third person human subjects slightly favor the PF and the SP with identical probability values (.52) but clearly disfavor the MF (.42). Finally, third person non-human subjects, as occurs in Barranquilla, favor the MF (.61) and the SP (.53) while disfavoring the PF with a probability weight of .46.

These results indicate that the ongoing evolution of the Spanish future is promoted by human and constrained by non-human subjects. As illustrated in (23), non-human subjects occur frequently in the MF. Summing up, subject-level predictors provide a second piece of evidence in support of the theory of interdialectal parallelism. This is especially evident in the effects of grammatical number of the subject.

### 2.4.3 Predicate-level predictors

All three predicate-level predictors (*verb transitivity*, *adverbial specification*, and *length of MF inflection*) condition the expression of futurity. However, verb transitivity does not significantly condition the MF in either speaker group. We discuss

the effects of predicate-level predictors in ascending order of significance according to the *p*-values.

### *Verb transitivity*

The results for this predictor reveal, on the one hand, congruity with regards to the SP and PF. Statistical significance aside, transitive verbs promote the PF (.55 in Barranquilla, .54 in NYC) whereas non-transitive verbs favor the SP, and vice versa in both communities. On the other hand, the resulting tendencies for the MF indicate an opposition between Barranquilla and New York City, suggesting a shift in the effects of this predictor. That is, while in Barranquilla non-transitive verbs favor the MF (.54) and transitive verbs disfavor it (.46), the opposite is true for New York Colombians. This difference may be motivated by the NYC sociolinguistic landscape.

**Table 2.10.** Effect of verb transitivity

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Transitive	.46	101/740	14%	[.48]	255/740	35%	.55	384/740	52%
Non-transitive	.54	169/742	23%	[.53]	277/742	37%	.45	296/742	40%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	8	.0437			[.133]		10	.00294	
I = input	I = .15	270/1483	18%	I = .36	532/1483	36%	I = .41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
Transitive	.54	48/858	6%	.44	239/858	28%	.54	571/858	67%
Non-transitive	.46	84/987	9%	.56	320/987	32%	.46	583/987	59%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	8	.0414		12	.000145		8	.00333	
I = input	I = .03	133/1846	7%	I = .28	559/1846	30%	I = .60	54/1846	63%

These results may indicate a relationship between verb transitivity and length of clause since the presence of transitive verbs requires a direct object, which results in longer clauses. Longer, more complex clauses may be processed more easily if they have more analytical morphology. Thus, the processing of longer statements requires that they are broken down which would be facilitated by means of the PF.

Interestingly, the effects of verb transitivity are consonant with those found among New York Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b: 358). In fact, verb transitivity conditions both the SP and PF more strongly in the New York Puerto Rican Community. That is, its effect on the expression of futurity appears to increase with language contact and perhaps also as the frequency of the PF does. Further study will help determine whether we are in the presence of an incipient trend in the effects of verb transitivity on this linguistic variable.

### Adverbial specification

As stated above (§ 2.2.2), I initially explored pre- and post-verbal time markers as separate factors. Preliminary results revealed similar tendencies for the occurrence of time makers regardless of their position. Accordingly, I merged both kinds of time markers into a single factor. As shown in Table 2.11, adverbial specification conditions all three variants of futurity in Barranquilla. In New York, it conditions the SP and PF but not the MF. In both communities, the tendencies for SP and the PF are the reverse of each other. Whereas the presence of time markers favors the SP (.57 in Barranquilla and .61 in NYC), their absence prompts the occurrence of PF (.61 Barranquilla, .60 NYC). That is, the SP often depends on overt time markers to express futurity while the PF appears as a stand-alone future marker. Thus, the relationship between time markers and the variants ratifies PF as the default future form.

The favorable effect that the presence of time markers has on the MF may result from their frequent appearance in statements indicating unbounded future. As (25) and (26) illustrate, time markers such as *siempre* ‘always’ and *nunca* ‘never’ often participate together with the MF in unbounded future statements. Additionally, the tendencies for adverbial specification may also involve intentionality. While the PF indicates intentions not specifically connected with specific times, the MF is more factual in meaning and often describes future events at unspecified times.

- (25) *Loh carroemulero**h** seguirán como carroemulero**h** siempre.*  
 ‘The mule cart drivers **will always continue** as mule cart drivers.’
- (26) *Entonce**h** yo creo que nunca habrá paz en el país de nosotros*  
 ‘Then I believe that there **never will be** peace in the country of ours.’

Table 2.11. Effects of adverbial specification

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Present	.57	101/404	25%	.57	176/404	44%	.39	127/404	31%
Absent	.43	169/1079	16%	.43	356/1079	33%	.61	554/1079	51%
Range/p-value	14	.000163		14	2.02 <sup>-5</sup>		22	1.88 <sup>-12</sup>	
I = input	I = .15	270/1483	18%	I = .36	532/1483	36%	I = .41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
Present	[.53]	41/503	8%	.61	221/503	44%	.40	241/503	48%
Absent	[.47]	92/1343	7%	.40	338/1343	25%	.60	913/1343	68%
Range/p-value		[.323]		21	5.72 <sup>-12</sup>		20	1.61 <sup>-12</sup>	
I = input	I = .04	133/1846	7%	I = .28	559/1846	30%	I = .60	1153/1846	63%

In the SP futurity is often indicated by an adverbial time marker or some other contextual cue. In fact, the reliance of the SP on time markers is stronger in New York (.61) than in Barranquilla (.57). The tendencies exhibited by the SP are consistent with its crosslinguistic behavior. The simple present, as Ultan (1978) asserts, is neutralized with both the past and the future. One reason why the occurrence of time markers favors SP is that they disambiguate the meaning of the verb, disallowing its interpretation as indicating habitual action. This is a direct reflection of SP's flexibility in expressing chronological time, as discussed by Lamíquiz (1972: 77). Without sentence-initial *mañana* 'tomorrow,' (27) could mean that the subject of the sentence leaves at eight every day, or it could also indicate historical present.

- (27) *Mañana él se va a las ocho de la mañana.*  
 Tomorrow he leaves at eight in the morning'.

The significant effect that the absence of time markers has in favoring the occurrence of PF seems to be another result of the ongoing change from below in the expression of future time in the Romance languages attested to by Fleischman (2009[1982], 1983) and Schwegler (1990), respectively. As a result of its grammaticalization, the periphrasis has expanded its aspectual meaning to become temporalized and time markers are no longer needed to disambiguate meaning (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 68).

In general, the results for adverbial specification uncover similar tendencies in Barranquilla and the New York Colombian enclave. Moreover, these tendencies are consonant with those in the New York Puerto Rican community, suggesting that contact with English does not make a significant difference in how time markers condition futurity.

### *Length of MF inflection*

I used a complex predictor to explore the effects of length of MF inflection while obtaining detailed information about how the expression of futurity is simultaneously conditioned 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 individual factors included in this constraint as follows: (a) verbs with multisyllabic MF inflection, (b) verbs with irregular disyllabic MF, and (c) monosyllabic verbs (*dar* 'give,' *ir* 'go,' *ser* 'be,' *ver* 'see').

Verbs with multisyllabic MF inflection include those verbs whose infinitives may be two syllables in length (e.g., *cantar* 'sing' > *cantaré*) or longer (e.g., *trabajar* 'work' > *trabajaré*). 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 predictor consists of verbs with disyllabic infinitives whose MF forms are both disyllabic and irregular.<sup>5</sup> They comprise some of the most frequent Spanish verbs whose syncopated future inflections feature what Stockwell (1965: 116ff.) calls “theme variations.” In seven of them (*cab*er ‘fit,’ *dec*ir ‘say, tell,’ *hab*er ‘exist,’ *hac*er ‘do, make,’ *pod*er ‘be able to,’ *quer*er ‘want, wish,’ *sab*er ‘know’), the theme vowel is syncopated when they are inflected as in *sabr*é ‘I will know.’ In the remaining five (*pon*er ‘put,’ *tene*r ‘have,’ *sal*ir ‘leave,’ *val*er ‘cost, be worth’ *veni*er ‘come’), the theme vowel is replaced by an epenthetic /d/ yielding forms such as *pondrán* ‘[they] will put.’ I will subsequently refer to these verbs as disyllabic irregulars. The analysis of the effect of disyllabic verbs is important since these are some of the most frequently occurring verbs in Spanish; their effect would also give us additional information as to how irregular verbs condition the expression of futurity.

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* ‘see’ > *veré*). Since there are only four monosyllabic verbs in Spanish (*dar* ‘give,’ *ir* ‘go,’ *ser* ‘be,’ and *ver* ‘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* ‘be’ and *ver* ‘see’ into a single factor to conduct all subsequent analyses. Consequently, I used a total of five factors in this group: (1) verbs with multisyllabic MF inflections, (2) disyllabic irregulars, (3) *ser* and *ver* as a single factor, (4) *dar*, and (5) *ir*. This factor configuration is more conducive to exploring the nuances of the effects of verb type on the expression of futurity

Length of MF future inflection exerts the strongest internal pressures on the occurrence of all three variants in both speaker cohorts but – judging by the range values – more so in NYC. Apparently, this is due to the sociolinguistic situation found in the immigrant setting. The figures in Table 2.12 show, as with the results for grammatical number of the subject, the same general effects in both Barranquilla and New York. The results for the SP and the PF appear, for the most part, to be in opposition to each other. These results also indicate that multisyllabic verbs promote the occurrence of PF (.62 Barranquilla, .61 NYC) at the expense of both the MF and SP. In both cohorts, disyllabic irregulars exert a favorable effect on the SP (.62 Barranquilla, .66 NYC) at the expense of the other two variants. These verbs disfavor the PF more strongly than the MF. The combined effect of *ser* ‘be’ and *ver* ‘see’ promotes both the MF and PF while disfavoring the SP (.26 Barranquilla,

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5. As Lloyd (1987: 367) and Penny (2002: 213) indicate, these verbs still maintain the syncopated future inflections they already had in Medieval Spanish.

Table 2.12. Effect of length of morphological future inflection

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
<i>Ser &amp; Ver</i> 'be & see'	.71	74/191	39%	.26	37/191	19%	.59	80/191	42%
<i>Ir</i> 'go'	.48	14/81	17%	.73	47/81	58%	.30	20/81	25%
Multisyllabic	.44	112/746	15%	.43	230/746	31%	.62	404/746	54%
Disyllabic irregular	.47	66/423	16%	.62	204/423	48%	.41	153/423	36%
<i>Dar</i> 'give'	.40	4/41	10%	.47	14/41	34%	.60	23/41	56%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	.31	6.32 <sup>-6</sup>		.47	1.34 <sup>-17</sup>		.30	4.53 <sup>-12</sup>	
I = input	I = .15	270/1483	18%	I = .36	532/1483	36%	I = .41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
<i>Ser &amp; Ver</i> 'be & see'	.68	29/221	13%	.21	31/221	14%	.71	161/221	73%
<i>Ir</i> 'go'	.75	11/105	10%	.72	66/105	63%	.23	28/105	27%
Multisyllabic	.49	63/958	7%	.41	241/958	25%	.61	654/958	68%
Disyllabic Irregular	.41	29/512	6%	.66	209/512	41%	.40	274/512	54%
<i>Dar</i> 'give'	.20	1/50	2%	.52	12/50	24%	.57	37/50	74%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	.55	.00067		.51	2.23 <sup>-26</sup>		.48	7.71 <sup>-23</sup>	
I = input	I = .03	133/1846	7%	I = .28	559/1846	30%	I = .60	1153/1846	63%

.21 NYC). *Dar* 'give' favors the PF (.60 Barranquilla, .57 NYC), has a neutral effect on the SP (.47 Barranquilla, .52 NYC), and inhibits the MF (.40 Barranquilla, .20 NYC). Finally, *ir* 'go' strongly favors the SP in both communities (.73 Barranquilla, .72 NYC) while exerting a negative force on the PF (.30 Barranquilla, .23 NYC). At the same time, *ir* registers a neutral effect on the MF in Barranquilla (.48) but strongly promotes this variant in NYC (.75). In the paragraphs that follow, I discuss in detail the effects of each factor.

In promoting the PF, multisyllabic verbs register similar values in Barranquilla (.62) and in New York (.61). 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 (28), confirm speakers' preference for regular forms evidenced in our corpora and throughout the Spanish-speaking world as indicated by Elcock (1960: 367).

- (28) *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 ...'

One reason why multisyllabic verbs promote the PF may be because it has become 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 high frequency of multisyllabic verbs (54% Barranquilla, 68% NYC) – whose occurrence does not involve any irregular paradigms – in the PF as compared to the other futurity variants. Another reason why multisyllabic verbs promote the PF may be because there are no constraints on the presence of these verbs in the periphrasis. At the same time, if the occurrence of disyllabic irregular verbs with PF is constrained, that of multisyllabic verbs is not. Moreover, whereas there are constraints on the occurrence of *ir* ‘go’ with the periphrasis, there are none on that of the other monosyllabic verbs.

As shown in Table 2.12, disyllabic verbs favor the SP (.62 Barranquilla, .66 NYC) and disfavor both the PF and the MF. These verbs – as stated above – are irregular in the MF as opposed to their monosyllabic and multisyllabic counterparts. The favoring effect that irregular disyllabic verbs have on the SP may be a consequence of their higher frequency in Spanish and, particularly, in the SP concomitant with their low frequency of occurrence in the MF. As shown in Table 2.12, disyllabic verbs are virtually non-occurring in the MF (16% in Barranquilla, 6% in NYC). The fact that these verbs favor the SP may also result from their appearance in the historical present besides their usual occurrence in present time contexts. If, as Silva-Corvalán (1994a: 52ff.) argues, the increased use of verbal periphrases helps reduce the burden of maintaining a productive command of tense marking, this reduction in the maintenance of forms obtains with multisyllabic and monosyllabic verbs but not with disyllabic ones. Then, in Colombian Spanish, the burden of keeping inflectional forms under control in expressing futurity is being shifted from MF to SP.

The favorable effect that the combined forces of *ser* and *ver* exert on the MF (.71 Barranquilla, .68 NYC) is perhaps a result of their occurrence in clichés and fossilized formulaic expressions. In explaining the tendencies registered by *ser* and *ver*, I would like to refer to the relevance of formulaic or fixed expressions such as those in (29)–(31).

- (29) *Amanecerá y veremos.*<sup>4</sup>  
[It] will dawn, and [we] will see.’
- (30) *Otra vez será.*  
‘Another time it will be/happen.’
- (31) *Ahora verás.*  
‘Now [you] will see.’

Formulaic expressions are usually short statements that often have modal connotations rather than indicate full temporal futurity. Since short formulaic expressions



such as (29)–(31) that contain monosyllabic verbs occur frequently in Spanish, speakers may overgeneralize and expand their use to other contexts. The use of these frozen 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 (32) and (33), which is highly consistent with the fossilized forms.

- (32) ... *eso será toda la puta vida contra los pobres.*  
 ‘...that will be all frigging life against the poor.’
- (33) ... *veo yo como que la tecnología ha avanzado tanto pero no sé si será pa bien o pa mal.*  
 ‘...[I] see like the technology has advanced so much, but [I] don’t know if [it] will be for good or for bad.’

The fact that most formulaic statements indicate modality in addition to futurity confirms the observations made by Sedano (1994) and Gutiérrez (1995), who note the frequent occurrence of the MF expressing modality. The occurrence of MF in statements that express modality rather than a purely temporal meaning corresponds to a larger crosslinguistic tendency indicated by Bybee and Pagliuca (1987: 118ff.) and Ultan (1978), respectively. The development of this semantic domain for the MF reflects semantic bleaching and exerts a significant force in its retention. Despite having morphosyntactic future marking, these statements have modal connotations. Thus, frozen formulaic expressions which indicate modality and which may not fully entail posteriority promote the retention of the MF. MF statements commonly retain the semantic feature of possibility and a degree of uncertainty because they have not occurred yet. Since we are dealing with irrealis events that may not ever occur, we cannot fully determine whether the speaker is certain that the event will take place.

In general terms, as with irregular disyllabic verbs, the frequency of *ser* ‘be’ and *ver* ‘see’ in the PF is greater in New York (73%) than in Barranquilla (42%), 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. In fact, the higher probability weight and frequency of *ser* and *ver* in NYC as compared to Barranquilla is statistically significant ( $X^2 = 39.20$ ,  $df. = 1$ ,  $p = 3.827^{-10}$ ). One reason for the favorable effect of *ser* and *ver* on the PF seems to be the ongoing transfer of domains from morphological to periphrastic futures attested crosslinguistically (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987; Fleischman 2009[1982], 1983; Ultan 1978). This transfer of domains is seen as a natural consequence of the shift toward the preference for analytic future forms to the detriment of synthetic ones that the Romance languages are currently undergoing (Schwegler 1990; Poplack & Malvar 2007).

The results for *dar* ‘give’ reflect that, in both populations, this verb favors the PF while strongly disfavoring MF. These tendencies may indicate that in using *dar* to express futurity, speakers avoid the MF to make sure their statements do not imply conjecture or lack of certainty. In fact, there are only five occurrences of *dar* in the MF (4 in Barranquilla, 1 in NYC). Although the tendencies for the SP and the PF pull in the same direction in the emigrant setting, the favorable effect of *dar* on PF is greater than that on the SP. In fact, the effect of *dar* on the SP appears to be shifting from a disfavoring effect in Barranquilla to a favoring effect in New York. This apparent shift may be a result of how language contact has impacted the semantic nature of *dar*. Like *ser* and *ver*, *dar*—another verb inherited from Latin—appears in numerous idioms and has acquired various other meanings. Consequently, 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 (34), it occurs in the PF with other meanings and in idioms such as *darse cuenta* ‘realize, notice’ as in (35).

- (34) *Si el pelao rehponde, pueh ... te damoh media beca.*  
 ‘If your kid responds, well ... **we**[’II] **give** you half a scholarship.’
- (35) ... *ellos se van a dar cuenta ... bueno ella no hace esto.*  
 ‘... they **are going to realize** ... well she does not do this.’

The tendencies for *ir* ‘go’ show a robust effect. In both speaker cohorts, this verb promotes the SP while strongly disfavoring the PF. The disfavoring effect of *ir* on the PF is greater in New York (.23) than in Barranquilla (.30). The greater disfavoring effect on the PF that *ir* registers in New York— even stronger in the NYC Puerto Rican community where it registers a probability weight of only .11 (Orozco 2015b: 358)— 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 a 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* illustrated in (36) 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, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 256).

- (36) *Mañana voy a la casa del hijo y a la oficina.*  
 ‘Tomorrow [I] **go** to his son’s house and to his office.’
- (37) ... *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 ...’

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 configuration *irse* ‘leave, get away,’ as illustrated in (37). This serves as evidence that, when lexical verbs become future auxiliaries, as Fries (1927: 92) points out, their original meanings gradually fade. This development is analogous to what has occurred with *haber* (cf. Penny 2000: 50, 2008[1993]: 237). 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 infrequent occurrence of *ir* in the PF is analogous to what Singler (1984: 348) reports for Liberian English where *go* rarely occurs as the main verb in the equivalent periphrastic construction.

Going over the results from the perspective of the three futurity variants, the individual factor effects also reflect, for the most part, clear opposite tendencies for the SP and the PF. This opposition is best exemplified by *ir*, which strongly promotes the SP with statistical weights of .73 (Barranquilla) and .72 (NYC) but disfavors the PF with values of .30 (Barranquilla) and .23 (NYC). In general, our findings for length of morphological future inflection show the same factors pulling in the same directions in both speech communities. Mainly in both cohorts, (a) *ser* and *ver* acting jointly favor the retention of MF; (b) disyllabic irregulars and *ir*, respectively favor the SP; (c) *ser* and *ver*, multisyllabic verbs, and *dar* favor the PF. That is, the overall results for this predictor indicate that we have the same forces in action regardless of contact. In fact, the results for length of MF inflection, by being similar in both speaker cohorts as well as congruent with those in the New York Puerto Rican community (cf. Orozco 2015b), suggest that direct contact with English has not had a drastic effect on how verbs condition futurity.

## 2.5 Discussion

In this chapter, I have explored the expression of futurity in terms of the distribution of its variants and the internal predictors that significantly condition this linguistic variable in Barranquilla, Colombia and the New York Colombian enclave. The distribution of variants answers the first research question and confirms the first hypothesis pertaining to this chapter, revealing the PF as the most frequently occurring of the three futurity variants in both communities. It is followed in order of frequency by the SP and the MF, respectively. As discussed above (§ 2.3), our distribution of variants constitutes a clear reflection of what

occurs throughout the Hispanic World in monolingual as well as bilingual communities (cf. Gutiérrez 1995; Orozco 2015b; Silva-Corvalán & Terrell 1989, among others). It shows an increase in the use of the PF in NYC – with respect to Barranquilla – concomitant with decreases in the occurrence of both the SP and MF, respectively. The differences in the occurrence of each futurity variant between the two speaker cohorts are statistically significant, apparently, a consequence of the influence of English on the Spanish of New York Colombians. Furthermore, the more frequent occurrence of the PF in NYC constitutes an instance of how changes already in progress accelerate upon the inception of language contact (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1994a: 208).

The effects of linguistic predictors answer our second research question specific to the present chapter (*What internal predictors condition the three futurity variants in both speaker cohorts, and what are their effects?*). As discussed in the preceding section, the results of multivariate statistical analyses uncovered that eight linguistic predictors significantly condition the expression of futurity in both speaker cohorts: (i) length of morphological future inflection, (ii) adverbial specification, (iii) person and animacy of the subject, (iv) grammatical person of the subject, (v) temporal distance, (vi) verb transitivity, (vii) clause type, and (viii) clause length. Overall, the expression of futurity is most strongly conditioned by length of MF inflection. As the occurrence of the MF as a futurity marker has declined, the internal conditioning effects reveal a general opposition between the SP and the PF. As Table 2.13 illustrates, for those predictors that also condition the MF (e.g., length of MF inflection and temporal distance), we find an opposition between the MF and the SP.

Concurrently, the effects of these predictors show multiple levels of similarities between the two speaker cohorts; they exert comparatively similar strengths as measured by the order of selection and the range values. Besides, as the figures in Table 2.13 indicate, individual factors within each predictor exhibit largely identical tendencies across the board. More specifically, we have the following instances of the effects of some individual linguistic factors. (a) Multisyllabic verbs, absence of time markers, and negative and interrogative statements consistently favor the PF while disfavoring the SP. (b) *Ir*, the presence of adverbials, and short clauses favor the SP but disfavor the PF. (c) Statements in the distant future favor the MF while disfavoring both the SP in both cohorts and the PF in Barranquilla. Therefore, the internal conditioning effects in both Barranquilla and New York are essentially the same, providing evidence in support of the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism. Moreover, these findings confirm our second hypothesis pertaining to this chapter (*The expression of futurity is conditioned by the same internal predictors in both Barranquilla and New York, and most individual factors exert similar conditioning pressures in both settings.*)

Table 2.13. Internal conditioning effects on the expression of futurity

Predictor/Factors	Barranquilla			New York City		
	MF	SP	PF	MF	SP	PF
<i>MF Inflection length</i>						
Ser & Ver 'be & see'	.71	.26	.59	.68	.21	.71
Ir 'go'	.48	.73	.30	.75	.72	.23
Multisyllabic	.44	.43	.62	.49	.41	.61
Disyllabic Irregular	.47	.62	.41	.41	.66	.40
Dar 'give'	.40	.47	.60	.20	.52	.57
<i>Adverbial specification</i>						
Present	.57	.57	.39	[.53]	.61	.40
Absent	.43	.43	.61	[.47]	.40	.60
<i>Temporal distance</i>						
Distant & unbounded	.65	.47	.44	.68	.44	[.51]
Near future	.35	.53	.56	.32	.56	[.49]
<i>Grammatical number</i>						
Plural	.55	.42	.54	.62	.44	[.52]
Singular	.45	.58	.47	.38	.56	[.48]
<i>Verb transitivity</i>						
Transitive	.46	[.48]	.55	.54	.44	.54
Non-transitive	.54	[.53]	.45	.46	.56	.46
<i>Clause type</i>						
Declarative/Conditional	[.53]	.55	.44	[.48]	.60	.43
Negative/Interrogative	[.47]	.45	.56	[.53]	.40	.57
<i>Clause length</i>						
< 6 Words	[.50]	.54	.46	[.52]	.56	.45
6 or more words	[.49]	.46	.54	[.48]	.44	.56
<i>Grammatical person &amp; animacy</i>						
First person	–	–	–	.29	.65	.40
Second person	–	–	–	.69	.32	.62
Third person human	–	–	–	.42	.52	.52
Third person non-human	–	–	–	.61	.53	.46
Non-human	.56	[.50]	.46	–	–	–
Human	.44	[.49]	.54	–	–	–

while contributing to answer our second overarching research question. Interestingly, the similarities between our two speaker cohorts are also consonant with tendencies found among Puerto Ricans (Claes & Ortíz López 2011) and New York Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b). Thus, we have further support for the theory of interdialectal parallelism (Guy 2000), which postulates that the factors constraining language variation and change are consistent across different segments of a speech community.

Nevertheless, when the results for the New York Colombian population are further compared to those for Barranquilla, some differences in the individual factor weights emerge. These differences reflect New York Colombians' adjustment to the NYC sociolinguistic environment. This adjustment includes dialect convergence with the Puerto Rican-dominated New York City Spanish since New York Colombians have started to exhibit tendencies more similar to those of New York Puerto Ricans and less similar to those of their Barranquilla compatriots. However, despite the emerging differences in probability weights for some individual factors, the overarching similarities among the communities involved continue to lend validity to Guy's (2000) theory of interdialectal parallelism. The situation of the expression of futurity reflects that, as a consequence of direct contact with English and other Spanish dialects, a diachronic change which started in Spanish prior to the onset of language contact has accelerated in NYC. Concurrently, this change in progress is now reaching completion among New York Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b: 366). These findings confirm the main hypothesis tested in this volume. Moreover, they seem to be consonant with Silva-Corvalán's postulate that intense language contact situations accelerate internally-motivated changes affecting the secondary language (Spanish in this case) that were already in progress prior to the inception of contact (1994a: 208). Interpreting these results as an indication of things to come, we can expect, among other things, the effects of some predictors on the MF to gradually erode in Barranquilla as well as in other varieties of Spanish.

This study provides robust empirical evidence of the ongoing change in the Spanish expression of futurity. This change appears to have already reached completion in Brazilian Portuguese where the PF registers a frequency of 92.5% and the MF, with a frequency of 0.5%, is barely used (cf. Poplack & Malvar 2007). In fact, this grammaticalization-fueled change has been in progress for centuries. In the case of the diasporic Colombian community, it is accelerated by the contact-enhanced, favorable setting provided by New York City. Under these circumstances, the PF has cemented its hegemony while the MF gradually ceases, for all practical purposes, to function as a futurity marker. In a larger context, the expression of futurity provides a prime example of the effects of the crosslinguistic evolutionary process of cyclicity, which affects verbal morphology, triggering

multiple internal syntactic and morphological adjustments. Silva-Corvalán (1994a: 52), Gutiérrez (1995: 214), and Orozco (2007a: 327), inter alia, have discussed this large historical cycle as it affects Spanish. The language changes from being primarily synthetic to predominantly analytic during this cycle and eventually becomes synthetic again (Fleischman 2009 [1982]: 152). Consequently, the expression of futurity becomes a binary linguistic variable with the periphrastic future and the simple present as its variants (cf. Claes & Ortíz López 2011: 51). If, as Orozco (2015b: 366) indicates, the situation of the New York Puerto Rican community constitutes a snapshot of a more advanced stage in the evolution of the expression of futurity accelerated by language contact (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1994a: 208), we can expect what has occurred among New York City Puerto Ricans to, subsequently, occur among New York Colombians, in Barranquilla, and in other speech communities as evolution continues to run its course.

This study has also provided empirical evidence suggesting that increased contact leads, among other things, to a reduced domain for the MF. The effects of the predictors still conditioning the MF (§ 2.4) further inform our knowledge of the later stages of the internal conditioning on the expression of futurity. The effects of temporal distance show that the MF, by favoring events in the distant future, continues to be associated with its traditional semantic domain of posteriority despite no longer being the default marker of futurity. At the same time, as has been attested crosslinguistically (Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1991; Ultan 1978), our findings suggest that, as with the Spanish subjunctive, the MF has been able to survive by acquiring new semantic domains (cf. Rosenblat 2002; Anderson 1979) – a pattern commonly followed by receding forms. Among these domains, we have epistemic modality, (Gutiérrez 1995; Sedano 1994) and polite commands (Kany 1951; Niño-Murcia 1992).

On the other end of the futurity spectrum, PF has claimed the dominant role in the expression of futurity that SP shared with the MF (Kany 1951), and 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 stems from the tendency of future paradigms to be recast periodically from modal VPs, discussed by Fleischman (2009[1982]: 31), Bybee et al. (1991, 1994), and Dahl (1985, 2000), among others. As a result of diachronic cyclicity, and on its way to becoming the default expression of futurity in Spanish, the PF has undergone grammaticalization. One potential implication of the effect of cyclicity on Spanish advanced by Fleischman (2009[1982]: 104, among others) would be the eventual agglutination of the PF resulting in a reduction such as *voy a cantar* > *yo vacantar* (cf. Anderson 1979; Westmoreland 1997: 381).



## 2.6 Conclusion

The distribution of futurity variants in both speaker cohorts shows that the PF future is the most frequently occurring future form. This distribution also shows that the PF occurs more frequently in New York than in Barranquilla mainly at the expense of the MF. These results corroborate the crosslinguistic pattern that occurs in the Romance languages, where there has always been more than one way of expressing future reference (cf. Dahl 1985: 110; Fleischman 2009[1982]: 1; van Naerssen 1995: 461, *inter alios*). The results also concur with the fact that in many European languages the specific form labeled future is not the most commonly used (Comrie 1985: 45). 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.

At the outset of the 21st century the use of the MF as a futurity marker among New York Colombians, with a frequency of 7%, has declined significantly. This study provides robust evidence of how the change in progress has advanced aided by the contact-enhanced, favorable setting provided by New York City. As the ongoing change in the expression of futurity reaches completion, following the path already taken by Brazilian Portuguese (cf. Poplack & Malvar 2007), the expression of futurity will become a binary linguistic variable consisting of the PF and SP (cf. Claes & Ortíz López 2011: 51). However, the MF will not disappear from Spanish, so we can expect it to remain in the language serving functions other than futurity marker. The general effect of the internal predictors already indicates that the MF is developing new semantic and pragmatic domains, following a pattern customarily taken by receding forms that has been attested cross-linguistically (Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1991; Bybee Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Ultan 1978). The MF's new semantic domains include modality (Escobar 1997), commands (Niño Murcia 1992), and conjecture (Rosenblat 2002).

The fact that the expression of futurity is conditioned by the same internal predictors in both speaker cohorts, with the effects of individual factors exerting largely identical tendencies, implies that Barranquilla and the New York Colombian enclave are still part of one larger speech community. Furthermore, these conditioning tendencies are also similar to those found among Puerto Ricans (Claes 2011) and New York Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b), suggesting that our speakers are part of an even larger macro speech community. This state of affairs lends validity to the theory of interdialectal parallelism (Guy 2000), which proposes that the predictors which condition language variation and change are consistent within different segments of a speech community.



The evolution of the expression of futurity clearly shows the effects of the crosslinguistic process of diachronic cyclicity, which sets off a series of internal morphosyntactic adjustments. This evolutionary process has involved grammaticalization as the PF has developed into a full-fledged futurity marker. One of the outcomes of the evolution of the expression of futurity is the transformation of *ir* 'go' from lexical to auxiliary verb. Subsequently, as a natural result of grammaticalization, the PF has also been found to agglutinate in several Central American Spanish varieties (Schwegler 1990; Anderson 1979: 34). The incipient agglutination of the PF would also entail further grammaticalization whose implications are beyond the scope of this volume, providing a matter for further research.

In general, the findings of this study contribute to our collective knowledge of the multifaceted effects of linguistic contact and dialectal convergence as they simultaneously affect language variation and change. They also provide important information that helps compare the linguistic forces constraining variation in Barranquilla and New York City to those in other (Hispanic) speech communities. Research on linguistic contact can enrich our knowledge of language immensely, as in immigrant communities contact provides information valuable in predicting trends in language variation and change in monolingual speech communities. While the NY Spanish-speaking community continues to evolve, it is imperative to continue to study its sociolinguistic situation.

## CHAPTER 3

# The expression of nominal possession

This chapter explores the expression of nominal possession by determining the distribution of variants (possessive adjectives, definite articles, possessive periphrases) and the effects of linguistic predictors. Nominal possession is conditioned by eight linguistic predictors including semantic category of the genitive noun, type of subject, and distance between referent and possessive. As with the expression of futurity, the same conditioning effects obtain in both speaker cohorts. Structurally and diachronically, findings suggest that the incursion of the possessive periphrasis may constitute a manifestation of the crosslinguistic evolutionary process known as diachronic cyclicality which triggers internal syntactic and morphological adjustments. The findings increase our understanding of language variation and change.

### 3.1 The Spanish nominal possessive

There are a number of ways to express possession in the languages of the world. For instance, there is predicative possession as in *Ella tiene un hermano* ‘she has a brother.’ This chapter is concerned with the expression of nominal possession. As with the expression of futurity, the topic of the previous chapter, in general terms, possession is expressed in Spanish by means of various synthetic and analytical morphosyntactic devices (Orozco 2004: 190–197). To express nominal possession, in particular, Spanish speakers use a tripartite linguistic variable whose variants are possessive adjectives, definite articles, and possessive periphrases, respectively (Orozco 2012: 205). The examples in (38)–(40) illustrate the different ways of saying ‘I speak with my friends’ in contemporary Spanish by means of this linguistic variable.

(38) Possessive adjectives (PA): *Hablo con mis amigos.*

(39) Definite articles (DA): *Hablo con los amigos.*

(40) Possessive periphrases (PP): *Hablo con los amigos míos.*

All three variants of this linguistic variable often occur interchangeably, and they can appear in either the nominative or the accusative case without denoting the possessor with a lexical noun. The expression of possession in its different

manifestations has been extensively studied from different perspectives (cf. Heine 1997 and references therein). However, variationist studies of the expression of possession are scarce. This study extends research on possession by providing a variationist analysis.

Possessive adjectives, universally found in natural languages, have consistently monopolized the attention of Spanish grammar books and textbooks. The use of definite articles (Example 39 above) as possessive markers, despite being less widespread crosslinguistically, is a common occurrence in those languages that have these determiners. For instance, possession is expressed by means of definite articles in Catalan, French, German, Italian and Portuguese, among others. The well-established use of definite articles with possessive value in Spanish has been attested in 16th century prose (Keniston 1937a: 235). However, as Orozco (2010: 197) indicates, their use as possessives has not always been discussed or mentioned in the Spanish grammar books. For instance, some of the grammars that do not address the use of definite articles as possessives include those by Alarcos Llorach (1973), Bello & Cuervo (1941), García de Diego (1961), Lemos (1937), Menéndez Pidal (1968 [1904]), Seco (1996), inter alios. On the other hand, the use of definite articles with possessive value is addressed in those works of a more descriptive nature. For example, Leonetti (1999: 808) asserts that Spanish shows a clear preference for the use of definite articles in contexts calling for the use of a possessive. Picallo and Rigau (1999: 1009), who analyze in detail the various ways to express possession in Spanish, describe the use of definite articles to mark possession with nouns that denote family members and relatives. Alcina and Blecua (2001[1975]: 566), Fernández (1951: 291), and Picallo and Rigau (1999: 1006ff.) concur that definite articles alternate with possessive adjectives especially with certain types of nouns including body parts, mental faculties, garments, and actions. Gili y Gaya (1964: 240) indicates that when definite articles mark possession, they are frequently accompanied by a reflexive pronoun as in (41), taken from our sample.

- (41) *A ese man se le perdieron loh tacoh.* [NM0107]  
 ‘That guy lost his [the] cleats.’

Moreover, Criado de Val (1966: 101) and Keniston (1937a: 235) note that definite articles often compete with possessive adjectives while de Bruyne (2004[1995]: 181) indicates that certain uses of possessive adjectives over definite articles, even in non-contact situations, are considered Anglicisms.

The newest of the three variants, analytical forms called possessive periphrases (Orozco 2004: 193), constitute a modern development. These possessive markers are used in all varieties of Spanish and in Portuguese. They are also similar to the preferred way of expressing possession in Italian, which involves a determiner and a possessive pronoun. In the first and second person singular, the possessive periphrasis has the following morphosyntactic configuration.

[*Definite article + Possessed Noun + Possessive Pronoun*]

The example in (42) illustrates this usage, and more details are provided in Table 3.1.

- (42) *La casa mía*<sup>6</sup>  
 ‘the house mine’ (literally)

**Table 3.1.** Possessive periphrases for 1st and 2nd person singular possessors

	Possessive periphrasis
1st	<i>la casa mía</i> ‘my house’
2nd informal	<i>la casa tuya</i> ‘your house’
2nd formal	<i>la casa suya</i> ‘your house’

For the remaining grammatical persons, the periphrasis forms as follows.

[*Definite article + Possessed Noun + de + Subject Personal Pronoun/NP*]

The participation of subject personal pronouns represents an instance of grammaticalization. It results in constructions such as that in (43) with details provided in Table 3.2.

- (43) *La casa de él*  
 ‘The house of he’ (literally)

**Table 3.2.** Possessive periphrases for possessors of most grammatical persons and numbers

	Possessive periphrasis
2nd singular formal	<i>la casa de usted</i> ‘your house’
3rd singular feminine	<i>la casa de ella</i> ‘her house’
3rd singular masculine	<i>la casa de él</i> ‘his house’
3rd singular indefinite	<i>la casa de uno</i> ‘one’s house’
1st plural feminine	<i>la casa de nosotras</i> ‘our house’
1st plural masculine	<i>la casa de nosotros</i> ‘our house’
2nd plural	<i>la casa de ustedes</i> ‘your house’
3rd plural feminine	<i>la casa de ellas</i> ‘their house’
3rd plural masculine	<i>la casa de ellos</i> ‘their house’

6. Although *la casa suya* is morphosyntactically possible, it rarely occurs and was not attested in the corpora explored here.

The origin of this analytic paradigm is imputed to the substitution of the second person plural possessive adjective *vuestro* ‘yours’ for the circumlocution *de ustedes* ‘of you’ (Orozco 2009b: 38). It appears that the use of the periphrastic innovation progressively generalized in vernacular speech as it spread to all grammatical persons (Gili y Gaya 1964: 241; Penny 2008[1993]: 169), and became the most accurate way to express nominal possession in Spanish. Moreover, Criado de Val (1966: 100), Fernández (1951: 230ff.), and Penny (2008[1993]: 169) assert that the possessive adjective *su* ‘your, his, hers, its, their’ was plagued by a semantic overload, which contributed to its ambiguity and, consequently, led to the emergence of genitive phrases. Gili y Gaya (1964: 241) also points out the ambiguity posed by the possessive *su*. He concurs with Kany (1969: 68) and Keniston (1937a: 244) in emphasizing that phrases consisting of *de* ‘of’ plus a personal pronoun were already used in the 16th century to remedy the ambiguity of the possessive adjectives. Yet, as with definite articles, possessive periphrases have not received much attention in the Spanish grammar books. Nevertheless, Kany (1969: 68–70) discusses the use of the possessive periphrasis in all varieties of Spanish and attributes its origin to the need for clarification imposed by the several possible meanings of *su*. Alcina and Blecua (2001[1975]: 938–939) and Penny (2002: 141) also report the usage of the possessive periphrases categorizing them as prepositional complements. Others who report the usage of possessive periphrases include Butt & Benjamin (2004: 99) and de Bruyne (2004[1995]: 180). In contrast, their use is mentioned only marginally by Bosque and Demonte (1999) in their *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, perhaps the most comprehensive grammar of the Spanish language.

Despite the fact that all three possessive markers are commonly used in Spanish, very little variationist research has been conducted on this linguistic variable, either in Colombian, or any other variety of Spanish. Thus, in this study, I will provide an empirical variationist analysis of the expression of nominal possession in Colombian Costeño Spanish with respect to a number of linguistic predictors. Due to the scarcity of variationist research on the expression of nominal possession, this paper intends to provide a baseline of data for future inquiry.

### 3.2 Methodology

As with the analyses of the expression of futurity in the previous chapter and variable pronominal usage in Chapter 4, I designed this study to allow an easily replicable procedure. In discussing the methodology employed in this analysis of nominal possession, I focus mainly on my research questions and hypotheses

(Section 3.2.1), the predictors examined (Section 3.2.2) and the envelope of variation (Section 3.2.3).

### 3.2.1 Research questions and hypotheses

This analysis is guided by the following main research questions

- a. *How are the three variants of the nominal possessive (possessive adjectives, definite articles, and possessive periphrases) distributed in the Spanish of Barranquilla and that of the New York Colombian community?*
- b. *What internal predictors condition the expression of nominal possession in both communities, and what are their effects?*
- c. *Are the effects of the predictors conditioning the expression of nominal possession the same in both speaker cohorts? If not, why not?*

These questions are congruent with the main hypothesis tested in this volume. With my first research question, I tested the hypothesis that *possessive adjectives would occur more frequently in NYC than in Barranquilla due to convergence with English*, as this variant is the closest to the English preferred expression of possession. With my second and third questions, I test the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000) according to which, the factors constraining language variation and change are consistent within different segments of a single speech community.

### 3.2.2 Predictors examined

To answer the above research questions and test my hypotheses regarding possession, I explored the effects of ten linguistic predictors. I based my choice of predictors on preliminary analyses of the possessive in Colombian Spanish (Orozco 2004, 2010, 2012). As with my analyses of the expressions of futurity (Chapter 2) and pronominal usage (Chapter 4), I explore the effects of internal predictors that operate at three morphosyntactic levels. Thus, I tested predictors that operate at the whole clause level, at the subject level and at the NP level – either within the subject or within an object. I analyzed the following linguistic predictors.

- a. Clause-level predictors: This level includes three predictors.
  - i. *Distance (in words) between referent and possessive*: no overt referent, one to five words between the referent and the possessive, six to ten words between referent and possessive, more than ten words between referent and possessive

- ii. *Length of the clause containing the possessive*: one to five words long, six to nine words long, longer than nine words.
- iii. *Type of statement*: declarative, conditional, interrogative, negative
- b. Subject-level predictors: This level includes the following two predictors.
  - i. *Location of the possessive*: subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique object
  - ii. *Type (and grammatical number) of subject*: singular overt, plural overt, singular null, plural null
- c. Genitive NP-level predictors: This level comprises five predictors.
  - i. *Grammatical gender and number of the possessee*: singular feminine, singular masculine, plural feminine, plural masculine
  - ii. *Grammatical person, number, and animacy of the possessor*:
    - a. Four factors refer to singular possessors: first and second grammatical person, third person human, and third person nonhuman.
    - b. Four factors refer to plural possessors: first and second grammatical person, third person human, and third person nonhuman.
  - iii. *Length of noun marked for possession*: one to two syllables, three to five syllables, six or more syllables.
  - iv. *Presence of adjectives in the genitive NP*: adjective present pre-nominally, adjective present post-nominally, no adjective present
  - v. *Semantic category of the possessed noun*: body part, parent, non-parent relative or family member (grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc.), non-relative human, not human (animals, things and all other nouns not included in the previous four categories).

### 3.2.3 The envelope of possessive variation and the analysis

I defined the envelope of variation for this analysis as illustrated below in (44)–(46). That is, a clause is considered to fall within the envelope of variation, and was included in the data sample, only if all three variants of the nominal possessive (possessive adjectives, definite articles and possessive periphrases) were likely to occur in that clause with their attendant possessive meanings. That is, I used the criterion that all tokens would constitute different ways of saying the same thing, as illustrated in examples (44)–(46) below.

(44) *Yo no me voy a quedar en mi casa/ la casa/ la casa mía na más esperando.*  
 ‘I’m not going to stay in **my house** just waiting.’

(45) *Mi abuela me cuenta que la casa/su casa/ la casa de ella la compró por siete mil pesos.*  
 ‘My grandmother tells me that she bought **her house** for seven thousand pesos.’

- (46) *Yo sé que la hermana de él/ la hermana/ su hermana tiene esa plata que se ganó.*  
 ‘I know that **his** sister has that money that she won.’

Due to the different syntactic roles played by the definite article, I meticulously scrutinized all clauses in which definite articles mark possession. Thus, I only included in the sample those statements in which definite articles categorically function as possessives as occurs with the definite article *la* ‘the’ in (47).

- (47) *... pero ahora que ha venido y que la trae la mamá y o la lleva...*  
 ‘... but now that [she] has come and that **her** [**the**] **mother** brings her or takes her...’

Consequently, I excluded from analysis all occurrences of definite articles with meanings other than possession. For instance, statements such as (48) were excluded because the definite articles that occur (*la terraza* ‘the terrace’ and *el muchacho* ‘the boy’, respectively), by not being possessive markers, fall outside the envelope of variation.

- (48) *Sí, me escondía en la terraza de una casa y cuando el muchacho pasaba, le tiraba agua.*  
 ‘Yes, I would hide in **the** terrace of a house and when **the** boy passed by, I would throw water at him.’

With a total of 2,491 tokens, I conducted a series of parallel statistical regression analyses for each variant in each speaker cohort. My presentation of the results is divided into two main sections. I present the distribution of the three variants in Section 3.3. I then discuss in Section 3.4 the internal predictors that condition the occurrence of the different possessive markers.

### 3.3 Distribution of possessive variants

The results reported here provide a baseline of data for subsequent research. The frequency distribution of nominal possessive variants presented in Table 3.3 constitutes the answer to our first research question. In Barranquilla, possessive adjectives take the largest share of the distribution with a frequency of 47.8%. Definite articles appear slightly less often, taking the second largest share with a frequency of 45.7% while possessive periphrases have the smallest portion of the distribution with 6.5%. Concurrently, in New York City definite articles marking possession dominate the distribution with 46.6% – a frequency very similar to that in Barranquilla. Possessive adjectives, surprisingly, have the second largest share with 41.3%, a frequency that reflects a reduction of use as compared to what occurs in



**Table 3.3.** Distribution of possessive variants

Variant	Barranquilla		New York City	
Possessive Adjectives ( <i>su casa</i> )	613	(47.8%)	500	(41.3%)
Definite Articles ( <i>la casa</i> )	585	(45.7%)	564	(46.6%)
Possessive Periphrases ( <i>la casa de él</i> )	83	(6.5%)	146	(12.1%)
Total	1281	(100%)	1210	(100%)

Barranquilla. The possessive periphrases hold the smallest portion of the distribution with a frequency of 12.1%. However, this is quite an unexpected outcome as they occur almost twice as frequently as they do in Colombia.

The frequency differences between Barranquilla and New York are statistically significant. The reduction in the use of possessive adjectives in NYC, as compared to Barranquilla registers a  $X^2$  value of 10.48 ( $p = 0.00121$ ). The reduction in the occurrence of definite articles in NYC with regards to Barranquilla has a  $X^2$  value of 0.187 ( $p = 0.6656$ ). At the same time, the increase in the use of the periphrastic possessive in Barranquilla registers a  $X^2$  of 22.60 ( $p = 1.994^{-6}$ ), the largest difference between the two populations. The finding that determiners hold the largest share of the distribution in New York contradicts the premise that direct contact with English would cause possessive adjectives to occur more frequently there. The increase in occurrence of possessive periphrases in the diasporic setting is, to a certain extent, analogous to what happens with the expression of futurity, as the periphrastic future occurs more frequently in New York than in Barranquilla. This finding may support the argument that language contact situations tend to favor analytical forms over synthetic ones (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1994a). It is also congruent with the premise that language contact situations help promote changes that are already in progress before the inception of language contact. In general, there seems to be an ongoing change in the expression of possession, albeit still in its very early stages compared to the ongoing change in the expression of futurity discussed in the previous chapter. In what follows, I address the linguistic predictors which condition the expression of nominal possession.

### 3.4 Internal conditioning effects on the possessive

Eight internal predictors significantly condition the expression of possession. In 3.4.1 below, I discuss the two predictors (*clause length* and *type of statement*) that operate at the clause level. I address in 3.4.2 the two predictors (*location of the possessive* and *type and grammatical number of the subject*) that operate at the subject level. The effects of the four predictors that operate at the NP level (*(i) grammatical*

number and gender of the possessee, (ii) grammatical person, number and animacy of the possessor, (iii) presence of adjectives, and (iv) semantic category of the possessed noun) are discussed in 3.4.3. The only two linguistic predictors not affecting any of the variants are *clause type* and *syllabic length of the possessed noun*. In general, when one constraint conditions possessive adjectives as well as definite articles, the individual factor tendencies appear in opposition to each other. That is, for those predictors affecting both of these variants, the results for possessive adjectives are largely a mirror image of those for articles. I shall now discuss the individual factor tendencies for the different predictors that condition the expression of nominal possession.

### 3.4.1 Clause-level predictors

Two of the three clause-level predictors explored condition the expression of possession: *distance between the referent and the possessive* and *clause length*. The effects of *type of statement* are not statistically significant.

#### *Length of the clause containing the possessive (clause length)*

In exploring clause length, I initially used three factors. However, due to the similar tendencies registered by (a) *clauses one to five words long* and (b) *clauses six to nine words long* in preliminary statistical tests, I merged those two factors. I conducted all remaining statistical analyses testing clauses longer and shorter than ten words as the two factors for this constraint. As shown in Table 3.4, in Barranquilla clause length only reached statistical significance in the occurrence of definite articles, while in New York it conditions possessive adjectives and possessive periphrases.

**Table 3.4.** Effects of clause length\*

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<b>Barranquilla</b>									
< 10 Words	[.47]	333/714	47%	.55	345/714	48%	[.46]	36/714	5%
≥ 10 words	[.53]	280/567	49%	.46	240/567	42%	[.54]	47/567	8%
<i>Range/p-value</i>		[.11]		.9	.0104			[.186]	
I = input	I = .33	613/1281	48%	I = .56	585/1281	46%	I = .04	83/1281	6%
<b>New York City</b>									
< 10 Words	.55	322/827	39%	[.53]	390/827	47%	.57	115/827	14%
≥ 10 words	.45	178/382	47%	[.48]	174/382	46%	.43	30/283	8%
<i>Range/p-value</i>		.00223			[.117]		.14	.00256	
I = input	I = .29	500/1210	41%	I = .59	564/1210	47%	I = .04	146/1210	12%

\* In this and all subsequent tables, as in Chapter 2, the specific factors that most strongly favor a given variant are presented in bold print. Probability values within square brackets indicate lack of statistical significance.

The findings in Table 3.4 show that in Barranquilla short clauses – less than ten words – as illustrated in (49), favor the occurrence of definite articles marking possession with a statistical weight of .55 while longer clauses – ten words in length or longer – disfavor them with a weight of .46. We find similar tendencies in New York although clause length does not significantly condition definite articles acting as possession markers.

- (49) *Me pongo a hablar con los amigos y no tomo.* [CM05096]  
 ‘[I] go to talk with my [the] friends and [I] don’t drink.’

In New York, both possessive adjectives and possessive periphrases are favored by shorter clauses and disfavored by longer ones. Statistical significance aside, whereas definite articles exhibit similar tendencies in both communities, the tendencies for possessive periphrases and possessive adjectives in Barranquilla and New York point in opposite directions. Further research is needed to determine whether the differences in the effects of clause length between Barranquilla and New York stem from the different sociolinguistic characteristics of these two communities or from other factors.

#### *Distance between the referent and the possessive*

As described in § 3.2.2, this predictor originally consisted of four factors. After preliminary analyses, I merged (a) *six to ten* and (b) *more than ten words between referent and possessive* due to their similar statistical tendencies. Thus, I conducted all subsequent statistical tests using three factors: (a) *no overt referent*, (b) *one to five words*, and (c) *six or more words between referent and possessive*. While in Barranquilla this predictor conditions all three possessive variants, in New York it conditions definite articles and possessive periphrases but not possessive adjectives.

The results in Table 3.5 reveal that in Barranquilla, the absence of an overt referent favors possessive adjectives (... *se fue mi mamá pa Cartagena* ...) with a probability of .59. A referent appearing less than six words away (... *él se está ganando su poco e plata*...) has a neutral effect (.51 in both communities) while a referent appearing six or more words away from the possessive disfavors the occurrence of possessive adjectives with a weight of .41. That is, an increase in the distance between the referent and the possessive has a disfavoring effect on possessive adjectives. Thus, statistical significance aside, we find similar tendencies in the occurrence of possessive adjectives for both speaker cohorts.

Concurrently, a pattern with regard to definite articles marking possession is clearly discernible. The absence of a referent disfavors them with statistical weights of .36 and .39 in Barranquilla and New York, respectively. The presence of an overt referent exerts a favorable effect on definite articles. In fact, as the distance between

Table 3.5. Effects of distance between referent and possessive

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%			
<i>Barranquilla</i>												
No overt referent	.59	238/363	66%	.36	92/363	25%	.64	33/363	9%			
Less than 6 words	.51	231/509	46%	.54	257/509	51%	.35	21/509	4%			
6 or more words	.41	141/406	35%	.61	236/406	58%	.51	29/406	7%			
Range/p-value	.18	.000534		.25	4.2 <sup>-6</sup>		.29	.000691				
I =	.33	613/1281	48%	I =	.56	585/1281	46%	I =	.04	83/1281	6%	
<i>New York City</i>												
No overt referent	[.52]	130/303	43%	.39	98/303	32%	.70	75/303	25%			
Less than 6 words	[.51]	226/531	42%	.54	265/531	50%	.39	40/531	8%			
6 or more words	[.47]	144/375	39%	.58	200/375	53%	.41	31/375	8%			
Range/p-value		[.181]		.19	5.35 <sup>-5</sup>		.31	.00256				
I = input	I =	.29	500/1210	41%	I =	.59	564/1210	47%	I =	.04	146/1210	12%

referent and possessive increases, so does the favorable effect of definite articles. A referent that appears less than six words away (*...es normal que uno visite la tía si vive cerca...*) slightly favors the occurrence of definite articles in both speaker cohorts with statistical weights of .54 in both corpora, and a referent located six or more words away (*Ya Eduardo ni que venga aquí a asomarse la nariz porque no consigue...*) favors them more strongly with respective statistical weights of .61 and .58 in Barranquilla and New York City. The tendencies for definite articles, as illustrated in (50), may result from the fact that a single referent (*ella* 'she') may refer to more than one possessive in a narrative sequence (*el papá* 'her [the] father,' *la mamá* 'her [the] mother,' *la abuela* 'her [the] grandmother').

- (50) *Ya ella sabe que no puede salirse de ahí con ninguno si no es el papá, la mamá, o la abuela.* [NM01043]  
 'Now she knows that [she] cannot leave with anyone except her father, her mother, or her grandmother.'

On the other hand, the results regarding the occurrence of possessive periphrases did not reveal clear patterns. The absence of an overt referent (*Los hijos de nosotros van a pasá trabajo.*), with probability values of .64 in Barranquilla and .70 in New York City, respectively, favors possessive periphrases. A referent situated less than six words away from the possessive disfavors possessive periphrases with values of .35 in Barranquilla and .39 in New York. Nevertheless, a referent located six or more words away from the possessive has a neutral effect on the periphrases in Barranquilla with a value of .51 but has a disfavoring effect in New York with a value of .41.

In general, the effects of distance between the referent and the possessive reveal some interesting similarities for the two speaker cohorts. There are clear patterns in the tendencies followed by possessive adjectives and definite articles in both Colombia and New York, as they run in the same directions. For instance, the absence of a referent disfavors definite articles with values of .36 and .39 in Barranquilla and New York City, respectively. Another similarity is noticeable with the lack of a definite pattern for possessive periphrases in either community. These results seem to suggest that the sociolinguistic environment of NYC has not had a significant impact on this predictor.

The main findings regarding the clause-level predictors explored reveal that two of them (*clause length* and *distance between referent and possessive*) significantly condition the possessive but the third predictor explored at this level (*type of statement*) does not. *Clause length* significantly conditions only definite articles in Barranquilla. In contrast, this predictor conditions possessive adjectives and possessive periphrases in New York but not definite articles. At the same time, besides conditioning all three variants in Barranquilla, *distance between referent and possessive* conditions definite articles and possessive periphrases in New York. Consequently, distance registers larger range and *p*-values than clause length. These findings suggest that distance between referent and possessive exerts stronger pressures on the expression of nominal possession than clause length. With regard to possessive periphrases, the opposition in the tendencies for clause length in Barranquilla and New York and the lack of a clear pattern in the tendencies for distance in either community appear to be consequences of the different sociolinguistic landscape of the emigrant setting. Since the possessive periphrases constitute the newest of the possessive variants, these differences may also be explained in terms of Penny's contention that linguistic innovations are often characterized by instability as they become established in the host linguistic system (Penny 2000). Because some open questions remain as to the effects of clause length, future research shall augment our knowledge of the conditioning effects of clause-level predictors on the variable expression of possession.

### 3.4.2 Subject-level predictors

The results for subject-level predictors reveal that both predictors in this category (*location of the possessive* and *type of subject*) significantly condition the expression of possession.

#### *Location of the possessive*

In exploring this predictor, I initially used the four factors listed in § 3.2.2. Preliminary results uncovered that possessives appearing in different object positions (*direct object*, *indirect object*, and *oblique object*) have similar statistical tendencies.

Mainly, they favor possessive adjectives while disfavoring definite articles and periphrastic forms. Thus, I conducted all subsequent analyses testing possessives in the subject versus possessives located elsewhere. As shown in Table 3.6, in Barranquilla, location of the possessive significantly conditions the occurrence of possessive adjectives and definite articles but not that of possessive periphrases. Concurrently, in New York this predictor conditions possessive adjectives and possessive periphrases but not definite articles.

Table 3.6. Effects of location of the possessive

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Subject	.40	213/359	59%	.58	115/359	32%	[.53]	31/359	9%
Object	.60	396/918	43%	.41	470/918	51%	[.47]	52/918	6%
Range/p-value	20	4.99 <sup>-6</sup>		17	.000238			[.318]	
I=input	I = .33	613/1281	48%	I = .56	585/1281	46%	I = .04	83/1281	6%
<i>New York City</i>									
Subject	.45	99/259	38%	[.50]	101/259	39%	.57	59/259	23%
Object	.55	400/948	42%	[.49]	463/948	49%	.43	85/948	9%
Range/p-value	10	.0266			[.271]		14	.0134	
I=input	I = .29	500/1210	41%	I = .59	564/1210	47%	I = .04	146/1210	12%

In Barranquilla, as shown in Table 3.6, possessives located in the object – with a value of .60 – promote possessive adjectives and possessives located in the subject disfavor this possessive variant with a statistical weight of .40. The opposite tendencies obtain for definite articles; that is, possessives located in the subject favor definite articles while possessives located elsewhere inhibit them with statistical weights of .58 and .41, respectively. Location of the possessive did not prove significant for possessive periphrases. Concurrently, we find parallel tendencies in New York City regardless of statistical significance. There, possessives in a grammatical object, illustrated in example (51), favor possessive adjectives with a statistical weight of .55 and possessives in the subject disfavor them (.45). Contrariwise, possessives located in the subject (... *el paih de nosotroh no progresará.*) favor possessive periphrases with a statistical weight of .57 while possessives located in a clausal object inhibit them (.43). Location of the possessive does not condition definite articles in New York.

- (51) *Ahí duramos año y medio con mi abuela y mi tío, que estábamoh con él allá.* [CM0942]  
 ‘There we stayed a year and a half with my grandmother and my uncle, that we were with him there.’

The favorable effect of possessives in object position on possessive adjectives appears to be caused, at least in part, by the presence of prepositions (Orozco 2010: 208). This is illustrated above in (51), where nouns marked for possession (*mi abuela*, *mi tío*.) occur as objects of the preposition *con* ‘with.’

The finding that possessives located in the grammatical subject promote the occurrence of definite articles marking possession appears to result from the frequent presence of (a) referents that clarify their meaning, and (b) reflexive verbs. This is illustrated in (52), where a definite article marking possession located in the subject (*la familia*) is followed by a clarifying referent that clarifies its meaning (*el hombre*).

- (52) *Ahora loh... la familia se ehtá peliando la tierra y la plata que el hombre dejó porque sí dejo plata.* [CM0839]  
 ‘Now the... his [the] family is fighting over the land and the money that the man left because he did leave money.’

- (53) *Ahí en el mercado, loh mismoh compañeroh me decían La Mona.* [CF0356]  
 ‘There at the market, my [the] own workmates used to call me La Mona.’

Additionally, the favorable effect of a subject position on definite articles is consonant with Gili y Gaya’s (1964: 240) assertion that when definite articles mark possession, they are frequently accompanied by a reflexive pronoun. The presence of reflexives is illustrated in (53) where the subject (*loh mismoh compañeroh*) contains a definite article marking possession (*loh*) that is closely followed by a reflexive pronoun (*me*).

The subject position also promotes the occurrence of possessive periphrases. Apparently, their nature as the variant that most accurately denotes possession facilitates their occurrence as sentential subjects as illustrated in (54). That is, syntactically, the subject constitutes the location where possessive periphrases appear to be constrained the least.

- (54) *Los hijoh de nosotroh van a pasá trabajo.* [NM02005]  
 ‘Our children are going to endure difficulties.’

In general, the effects of *location of the possessive* reveal the same tendencies in Barranquilla and New York. However, some differences emerge in terms of statistical significance. *Location of the possessive* significantly conditions definite articles in Barranquilla but not in New York, and the opposite obtains with possessive periphrases.

### *Type of subject*

Besides testing the significance of type of subject, as indicated in § 3.2.2, I used this constraint to test for grammatical number. Based on their similar tendencies

in preliminary analyses, I merged singular and plural null subjects into one factor and singular and plural overt subjects into another. I conducted all subsequent analyses exploring overt versus null subjects. The results (Table 3.7) show that, in both speech communities, this predictor conditions the occurrence of all three possessive variants with the same general statistical tendencies. This is the first of such robust cases so far, and the only case among subject-level predictors. As a matter of fact, one of two such cases being lexical category the other.

The results in Table 3.7 reflect two main tendencies across the board. First, in Barranquilla, overt subjects spur the use of possessive adjectives (*Yo con mis dos compañeros fuimos y nos quedamos.*) with a probability weight of .59 and possessive periphrases (*Yo creo que él busca el futuro de él.*), with a value of .58. In New York, we have .56 for possessive adjectives and .59 for possessive periphrases, respectively. At the same time, null subjects disfavor possessive adjectives and possessive periphrases with weights of .41 and .42 in Barranquilla and .44 and .41 in New York, respectively. On the other hand, the second tendency for type of subject runs in the opposite direction with overt subjects disfavoring definite articles (probability levels of .40 in Barranquilla and .42 in NYC, respectively), while null subjects favor the use of definite articles to mark possession, with probability levels of .60 in Barranquilla and .58 in New York, respectively.

**Table 3.7.** Effects of type of subject

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Overt	.59	415/766	54%	.40	290/766	38%	.58	61/766	8%
Null	.41	158/441	36%	.60	264/441	60%	.42	19/441	4%
Range/p-value	18	1.68 <sup>-5</sup>		20	2.02 <sup>-7</sup>		16	.00881	
I = input	I = .33	613/1281	48%	I = .56	585/1281	46%	I = .04	83/1281	6%
<i>New York City</i>									
Overt	.56	327/741	44%	.42	312/741	42%	.59	102/741	14%
Null	.44	143/399	36%	.58	232/399	58%	.41	24/399	6%
Range/p-value	12	.000145		16	7.85 <sup>-9</sup>		18	1.34 <sup>-5</sup>	
I = input	I = .29	500/1210	41%	I = .59	564/1210	47%	I = .04	146/1210	12%

An explanation as to the favorable effect of overt subjects on possessive adjectives may be that this effect corroborates one of the characteristics of possessives indicated by Fernández, who asserts that when nouns are sentential subjects, possession is predominantly marked by possessive adjectives (1951: 291). Another reason why overt subjects promote possessive adjectives to the detriment of



definite articles may be that, as Picallo and Rigau (1999: 1005) assert, possessive adjectives are favored in situations where a speaker chooses to add emphasis. That is, in contexts such as the one presented in (55), a possessive adjective helps the speaker add emphasis while avoiding any potential ambiguity resulting from the several syntactic functions of definite articles.

- (55) *A Sebastián nunca le ha gustado el estudio. Dice que él no va a perdé su tiempo ahí, y ahora está estudiando, pero eso como que le gusta a él porque...*  
[CF0129]

‘Sebastián has never liked studying. [He] says that he is not going to waste his time there, and now [he] is studying, but he seems to like that because...’

Among other things, using the definite article *el* in this example might have indicated the more general meaning of wasting time as in “*Estamos perdiendo el tiempo*. ‘We’re wasting the time’ (literally)” where the definite article does not mark possession. Thus, in (55) the speaker may be using the possessive adjective *su* ‘his’ to emphasize the meaning of possession.

The favorable effect of null subjects on definite articles marking possession may result from the frequent occurrence of clitics in clauses with null subjects. According to Leonetti (1999: 808), who concurs with Bello (1847: § 955) and the *Real Academia Española* (1973: § 3.10.9), “[*a*] menudo *el* [*adjetivo*] posesivo es rechazado si en la construcción aparece un pronombre clítico.” The presence of a clitic, which often helps to identify the subject of a sentence as well as the possessor (Leonetti 1999: 809), appears to motivate the preference for definite articles in clauses with null subjects. Accordingly, in (56), the presence of the clitic *le* arguably triggers the use of the definite article *la* to mark possession.

- (56) ... entonces *le* caen, *le* amarran, o *le* agarran *la mano* y te ponen que lo fumes.  
[NF08031]  
‘...then [they] hold him, tie [his hand], or hold his [the] hand and make you smoke it.’

A comparison of the statistical weights for the effect of type of subject on the occurrence of possessive adjectives in Barranquilla and New York reveals close similarities not only in the tendencies that obtain but also in the statistical values and ranges. In general, we ascertain from these results how type of subject affects each one of the variants under study. We also learn that, being the resulting tendencies the same for both populations, it can be argued that the impact of type of subject on the possessive has not been greatly affected by exposure to the NYC sociolinguistic environment.

In summary, two predictors significantly condition the expression of nominal possession at the subject level. *Type of subject* – with higher range values – emerges as a robust predictor of possession with stronger effects than *location of*

*the possessive*. These results also suggest that the conditioning effects of subject-level predictors are stronger than those at the whole clause level. We learn more about the intricacies of clausal and sentential subjects in Chapter 4.

### 3.4.3 Genitive NP-level predictors

Four NP-level predictors condition the expression of possession: (1) *grammatical gender of the possessee*, (2) *grammatical person and number of the possessor*, (3) *presence of adjectives in the genitive NP*, and (4) *semantic category of the possessed noun*. Syllabic length of noun marked for possession was the only constraint at this morphosyntactic level that did not result statistically significant. In this section, I address the effects of the significant predictors in ascending order of significance.

#### *Presence of adjectives in the genitive NP*

I used three factors in testing the statistical significance of the presence of adjectives in the genitive NP: (a) *absence of adjectives*, (b) *adjectives appearing pre-nominally*, and (c) *adjectives appearing post-nominally*. However, responding to preliminary findings, I merged adjectives present pre- and post-nominally into a single factor due to their similar tendencies. Thus, I conducted all subsequent analyses testing the presence versus the absence of an adjective in the genitive NP. Interestingly, the variants which are statistically significant for this factor group in Barranquilla are not statistically significant in the New York Colombian community, and vice versa.

**Table 3.8.** Effects of presence of adjectives in the genitive NP

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Present	.59	52/106	49%	.58	48/106	45%	[.47]	6/106	6%
Absent	.42	561/1175	48%	.42	537/1175	46%	[.53]	77/1175	7%
Range/p-value	17	.00462		16	.0101			[.601]	
I = input	I = .33	613/1281	48%	I = .56	585/1281	46%	I = .04	83/1281	6%
<i>New York City</i>									
Present	[.52]	50/112	45%	[.52]	58/112	52%	.34	4/112	3%
Absent	[.48]	450/1098	41%	[.47]	506/1098	46%	.66	142/1098	13%
Range/p-value		[.398]			[.448]		32	.00344	
I = input	I = .29	500/1210	41%	I = .59	564/1210	47%	I = .04	146/1210	12%

In Barranquilla, the presence of adjectives reached statistical significance in the occurrence of possessive adjectives and definite articles but – as with location of the possessee – not in that of possessive periphrases. As shown in Table 3.8,

the presence of adjectives in the genitive NP (e.g. *Esos eran mis juegos predilectos* ‘Those were my favorite games’.) favors the occurrence of possessive adjectives with a statistical weight of .59 while their absence – with a value of .42–inhibits it. The tendencies regarding definite articles indicate that the presence of adjectives favors this variant with a statistical weight of .58. Conversely, their presence disfavors them with a probability value of .42.

The results presented in Table 3.8 also show that in New York, presence of adjectives in the NP significantly conditions possessive periphrases but not possessive adjectives or determiners. The absence of adjectives in the NP containing the possessed noun favors the occurrence of possessive periphrases (.66) while their presence disfavors it (.34). When possessive periphrases occur, there are only four tokens in which adjectives appear in the NP out of 112 such tokens (i.e. 3%) in a sample of 1210 tokens. This suggests that, at least conversationally, New York Colombians strongly disfavor the use of adjectives in the NP where possessive periphrases appear. This shift in the effect of adjectives may stem from the strong disfavoring effect of possessive periphrases, which elevates the rate of use of the other possessive choices; i.e., possessive adjectives and definite articles in this context.

In general, it appears that possessive adjectives can more efficiently incorporate other adjectives into genitive noun phrases than the other two variants. This seems to be congruent with the syntactic properties of recursion and multiple adjunction (Lightfoot & Fasold 2006: 112; Azevedo 2009: 165). In this case, the presence of possessive adjectives in a genitive NP facilitates the incorporation of additional elements of the same syntactic category, that is, other adjectives. Concomitantly, future research shall tell us whether the New York City sociolinguistic environment has an effect on this predictor given that, on the one hand, possessive adjectives and definite articles significantly condition the possessive in Barranquilla but not in New York; on the other hand, possessive periphrases condition the possessive in New York but not in Barranquilla.

#### *Grammatical gender and number of the possessee*

My exploration of this predictor originally included the four factors listed in 3.2.2: *singular feminine*, *singular masculine*, *plural feminine* and *plural masculine* possessees. In the Barranquilla data, I did not merge any of these factors. However, in New York plural and singular feminine possessees on the one hand, and singular and plural possessees, on the other, registered almost identical statistical tendencies in preliminary analyses. Thus, for the New York data, I merged the factors with similar tendencies, and I proceeded to test feminine versus masculine possessees in all subsequent analyses. That is, the effects of this predictor in NY are circumscribed to gender, as grammatical number does not have a conditioning effect.

Table 3.9. Effects of grammatical gender and number of the possessee

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Feminine plural	.64	41/92	45%	.33	44/92	48%	[.61]	7/92	8%
Feminine singular	.49	293/579	51%	.51	254/579	44%	[.48]	32/579	5%
Masculine singular	.46	213/436	49%	.52	188/436	43%	[.54]	35/436	8%
Masculine plural	.41	66/174	38%	.64	99/174	57%	[.37]	9/174	5%
Range/p-value	.23	.0228		.31	.00108			[.247]	
I = input	I = .33	613/1281	48%	I = .56	585/1281	46%	I = .04	83/1281	6%
<i>New York City</i>									
Feminine	.55	253/549	46%	.46	245/549	45%	[.46]	51/549	9%
Masculine	.45	247/661	37%	.54	319/661	48%	[.54]	95/661	15%
Range/p-value	.10	.000105		.8	.0171			[.0925]	
I = input	I = .29	500/1210	41%	I = .59	564/1210	47%	I = .04	146/1210	12%

Table 3.9 shows that, in both communities, grammatical gender and number of the possessee significantly conditions possessive adjectives and definite articles but not possessive periphrases. The general tendencies found indicate that speakers in both communities make a greater distinction in terms of grammatical gender than in terms of grammatical number. However, in Barranquilla we can see differences in terms of grammatical number that are not readily apparent in New York.

In Barranquilla, feminine possesseees in the plural favor possessive adjectives with a statistical weight of .64; e.g., *mis tías* ‘my aunts’ in (57a). At the same time, feminine possesseees in the singular have a neutral effect with a probability value of .49. Conversely, possessive adjectives are slightly disfavored by masculine possesseees in the singular (.46), and more so by those in the plural with a probability value of .41. The tendencies for definite articles show that, on the one hand, they are favored by plural nouns marked for possession that are grammatically masculine (.64), as in (57b). On the other hand, definite articles are disfavored by plural nouns that are grammatically feminine with a statistical weight of .33. Concurrently, singular nouns, both grammatically feminine and masculine, have a neutral effect with probability values of .51 and .52, respectively.

- (57) a. *Cuando llegué al pueblo, llegaron mis tías.*  
‘When I got to town, **my aunts** arrived.’
- b. *Me pongo a hablar con los amigos, y no tomo.*  
‘[I] go to talk with **the [my]** Friends and [I] don’t drink.’

In general, the New York City results corroborate the Barranquilla findings. Table 3.9 indicates that in the absence of possessive periphrases, the tendencies for possessive adjectives and definite articles acting as possessors yield complementary results. While feminine possessees favor possessive adjectives (.55), masculine possessees disfavor this variant (.46). Conversely, definite articles are favored by nouns marked for possession that are grammatically masculine (Example 58) with a probability value of .54. They are also disfavored by those grammatically marked as feminine (.46).

- (58) *Mira, por lo menos nosotros ya estamos atados aquí quien sabe hasta cuándo porque los niños; ellos no quieren salir de aquí.* [NF06004]  
 ‘Look, at least we are already rooted here, who knows until when because our [the] children, they don’t want to leave from here.’

The overall tendencies seem to indicate that definite articles, the most neutral of the three possessive variants, are favored by masculine plurals, the most neutral of the possessees, in terms of grammatical gender since plural masculines regularly incorporate plural feminines. For instance, in (58) *los niños* ‘the children’ (both male and female) is marked for masculine grammatical gender but also includes *las niñas*. Apparently, the sociolinguistic characteristics of the diasporic setting contribute to reduce the effects of grammatical number of the possessive.

#### *Grammatical person, number, and animacy of the possessor*

As stated in § 3.2.2, I originally used eight factors in testing grammatical person, number and animacy of the possessor. Animacy did not register statistical significance, so I completed the analysis focusing on the effects of grammatical person and number of the possessor. At first glance, we find the same main conditioning tendencies in both communities. The general influence of this predictor reveals opposite tendencies for possessive adjectives and definite articles while the tendencies for possessive periphrases are not simultaneous with neither those for possessive adjectives nor those for definite articles. That is, the results presented in Table 3.10 show that the tendencies for possessive adjectives and definite articles are, to a large extent, mirror images of each other. For instance, first person plural possessors favor definite articles but disfavor possessive adjectives in both communities. However, while in Barranquilla we have three conditioning factors, we have four main forces in NYC. Given these differences, I will discuss the findings for Barranquilla and New York separately.

In Barranquilla, as shown on Table 3.10’s first row, first person singular possessors favor the use of the possessive adjective *mi* ‘my’ with a probability weight of .76. Conversely, first singular possessors disfavor definite articles and possessive

Table 3.10. Effects of grammatical person and number of the possessor

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
First singular	.76	430/623	69%	.26	161/623	26%	.41	32/623	5%
Second or third	.43	161/546	30%	.54	341/546	62%	.59	44/546	8%
First plural	.30	22/112	20%	.70	83/112	74%	.49	7/112	6%
Range/p-value	46	6.34 <sup>-28</sup>		44	6.74 <sup>-22</sup>		18	.0351	
I=input	I = .33	613/1281	48%	I = .56	585/1281	46%	I = .04	83/1281	6%
<i>New York City</i>									
1st & 2nd singular	.68	249/439	57%	.40	152/439	34%	.30	38/439	9%
2nd & 3rd plural	.54	76/178	43%	.46	83/178	46%	.56	19/178	11%
3rd person singular	.42	144/467	31%	.60	276/467	59%	.49	47/467	10%
1st person plural	.34	31/126	25%	.54	53/126	42%	.66	42/126	33%
Range/p-value	34	6.81 <sup>-15</sup>		20	3.5 <sup>-7</sup>		36	1.16 <sup>-6</sup>	
I=input	I = .29	500/1210	41%	I = .59	564/1210	47%	I = .04	146/1210	12%

periphrases with statistical weights of .26 and .41, respectively. Concurrently, second and third person possessors – either singular or plural – favor the possessive periphrases (.59) and to a lesser extent the definite articles (.54) but disfavor possessive adjectives with a probability weight of .43. The figures on Table 3.10's third row show that first person plural possessors (see example (59)), favor the use of definite articles with a weight of .70 but strongly disfavor possessive adjectives with .30 while having a neutral effect on the periphrases with a probability value of .49.

- (59) *Ya nosotros nos vamos a pasar para la finca.* [CF0137]  
 'Now we're going to move to **our** [the] farm.'

Grammatical person and number of the possessor also conditions all three possessive variants in NYC. Moreover, when the tendencies are compared to those in Barranquilla, further similarities between the two populations emerge. The results (Table 3.10) uncovered an opposition between possessive adjectives and definite articles. First and second person singular possessors (*mi* 'my', *tu* 'your (singular)') jointly favor possessive adjectives with a statistical weight of .68 at the expense of both definite articles (.40) and possessive periphrases (.30). The second row of New York results shows that second and third person plural possessors favor both possessive periphrases, with a statistical weight of .56, and possessive adjectives (.54) while exerting a disfavoring effect on the articles (.46). Third person singular possessors – *la nariz* 'his nose' in Example (60) – favor definite articles

with a probability value of .60 to the detriment of possessive adjectives. Concurrently, third person singular possessors have a neutral effect on possessive periphrases with a value of .49. Finally, first person plural possessors favor possessive periphrases—as in *el paih de nosotroh* ‘our country’ (Example 61) – and definite articles (Example 59), with statistical values of .66 and .54 respectively, while disfavoring possessive adjectives (.34).

- (60) *Ya Eduardo ni que venga aquí a asomarse la nariz porque no consigue trabajo.* [NF02002]  
 ‘Now Eduardo not even if he comes here and sticks his [the] nose because [he] does not find a job.’
- (61) *...mientrah que la política que tenemoh hoy en día siga así, el paih de nosotroh no progresará. Loh senadoreh, too esoh grandeh se pierden una millonada que la consignan a nombre de loh familiareh de elloh. Investigan y eso queda en nada.* [NM06056]  
 ‘...as long as the politics that we have nowadays continues like that, our country will not progress. The senators, all those big [people] disappear millions that they assign to their relatives. [They] investigate and nothing happens.’

The favorable effect of first and second person singular possessors – combined as a single factor – on possessive adjectives shows clearly that this is the variant of choice for the first two grammatical persons. These tendencies may arguably result from the unambiguous nature of the possessive adjectives involved (*mi* ‘my’ and *tu* ‘your’) when compared to those in all other grammatical persons. The disfavoring effect of possessors in the third person singular on possessive adjectives may indicate that speakers try to avoid using the possessive adjective *su* due to its strong ambiguity as discussed by Fernández (1951: 230ff.), Criado de Val (1966: 100), and Penny (2008[1993]: 169), inter alios. Thus, the ambiguous *su*—whose English equivalents include your (singular), his, her, its, your (plural), and their – has continued to lose ground to both definite articles and possessive periphrases.

The results (Table 3.10) also show that the possessive periphrasis is the most favored possessive marker when plurality is involved. In New York City, periphrastic forms are favored by plural possessors in the first person, with a statistical weight of .66, and by those in the second and third persons (.56). New York Colombians may prefer to use possessive periphrases with possessors in all plural grammatical persons as a consequence of the natural evolution of this analytical paradigm. As Gili y Gaya (1964: 241) and Penny (2008[1993]: 169) indicate, the possessive periphrasis originated as the substitution of the possessive adjective *vuestro* ‘your (plural)’ for the genitive construction *de ustedes*. As the usage of



these constructions became widespread, it seems to have over spilled to include all plural possessors. Consequently, it seems reasonable to assume that New York Colombians may also prefer to use possessive periphrases with first and third person plural possessors. Arguably, the diasporic sociolinguistic environment has started to have an impact on how New York Colombians express possession. This is illustrated in (61). After using a possessive periphrasis in the first person plural (*el paih de nosotroh* ‘our country’), the speaker does so in the third person plural as well (*loh familiareh de elloh* ‘their relatives’). Thus, the use of the first person plural possessive adjective *nuestro/nuestra* ‘our’ appears to be inhibited as a result of the ongoing restructuring of the Spanish pronominal and possessive systems. Moreover, as Orozco (2010: 207) indicates, the use of *nuestro/nuestra* is now relegated mainly to formal and religious or patriotic references as in *El Padre Nuestro* ‘Our Father (The Lord’s Prayer)’.

In general, we learn that the expression of possession is not constrained by animacy or grammatical number of the possessor. The tendencies for first person possessors (singular and plural) clearly go in opposite directions according to grammatical number. Possessive adjectives are clearly the possessive form of choice for first person singular possessors in both Colombia and New York. However, the tendencies for the remaining grammatical persons show variation in both places, arguably as a result of the sociolinguistic conditions found in New York. Grammatical person and number of the possessor constitutes another robust predictor of the expression of nominal possession (the second strongest internal predictor), strongly conditioning this linguistic variable in both NYC and Barranquilla.

#### *Semantic category of the possessed noun*

This predictor has five factors that categorize what nouns marked for possession may denote: (1) parents, (2) non-parent relatives (i.e., *abuel@s* ‘grandparents’, *ti@s* ‘aunts/uncles’, *prim@s* ‘cousins’, and so on), (3) non-relative humans, (4) body parts, and (5) non-humans (i.e. animals, things and all other nouns not included in the previous four categories). As with *type of subject*, *semantic category of the possessed noun* conditions all three possessive variants in both communities. The results for this predictor are simultaneously the most interesting and the most complex, containing the single factors that most strongly promote or disfavor a specific variant. The results in Table 3.11 show that, in both communities, semantic category of the possessed noun has the greatest effect of all internal predictors on the variation in the expression of possession as measured by both range and *p*-values. In general, the effects of this predictor on possessive adjectives and definite articles stand in opposition to each other. At the same time, these results reflect some minor differences between the two speaker cohorts.



Table 3.11. Effects of semantic category of the possessed noun

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Parent	.88	183/221	83%	.15	31/221	14%	.31	7/221	3%
Non-parent relative	.71	148/233	64%	.24	57/233	24%	.71	28/233	12%
Non-human	.54	251/617	41%	.49	328/617	53%	.53	38/617	6%
Non-relative human	.27	24/98	25%	.72	67/98	68%	.62	7/98	7%
Body part	.11	7/112	6%	.88	102/112	91%	.33	3/112	3%
Range/p-value	.77	4.4 <sup>-36</sup>		.64	8.24 <sup>-36</sup>		.40	.000301	
I = input	I = .33	613/1281	48%	I = .56	585/1281	46%	I = .04	83/1281	6%
<i>New York City</i>									
Parent	.66	39/75	52%	.41	31/75	41%	.38	5/75	7%
Non-human	.56	333/766	43%	.39	336/766	44%	.66	97/766	13%
Non-parent relative	.55	91/217	42%	.40	92/217	42%	.67	34/217	16%
Non-relative human	.51	24/63	38%	.47	30/63	48%	.65	9/63	14%
Body Part	.24	13/89	15%	.79	75/89	84%	.18	1/89	1%
Range/p-value	.42	1.61 <sup>-5</sup>		.40	1.18 <sup>-8</sup>		.49	.00306	
I = input	I = .29	500/1210	41%	I = .59	564/1210	47%	I = .04	146/1210	12%

Table 3.11 reveals two main patterns in both speaker cohorts. There is a well-defined pattern regarding possessive adjectives. The second pattern obtains with possessive periphrases. The tendencies for definite articles show a very clear pattern in Barranquilla. However, unlike the other two possessive variants, this pattern does not obtain in New York City. Let us first discuss the pattern that obtains with possessive adjectives. On the one hand, this possessive variant is strongly favored by nouns naming parents (.88 in Barranquilla and .66 in NYC) and a bit less favored by nouns naming non-parent relatives (.71 in Barranquilla and .55 in NYC). Examples (62) and (63) illustrate the favorable effects of nouns naming parents (*mí papá* ‘my dad’) and non-parent relatives (*mih tíoh* ‘my uncles’) on possessive adjectives. The stronger favorable effect of nouns denoting parents on possessive adjectives, compared to nouns denoting non-parent relatives (or other nominal categories), may simply be reflective of the speakers’ closer ties with their own parents as opposed to more distant relatives and provides an incentive for further exploration of this predictor. On the other hand, possessive adjectives are disfavored in Barranquilla by nouns naming non-relative humans (.27) while in NYC they have a neutral effect (.51). Moreover, this possessive variant is most strongly disfavored by nouns naming body parts (.11 in Barranquilla and .24 in NYC). Interestingly, these disfavoring effects on possessive adjectives have significantly

weakened in the diasporic setting, apparently, as a consequence of its sociolinguistic situation.

- (62) *Salía a loh carnavales, a todo, a too salía yo con mih tíoh y mi papá... al ehtadio, por esoh díah ...* [CM0953]  
 ‘I used to go to the carnivals, to everything, I went everywhere with **my uncles** and **my dad**... to the stadium, in those days.’
- (63) *Lee, se lo dah a tu ehposa, tu mamá, o a alguien.* [NF01009]  
 ‘Read, give it to **your** wife, **your** mom or someone.’

In both communities, the results for possessive periphrases lack a clear pattern of circumstances under which they are favored, but the results nonetheless provide us with preliminary information on the effects of the factors that condition this least-studied of the three possessive variants. Possessive periphrases (Example 64) are most strongly favored when nouns name relatives other than parents (probability weight of .71 in Barranquilla and .67 in NYC). They are also favored by nouns naming non-relative humans (.62 and .65) and non-humans (.53 and .66), respectively. On the contrary, nouns naming parents (.31 and .38), as well as those naming body parts (.33 and .18), disfavor possessive periphrases in both speaker cohorts.

- (64) *...si no, los hijos de nosotroh van a pasá trabajo.* [NM02005]  
 ‘...otherwise, **our children** are going to endure difficulties.’

The tendencies for possessive periphrases reflect some similarities with those for possessive adjectives. In both speaker cohorts both variants are favored by nouns naming non-parent relatives and disfavored by nouns naming body parts. One notable difference is that nouns naming parents favor possessive adjectives but disfavor the periphrastic variant. That is, all nouns naming relatives similarly condition possessive adjectives but not the periphrases.

In Barranquilla, there is a clear pattern regarding semantic category on the use of definite articles. This pattern is the inverse of that which we observed for possessive adjectives, as follows. Nouns naming parents strongly disfavor the use of definite articles (.15) whereas nouns naming non-parent relatives also disfavor them but to a lesser degree (.24). Conversely, nouns denoting non-humans, illustrated in (65), have a neutral effect on the use of definite articles with a statistical weight of .49. Nouns naming other non-relative humans favor the use of definite articles more strongly (statistical weight .72); furthermore, nouns naming body parts favor definite articles even more strongly with a weight of .88.

- (65) *Y yo empecé a moverme, a moverme, a moverme, y cuando me devolví a la casa, tenía en los bolsillos aproximadamente unoh veinte centavos.* [CM0138]  
 ‘And I started to move, move, move, and when I returned to **my** [the] **house**, I had in **my** [the] **pockets** approximately some twenty cents.’

The statistical tendencies for definite articles in NYC also show a pattern that, as occurs in Barranquilla, is not simultaneous with those of the other two possessive variants. Nouns naming body parts (Example 66) strongly favor definite articles with a statistical weight of .79. Nouns naming non-relative humans have a rather neutral effect on this variant with a value of .47. Contrariwise, all other types of nouns disfavor definite articles, as follows. Nouns naming non-parent relatives have a statistical weight of .40; nouns naming non-humans have a value of .39; and nouns naming parents have a value of .41.

- (66) *Ya Eduardo ni que venga aquí a asomarse la nariz porque no consigue trabajo.* [NF02002]  
 ‘Now Eduardo not even if he comes here and sticks his [the] nose because [he] does not find a job.’

These tendencies provide quantitative support to several statements about the use of definite articles as possessive markers. For instance, Gili y Gaya indicates that when definite articles mark possession, as in (65 and 66), they frequently occur with reflexive pronouns (1964: 240). Moreover, the results are also congruent with observations by Fernández (1951: 291), Picallo and Rigau (1999: 1006ff.), and Alcina and Blecua (2001[1975]: 566) who point out that definite articles mark possession especially with nouns denoting body parts and garments (Example 66). However, the results do not validate Picallo and Rigau’s assertion (1999: 1009) that definite articles are also used to mark possession with nouns that denote family members and relatives – at least not in this variety of Spanish.

In general, these results provide further indication of the above-mentioned differences that speakers have established between expressing possession with nouns denoting parents and with those denoting non-parent relatives. In fact, as can be seen in Table 3.11, these two factors exert opposing pressures on possessive periphrases in both communities. In other words, nouns denoting parents not only exert the strongest pressures toward the use of possessive adjectives – the variant that most emphasizes the meaning of possession – but also a corresponding disfavoring effect on definite articles and possessive periphrases, respectively. However, the complementary and countervailing pull of semantic category on a given possessive variant is most clear-cut when comparing the use of possessive adjectives and definite articles alone.

For the most part, the tendencies for semantic category found in both settings reflect a great deal of congruence except for one difference: the effect of nouns naming non-relative humans on possessive adjectives and definite articles. Furthermore, the dominant tendencies show that in both communities each variant is used preferentially with a specific type of noun, i.e., possessive adjectives with nouns naming parents, definite articles with nouns naming body parts, and possessive periphrases with nouns naming humans other than parents. Despite the

similarities between the tendencies in Barranquilla and NYC, differences, mainly limited to different statistical weights, appear to result from contact with English. For instance, in NYC, there are significant increases in the use of possessive adjectives with nouns naming non-relative humans and body parts, respectively, both at the expense of definite articles. At the same time, according to Nichols' criteria (1992: 121), the possessive patterns in this predictor do not adjust to the alienable vs. inalienable parameters of canonical dichotomy since the tendencies for parents and body parts both present a great deal of polar opposition.

In sum, so far, the conditioning effects of genitive NP-level predictors seem to show that the robust effects of semantic category of the possessed noun give rise to complementary tendencies on the use of possessive adjectives and definite articles marking possession. That is, a semantic category that favors possessive adjectives disfavors definite articles and vice versa.

### 3.5 Discussion

In this empirical variationist study of the expression of nominal possession in Colombian Spanish – a virtually unexplored linguistic variable – I have answered three main research questions and tested several hypotheses. The distribution of forms (§ 3.3) answers my first research question (*How are the three variants of nominal possession distributed in Barranquilla and NYC?*) In Barranquilla, possessive adjectives and definite articles acting as possessives are each used in slightly under half of all possessive contexts (47.8% and 45.7%, respectively), while possessive periphrases are used in only 6.5% of possessive contexts. Although possessive adjectives are used most often, when we contrast their frequency to the aggregate of the other two variants, we notice that they are not used in most instances (52.2%) of nominal possession. At the same time, the NYC distribution does not appear to reflect the influence of contact with English as possessive adjectives are used less and possessive periphrases are used significantly more than in Barranquilla.

The results refute the hypothesis that contact with English would trigger an increased use of possessive adjectives over the other two variants in the diasporic setting. Contrary to our expectations, possessive adjectives have lost ground. Their frequency has dropped significantly whereas possessive periphrases occur almost twice as frequently as they do in Colombia. In general, the distribution of variants appears to suggest that, at the turn of the 21st century, dialect convergence may exert a stronger force on the expression of possession than contact with English. Thus, these findings reveal that Costeño Spanish seems to have adjusted to the above discussed (§ 3.1) deficiencies developed by possessive adjectives by using definite articles and possessive periphrases as alternatives.

**Table 3.12.** Conditioning effects on the expression of possession

Predictor/Factors	Barranquilla			New York City		
	PA	DA	PP	PA	DA	PP
<i>Semantic category of the possessed noun</i>						
Parent	.88	.15	.31	.66	.41	.38
Non-parent relative	.71	.24	.71	.55	.40	.67
Non-human	.54	.49	.53	.56	.39	.66
Non-relative human	.27	.72	.62	.51	.47	.65
Body part	.11	.88	.33	.24	.79	.18
<i>Type of subject</i>						
Overt	.59	.40	.58	.56	.42	.59
Null	.41	.60	.42	.44	.58	.41
<i>Distance between referent and possessive</i>						
No overt referent	.59	.36	.64	[.52]	.39	.70
Less than 6 words	.51	.54	.35	[.51]	.54	.39
6 or more words	.41	.61	.51	[.47]	.58	.41
<i>Location of the possessive</i>						
Subject	.40	.58	[.53]	.45	[.50]	.57
Object	.60	.41	[.47]	.55	[.49]	.43
<i>Clause length</i>						
< 10 Words	[.47]	.55	[.46]	.55	[.53]	.57
≥ 10 words	[.53]	.46	[.54]	.45	[.48]	.43
<i>Presence of adjectives in the genitive NP</i>						
Present	.59	.58	[.47]	[.52]	[.52]	.34
Absent	.42	.42	[.53]	[.48]	[.47]	.66
<i>Grammatical person and number of the possessor</i>						
First person singular	.76	.26	.41	–	–	–
Second or Third	.43	.54	.59	–	–	–
First plural	.30	.70	.49	–	–	–
1st & 2nd singular	–	–	–	.68	.40	.30
2nd & 3rd plural	–	–	–	.54	.46	.56
3rd person singular	–	–	–	.42	.60	.49
1st person plural	–	–	–	.34	.54	.66

(Continued)

Table 3.12. (Continued)

Predictor/Factors	Barranquilla			New York City		
	PA	DA	PP	PA	DA	PP
<i>Grammatical gender and number of the possessee</i>						
Feminine plural	.64	.33	[.61]	–	–	–
Feminine singular	.49	.51	[.48]	–	–	–
Masculine singular	.46	.52	[.54]	–	–	–
Masculine plural	.41	.64	[.37]	–	–	–
Feminine	–	–	–	.55	.46	[.46]
Masculine	–	–	–	.45	.54	[.54]

The internal conditioning answers our second research question (*What internal predictors condition the expression of nominal possession in both communities?*) revealing that nominal possession is conditioned by eight linguistic predictors, as presented in Table 3.12: (i) semantic category of the possessed noun, (ii) type of subject, (iii) distance in words between referent and possessive, (iv) location of the possessive, (v) clause length, (vi) presence of adjectives in the genitive NP, (vii) grammatical person and number of the possessor, and (viii) grammatical gender and number of the possessee. *Semantic category, type of subject, and grammatical person and number of the possessor* exert the strongest pressures on the three variants, as indicated by both range and *p*-values.

As can be seen throughout this chapter and on Table 3.12, for the most part, there is an opposition between the factors conditioning both possessive adjectives and definite articles such that those factors which favor possessive adjectives disfavor definite articles and vice versa. Thus, for instance, the results for semantic category of the possessed noun, the predictor demonstrating the most polarization in its effect on these two possessive variants, revealed that nouns naming body parts strongly favor definite articles while overwhelmingly disfavoring possessive adjectives. Concurrently, nouns naming parents strongly favor possessive adjectives but disfavor definite articles. Moreover, grammatical person and number of the possessor strongly conditions the expression of possession with first person singular possessors strongly favoring possessive adjectives while disfavoring both articles and possessive periphrases.

Also, as shown on Table 3.12, besides the same predictors conditioning the possessive in both communities, the effects of individual factors largely reflect the same general tendencies; thus answering our third research question (*Are the effects of the predictors conditioning the expression of nominal possession the same in both speaker cohorts? If not, why not?*). In both speaker cohorts, semantic category has the

strongest effect, and its results are quite meaningful in several ways. The differences in the ranges between NYC and Barranquilla appear to be the result of something other than chance or fluctuation between two populations or corpora, perhaps as a first piece of evidence of the effects of the New York City sociolinguistic environment on the possessive. We have a clear indication of the influence of contact on semantic category and, to a lesser extent, on grammatical person. However, type of subject and distance between referent and possessive still do not show effects of contact with English, suggesting that some linguistic predictors are more susceptible to the effects of language contact than others. In general, our results indicate that nominal possession is under the same internal conditioning in NYC and Barranquilla. The effects of individual factors are also largely the same in both places. Since this is analogous to what occurs with the expression of futurity (Orozco 2007a: 324), at this point, we can consider these results as further support to the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000). That is, New York Colombians and Barranquilleros still belong to the same speech community despite their different sociolinguistic environments.

Interestingly, these results are reflective of the ongoing reconfiguration of the Spanish pronominal and possessive systems discussed by Gili y Gaya (1964: 240) and other scholars. The unfavorable effect that second/third person possessors have on possessive adjectives shows clearly that speakers disfavor the possessive adjective *su*, which – being equivalent to English *your* (singular), *his*, *her*, *its*, *your* (plural), and *their* – does not specify whether the possessor is in the second or third person singular or plural. That is, Colombians may prefer to use possessive periphrases with second and third person possessors to avoid the potential ambiguity posed by *su* or *sus* discussed earlier (§ 3.1). Another possible explanation as to why speakers favor definite articles and disfavor possessive adjectives with first person plural possessors may stem from the disappearance – in Latin American Spanish – of the second person plural possessive adjective *vuestro* ‘your, yours (plural)’ indicated by Gili y Gaya (1964: 241) and Penny (2008[1993]: 169), respectively. This process was sparked by the gradual substitution of *vosotros* ‘you, plural’ by *ustedes* ‘you, plural’ as well as by the ambiguity posed by *su*. Moreover, this development seems to have over spilled into other grammatical persons and now appears to inhibit the use of the first person plural possessive adjectives *nuestro* ‘our (masculine)’, and *nuestra* ‘our (feminine)’. Thus, Colombians prefer to use definite articles marking possession in place of *nuestro* and *nuestra*, which as discussed in the previous section, seems to have been relegated mainly to invariant, formal and religious or patriotic references. At the same time, these speakers continue to use the first person singular possessive adjective *mi* ‘my’ because it does not present the ambiguity found in *su*, its second and third person counterparts.

Since variation does not occur in a vacuum, and an instance of variation is often connected to another, the existing variation in the expression of possession

appears to be part of a series of internally motivated changes in progress. These changes started in Colombia and have accelerated in the New York Colombian community, as discussed in Chapter 2 (§ 2.5). In the expression of possession, this change would trigger the occurrence of possessive periphrases as reflected in the distribution of variants. According to Silva-Corvalán (1994a), this would be a consequence of contact with English in NYC, being the proliferation of periphrastic forms and the acceleration of internally motivated change outcomes of linguistic contact.

The expressions of possession and futurity share other important commonalities. Both of these tripartite linguistic variables include periphrastic innovations that appear to result from ongoing structural recasting involving grammaticalization. With the genesis of the possessive periphrasis, definite articles together with possessive pronouns – in the first and second person singular – and subject pronouns – in the remaining grammatical persons – have acquired new morphosyntactic roles. These structural developments provide the Castilian language with a more precise alternative than the existing and, still at this point, barely more frequent expression of possession. Consequently, as has happened with the expression of futurity, lexical items already present in the language have acquired new morphosyntactic roles to revitalize the expression of possession.

The fact that possessive periphrases are the newest of the three variants supports the premise that we are in the presence of another case of change in progress where an analytical innovation is expanding at the expense of an older, synthetic form. The emergence of possessive periphrases, genitive phrases that constitute the most accurate way to express nominal possession in Spanish, provides another instance of grammaticalization of an analytic paradigm. This development represents another interesting parallel between the expressions of futurity and possession. It is analogous to the occurrence of verbal periphrases which eventually replace inflections, discussed by Fleischman (2009[1982]: 31) and Schwegler (1990: 144). The increasing occurrence of possessive periphrases appears to constitute another manifestation of diachronic cyclicity, a crosslinguistic evolutionary process whose effects on Spanish have been discussed by Gutiérrez (1995: 214) and Orozco (2007a, 2009a, and references therein), *inter alios*. These results show that the effects of cyclicity, mainly a series of internal syntactic and morphological adjustments, extend beyond verbal morphology. The spread of this phenomenon to other morphosyntactic domains has engendered more periphrastic paradigms of different kinds (Orozco 2004: 273). The large-scale consequences of diachronic cyclicity are part of a cycle where a language changes from being primarily synthetic to predominantly analytic and eventually becomes synthetic again (Fleischman 2009[1982]: 152; Givón 1971; Schwegler 1990: 146–147).



The case of the possessive is particularly interesting because it is simultaneously under the effect of pressures that push and pull it in different directions, as evidenced by the effects of both internal and external predictors. On the one hand, dialect leveling and convergence appear to favor the proliferation of the possessive periphrases. On the other hand, the influence of English appears to favor possessive adjectives, a pressure that would slow down the apparently incipient change in progress. Cases of linguistic contact curbing the speed of an ongoing change have precedents in other Hispanic communities as occurs with the expression of futurity in Castellón, Valencia, Spain explored by Blas Arroyo (2008). It would also be necessary to follow the NYC situation closely to determine, after a few generations, which of the opposing pressures ultimately prevails in determining the fate of the expression of nominal possession.

### 3.6 Conclusion

In the expression of possession, there seems to be a change in its very early stages compared to the change in progress attested in the expression of futurity. We are in the presence of a linguistic situation consisting of a series of internally motivated cases of variation simultaneously operating in Spanish that reflects evolutionary tendencies involving many other languages. All of these instances of variation show the complex effects of internal and external predictors. On the other hand, the fewer number of predictors that operate on the possessive periphrases – the newest of the three variants – and, in some cases, the lack of definite patterns, may be attributable to its novelty (cf. Penny 2000).

In medieval times, the expression of possession had an analytic realization that gave way to the modern possessive adjectives (Penny 2002; Eberenz 2004: 617 and references therein). As with the expression of futurity, in its evolution, the possessive has turned from analytic to synthetic and, if we interpret the development of possessive periphrases to represent a new evolutive step, it appears that the expression of possession may eventually become, once again, analytic. The emergence of possessive periphrases appears to represent a new cycle in which an analytical paradigm develops as part of the ongoing recasting of the Spanish pronominal system, as discussed by Kany (1969: 63–70), Gili y Gaya (1964: 240), and Penny (2002), among others. Moreover, the replacement of possessive adjectives by possessive periphrases is analogous to the emergence of verbal periphrases that compete with and, eventually, replace inflections in the Romance languages (cf. Fleischman 2009[1982]: 31; Schwegler 1990: 144). If we consider this situation in conjunction with the evolution of the expression of futurity, we could theorize that it represents a subsequent development, which

fits quite well within the set of structural adjustments that constitute the process of diachronic cyclicity.

At this relatively early stage of language contact in the New York Colombian community, it is impossible to readily account for every difference between Barranquilla and NYC in terms of contact with English or dialect convergence. However, as per the other linguistic variables explored in this volume, perhaps at this juncture the influence of other Spanish varieties in New York City outweighs that of English. This chapter has discussed what is happening with the expression of possession at this stage in its evolution. Our findings also open the question of how much longer the current situation will obtain among New York Colombians since the ultimate fate of the expression of possession in this community is inextricably tied to the future maintenance of Spanish in its linguistic repertoire. After having documented the existing variation in the expression of nominal possession, we can expect subsequent research in other speech communities to help more accurately assess what appears to be another instance of change in progress. I look forward to more research on the expression of possession involving other communities and other predictors that would augment our knowledge of variation and change in Spanish and the Romance languages.

After having discussed the impact of internal factors on the variable expression of nominal possession, in the next chapter I will explore variable subject pronoun expression. In Chapter 5, I address the external social predictors that condition all the linguistic variables explored in this volume.



## Variable subject personal pronoun expression

This chapter explores the linguistic conditioning on variable subject personal pronoun expression (SPE). Tendencies in Barranquilla and New York are largely congruent with those throughout the Hispanic World, with Subject Person & Number and Switch Reference exerting the strongest pressures. The effects of verb semantics are particularly meaningful as they evince inconsistent tendencies within single lexical categories. Findings show that, by grouping verbs according to semantic categories, we leave important differences uncovered. Instead, a lexical effects analysis that shows the effects of lexical idiosyncrasy increases our understanding of how verbs condition SPE.

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines variable subject pronoun expression (SPE), another morphosyntactic feature that Spanish inherited from Latin. Being Spanish a pro-drop language, pronominal subjects are variably present. That is, speakers consistently alternate between overt and null pronominal subject expression, as illustrated in (67), taken from the data for the present study.

- (67) *Yo voy a ser más viejo, y menos oportunidades [Ø] voy a tener.*  
'I am going to be older, and fewer opportunities (I) am going to have.'

The empirical study of variable subject personal pronoun (SPP) usage was pioneered by Barrenechea and Alonso (1973), Bentivoglio (1980), and Morales (1980), who explored the Spanish spoken in Buenos Aires, Caracas, and San Juan, Puerto Rico, respectively. Those trailblazing studies have led to numerous others including work on Latin American Spanish (Bentivoglio 1987; Cameron 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996; Cerrón-Palomino 2014; Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015; Orozco & Guy 2008; Ortíz López 2009; Travis 2005a, 2005b; among others), Peninsular Spanish (Cameron 1993, 1995, 1996; Enríquez 1984; Posio 2011, 2015; de Prada-Pérez 2009, 2015; inter alia), and Spanish in the United States (Bayley & Pease-Alvarez 1996, 1997; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Flores-Ferrán 2002, 2004, 2007; Hochberg 1986; Hurtado 2001; Otheguy & Zentella 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007; Shin & Otheguy 2013; Silva-Corvalán 1982, 1994a, 1997a; among others).

The aforementioned research has determined that variable SPE displays marked regional differences in terms of overt pronominal rates throughout the Hispanic World. Overall frequency of use differs dialectally – with the highest overt pronoun expression rates (generally over 25%) occurring in Caribbean Spanish and in communities in direct contact with English. Lower pronominal rates (around 20%) are found in Spain and in Latin American mainland varieties such as the Mexican (Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015) and the Peruvian (Cerrón Palomino 2014). Despite significant overt pronominal rate differences, the existing body of literature reflects relative uniformity in the tendencies exhibited by the strongest predictors of variable SPE (Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015: xiii). These predictors include subject continuity or switch reference, verb type, lexical content of verb, tense mood and aspect (TMA), and grammatical person and number. Additionally, significant functional effects on SPP usage have been claimed (Erker 2005; Hochberg 1986; Shin 2014) and contradicted (Cameron 1993). Still, SPE remains understudied in Colombian Costeño Spanish, the variety investigated in this volume, despite an extensive body of research that has explored this linguistic variable all over the Hispanic World and in other varieties of Colombian Spanish (cf. Hurtado 2001, 2005a, 2005b; Travis 2005a, 2005b, 2007). This study seeks to contribute to the growing body of literature on SPE in Colombian Costeño Spanish (Orozco & Guy 2008; Orozco 2015a, 2017) as well as to studies of Spanish in the United States.

## 4.2 Methodology

### 4.2.1 Research questions and hypotheses

This variable SPE analysis has a manifold purpose. I examine the variable use of SPPs in terms of their distribution and the predictors that condition their usage. This investigation fills a void as it provides a comparative study involving a monolingual speech community and one where Colombian Costeño Spanish is in contact with English. In exploring the predictors that condition the alternation between overt and null pronominal subjects, I seek to answer the following research questions.

- a. *How are overt and null pronominal subjects distributed in Barranquilla, Colombia and the New York City Colombian community?*
- b. *How do these speech communities compare with others throughout the Hispanic World in terms of SPE? Are they more like Caribbean or Mainland varieties?*
- c. *What internal predictors condition overt SPP usage in Barranquilla and New York City? Is the internal conditioning on SPP usage in these two communities similar to what obtains throughout the Hispanic World?*

Concurrently, I seek to test the main hypothesis formulated as follows: *The predictors and individual factor tendencies conditioning SPE in Barranquilla and New York are largely congruent with those found throughout the Hispanic World despite differences in overt pronominal rates.* As with the linguistic variables explored in Chapters 2 and 3, this analysis of subject pronoun expression tests the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000) and falls within the general hypothesis probed in this volume. Moreover, I test a series of hypotheses directly addressing each one of the predictors explored in this monograph and discussed below. My research questions and hypotheses have been informed by a multitude of previous studies (Barrenechea & Alonso 1973; Bayley & Pease-Alvarez 1997; Bentivoglio 1987; Cameron 1992, 1993, 1995, 1998; Enríquez 1984; Flores-Ferrán 2002, 2004, 2007; Hurtado 2001, 2005a, 2005b; Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015; Orozco 2015a; Orozco & Guy 2008; Otheguy & Zentella 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007; Silva-Corvalán 1982, 1994a, 1997a; Travis 2005b; inter alia).

#### 4.2.2 Predictors examined

To answer the above research questions and test my hypotheses, I explored the effects of ten linguistic predictors that operate at different morphosyntactic and discourse levels. As with the linguistic variables explored in previous chapters, I divided the internal predictors into the three following groups. (a) Predictors pertaining to the whole clause, (b) those pertaining to the subject or SPP, and (c) predictors pertaining to the verb, as follows.

- a. Clause-related predictors. Two predictors fall within this category:
  - i. *Discourse style*: narrative, response to comment, response to question, none of the above
  - ii. *Clause type*: independent or main, coordinate, conditional, argument, relative, subordinate.
- b. Subject-related predictors. Although some of these predictors deal with factors that are actually located outside the clauses being studied, they were grouped together considering their influence on the specific SPP under analysis. Except for *person and number of the subject*, these predictors explore the relationship between the subject of the clause under analysis and that immediately preceding it, whether it was uttered by the informant or by someone else. This category includes three predictors:
  - i. *Switch reference*: subject is coreferent with previous subject, subject is coreferent with previous indirect object, subject is coreferent with previous direct object, subject is coreferent with previous oblique object, complete reference switch.

- ii. *Person & number of the subject*: first person singular, second person singular, third person singular, first person plural, second person plural, third person plural.
  - iii. *Priming*: I explored priming in terms of the realization of the prior subject using four factors: SPP, noun phrase, null subject, other.
- c. Verb-related predictors. Following the pronombrista literature cited above, I explore the effects of the verb on SPE in terms of the following five predictors:
- i. *TMA form of the verb*: present indicative, preterite indicative, imperfect indicative, future indicative, periphrastic future, conditional, subjunctive, imperative, perfect forms, other.
  - ii. *Preceding TMA*: same, different.
  - iii. *Verb regularity*: regular, irregular, disyllabic irregular
  - iv. *Lexical content of the verb*: I followed the classification used in Enríquez's (1984) pioneering research. Accordingly, I divided verbs into the following four categories: (i) Mental activity (*acordarse* 'remember,' *entender* 'understand,' *pensar* 'think,' etc.); (ii) Estimative (*creer* 'believe,' *imaginar* 'imagine,' *suponer* 'suppose,' etc.); (iii) External activity (*decir* 'say, tell,' *ir* 'go,' *salir* 'exit, leave,' etc.); and (iv) Stative (*estar* 'be,' *ser* 'be,' *tener* 'have,' etc.).
  - v. *Verb type*: I adapted the classification originally used by Bentivoglio (1980), and divided verbs into the following six categories: (i) Cognitive (*creer* 'believe,' *pensar* 'think,' etc.); (ii) Copulative (*estar* 'be,' *ser* 'be,' etc.); (iii) Perception (*oler* 'smell,' *sentir* 'feel,' etc.); (iv) Speech (*decir* 'say, tell,' *comentar* 'comment,' *hablar* 'speak,' etc.); (v) Motion (*ir* 'go,' *salir* 'exit, leave,' *venir* 'come,' etc.); and (vi) Other verbs; i.e., those that do not belong to any of the above categories (*poder* 'be able to, can,' *tener* 'have,' *vivir* 'live,' etc.).

I based my choice of internal predictors on the findings of Orozco & Guy's (2008) pilot study of SPE in Costeño Spanish and, as with that study, on prior SPE investigations (cf. Enríquez 1984; Flores-Ferrán 2002, 2004, 2007; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007; Torres Cacoullós & Travis 2011; Travis 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Travis & Torres Cacoullós 2012). Thus, the external predictors listed above include eight of those nine explored in Orozco & Guy (2008). Verb reflexivity was the only predictor excluded from the present study due to prior lack of statistical significance. At the same time, I added to this analysis three predictors with the purpose of further probing the effects of verb semantics and priming: (1) *Verb type*, (2) *Prior subject's person & number*, and (3) *Priming*.

### 4.2.3 The envelope of SPE variation and the analysis

The envelope of variation used here adheres to the Principle of Accountability (Labov 1972: 72). It also follows the criteria set by Barrenechea & Alonso (1973); Otheguy & Zentella (2012); and the *Proyecto para el Estudio Sociolingüístico del Español de España y de América (PRESEEA)* (Silva-Corvalán & Enrique-Arias 2017), which have become standard for SPE studies. The data sample includes only those clauses with ascertainable animate pronominal subjects that contain a conjugated verb where the alternation between overt and null subject is clearly possible. Thus, all tokens constitute one of at least two possible different ways of saying the same thing. The sample used in this study is comprised of 6,015 tokens of verbs occurring in finite clauses. 3,009 of them – roughly 135 per speaker – were culled from the CorCaBa corpus. The remaining 3,006 tokens – roughly 150 per speaker – were extracted from the CEsCoNY corpus. I coded all tokens in terms of the predictors discussed above and conducted a series of parallel statistical regression analyses using *rbrul* and Language Variation Suite (Scrivner & Díaz-Campos 2016) as my statistical tools. In an effort to avoid problematic factor overlaps or interactions while preserving the orthogonality of the predictors, for each data sample (i.e., Barranquilla and New York), I conducted two parallel sets of multivariate analyses using two different data sample configurations (cf. Tagliamonte 2006: 233, 2012: 131). Thus, I tested *lexical content of the verb* in one data configuration and *verb type* in the other. Among other things, this helped avoid the possible interactions caused by the fact that all motion verbs denote external activity and all perception verbs denote mental activity. In the sections that follow, as I walk the reader through my results, I begin by presenting the distribution of overt and null SPPs, and I compare this distribution to those found for other Spanish-speaking communities. Then, I discuss the different factor groups that reached statistical significance in the present analysis.

### 4.3 Distribution of overt and null subjects

The overall pronominal rates presented in Table 4.1 – 34.3% for Barranquilla and 43.3% for New York – corroborate the pro-drop nature of Spanish. The difference between these two pronominal rates is statistically significant ( $X^2$  51.265,  $p = 8.071^{-13}$ ). The overt pronominal rate by grammatical person reflects that *yo* ‘I’, the most frequently occurring overt SPP, registers the highest overt pronominal rates with 45% in Barranquilla and 59% in New York, respectively. Conversely, in the plural, the third person pronouns *ellos/ellas* ‘they’ occur least frequently in Barranquilla (10%) while *nosotros/nosotras* ‘we’ occur with the least frequency in New York (15%). Furthermore, the first person singular pronoun also has, by



**Table 4.1.** Pronominal rate by grammatical person

Grammatical person	Barranquilla			New York City		
	N	Rate	% data	N	Rate	% data
1st singular	565/1270	44.5%	42.2%	666/1126	59.1%	37.5%
2nd singular	77/234	32.9%	7.8%	164/395	41.5%	13.1%
3rd singular	300/758	39.6%	25.2%	262/562	46.6%	18.7%
1st plural	43/336	12.8%	11.2%	34/226	15.0%	7.5%
2nd plural	7/18	38.9%	0.6%	5/24	20.8%	0.8%
3rd plural	39/393	9.9%	13.1%	172/673	25.3%	22.4%
All pronouns	1,031/3,009	34.3%	100.0%	1303/3006	43.3%	100.0%

far, the highest share of the data (42% in Barranquilla and 37% in New York). Thus, the breakdown by grammatical person in Table 4.1 substantiates the conclusion drawn from previous studies (Abreu 2009, 2012; Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1997; Bentivoglio 1987: 36, 60; Carvalho & Bessett 2015; Claes 2011; Erker & Guy 2012; Flores-Ferrán 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009; Otheguy & Zentella 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007; Posio 2011; de Prada-Pérez 2009; Ortíz López 2011, among others) that singular SPPs, in general, occur more frequently as overt subjects than their plural counterparts. Something to be determined by future research is whether the lower incidence of second person singular subjects is due to the data-gathering methods used or depends on differences in speech genre. According to Cameron (1995) null subjects occur more frequently with plural than with singular SPPs. He indicates that conceiving of plural subjects as sets, “we find that discourse is typically structured so that the great majority of plural subjects occurs in contexts where their set members are either explicitly or inferably present within the immediately preceding discourse. Such contexts favor null subject expression. Therefore, plural subjects are frequently null overall” (1995: 328).

A comparison of the overall pronominal rates in the communities under study with those in other speech communities (Table 4.2) indicates that both of our speaker cohorts, with pronominal rates above 32%, fall within the Carib/Arawak macrodialect region according to established dialect classifications (cf. Henríquez Ureña 1921; Lipski 1994: 6, Quesada Pacheco 2010: 182; Zamora & Guitart 1982: 182ff.; among others). One interesting fact emerging from this comparison is that overt pronominal rates can be used as a diagnostic of dialectal differences. Therefore, these overt SPP occurrence rates provide quantitative validity to the various dialectal classifications. The resulting pronominal rates also corroborate the fact that higher pronominal expression rates are found in the Caribbean as

well as in situations where Spanish is in contact with English. The discussion of the internal predictors that significantly condition variable SPE follows. I discuss the effects of social predictors in Chapter 5.

**Table 4.2.** Overt subject pronominal rates in the Hispanic World

Variety	Pronominal rate
Puerto Rico (Cameron 1992)	44.7%
<b>Costeño Colombians in NYC (This Study)</b>	<b>43.3%</b>
Santo Domingo, D. R. (Alfaraz, 2015)	42.3%
<b>Barranquilla, Colombia (This Study)</b>	<b>34.3%</b>
Cuban Newcomers to NYC (O&Z 2012)	33.0%
Ecuadorian Newcomers to NYC (O&Z 2012)	27.0%
Rivera, Uruguay (Carvalho & Bessett 2015)	25.0%
Colombian Mainlander Newcomers to NYC (O&Z)	24.0%
Mexico, City (Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015)	21.8%
Buenos Aires (Barrenechea & Alonso 1973)	21.0%
Spain (Enríquez 1984)	20.5%
Lima, Peru (Cerrón-Palomino 2014)	16.8%
Yucatan, Mexico (Michnowicz 2015)	16.0%
O&Z: Otheguy & Zentella (2012)	

#### 4.4 Linguistic conditioning on pronominal usage

A total of seven internal predictors presented in Table 4.3 significantly condition SPE in both speaker groups. They include *person and number of the SPP*, *switch reference*, *priming*, *TMA form of the verb*, *lexical content of the verb*, and *verb type*. According to evidence from prior studies, (cf. Bentivoglio 1987; Cameron 1993, 1995; Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015: xxii; Otheguy & Zentella 2007: 276; among others), the predictors conditioning the occurrence of SPPs in different populations have been found to be essentially the same and the effects of their factors very similar. The comparisons of order of selection and *p*-values of the predictors significant in the expression of overt SPPs presented in Table 4.3 were drawn from four sets of logistic regressions, mainly to avoid factor overlaps between the predictors that explore verb semantics (*lexical content of the verb* and *verb type*). This table shows the similarities mentioned above despite some relatively minor differences. Specifically, in each speaker cohort, we have the same basic order of selection and comparably similar *p*-values for both multivariate analysis configurations. Moreover, we have the same order of selection in both Barranquilla and New York City.

Table 4.3. Linguistic predictors on SPE and their *p*-values

Predictor	Barranquilla				NYC			
	Config A		Config B		Config A		Config B	
	Sel	<i>p</i>	Sel	<i>p</i>	Sel	<i>p</i>	Sel	<i>p</i>
SPP person & number	1	4.98 <sup>-65</sup>	1	4.87 <sup>-64</sup>	1	4.65 <sup>-46</sup>	1	6.19 <sup>-40</sup>
Switch reference	2	1.61 <sup>-41</sup>	2	2.14 <sup>-40</sup>	2	3.32 <sup>-22</sup>	2	9.43 <sup>-22</sup>
Priming	3	4.86 <sup>-10</sup>	3	9.29 <sup>-10</sup>	3	7.93 <sup>-14</sup>	3	1.78 <sup>-12</sup>
TMA form of the verb	4	2.14 <sup>-8</sup>	4	3.7 <sup>-9</sup>	4	9.83 <sup>-11</sup>	4	5.43 <sup>-11</sup>
Lexical content of verb **	5	.00148	NA	NA	6	.0147	NA	NA
Verb type **	NA	NA	5	1.81 <sup>-6</sup>	NA	NA	6	5.28 <sup>-5</sup>
Clause type	7	.0354	7	.0164	NS	NS	NS	NS

\*\*These predictors were not run together in the same multivariate analysis.

In the following sections, we discuss the effect of the predictors which significantly condition SPE. According to our discussion of the predictors explored in this study (Section 4.2.2), results are discussed in terms of the three different morphosyntactic levels used to classify the linguistic predictors: a) the whole clause, b) the subject or SPP, and c) the verb.

#### 4.4.1 Clause-related predictors

At the clause level, only *clause type* conditions SPE, as *discourse style* did not reach statistical significance in either speaker cohort.

##### *Clause type*

As done by Otheguy, Zentella and Livert (2007: 798), I initially tested the effects of this predictor using the six factors mentioned earlier in § 4.2.2. Initial results, consonant with those of Orozco (2015a) and Otheguy and Zentella (2012: 268), revealed that the three different types of subordinate clauses (argument, relative, and other subordinate) follow similar tendencies in both speaker cohorts. Consequently, I conducted all subsequent analyses with three clause types (subordinate, independent, and coordinate). Clause type significantly conditions SPE only in Barranquilla. Statistical significance aside, subordinate clauses favor the occurrence of overt SPPs with respective statistical weights of .54 and .53 while independent clauses have a neutral effect with statistical weights of .50 in both communities. Conversely, coordinate clauses disfavor overt subjects with respective values of .46 and .47, a tendency already documented in New York City (cf. Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Shin & Montes Alcalá 2014). The example in (68), where a coordinate clause with a null subject precedes a subordinate clause that has an overt subject, illustrates the tendencies exhibited by both coordinate and subordinate clauses, respectively.

- (68) ... y [Ø] HA RECIBIDO hijos de las personas que ELLA RECIBIÓ, o sea nietoh, cómo quien dice.  
'... and [she] has delivered children of the people that she delivered; that is, grandchildren, you would say.'

**Table 4.4.** Effects of clause type on SPE

Factor	Prob	%	N	% data
<i>Barranquilla</i>				
Subordinate	.54	38.6%	277/718	23.8%
Independent	.50	34.6%	504/1457	48.5%
Coordinate	.46	30.0%	250/834	27.7%
Range	8	$p = .0354$	Input .30	
<i>New York</i>				
Subordinate	[.53]	43.5%	391/885	29.9%
Independent	[.50]	45.0%	649/1452	48.2%
Coordinate	[.47]	39.6%	258/669	21.9%
		$p = [.125]$	Input .41	

In general, as in various other corners of the Hispanic World including Puerto Rico (Abreu 2009: 125), Madrid (Enríquez 1984: 256–58), Oaxaca, Mexico (Shin & Erker 2015), New Jersey (Flores-Ferrán 2007), and NYC (Flores-Ferrán 2009; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Shin & Erker 2015), SPPs in Colombian Spanish are under the conditioning effect of *clause type*. However, the effect of this predictor is rather weak because in Barranquilla, it has the lowest  $p$ -value, and in New York, it is not statistically significant. Concurrently, *clause type* does not condition SPP use in other communities (cf. Carvalho & Bessett 2015; Claes 2011; de Prada-Pérez 2009: 97; Torres Cacoullós & Travis 2011: 254, 258). Thus, *clause type* appears to defy the tendency exhibited by most other predictors on SPP expression (cf. Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015; Erker & Guy 2012; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Shin & Erker 2015). One difference that emerges when comparing these results with those of Otheguy, Zentella and Livert (2007) is the stronger effect of *clause type* in that study. *Clause type* is selected either fourth or fifth in a field of ten predictors, among the four different NYC speaker groups Otheguy et al. studied. This apparent lack of consistency in the effects of *clause type* calls for further research on the effects of this predictor in other speech communities to provide more definitive answers regarding the universality of its conditioning effect on overt pronominal expression or lack thereof. My discussion of subject-related predictors follows.

#### 4.4.2 Subject-related predictors

All three subject-level predictors explored ((1) Priming, (2) Switch reference, and (3) Person & number of the subject) condition pronominal usage significantly.

##### *Priming*

Results (Table 4.5) reveal the same tendencies in both communities, showing that a prior overt SPP promotes the occurrence of overt SPPs with respective statistical weights of .60 in Barranquilla and .61 in New York. A preceding NP subject has a slightly disfavoring effect (.47 in both places) while a previous null subject clearly favors the occurrence of another null subject with probability values of .43 in Barranquilla and .42 in New York, respectively. That is, one specific type of subject promotes the occurrence of subjects of the same type with overt pronominal subjects promoting overt subjects and null subjects promoting null subjects. Consequently, the effects of priming do not appear to be affected by the sociolinguistic landscape of NYC. These tendencies are illustrated in the examples below.

**Table 4.5.** Effects of priming on SPE

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
<i>Barranquilla</i>				
Overt subject pronoun	.60	44.0%	298/677	22.5%
Noun phrase	.47	38.0%	277/728	24.2%
Null subject	.43	28.3%	453/1599	53.2%
Range	17	$p = 4.86^{-10}$	Input .30	
<i>New York</i>				
Overt subject pronoun	.61	52.7%	423/803	27.1%
Noun phrase	.47	46.6%	412/884	28.8%
Null subject	.42	35.5%	468/1319	43.4%
Range	19	$p = 7.93^{-14}$	Input .41	

(69) *Y mi mamá decía, o sea, mi abuela:*

“¿Tú que tienes ahí?”

“No, yo no tengo nada.”

“¿Qué tienes tú?”

(AY, F, 59.)

‘And my mother would say, that is, my grandmother,

“What do **you** have there?”

“No, I don’t have anything.”

“What do **you** have?””

- (70) ...[Ø] *noh criamoh juntah, y [Ø] fuimoh a la ehcuela juntah.*  
 ‘... [We] grew up together, and [we] went to school together.’

In (69) we find three successive overt pronominal subjects while in (70) we find two successive null subjects. The successive occurrence of overt subjects in (69) highlights a change in reference from the preceding clause that helps to minimize ambiguity for listeners while favoring the realization of overt subjects. A prior overt pronoun promotes another overt pronoun whether it is the same or a different one. The observed priming or perseveration effect is congruent with tendencies found in other varieties of Spanish (cf. Cameron 1995; Flores-Ferrán 2002; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Torres Cacoullós & Travis 2011; Travis 2005b, 2007). More broadly, our findings also illustrate how SPE in Costeño Spanish is conditioned by priming, a phenomenon that extends not only well beyond Spanish but also beyond SPP usage. Priming has also been found to condition phonetic, phonological, morphological and syntactic linguistic variables (Cameron 1995; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004).

### *Switch reference*

Switch reference constitutes a well-recognized discourse-level SPE predictor. Generally, overt pronouns highlight a change in reference from the preceding clause, thus helping to minimize ambiguity for listeners. In the present analysis, I tested the effects of five factors: (1) no switch, (2) coreference with direct object, (3) coreference with indirect object, (4) coreference with object of preposition, and (5) complete switch (with subject and all objects). Preliminary findings revealed that all cases of partial switch or coreferentiality had similar statistical tendencies. Therefore, we identified three significantly different levels of continuity/discontinuity of reference which are presented in Table 4.6.

- a. Complete switch: subject of current verb differs from that of previous verb, and the subject referent does not occur in a syntactic argument of the verb in the previous clause. This factor favors overt pronominal subjects in Barranquilla (.67) as well as in New York (.62).
- b. Partial change in subject: the subject might be coreferent with (a) the previous direct object, (b) the previous indirect object, or (c) the previous object of a preposition. This factor has a neutral effect on the occurrence of overt SPPs in both settings (Barranquilla .48, New York .49).
- c. Subject continuity: no switch has occurred. This factor disfavors overt SPPs in both speaker cohorts with probability weights of .35 (Barranquilla) and .39 (New York).

**Table 4.6.** Effects of switch reference on SPE

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
<i>Barranquilla</i>				
Complete change in subject	.67	46.0%	572/1244	41.4%
Partial change in subject	.48	32.3%	120/372	12.4%
Same subject (coreferent w. prior subject)	.35	24.2%	336/1387	46.2%
Range	.32	$p = 1.61^{-41}$	Input .30	
<i>New York</i>				
Complete change in subject	.62	52.2%	799/1514	49.9%
Partial change in subject	.49	37.9%	89/235	7.8%
Same subject (coreferent w. prior subject)	.39	33.9%	431/1270	42.2%
Range	.23	$p = 3.32^{-22}$	Input .41	

*Switch reference* conditions SPE more strongly than *priming* according to both order of selection and *p*-values. Results (see Table 4.6) corroborate the probability weights and the three levels of continuity of reference found by Orozco and Guy (2008: 74). Overt SPPs are favored in both speaker cohorts by a complete change in subject. At the same time, subjects that are coreferent with those of the previous clause favor null SPPs .35 (see Examples (69) and (70)). A partial change in subject has a neutral effect.

The favoring effect of a complete switch on overt SPPs can be interpreted as a functional effect (Hochberg 1986: 618) since pronouns appear to be overtly expressed to disambiguate change of reference. Interestingly, the conditioning tendencies found are quite similar to those reported for other varieties of Spanish including Puerto Rico, Madrid, Caracas, East Los Angeles, NYC, among others (cf. Abreu 2012; Bentivoglio 1987; Enríquez 1984; Cameron 1995; Flores-Ferrán 2002; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Silva-Corvalán 1982). Thus, these results provide further evidence that “the influence of switch reference is systematic, and patterns alike” across varieties of Spanish (Cameron 1995: 11). That is, a switch of reference exerts a systematic effect on the frequency of overt SPP occurrence for all grammatical persons and numbers, and there is grammar uniformity acting throughout the different subject-related predictors.

#### *Grammatical person and number of the subject*

As previous studies indicate (Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015: xiv, and references therein), SPE has been found to be strongly correlated to subject person and number. To probe the effects of this predictor, each pronoun was initially included as a separate factor. Preliminary results revealed that, in the present data sample, all

plural pronouns had similar effects. Consequently, we had four distinctive factors: first person singular, second person singular, third person singular, and plural subject pronouns, as presented in Table 4.7.

These results (Table 4.7) adhere to two main tendencies prevalent across varieties of Spanish: singular pronouns favor overt subjects and plural pronouns disfavor them (Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015: xiv). First person pronominal subjects promote overt SPPs with statistical weights of .68 and .64 in Barranquilla and New York, respectively. Third person singular SPPs promote overt subjects almost as strongly as those in the first person with probability values of .61 (Barranquilla) and .58 (New York). Concurrently, second person singular subjects moderately favor overt subjects in Barranquilla (.54) but exert a neutral effect in New York with a probability value of .50. In contrast, plural SPPs as a whole strongly disfavor overt subjects with probability values of .21 in Barranquilla and .29 in New York, respectively. It appears that since the conditioning effect of SPP person and number strongly conditions virtually every variety of Spanish, we are in the presence of a general tendency with a universal linguistic explanation.

**Table 4.7.** Effects of person & number of the subject on SPE

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
<i>Barranquilla</i>				
1st singular ( <i>yo</i> )	.68	44.5%	565/1270	42.2%
3rd singular ( <i>él, ella, uno</i> )	.61	39.6%	300/758	25.2%
2nd singular ( <i>tú, usted</i> )	.54	32.5%	76/234	7.8%
All plural ( <i>nosotros, ustedes, ellos</i> )	.21	11.9%	89/747	24.8%
Range	47	$p = 4.87^{-64}$	Input .30	
<i>New York</i>				
1st singular ( <i>yo</i> )	.64	59.1%	666/1126	37.5%
3rd singular ( <i>él, ella, uno</i> )	.58	46.6%	262/562	18.7%
2nd singular ( <i>tú</i> )	.50	41.5%	164/395	13.1%
All plural ( <i>nosotros, ustedes, ellos</i> )	.29	22.9%	211/923	30.7%
Range	35	$p = 4.65^{-46}$	Input .41	

The results for this predictor are consonant with previous findings (Alfaraz 2015; Claes 2011; Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007; Otheguy & Zentella 2012, among others) that show *grammatical person & number of the subject* exerting the strongest conditioning effect on SPE. Colombian speakers, by favoring the use of overt singular SPPs, appear to follow language-specific patterns that are characteristic of the grammar of Spanish (See



examples in (69) and (70)). Interestingly, while the first person singular pronoun (*yo* 'I'), favors overt subjects, the first person plural pronoun (*nosotros/nosotras* 'we') has the opposite tendency. The low rate of use of *nosotros/nosotras*, which is also consistent with results reported throughout the Hispanic World (Abreu 2009, 2012; Bayley & Pease-Alvarez 1996, 1997; Carvalho & Bessett 2015; Hochberg 1986; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007; Otheguy & Zentella 2012, among others), is a potential functional effect, as first plural verbal marking is morphologically the most distinctive and regular form in Spanish (indicated everywhere by the *-mos* morpheme), rendering the overt subject pronoun redundant. The disfavoring effect of plural SPPs on overt subjects could arguably stem from the frequent occurrence of fixed expressions with null subjects such as *vamos* 'we go, let's go' and *nos vemos* 'we [will] see each other.'

In general, subject-related predictors follow widespread patterns, with *person* & *number of the subject* exerting the strongest conditioning effect. Moreover, the results for subject-related predictors emerge as those that most strongly condition SPE. However, despite the significant increase in the overall pronominal rates registered in New York, we can conclude that, so far, the diasporic sociolinguistic environment does not seem to significantly alter the effects of subject-related predictors.

#### 4.4.3 Verb-related predictors

Three verb-related predictors condition pronominal usage: *lexical content of verb*, *verb type*, and *TMA form of the verb*. Neither *verb regularity* nor *preceding verb TMA* significantly condition the occurrence of overt subjects.

##### *Verbal tense, mood & aspect (TMA)*

As done by Erker and Guy (2012), Orozco and Guy (2008), Otheguy and Zentella (2012: 253) *inter alios*, I initially tested the effects of ten TMA forms – (1) present indicative, (2) imperfect indicative, (3) preterite indicative, (4) conditional, (5) perfect paradigms, (6) morphological future, (7) periphrastic future, (8) subjunctive paradigms, (9) imperatives, (10) other paradigms. Preliminary results revealed similar tendencies for the conditional, perfect tenses, subjunctives, futures, and imperatives. In order to obtain more statistically reliable results, I merged those factors with similar tendencies under the label "all others." Thus, I conducted all subsequent analyses using the four factors shown in Table 4.8. Findings uncovered that the imperfect indicative favors overt subjects in both speaker cohorts with probability weights of .61 and .58 in Barranquilla and New York City, respectively. At the same time, the present indicative has a neutral effect in Barranquilla with .52, but in NYC it favors overt SPPs with a probability value of .56. On the other hand, the preterite indicative modestly favors null subjects (.47 in both

Table 4.8. Effects of TMA form of verb on SPE

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
<i>Barranquilla</i>				
Imperfect indicative	.61	38.5%	352/914	30.4%
Present indicative	.52	38.1%	350/918	30.4%
Preterit indicative	.47	29.4%	235/799	26.6%
All others	.40	24.9%	94/378	12.6%
Range	21	$p = 2.14^{-8}$	Input .30	
<i>New York</i>				
Imperfect indicative	.58	43.6%	120/275	9.1%
Present indicative	.56	49.9%	812/1626	54.1%
Preterit indicative	.47	38.3%	184/481	16.0%
All others	.38	30.0%	187/624	20.8%
Range	26	$p = 9.83^{-11}$	Input .41	

communities). All other tenses, acting as a single factor, clearly favor null subjects with statistical weights of .40 and .38, respectively.

Both the imperfect's favorable effect on overt pronominal subjects and, in contrast, the favoring effect of the preterite indicative and all other tenses on null subjects in both speaker cohorts, are congruent with findings in monolingual communities (Bentivoglio 1987: 45; Cameron 1993; Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015; Enríquez 1984; Shin & Erker 2015; Travis 2007, among others), as well as in settings where Spanish is in contact with other languages (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997; Carvalho & Bessett 2015; Erker & Guy 2012; Michnowicz 2015; Hochberg 1986; Hurtado 2005a; Otheguy & Zentella 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert 2007; Shin & Montes-Alcalá 2014, *inter alia*). These findings also lend support to the premise that morphologically ambiguous verbal paradigms such as the imperfect tense promote more pronoun use than unambiguous forms (*cf.* Shin 2014).

We can account for the general tendencies registered by the different TMA paradigms in terms of both the functional hypothesis (Hochberg 1986) and the discourse function perspective of verb tenses (Silva-Corvalán 1997b). The favorable effect of the imperfect on overt pronominal subjects suggests that functional disambiguation contributes to the occurrence of overt subjects. That is, pronominal expression responds to a morphological recast in response to information loss corresponding to grammatical person and number in the surface structure (*cf.* Kiparsky 1972: 197; Hochberg 1986). In other words, a weakening of phonological oppositions consistently prompts higher pronominal rates so that speakers do not

need to depend on contextual clues as they determine to what grammatical person a given verb form corresponds. Thus, these findings reveal that SPE appears to respond to functional effects, as morphologically indistinct verb forms trigger higher rates of overt SPP use.

Despite a great deal of congruence between the tendencies registered for TMA in Barranquilla and New York City, the higher pronominal rate that the simple present registers in NYC suggests that the sociolinguistic landscape in the diasporic setting may play a role in the expatriate population's SPE. In Barranquilla, the simple present has a neutral effect with a probability value of .52, but in New York, it favors overt subjects with a value of .56. Besides representing a departure from what occurs in Barranquilla, this favorable effect that the present indicative registers in New York differs from the either neutral or disfavoring effects on overt SPE found in Cali, Colombia (Travis 2005a), Mexico City (Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015), Rivera, Uruguay (Carvalho & Bessett 2015), San Juan, Puerto Rico (Claes 2011), and among New York City Mexicans (Shin 2014). Concurrently, the present indicative's favorable effect on overt SPPs in NYC is somewhat similar to the (slightly) favorable effect that this tense has on overt pronominal subjects in English as reported by Torres Cacoullós and Travis (2015). Moreover, the significantly higher overt pronominal rate in New York (49.9%) than in Barranquilla (38.1%) is commensurate with that found by Erker & Guy (2012: 541) among Mexicans and Dominicans in NYC, as the pronominal rates registered by the imperfect and present indicative, respectively are considerably higher than those for all other TMA forms. Thus, further research in situations of contact with English will help determine whether such situations significantly affect SPE with verbs in the present tense.

In sum, in both speaker cohorts, TMA largely reflects the uniformity of effect and the same tendencies found throughout the Hispanic World. Thus, these results are consonant with findings reporting TMA as a consistent SPE predictor across the board.

### *Lexical content of verb*

As stated in § 4.2.2, I divided verbs into the four categories used in Enríquez's (1984) pioneering research: *Mental activity* (*acordarse* 'remember,' *entender* 'understand,' *pensar* 'think,' etc.), *Estimative* (*creer* 'believe,' *imaginar* 'imagine,' *suponer* 'suppose,' etc.), *External activity* (*decir* 'say, tell,' *ir* 'go,' *salir* 'exit, leave,' etc.), and *Stative* (*estar* 'be,' *ser* 'be,' *tener* 'have,' etc.). Preliminary results showed estimative and mental activity verbs to have similar tendencies. Thus, as done by Erker & Guy (2012), among others, I joined these two categories under mental activity. Results (Table 4.9) reveal slightly different statistical tendencies between speaker cohorts. In Barranquilla, stative verbs promote overt pronominal subjects

Table 4.9. Effects of lexical content of verb on SPE

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
<i>Barranquilla</i>				
Stative	.55	41.4%	307/741	24.6%
Mental activity	.50	46.3%	181/391	13.0%
External activity	.45	28.9%	543/1877	62.4%
Range	10	$p = .00148$	Input .30	
<i>New York</i>				
Mental activity	.55	60.3%	371/615	20.5%
Stative	.48	40.7%	284/698	23.4%
External activity	.47	38.3%	648/1693	56.1%
Range	8	$p = .0147$	Input .41	

(statistical weight .55) but mental activity verbs have a neutral effect with a probability value of .50. Conversely, in New York mental activity verbs favor overt subjects with a probability value of .55 while stative verbs have a rather neutral effect (.48). At the same time, external activity verbs disfavor overt subjects in Barranquilla and also in New York with respective weights of .45 and .47. That is, while external activity verbs favor null subjects in both settings, the effects of all other verbs fluctuate.

Despite differences in probability values, the pronominal rates reflect similarities in terms of how the three verb categories rank. These similarities help us identify a common tendency: Mental activity verbs have the highest pronominal rates and external activity verbs the lowest. This overall tendency is consistent with findings reported by Claes for San Juan, Puerto Rico (2011: 205), Enríquez for Madrid (1984: 240), Otheguy & Zentella (2012: 164) for New York City Spanish, and Erker & Guy for speakers of Mexican and Dominican origin in NYC (2012: 541). The effect of the NYC sociolinguistic landscape can be noticed on the higher pronominal rates registered by mental activity verbs; these verbs show the largest increase (14%). As with *clause type* and *TMA*, the tendencies for *lexical content of verb* call for a series of more detailed analyses that would allow us to obtain more definite information regarding how verbs condition SPE and, particularly, on the impact of stative verbs on pronominal expression (Orozco & Guy 2008: 77).

### *Verb type*

I used the alternate data sample configuration discussed earlier in § 4.2.3 to probe deeper into the effects of verb semantics by exploring *verb type*. In so doing,

Table 4.10. Effects of verb type on SPE

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
<i>Barranquilla</i>				
Copulative	.59	46.5%	147/316	10.5%
Perception	.57	48.8%	99/203	6.7%
Speech	.54	38.0%	104/274	9.1%
Other	.45	30.8%	362/1174	39.0%
Cognitive	.44	43.0%	113/263	8.7%
Motion	.40	26.4%	206/779	25.9%
Range	.19	$p = 1.81^{-6}$	Input .31	
<i>New York</i>				
Speech	.55	54.9%	173/315	10.5%
Copulative	.54	48.3%	130/269	8.9%
Perception	.53	51.8%	155/299	9.9%
Cognitive	.51	59.7%	280/469	15.6%
Motion	.47	36.6%	246/672	22.4%
Other	.41	32.5%	319/982	32.7%
Range	.14	$p = 5.28^{-5}$	Input .49	

I adapted the classification originally used by Bentivoglio (1980) in her seminal study of pronominal expression in Caracas, and divided verbs into the following six categories: (i) Cognitive (*creer* 'believe,' *pensar* 'think,' etc.); (ii) Copulative (*estar* 'be,' *ser* 'be,' etc.); (iii) Motion (*ir* 'go,' *salir* 'exit, leave,' *venir* 'come,' etc.); (iv) Perception (*oler* 'smell,' *sentir* 'feel,' etc.); (v) Speech (*decir* 'say, tell,' *comentar* 'comment,' *hablar* 'speak,' etc.); and (vi) Other verbs; i.e., those that do not belong to any of the above categories (*poder* 'be able to, can,' *tener* 'have,' *vivir* 'live,' etc.). The results in Table 4.10 show copulative (.59 in Barranquilla, .55 in New York), perception (.57 and .53), and speech (.54 and .55) verbs favoring overt pronominal subjects both in Barranquilla and New York. Conversely, verbs in the other (.45 and .41) and motion (.40 and .47) categories favor null subjects. Concurrently, cognitive verbs favor null subjects in Barranquilla (.44) but have a neutral effect in New York with a probability value of .51.

These tendencies largely concur with those found in Cali, Colombia (Travis 2005b, 2007: 115), Caracas (Bentivoglio 1987: 60), East Los Angeles (Silva-Corvalán 1994a: 162), Madrid (Enríquez 1984: 240), New Mexico (Travis 2007: 115; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2011: 250), among Colombians in Miami (Hurtado 2001), and among Puerto Ricans in Florida (Abreu 2009), among others.

These results provide further evidence that the effect of *verb type*, as it has been studied for four decades, is fairly consistent across languages, dialects and speech genres as well as language contact situations.

The tendencies registered by both *lexical content* and *verb type* – being similar in both Barranquilla and New York – are largely congruent with the findings of previous investigations (cf. Carvalho, Orozco, & Shin 2015: xiii). They confirm the conditioning effect of verb semantics on SPE. Nevertheless, these results fail to considerably augment our collective knowledge of the effects of verbs on SPE. For example, by classifying verbs into the categories traditionally used to explore *lexical content* (stative, estimative, mental activity, external activity), we continue to use classifications found to be somewhat problematic (Posio 2011: 780) while failing to address Orozco and Guy's (2008: 77) call for more definite information as to the effect of verb semantics on SPE. Concurrently, the results for *verb type* do not provide a much better alternative. As illustrated in Table 4.10 for both speaker cohorts, copulative verbs, favoring overt subjects, and verbs in the “other” category, disfavoring them, both fall within the *stative* category of lexical content. As stated above, stative verbs moderately favor overt pronominal subjects in Barranquilla but have a neutral effect in New York City.

#### *Another take at the effects of the verb on SPE*

In view of the lack of definite answers as to the effects of the verb on SPE that we have pointed out (cf. Erker & Guy 2012; Orozco, Méndez Vallejo, & Vidal-Covas 2014; Posio 2011: 780; Travis 2005b, 2007), I tested the verb as a random effects predictor. In so doing, I followed the methodological parameters advanced in recent analyses of the effects of the verb on SPE in Latin American Spanish (Orozco 2016, 2017), and included all verbs in each dataset. The results – Table 4.11A for Barranquilla and Table 4.11B for New York – report the effects of the 25 most frequent verbs in each speaker cohort. They reveal the same statistical tendencies for all other predictors and factors as in the original runs reported throughout this chapter.

These results provide a more detailed account of the effects of the verb on SPE than the two classifications traditionally used to explore verb semantics in pronombrita studies, i.e., lexical content and verb type. First, we find the following tendencies common to both communities, (a) *creer* ‘believe’, *decir* ‘say, tell’, and *ser* ‘be’ strongly favor overt pronominal subjects; (b) *venir* ‘come’ and *poder* ‘be able to, can’ have neutral effects; and (c) *poner* ‘put’ favors null subjects. Second, we can account for the main tendencies in the different semantically-based verb categories as follows. In Barranquilla, *ser* ‘be’ (probability value .704) accounts for the favorable effect of stative (lexical content) and copulative verbs (verb type) on overt

Table 4.11A. Effects of the verb on SPE in Barranquilla

Factor	Prob.*	%	N	% data
<i>Creer</i> 'believe'	.856	75.4%	43/57	1.9%
<i>Saber</i> 'know'	.705	50.5%	49/97	3.2%
<i>Ser</i> 'be'	.704	50.9%	81/159	5.3%
<i>Ver</i> 'see'	.680	45.3%	24/53	1.8%
<i>Decir</i> 'tell'	.647	42.4%	87/205	6.8%
<i>Llegar</i> 'arrive'	.635	40.5%	17/42	1.4%
<i>Quedar</i> 'stay'	.621	40.0%	16/40	1.3%
<i>Vivir</i> 'live'	.606	40.0%	22/55	1.8%
<i>Estar</i> 'be'	.606	42.2%	57/135	4.5%
<i>Ir</i> 'go'	.589	38.4%	33/86	2.9%
<i>Tener</i> 'have'	.579	36.8%	89/242	8.0%
<i>Dejar</i> 'leave'	.576	34.1%	15/44	1.5%
<i>Trabajar</i> 'work'	.576	38.2%	13/34	1.1%
<i>Querer</i> 'want'	.541	34.0%	17/50	1.7%
<i>Irse</i> 'leave'	.530	31.5%	17/54	1.8%
<i>Venir</i> 'come'	.526	30.5%	18/59	2.0%
<i>Salir</i> 'exit, get out'	.521	28.3%	13/46	1.5%
<i>Poder</i> 'be able to, can'	.513	31.4%	11/35	1.2%
<i>Hacer</i> 'do, make'	.509	28.4%	25/88	2.9%
<i>Pasar</i> 'pass'	.508	27.6%	8/29	1.0%
<i>Acordarse</i> 'remember'	.477	25.0%	18/72	2.4%
<i>Poner</i> 'put'	.415	21.1%	15/71	2.4%
<i>Coger</i> 'take'	.386	17.1%	7/41	1.4%
<i>Dar</i> 'give'	.355	16.7%	8/48	1.6%
<i>Llevar</i> 'take'	.298	9.1%	3/33	1.1%
<i>Range</i>	538		Input .27	

\*I have preserved the three digits in the statistical probability values given by rbrul to more clearly show differences that would be obscured by rounding these figures off to two digits as has been done in all other tables.

subjects whereas *dar* 'give' (.355) and *llevar* 'take' (.298) promote the favorable effect of external activity (lexical content) and motion verbs (verb type), respectively, on null subjects. Concurrently, in New York City, *pensar* 'think' (.782) and *creer* 'believe' (.660) catalyze the favorable effect of mental activity verbs on overt pronominal subjects (cf. Erker & Guy 2012; Otheguy & Zentella 2012: 164; Torres Cacoullous & Travis 2011); *decir* 'say, tell' (.626) accounts for the favorable effect of

**Table 4.11B.** Effects of the verb on SPE in New York

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
<i>Pensar</i> 'think'	.782	87.7%	57/65	2.2%
<i>Creer</i> 'believe'	.660	74.6%	88/118	3.9%
<i>Decir</i> 'say, tell'	.626	59.6%	134/225	7.5%
<i>Ser</i> 'be'	.625	60.4%	64/106	3.5%
<i>Trabajar</i> 'work'	.616	64.3%	18/28	0.9%
<i>Querer</i> 'want'	.607	63.9%	53/83	2.8%
<i>Ver</i> 'see'	.592	52.4%	44/84	2.8%
<i>Hacer</i> 'make, do'	.567	43.4%	49/113	3.8%
<i>Ir</i> 'go'	.559	42.3%	33/78	2.6%
<i>Vivir</i> 'live'	.553	40.6%	13/32	1.1%
<i>Llegar</i> 'arrive'	.529	35.3%	12/34	1.1%
<i>Saber</i> 'know'	.524	52.1%	87/167	5.6%
<i>Estar</i> 'be'	.517	40.8%	64/157	5.2%
<i>Venir</i> 'come'	.498	38.1%	24/63	2.1%
<i>Poder</i> 'be able to, can'	.490	40.7%	37/91	3.0%
<i>Dar</i> 'give'	.481	29.8%	14/47	1.5%
<i>Hablar</i> 'speak'	.478	35.7%	15/42	1.4%
<i>Poner</i> 'put'	.456	32.4%	12/37	1.2%
<i>Meter</i> 'stick, introduce'	.452	30.4%	7/23	0.8%
<i>Tener</i> 'have'	.448	35.7%	102/286	9.5%
<i>Irse</i> 'leave'	.441	34.3%	12/35	1.2%
<i>Quedar</i> 'stay'	.440	30.3%	10/33	1.1%
<i>Salir</i> 'exit, get out'	.406	18.6%	8/43	1.4%
<i>Mandar</i> 'send'	.385	12.0%	3/25	0.8%
<i>Mirar</i> 'look, watch'	.345	16.1%	5/31	1.0%
<i>Range</i>	.437		Input .40	

speech verbs; and *tener* 'have' (.448) promotes the favorable effect of "other" verbs on null subjects. That is, the effect of a whole verb category appears to be mainly fueled by specific frequently occurring verbs.

At the same time, the results in Tables 4.11A and 4.11B uncover that not all verbs within a single semantic category exhibit identical tendencies. For example, in Barranquilla *creer* 'believe' with a value of .856 exerts the most favorable effect on overt subjects among mental activity and cognitive verbs but *acordarse* 'remember' (.477) exerts the opposite tendency. By the same token, in New York



City, among perception and external activity verbs, whereas *ver* ‘see’ promotes overt subjects (.592), *mirar* has the opposite effect (.345). Table 4.12 reports the most significant discrepancies between verbs in the same semantic category. These discrepancies were tested for statistical significance by means of chi-squared ( $X^2$ ) tests. In Barranquilla, we also find the following discrepancies.

- *ir* ‘go’ (.589) favors overt subject, but *llevar* ‘take, deliver’ (.298) favors null subjects among external activity and motion verbs; and
- *tener* ‘have’ (.579) favors overt subjects, but *dar* ‘give’ (.355) favors null subjects among verbs in the category “other”.

**Table 4.12.** Same category discrepancies in the effects of verbs on SPE

Verbos	Prob.	% overt	N	$X^2$	P
<i>Barranquilla</i>					
<i>Creer</i> ‘believe’	.856	75.4%	43/57	30.478	3.376 <sup>-8</sup>
<i>Acordarse</i> ‘remember’	.477	25.0%	18/72		
<i>Ir</i> ‘go’	.589	38.4%	33/86	9.6116	.001933
<i>Llevar</i> ‘take, deliver’	.298	8.43%	3/33		
<i>Tener</i> ‘have’	.579	36.8%	89/242	6.4017	.0114
<i>Dar</i> ‘give’	.355	16.7%	8/48		
<i>NYC</i>					
<i>Pensar</i> ‘think’	.782	87.7%	57/65	23.693	1.13 <sup>-06</sup>
<i>Saber</i> ‘know’	.524	52.1%	87/167		
<i>Ver</i> ‘see’	.592	52.4%	44/84	10.732	.0011
<i>Mirar</i> ‘look, watch’	.345	16.1%	5/31		
<i>Ser</i> ‘be’	.625	60.4%	64/106	8.794	.0027
<i>Estar</i> ‘be’	.517	40.8%	64/157		
<i>Decir</i> ‘say, tell’	.626	59.6%	134/225	7.219	.0072
<i>Hablar</i> ‘speak’	.478	35.7%	15/42		
<i>Ir</i> ‘go’	.559	42.3%	33/78	5.934	.0149
<i>Salir</i> ‘exit, leave’	.406	18.6%	8/43		

Concurrently, in New York City, some of the most significant differences between verbs in a single semantic category, are the following.

- *ver* ‘see’ (.592) favors overt subjects, but *mirar* ‘look, watch’ (.345) has the opposite effect among external activity (lexical content) and perception verbs (verb type).

- *decir* ‘say, tell’ (.626) favors overt subjects, but *hablar* ‘speak’ (.478) has a neutral effect among verbs in the external activity (lexical content) and speech (verb type) categories.
- *ser* ‘be’ (.625) promotes overt subjects, but *estar* ‘be’ (.517) has a neutral effect among verbs in the stative (lexical content) and copulative (verb type) categories.

Moreover, a comparison between Tables 4.11A and 4.11B reveals that a number of verbs have different tendencies in our speaker cohorts as follows.

- *Quedar* ‘stay,’ *tener* ‘have,’ and *irse* ‘leave’ favor overt subjects in Barranquilla but have the opposite effect in New York.
- *Hacer* ‘do, make’ has a neutral effect in Barranquilla but favors overt subjects in New York.
- *Salir* ‘exit, get out’ has a neutral effect in Barranquilla but favors null subjects in New York.

The differences between the effects of these verbs in our two speaker cohorts could be easily accounted for if we assumed that they evidence a consequence of the New York City sociolinguistic landscape. However, this explanation fails when we factor in what happens in Xalapa, Mexico (Orozco 2016). A three-way comparison of our lexical frequency results from Barranquilla and New York City with those from Xalapa reveals the following.

- *Poder* ‘be able to, can’ favors over subjects in Xalapa but has a neutral effect in Barranquilla and New York, respectively.
- *Ver* ‘see’ promotes overt subjects in Barranquilla and New York but has the opposite effect in Xalapa.
- *Hacer* ‘do, make’ favors overt subjects in New York but has a neutral effect in Barranquilla and Xalapa, respectively.
- *Tener* ‘have’ promotes overt subjects in Barranquilla but favors null subjects in New York and Xalapa, respectively.
- *Saber* ‘know’ favors overt subjects in Barranquilla, has a neutral effect in New York, and favors null subjects in Xalapa.

In other words, in the cases of *poder* ‘be able to, can’ and *ver* ‘see,’ respectively, the same tendencies obtain in Barranquilla and New York. In the case of *hacer* ‘do, make,’ we find the same tendency in both Barranquilla and Xalapa. With *tener* ‘have,’ we find the same tendency in New York and Xalapa. At the same time, the tendencies for *tener* ‘have’ reveal an opposition between Barranquilla and New York; the tendencies for *saber* ‘know’ and *ver* ‘see’ reveal an opposition between

Barranquilla and Xalapa. Concurrently, we have a three-way difference in the case of *saber* 'know,' as it favors overt subjects in Barranquilla, has a neutral effect in New York, and favors null subjects in Xalapa. Thus, unlike the general trend for linguistic predictors across the board, a common, clear pattern of verb effects is not discernible. Our analysis of the effects of the verb provides evidence that although lexical content of the verb and verb type inform our collective knowledge, both classifications obscure important differences between verbs in a single category. Additionally, our lexical analysis exploring the verb as a random effects factor is more detailed than previous analyses and uncovers important details, including numerous discrepancies regarding verbs within a single semantic category. Furthermore, our three-way comparison suggests that lexical idiosyncrasy is the norm when it comes to the effects of the verb on SPE and perhaps other linguistic variables.

In closing this discussion of the effects of verb-related predictors, we can conclude that these predictors consistently condition SPE. The effect of TMA follows the same tendencies found across the board (Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015: xiii). Moreover, superficially, the same appears to be true for *lexical content of verb* and *verb type*. The importance of verb semantics as a SPE predictor is undeniable since it consistently emerges as a significant predictor in SPE studies as well as in investigations pertaining to other linguistic variables, as seen in Chapter 2, above and in Orozco (2015b). Although both *lexical content* and *verb type* inform our knowledge, we have shown that both groupings obscure important differences between verbs in a single semantic category that can be teased apart by means of a lexical frequency analysis. Furthermore, we also find a series of discrepancies between the effects of certain verbs in Barranquilla and New York that cannot be accounted for by the effects of the emigrant sociolinguistic environment, particularly when we make a three-way comparison of the effects of the verb in Barranquilla, New York, and Xalapa, Mexico. Therefore, lexical idiosyncrasy seems to more reliably account for the effects of the verb on SPE.

## 4.5 Discussion

This chapter has explored the variable expression of subject personal pronouns. The overall pronominal rates found—34.3% for Barranquilla and 43.3% for New York City—are congruent with those in other Caribbean speech communities (cf. Cameron 1992; Alfaraz 2015; Claes 2011; Ortíz López 2009, 2011; Otheguy & Zentella 2012, among others). These pronominal rates quantitatively corroborate established Latin American dialectal classifications, as they are higher than those found in mainland speech communities. This finding suggests that overt

SPP usage can serve as a robust diagnostic for differentiating Spanish varieties. A breakdown of the pronominal rates by grammatical person uncovers that overt subjects are more frequent with singular than with plural SPPs in both speaker cohorts. Interestingly, these tendencies are also congruent with what occurs across the board despite differences in pronominal rates (cf. Cameron 1995; Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015: xiv).

I probed the effects of ten linguistic predictors divided into three morpho-syntactic categories: clause-, subject-, and verb-related predictors. SPE is significantly conditioned by seven predictors with person and number of the subject and switch reference being the strongest (see Table 4.13). Concurrently, the effects of *discourse style*, *verb regularity*, and *preceding verb TMA* do not significantly condition SPE. At the clause level, *clause type* significantly conditions SPE only in Barranquilla. However, its effect is rather weak, having the least significant *p*-value in the multivariate analysis. Given that, as stated above, *clause type* does not consistently condition SPE throughout the Hispanic World, further research is needed to determine whether the variable effect of this predictor is due to differences in data-gathering techniques or to other factors.

As shown in Table 4.13, all of the three subject-related predictors probed in this analysis (*person and number of the subject*, *switch reference*, and *priming*) condition SPE in both speaker cohorts. In fact, the number of significant predictors as well as their factor effects indicate that SPP usage is most strongly conditioned by subject-related predictors. The general tendencies found in both speech communities are largely congruent with what occurs throughout the Hispanic World. Specifically, the powerful effects of (a) grammatical person and number and (b) switch reference, the strongest SPE predictors in this analysis, clearly concur with what has been consistently found in pronombrista studies (Carvalho, Orozco, & Shin 2015: xxii, and references therein).

SPE is conditioned by three verb-related predictors: TMA form of the verb, lexical content of the verb, and verb type. Among these predictors, TMA exerts the strongest and lexical content of the verb exerts the weakest conditioning pressures on pronominal expression. In general, as with clause-level and subject-related predictors, the effects of verb-related predictors in both speaker cohorts follow the same patterns that are prevalent across speech communities despite differences in overt pronominal rates. For instance, the imperfect preterit indicative tense, copulative verbs, and verbs of perception promote overt subjects whereas other tenses as well as external activity verbs favor null subjects. However, a more in-depth analysis of the effects the verb based on lexical frequency prompted by, among other things, the fact that stative verbs promote overt pronominal subjects in Barranquilla and have a neutral effect in NYC uncovered a series of differences between the two corpora. The effects of external activity verbs illustrate these differences as *ir* 'go' promotes overt

Table 4.13. Linguistic conditioning on subject pronoun expression

Predictor/Factors	Barranquilla		New York City	
	Prob.	%	Prob.	%
<i>Person and number of the subject</i>				
1st singular ( <i>yo</i> )	.68	44.5%	.64	59.1%
3rd singular ( <i>el, ella, uno</i> )	.61	39.6%	.58	46.6%
2nd singular ( <i>tú, usted</i> )	.54	32.5%	.50	41.5%
All plural ( <i>nosotros, ustedes, ellos</i> )	.21	11.9%	.29	22.9%
<i>Switch reference</i>				
Complete change in subject	.67	46.0%	.62	52.2%
Partial change in subject	.48	32.3%	.49	37.9%
Same subject (coreferent w. prior subject)	.35	24.2%	.39	33.9%
<i>Priming</i>				
Overt subject pronoun	.60	44.0%	.61	52.7%
Noun phrase	.47	38.0%	.47	46.6%
Null subject	.43	28.3%	.42	35.5%
<i>TMA form of the verb</i>				
Imperfect indicative	.61	38.5%	.58	43.6%
Present indicative	.52	38.1%	.56	49.9%
Preterit indicative	.47	29.4%	.47	38.3%
All others	.40	24.9%	.38	30.0%
<i>Verb type</i>				
Copulative	.59	46.5%	.54	48.3%
Perception	.57	48.8%	.53	51.8%
Speech	.54	38.0%	.55	54.9%
Other	.45	30.8%	.41	32.5%
Cognitive	.44	43.0%	.51	59.7%
Motion	.40	26.4%	.47	36.6%
<i>Lexical content of verb</i>				
Stative	.55	41.4%	.48	40.7%
Mental activity	.50	46.3%	.55	60.3%
External activity	.45	28.9%	.47	38.3%
<i>Clause type</i>				
Subordinate	.54	38.6%	[.53]	43.5%
Independent	.50	34.6%	[.50]	45.0%
Coordinate	.46	30.0%	[.47]	39.6%

subjects in Barranquilla and in New York whereas *llevar* ‘take’ and *salir* ‘exit, go out’ promote null subjects in Barranquilla and New York, respectively. Although at first glance we may be tempted to attribute these differences in the effects of certain individual verbs between Barranquilla and New York to the Big Apple’s sociolinguistic landscape, this explanation fails when we compare our findings to what happens in Mexican Spanish (Orozco 2016). Thus, we have mounting evidence that the classifications traditionally used to study the effects of verb semantics on SPE do not lead to obtaining conclusive information. Instead, our lexical effects analysis increases our understanding of how verbs condition SPE.

Thus, the close similarities between the overall tendencies found in Barranquilla and New York clearly illustrate both the continuity of predictor effects regardless of language contact and the very consistent nature of structured variation. Furthermore, these results provide evidence that the structural cohesion of the Spanish morphosyntactic system withstands the effects of both language and dialect contact as neither dialect leveling nor dialect convergence would prompt substantial differences beyond a higher overt pronominal rate for the NYC speaker cohort.

In general, SPE is significantly conditioned by seven internal predictors whose tendencies revealed, for the most part, universality of factor effects regarding SPP usage throughout the Hispanic World. Three predictors which have functional implications proved to be statistically significant in the occurrence of SPPs: (1) *person and number of the subject*, (2) *switch reference*, and (3) *TMA form of the verb*. The effect of *switch reference* appears to be stronger in Barranquilla than in New York. This may be a consequence of the higher pronominal rate among the expatriate cohort. The pattern found with regards to this predictor is arguably functional at the discourse level, as overt SPPs consistently correlate with greater or lesser levels of morphological disambiguation in the verb forms. That is, these results also suggest that the functional usage of overt pronouns is systematically evident. The results of this study contribute, among other things, to the formation of a baseline of data for further inquiry on SPE in (Colombian) Spanish.

## 4.6 Conclusion

The main findings of this study reveal the predictors of variable SPE in the Spanish of two Colombian speech communities. Despite an overt overall pronominal rate that is significantly higher in New York City than in Barranquilla, the predictors conditioning SPE in both speaker cohorts as well as their individual factor effects are essentially the same, with the notable exception of the verb tested as a random effects factor. Moreover, these conditioning forces are largely consistent with those found throughout the Hispanic World. Therefore, the results of this study support

the main hypothesis tested in this chapter, which assumes that *the predictors and individual factor tendencies conditioning overt SPP usage in Barranquilla and New York City are largely congruent with those found throughout the Hispanic World despite differences in overt pronominal rates*. Concurrently, these findings adjust to the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000), which proposes that the conditioning effects on language variation and change are consistent within different segments of a speech community.

The overt pronominal rates in Barranquilla and New York reflect that both communities display a radical use of overt SPPs, with the New York Colombian pronominal rate (43.3%) being one of the highest found in any Spanish-speaking community. In fact, the NYC pronominal rate is arguably indicative of an evolutionary progression from pro-drop to non-pro-drop that the Romance languages are currently undergoing. Modern French and Haitian Creole are non-pro-drop languages, and Brazilian Portuguese is now considered a semi-pro-drop language (cf. Erker & Guy 2012: 531). A consequence of such change would be a proliferation of overt SPP usage. In fact, the high incidence of overt SPPs in Dominican Spanish has been associated with this apparent evolutionary tendency (Alfaraz 2015; Jiménez Sabater 1975; Lunn 2002; Morales 1989, 1997; Shin & Otheguy 2013; Toribio, 2000). The increasing occurrence of periphrastic constructions in Spanish discussed earlier in this volume may develop into the need to use an overt subject which is currently dispensable in Spanish (cf. Fleischman 2009 [1982]: 116ff.; Schwegler 1990).

In conclusion, the results of this analysis provide additional evidence regarding the status of SPE in Colombian Spanish. They also enhance our collective understanding and provide a larger foundation as we continue to explore SPE in other speech communities. Some of the research avenues opened by this study have to do with the lexical effects of the verb while some others pertain to the direction of evolution in connection with SPE. Further study revisiting these speech communities a generation later shall help determine if pronominal rates are increasing in real time. In general, these findings provide us with valuable information that can be used in subsequent inquiry on SPE in both monolingual and bilingual communities under different sociolinguistic situations, including those where Spanish is in contact with languages other than English. The study of the effects of social predictors, dealt with in the next chapter, will provide a more complete picture of pronominal usage in Colombian Spanish.

## CHAPTER 5

# Effects of social predictors

This chapter explores the social conditioning on the expressions of futurity, nominal possession and subject pronoun usage. These linguistic variables are under the conditioning effects of predictors that include, age, length of residence, and age of arrival in the US. Contrary to what occurs in Colombia, in New York City men have a conservative linguistic behavior. This role reversal in the sociolinguistic behavior of Colombian men and women in NYC results in sociolinguistic patterns similar to those of other NYC Hispanics while different from those prevalent in Colombia. The overall tendencies found suggest that the effects of contact with other varieties of Spanish impact the Spanish of Colombians in NYC more strongly than the effects of contact with English. That is, besides showing tendencies similar to those of New York City Puerto Ricans but different from those prevalent in Colombia, results help account for Colombians' assimilation to their new sociolinguistic landscape.

### 5.1 Introduction

The study of the effects of the social predictors on language variation and change constitutes one of the longstanding cornerstones of variationist sociolinguistics (cf. Labov 1972: 252) since external predictors help us find valuable information about the sociolinguistic behavior of members of a speech community. As Poplack (1993: 252) indicates, variationist analysis incorporates “quantitative techniques to uncover the systematic differences between speakers often associated to some extent with one or more of age, gender, ethnicity, educational level, etc.” Exploring the influence of social forces is a crucial part of this volume, as they will provide us a better understanding of variation in Colombian Spanish. Determining the effects of social predictors on language is especially important in immigrant communities since immigration often entails abrupt changes in the immigrants' socioeconomic status and family roles. This chapter explores the effects of social predictors on the three linguistic variables analyzed in this volume, i.e., futurity, nominal possession and subject pronoun expression.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the expression of futurity in Spanish is undergoing a change in progress as a result of which the periphrastic future has gradually become the most frequently occurring variant of futurity with an average frequency



of 70%. The simple present is a distant second with 18% while the use of the morphological future to indicate futurity has decreased considerably, as it registers only 12% of the distribution (Orozco 2015b and references therein). The expression of nominal possession, analyzed in Chapter 3, is also a tripartite linguistic variable with a periphrastic innovation. However, the occurrence of possessive periphrases is not as widespread as that of the periphrastic future. The linguistic conditioning on variable subject pronoun expression constitutes the subject of Chapter 4. Despite regional differences in overt pronominal rates, there is relative uniformity in the tendencies exhibited by the strongest predictors of variable SPE throughout the Hispanic World (Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015: xiii). The linguistic predictors that condition the future, the possessive, and pronominal expression, respectively, are the same in Barranquilla and New York. Moreover, the individual factors within each linguistic predictor exert similar tendencies in both speech communities. Thus, the similarities in the linguistic conditioning on our three linguistic variables found in New York and in Colombia suggest that, despite the influence of language contact, the two populations are still members of the same speech community, supporting the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000). This is also consonant with both the fundamental concept of speech community Bloomfield (1933: 42) and that formulated from Gumperz's perspective (1972: 219), as both groups continue to share a linguistic system that differentiates them from other human groups.

## 5.2 Methodology

As I seek to uncover the social forces conditioning the linguistic variables under study, in this section, I discuss the research questions that guide this investigation, the social predictors explored, and the nature of the analysis.

### 5.2.1 Research questions and hypotheses

In this study, the impact of social forces on the variables under study in Barranquilla can reveal important information as to the tendencies in effect prior to the onset of direct language contact. Concurrently, the social predictors on the New York Colombian population shall tell us the effects of direct language and dialect contact during its early stages. In line with the overarching research questions stated in the introduction, I seek to answer the following research questions particular to this chapter.

- a. *What are the social forces that condition the expressions of futurity, possession, and subject pronoun usage in the Spanish of Barranquilla, Colombia and in that spoken by New York Colombians?*

- b. *Are the external predictors conditioning the three linguistic variables under study as well as their effects the same in both communities?*
- c. *Are all three linguistic variables equally conditioned by social predictors?*

Concurrently, I seek to test the general hypothesis that, *due to the new sociolinguistic environment Colombians have encountered in New York City, the effects of social predictors reflect greater differences between the two speaker cohorts than those of linguistic predictors*. Additionally, I test hypotheses that directly address each one of the predictors explored in this analysis. These predictors are discussed in the next section.

### 5.2.2 Predictors explored

To answer the above questions and test my hypotheses I explored the effects of eight social indicators traditionally used in variationist studies. The five predictors that apply to both groups of speakers (*conversation conditions, education, socio-economic status, gender, and speaker's age*) include the “primary determinants of social roles” (cf. Chambers 2009: 7). The remaining three (*age of arrival in the United States, linguistic repertoire, and length of US residency*), being particular to immigrant communities, only apply to the New York Colombian group. I describe these predictors and their factors in the following paragraphs.

#### *Conversation conditions*

Recognizing the impact of peer-group influence on linguistic behavior, I tested interview conditions. I unvaryingly encouraged the participation of more than one consultant in all conversations throughout my fieldwork in an effort to overcome the observer's paradox (Labov 1972: 209) and obtain genuine, everyday speech that reflected as closely as possible the speakers' vernacular (cf. Chambers 2009: 19). I also made certain that all of my consultants felt completely at ease at all times, and I respected the wishes of those who chose to speak with me without others being present. This predictor has three factors: (a) one-on-one conversations, (b) conversations where others were present but did not participate, and (c) conversations where others who were present interacted with the speaker.

#### *Educational attainment*

In exploring the impact of educational attainment, a social predictor widely explored in variationist studies, I tested the effects of three factors in Barranquilla: an incomplete high school education, a complete high school education, and a college education. In exploring educational attainment among New York Colombians, I added one factor that is only applicable there: the effect of a post-secondary education in the US.

### *Socioeconomic status*

While testing whether socioeconomic status correlates with the choice of a specific variant, I tested Labov's assertion that linguistic innovations are promoted by lower middle class and upper working class speakers (1990: 226). In my analysis of the Barranquilla data, I used the socioeconomic classifications that are customarily used in Colombia (working, middle and upper class), which, for the most part, are drawn along the lines of those used in the United States. In analyzing the New York group, I was mindful of the fact that members of immigrant communities usually hold occupations that are below the socioeconomic status they had in their native countries. Because this is common in Colombian communities in the United States, the majority of my New York Colombian speakers hold blue-collar jobs. To account more accurately for their occupational status, I divided New York Colombians into three groups. I included in the first group the six individuals who retained the white-collar status they had in Colombia. The second group consists of the six individuals who retained their blue-collar status, and the third group comprises the eight individuals who traded their white-collar status in Colombia for blue-collar status in the United States.

### *Speaker's age*

In probing the effects of age, I intended to test Guy's observation that, in situations of change from below, younger speakers promote linguistic innovations (1990: 52). I initially explored age by dividing consultants according to the decade in which they were born. In view of preliminary results, I reconfigured this predictor by dividing the speakers into the following four groups. (i) speakers born before 1950, (ii) speakers born in the 1950s, (iii) speakers born in the 1960s, and (iv) those born after 1970.

### *Gender*

The role of sex and gender differences in conditioning language variation and change has been an important part of studies including social indicators for as long as variationist analyses have been conducted (Cheshire 2004: 423; Fasold 1990: 92). As has traditionally been done in sociolinguistic studies, I explored the effect of gender in terms of oppositional categories, i.e., female and male. As stated above, the remaining three external predictors tested are only applicable to the New York Colombian group.

### *Arrival age*

I tested the significance of arrival age, by dividing this predictor into three factors according to the age at which speakers immigrated to the United States: pre-teenager, teenager, and over 20 years of age.

*Length of US residency (LOR)*

This predictor has been tested in studies involving immigrant speakers (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1994a; Otheguy & Zentella 2012). To test the significance of LOR, I divided New York Colombians into three groups according to the length of their residency in the United States: less than ten years, ten to twenty years, and more than twenty years.

*Linguistic competence/repertoire*

I explored the significance of speakers' linguistic competence to test for the influence of English on the speech of bilingual individuals. To determine whether speakers' monolingualism or bilingualism conditions their use of the linguistic variables under study, I used the following factors: (a) biliterate bilingual, (b) bilingual with limited literacy in English, (c) bilingual with limited literacy in Spanish.

### 5.2.3 The analysis

I conducted a series of parallel statistical regression analyses for each linguistic variable examined in this volume (futurity, possession, and pronominal expression). The statistical multivariate analyses combine both internal and external predictors, and the effects of linguistic predictors have been discussed in the previous three chapters. In presenting my results, I start by discussing the social factor groups significant in the expression of futurity. Then I discuss those predictors that condition the expression of nominal possession, and I close by presenting the social predictors that condition subject pronoun expression. Our understanding of the tendencies of the individual factors involved is helpful in comprehending the forces at play prior to the onset of direct contact with English and with other varieties of Spanish.

## 5.3 The expression of futurity

The distribution of variants and the internal conditioning on the expression of futurity were presented in Chapter 2. For the reader's convenience, I start my discussion of the external conditioning on this linguistic variable by presenting, once again, the distribution of futurity variants (Table 5.1). This distribution shows that the periphrastic future is the most frequently occurring futurity variant in both Barranquilla and New York City.

Internally, the expression of futurity is significantly conditioned by eight predictors that have similar tendencies in both of our speaker cohorts. Externally,

**Table 5.1.** Distribution of futurity variants

Form	Barranquilla	New York City
Morphological Future (MF)	18.2% (270)	7.2% (133)
Simple Present Tense (SP)	35.9% (532)	30.3% (559)
Periphrastic Future (PF)	45.9% (681)	62.5% (1,154)
Total	100% (1,483)	100.0% (1,846)

futurity is most strongly conditioned in Barranquilla by (a) speaker's gender, (b) educational attainment, and (c) age. Whereas age conditions all three futurity variants, education and gender condition both the MF and the SP but not the PF. On the other hand, my analysis of the New York Colombian data revealed a clear effect of gender but not of the other predictors examined. That is, socioeconomic status does not significantly condition futurity in either speaker cohort. Concurrently, I also found the often mentioned in the variationist literature (cf. Tagliamonte 2006: 233, 2012: 131; Eckert 1989; Labov 1990) interaction among external factors. In addition to interaction between arrival age and LOR, I found interaction between age and education. Thus, I resolved the former by combining arrival age and LOR into a complex predictor. In order to deal with the latter interaction while uncovering the effects of both age and education, I used two different configurations of my data sample (cf. Tagliamonte 2006: 233). Each data sample configuration differs only with respect to one thing: one includes age but not education; the other includes education but not age. The resulting log likelihoods for the separate runs differ only minimally.

### 5.3.1 Gender

The tendencies for gender presented in Table 5.2 reflect gender gaps in both speaker cohorts. In Barranquilla, gender conditions the MF and the SP but not PF. The MF is favored by women (.60) and disfavored by men (.40) while the opposite tendencies obtain for the SP. Concomitantly, in New York, gender conditions the MF and the PF but not the SP. Contrary to what occurs in Barranquilla, men favor the MF (.59) and women disfavor it with a probability value of .41. Concurrently, New York Colombian women promote the PF (.54) whereas men disfavor it (.46).

By favoring the MF, the older futurity variant and the one most readily associated with formality, Barranquilla women appear to exhibit a conservative linguistic attitude. In contrast, New York Colombian women display an innovative linguistic behavior as they disfavor the MF while promoting the PF. At the same time, New York Colombian men appear to have a conservative linguistic behavior. That is, the

Table 5.2. Effects of gender on futurity

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Women	.60	125/677	19%	.44	218/677	32%	[.51]	334/677	49%
Men	.40	145/806	18%	.56	314/806	39%	[.49]	347/806	43%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	20	2.06 <sup>-5</sup>		12	.00012			[.577]	
I = input	I = 15	270/1483	18%	I = 36	532/1483	36%	I = 41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
Women	.41	41/909	5%	[.49]	249/909	27%	.54	618/909	68%
Men	.59	92/937	10%	[.51]	310/937	33%	.46	535/937	57%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	18	.00243			[.578]		8	.0171	
I = input	I = 03	133/1845	7%	I = 28	559/1845	30%	I = 60	1153/1845	63%

linguistic behavior of Barranquilleros and New York Colombians reflect opposing tendencies. In other words, when the tendencies for the New York Colombian population are further contrasted with those for the Barranquilla-based speakers, they reveal an interesting role reversal between women and men in addition to the appreciable gender gap. The existing role reversal appears to be motivated by the change of social setting experienced by the diasporic population. That is, the results suggest that the influence of the NYC sociolinguistic landscape clearly reflects in the tendencies that obtain there, and largely accounts for the differences between Barranquilla and New York City. The shift in women's and men's sociolinguistic behavior is consonant with what happens in the expression of nominal possession as will be seen below (§ 5.4.1). Concurrently, these tendencies appear to show that NY Colombian women are shifting to English (cf. Gal 1979). Taken together, the differences between the two speaker cohorts are consistent with Eckert's (1989) observation that "gender does not have a uniform effect on linguistic behavior for the community as a whole." Moreover, these findings are congruent with the premise that gender differences in sociolinguistic behavior materialize differently in different settings; therefore, supporting James' (1996: 119) view that the speech of men and women "reflects different agendas in different settings."

### 5.3.2 Educational attainment

In Barranquilla, as occurs with *gender*, *educational attainment* (Table 5.3) conditions the MF and SP but not the PF. In that community, the effects of education on the MF appear to be in complementary distribution with those on the SP. Individuals who did not finish high school and those who attended college promote

Table 5.3. Effects of educational attainment on futurity

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Incomplete high school	.62	147/782	19%	.45	279/782	36%	[.51]	356/782	46%
College	.60	69/344	20%	.44	120/344	35%	[.50]	155/344	45%
High school only	.30	54/357	15%	.61	133/357	37%	[.49]	170/357	48%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	.32	2.26 <sup>-7</sup>		.16	.000554			[.894]	
I = input	I = 15	270/1483	18%	I = 36	532/1483	36%	I = 41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
Incomplete high school	.71	47/551	9%	.49	76/551	31%	.44	334/551	61%
High school only	.45	25/341	7%	.60	129/341	38%	.43	187/341	55%
College in Colombia	.54	42/558	8%	.45	161/558	29%	.54	355/558	64%
Higher Ed. in the US	.30	19/396	5%	.47	100/396	25%	.59	277/396	70%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	.41	1.39 <sup>-7</sup>		.15	.00206.		.16	000232	
I = input	I = 03	133/1845	7%	I = 27	559/1845	30%	I = 65	1153/1845	63%

the MF (.62 and .60, respectively) but disfavor the SP. Contrariwise, those who completed high school but did not further their education favor the SP (.61) at the expense of the MF (.30). In New York City, as indicated above (§ 5.3), education reached statistical significance only in the absence of age. Speakers who have not completed high school favor the MF with a statistical weight of .71 while disfavoring the PF. Speakers who only completed high school favor the SP (.60) while disfavoring both MF and PF. Those who attended college in Colombia favor both the MF and the PF (.54 in both cases) while slightly disfavoring the occurrence of SP (.45). At the same time, individuals pursuing higher education in the US after having completed their secondary education in Colombia favor the PF (.59) to the detriment of both the SP (.47) and the MF (.30), respectively.

New York Colombians who are pursuing their higher education in the US are generally better educated, more fluent speakers of English and have a higher socio-economic status than most other individuals in their community. One reason why these speakers favor the PF but disfavor the SP may be that they have shifted from being under normative pressures in Spanish to having such pressures in English. Moreover, speakers who attended college in Colombia also favor PF perhaps as a consequence of having adopted attitudes similar to those held by individuals who are attending college in the U.S. In general, the strength and tenure of speakers' contact with non-Colombian Spanish and with English, seems to bear a strong

impact upon their choice of a future marker. This is congruent with findings on New York City Spanish by Shin and Otheguy (2013)

### 5.3.3 Speaker's age

In Barranquilla, age significantly conditions all three futurity variants. As shown in Table 5.4, middle-aged speakers – those born between 1950 and 1966–promote the MF with a probability value of .68 whereas all other consultants disfavor it. The oldest speakers, those born before 1950 register a statistical weight of .44, and the youngest speakers disfavor the MF more strongly with a statistical weight of .37. The tendencies for SP constitute a mirror image of those for MF. Speakers born before 1950 favor the SP with a statistical weight of .60. Those born after 1966 have a neutral effect with .50 and those born between 1950 and 1966 disfavor the SP (.40). Concurrently, the results for PF uncover that speakers born before 1950 disfavor the PF with a statistical weight of .41. Those born between 1950 and 1966 exert a neutral effect on this variant (.50) while individuals born after 1966 promote the PF with a statistical weight of .59. The effects of age on the MF and SP do not show consistent patterns. However, there is a clear pattern with the PF as both statistical weights and usage frequencies show that its use increases as age decreases. That is, the youngest speakers use the PF the most while the oldest individuals use it the least.

In NYC, age gains statistical significance when probed in the absence of education. The results show an opposition between the MF and SP on the one hand,

**Table 5.4.** Effect of speaker's age on futurity

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Born before 1950	.44	63/401	16%	.60	180/401	45%	.41	158/401	39%
Born between 1950 and 1966	.68	141/602	23%	.40	183/602	30%	.50	278/602	46%
Born After 1966	.37	66/480	14%	.50	169/480	35%	.59	245/480	51%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	.31	3.08 <sup>-10</sup>		.20	2.04 <sup>-7</sup>		.18	1.68 <sup>-5</sup>	
I = input	I = 15	270/1483	18%	I = 36	532/1483	36%	I = 41	681/1483	46%
<i>New York City</i>									
Born before 1950	.64	56/355	16%	.61	125/355	35%	.35	174/355	49%
Born in 1950s & 1960s	.43	65/1009	6%	.48	288/1009	29%	.56	656/1009	65%
Born after 1970	.42	12/482	3%	.41	146/482	30%	.60	323/482	67%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	.22	.000386		.20	.000188		.25	4.07 <sup>-9</sup>	
I = input	I = 03	133/1845	7%	I = 28	559/1845	30%	I = 60	1153/1845	63%



and the PF, on the other. The MF is favored by the oldest speakers – those born before 1950—with a statistical weight of .64 and simultaneously disfavored by the rest of the population. Contrariwise, New York Colombians born before 1950 disfavor the PF (.35) while everybody else promotes it. In other words, the findings for the MF and the PF reveal two clear patterns that are inversely proportional to each other. On the one hand, the use of the MF decreases with age, registering a lowly 3% among the youngest speakers. On the other hand, similar to what obtains in Barranquilla, the use of the PF increases as age decreases. The youngest segment of the population favors the PF with a probability value of .60 and a usage frequency of 67%.

It was interesting to find that the progression of increased use of the PF as age decreases in Barranquilla is even more noticeable in New York City. Moreover, in the diasporic setting a clear pattern of disuse has also emerged for the MF. These patterns appear to reflect the consequences of the New York City sociolinguistic landscape, as the diasporic tendencies are more similar to those of New York Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b: 363) while more different from those prevalent in Colombia. The favoring effect that younger speakers in both populations have on the PF presents these individuals as promoters of change. This suggests that the change towards expanded use of the PF that began in Colombia has accelerated in New York. On the other hand, the disfavoring effect of older speakers on the PF shows these speakers as resisting the change in progress. Perhaps the favoring effect of middle-aged speakers on the MF in Barranquilla shows the effect of the linguistic market place (cf. Chambers 2009: 197). In that respect, middle age speakers appear to have distanced themselves from everyone else.

#### 5.3.4 Length of U.S. residency (LOR)/arrival age

I merged LOR and arrival age into one complex predictor based on preliminary results and in an effort to avoid the potential overlapping of social predictors discussed by Eckert (1989), Labov (1990), and Tagliamonte (2006: 233, 2012: 131), respectively. The combined effect of LOR and arrival age (Table 5.5) reached statistical significance for all three futurity variants. The PF is favored by speakers with more than ten years of US residency who arrived as teenagers or adults with a probability value of .57. On the other hand, speakers with less than ten years in the U.S., whether they arrived as teenagers or adults, favor the occurrence of the MF with a probability value of .73, while simultaneously disfavoring the PF with a value of .44 and exerting a neutral effect on the SP (.49).

The tendencies for speakers who arrived as teenagers or adults and have spent more than ten years in the US are interesting. The results given in Table 5.5 show that these speakers have the strongest influence on PF. In fact, the results for the

**Table 5.5.** Effects of LOR/arrival age on futurity

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>New York City</i>									
Pre-teen >10 years	.23	5/293	2%	.59	92/293	31%	.49	196/293	67%
Teen or Adult >10 yrs.	.51	28/529	5%	.43	138/529	26%	.57	363/529	69%
Teen or Adult <10 yrs.	.73	100/1024	10%	.49	329/1024	32%	.44	594/1024	58%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	.50	6.8 <sup>-7</sup>		.16	.0375		.13	.000102	
I = input	I = 03	133/1845	7%	I = 28	559/1845	30%	I = 60	1153/1845	63%

PF, in particular, show a pattern suggestive of English influence especially for those who have spent most of their lives in New York City. That is, the NYC sociolinguistic landscape appears to favor an innovative linguistic behavior that materializes in the increased use of the PF and a reduced use of the MF. This reduction in the use of the MF is especially noticeable among the speakers who immigrated at the youngest age.

#### 5.4 The expression of nominal possession

The distribution of variants and the internal conditioning on the expression of nominal possession were presented in Chapter 3. To start my discussion of the social conditioning on this linguistic variable, for the reader's convenience, I present, once again, the distribution of possessive variants (Table 5.6). This distribution shows that the possessive periphrasis is the least frequently used variant of possession in both speaker cohorts.

As with the expression of futurity, nominal possession is significantly conditioned by eight internal predictors whose main tendencies are largely similar in both speaker cohorts. As discussed in the following paragraphs, two social predictors significantly condition the expression of nominal possession in Barranquilla:

**Table 5.6.** Distribution of possessive variants

Variant	Barranquilla	New York City
Possessive Adjectives ( <i>su casa</i> )	613 (47.8%)	500 (41.3%)
Definite Articles ( <i>la casa</i> )	585 (45.7%)	564 (46.6%)
Possessive Periphrases ( <i>la casa de él</i> )	83 (6.5%)	146 (12.1%)
Total	1281 (100%)	1210 (100%)

(a) gender and (b) the combined effect of socioeconomic status and age. Both of these predictors are significant in the occurrence of possessive periphrases. Gender is the only external predictor to significantly constrain possessive adjectives, and neither predictor is significant in the occurrence of definite articles. Five of the seven external predictors explored reached statistical significance in NYC: (1) educational attainment, (2) length of residence (LOR), (3) age, (4) gender, and (5) age of arrival. Seen from another perspective, all five of them condition possessive adjectives, three (education, LOR, and age) condition definite articles, and two (education and LOR) constrain possessive periphrases. Only speaker's linguistic repertoire and socioeconomic status did not reach statistical significance for any of the possessive variants. As the results suggest, the external conditioning on the expression of possession reflects the greatest differences between the two communities under study. My discussion of the tendencies for each predictor follows.

#### 5.4.1 Gender

The results (Table 5.7) show that in Barranquilla gender reached statistical significance in the occurrence of possessive adjectives and possessive periphrases but does not condition definite articles. These findings indicate opposite tendencies between possessive adjectives and possessive periphrases as follows. Women favor possessive adjectives and disfavor the periphrases with probability values of .56 and .35, respectively. Contrariwise, men favor the use of the periphrases with a statistical weight of .65 and disfavor possessive adjectives with .44. In New York City, gender significantly conditions possessive adjectives and definite articles marking possession but not possessive periphrases. Interestingly, the tendencies registered by possessive adjectives are the opposite of those in Barranquilla. That is, possessive adjectives are favored by men (.54) and disfavored by women (.46). Concurrently, women favor definite articles (.54) and men disfavor them (.46).

Interestingly, when these results are compared to the gender effect on the expression of futurity, we can see similar tendencies with regards to both linguistic variables. As occurs with futurity (discussed above in § 5.3.1), the results show that, in Barranquilla, women exhibit a more conservative linguistic behavior by favoring the variant associated with more formality. In contrast, men act as agents of change by promoting the linguistic innovations, i.e., the possessive periphrases. When we compare these results to the gender effect on the expression of futurity in both speaker cohorts, the reversal in the effect of gender on both linguistic variables is remarkably identical. Expatriate men exhibit a conservative sociolinguistic attitude in their use of both linguistic variables by adhering to normative usage. This appears to suggest that New York Colombians reflect their adjustment to their new sociolinguistic landscape through their sociolinguistic behavior.

Table 5.7. Effects of gender on the possessive

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>Barranquilla</i>									
Women	.56	326/624	52%	[.50]	272/624	44%	.35	26/624	4%
Men	.44	287/657	44%	[.49]	313/657	48%	.65	57/657	9%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	12	.00117			[.875]		30	2.21 <sup>-6</sup>	
I = input	I = 33	613/1281	48%	I = 57	585/1281	46%	I = 04	83/1281	6%
<i>New York City</i>									
Women	.46	209/571	37%	.54	297/571	52%	[.52]	65/571	11%
Men	.54	291/639	46%	.46	267/639	42%	[.49]	81/639	13%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	8	.0112		8	.0233			[.567]	
I = input	I = 29	500/1210	41%	I = 59	564/1210	47%	I = 03	146/1210	12%

#### 5.4.2 Educational attainment

Educational attainment conditions the possessive in New York but not in Barranquilla. This is one of two external predictors conditioning all three possessive variants in NYC. The results (Table 5.8) show that speakers pursuing their higher education in the US favor definite articles (.58), have a neutral effect on possessive adjectives (.48), and strongly disfavor possessive periphrases (32). Those who attended college in Colombia favor possessive adjectives (.62), have a neutral effect on possessive periphrases (48), and disfavor definite articles (42). Conversely, the consultants who completed high school but did not attend college promote possessive periphrases (.61), moderately favor definite articles (.53), and disfavor possessive adjectives (.43). Similarly, the high school dropouts also promote possessive periphrases (.60) and moderately disfavor both definite articles and possessive adjectives with probability values of .47 in both cases.

These results seem to indicate that speakers who have attained more education, especially those who went to college in Colombia, exhibit a conservative linguistic behavior, as they disfavor the expansion of the periphrases while adhering to the preferential use of the possessive adjectives perhaps motivated by their higher levels of proficiency in English. The fact that those who did not attend college and the high school dropouts promote possessive periphrases while simultaneously disfavoring possessive adjectives suggests that contact with English does not significantly influence how they express possession. These individuals, being Spanish dominant, also register the lowest degree of fluency and literacy in English. Thus, if we were to interpret education as an indicator of the effect of contact with English on the possessive, we could say that the more Spanish dominant speakers

**Table 5.8.** Effects of speaker's educational attainment on the possessive

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>New York City</i>									
Higher Ed. in the US	.48	67/138	49%	.58	64/138	46%	.32	7/138	5%
College in Colombia	.62	169/375	45%	.42	169/375	45%	.48	37/375	10%
High school only	.43	95/272	35%	.53	140/272	51%	.61	37/272	14%
Incomplete high school	.47	169/425	40%	.47	191/425	45%	.60	65/425	15%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	.19	.00281		.16	.0212		.29	.0233	
I = input	I = 29	500/1210	41%	I = 60	564/1210	47%	I = 03	146/1210	12%

favor possessive periphrases while disfavoring possessive adjectives. Spanish dominant individuals comprise perhaps the largest segment of the New York Colombian community and also the largest portion of the immigrant Latino community in the greater NYC area. Perhaps these speakers have preserved basilectal features in their speech as a result of their immigration. Further, it is also arguable that the results reflect a certain degree of dialect convergence and leveling caused by their close contact with Spanish speakers of Caribbean extraction as the possessive periphrasis occurs quite frequently in Caribbean Spanish. In sum, while Spanish dominant consultants favor possessive periphrases, those with higher fluency in English disfavor them. Concurrently, individuals who attended college in Colombia favor possessive adjectives.

### 5.4.3 Speaker's age/socioeconomic status (SES)

In Barranquilla, age did not significantly condition the possessive in preliminary analyses. Nevertheless, those results did yield differences between speakers born before and after 1960. Initial results for socioeconomic status did not reveal statistically significant results either. Thus, in light of the findings for the expression of futurity, and to have an additional way to explore the social forces constraining possession, I merged age and socioeconomic status into a complex predictor carefully controlling the distribution of tokens and that of people in each cell. The combined socioeconomic status and age predictor has four factors: (1) working class speakers born before 1960, (2) working class speakers born after 1960, (3) middle class speakers born before 1960, and (4) middle class speakers born after 1960. Under the premise that the development of possessive periphrases constitutes a change from below, I hypothesized that possessive adjectives would be

promoted by older middle class speakers and disfavored by all others. Concurrently, I hypothesized that younger middle class individuals and all working class speakers – regardless of their age – would favor the occurrence of possessive periphrases while older middle class speakers would disfavor this variant. With this reconfiguration, further differences between speakers on either side of age forty emerged.

As shown in Table 5.9, the combined effect of socioeconomic status and age only conditions the occurrence of possessive periphrases. Working class individuals born before 1960 and middle class individuals born after 1960 favor possessive periphrases with statistical weights of .62 and .56, respectively. Conversely, working class individuals born after 1960 moderately disfavor the periphrases with a statistical weight of .47 whereas middle class speakers born before 1960 clearly disfavor it with .36.

Although the resulting tendencies do not appear to provide a clear-cut pattern, they do provide important information regarding how SES and age constrain the possessive. Thus, we can better understand the existing differ-

**Table 5.9.** Effects of speaker's socioeconomic status and age on the possessive

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>Barranquilla: Socioeconomic Status/Age</i>									
Working class born before 1960 (over 40)	[.47]	197/395	50%	[.48]	159/395	40%	.62	39/395	10%
Working class born after 1960 (under 40)	[.47]	141/306	46%	[.55]	148/306	48%	.47	17/306	6%
Middle class born before 1960 (over 40)	[.52]	148/311	48%	[.53]	150/311	48%	.36	12/311	4%
Middle class born after 1960 (under 40)	[.54]	126/269	46%	[.44]	128/269	48%	.56	15/269	6%
Range/ p-value		[.502]			[.242]		.26	.0184	
I = input	I = 33	613/1281	48%	I = 57	585/1281	46%	I = 04	83/1281	6%
<i>New York City: Speaker's Age</i>									
Born after 1970	.59	164/351	47%	.40	147/351	42%	[.57]	40/351	11%
Born in the 1960s	.42	70/186	38%	.63	104/186	56%	[.37]	12/186	7%
Born in the 1950s	.56	206/495	42%	.46	228/495	46%	[.49]	61/495	12%
Born before 1950	.43	60/178	34%	.52	85/178	48%	[.58]	33/178	18%
Range/ p-value	.18	.000221		.23	4.36 <sup>-5</sup>		[.0599]		
I = input	I = 29	500/1210	41%	I = 59	564/1210	47%	I = 03	146/1210	12%

ences between speakers older and younger than 40. Despite not reaching statistical significance, the tendencies for possessive adjectives help us interpret the results. Possessive adjectives appear to be the prestige variant, being favored by all middle class speakers and unanimously disfavored by all working class individuals according to Labov's (1990) well-known mechanisms of imitation of the elitist norm.

At the same time, the possessive periphrases probably represent a change in progress, incipient nonetheless, that appears to be resisted by the working class youth. The tendencies corresponding to this variant seem to invalidate its usage as a prestige variant and appear to reflect the linguistic reality of previous generations. The fact that, among speakers older than 40, possessive periphrases are favored by working class individuals and disfavored by middle class speakers may be interpreted according to the parameters of the linguistic marketplace. Chambers (2009: 189–197) indicates that this sociological concept (*marché linguistique*) was initially advanced by Bourdieu & Boltanski (1975) and subsequently incorporated to sociolinguistics. According to these parameters, middle age individuals, after reaching linguistic stability/maturity, maintain more conservative linguistic habits, and unconsciously, become indifferent to emerging linguistic changes (Chambers 2009: 197). Consequently, these findings confirm the traditional tendencies that present possessive periphrases – as opposed to possessive adjectives – as the most informal and innovative variant, according to postulates advanced by Labov (1990) and Chambers (2009), respectively.

In New York City, age conditions possessive adjectives and definite articles but not possessive periphrases. The results (Table 5.9) show that in the diasporic setting the youngest speakers – those born after 1970 – favor possessive adjectives with a statistical weight of .59 while disfavoring definite articles (.40). Contrariwise, consultants born in the 1960s favor definite articles (.63) and disfavor possessive adjectives with .42. Those born in the 1950s also favor possessive adjectives (.56) while disfavoring definite articles (.46). The oldest speakers – those born before 1950 – have a neutral effect on definite articles (.52) but disfavor possessive adjectives with a value of .43. These results, unlike those for the expression of futurity discussed above (§ 5.3.3) lack clear patterns for the effects of age. However, they tell us that age grading does not play a role in the existing variation in the expression of possession. The results would neither support the premise that the increasing use of the possessive periphrases constitutes a change from below promoted by the youngest speakers. Nevertheless, they do seem to suggest that bilingualism plays a role, as the youngest speakers are the strongest promoters of the possessive adjectives. At this juncture, we need to further explore the effects of age and how it correlates with competence on both languages on this linguistic variable both in Colombia and NYC, as well as in other speech communities.

#### 5.4.4 Length of U.S. residence (LOR)

LOR is the second of two social predictors significantly conditioning all three possessive variants in NYC. As indicated in Table 5.10, speakers who have lived in the U.S. the longest favor the occurrence of definite articles marking possession (.58) and have a neutral effect on possessive adjectives (.50) to the detriment of possessive periphrases (.32). Colombians who have been in the US ten to twenty years favor possessive periphrases with a value of .62. These individuals also favor definite articles (.55) and disfavor possessive adjectives (.40). Speakers with a length of residence of five to ten years favor possessive adjectives (.61), have a neutral effect on possessive periphrases (.49) and disfavor definite articles (.41). Concurrently, the most recent immigrants – those with less than 5 years in the U.S.–promote possessive periphrases (.58), have a neutral effect on possessive adjectives (.49), and moderately disfavor definite articles (.47).

**Table 5.10.** Effects of speaker's length of residence (LOR) on the possessive

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>New York City</i>									
Less than 5 Years	.49	42/178	24%	.47	96/178	54%	.58	40/178	22%
5–10 Years	.61	343/721	48%	.41	306/721	42%	.49	72/721	10%
10 – 20 Years	.40	56/154	36%	.55	74/154	48%	.62	24/154	16%
More than 20 Years	.50	59/157	38%	.58	88/157	56%	.32	10/157	6%
<i>Range/ p-value</i>	.21	.000221		.18	.00268		.30	.0231	
I = input	I = 29	500/1210	41%	I = 60	564/1210	47%	I = 03	146/1210	12%

There is an emerging pattern with the use of definite articles: the longer speakers have resided in the US, the more they favor this variant. However, we do not have clearly discernible patterns for the possessive adjectives or the periphrases. This state of affairs calls for further study of the effects of length of residence on the possessive.

#### 5.4.5 Age of arrival in the US

As discussed earlier, this predictor was initially explored using three factors: (a) infant, (b) adolescent, and (c) adult. Since the first two categories registered similar tendencies in preliminary analyses, I combined them in all subsequent multivariate runs. That is, I tested the two categories in Table 5.11 (younger and older than 18). Age of arrival in the US conditions possessive adjectives and definite articles. The results (Table 5.11) reveal that speakers who arrived



at an early age, i.e., as children or adolescents favor possessive adjectives with a probability value of .58 whereas those who arrived as adults disfavor possessive adjectives with a value of .42. The opposite tendencies obtain for definite articles.

**Table 5.11.** Effects of speaker's age of arrival on the possessive

Factor	PA	N	%	DA	N	%	PP	N	%
<i>New York City</i>									
Younger than 18	.58	167/334	50%	.45	137/334	41%	[.42]	30/334	9%
Older than 18	.42	333/876	38%	.55	427/876	49%	[.58]	116/876	13%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	.16	.000481		.10	.0269			[.0732]	
I = input	I = 29	500/1210	41%	I = 60	564/1210	47%	I = 02	146/1210	12%

These results support the premise that contact with English would favor the use of possessive adjectives since they are directly equivalent to the preferential expression of possession in English. Moreover, those who arrived at a younger age have been under the influence of contact with English for a greater portion of their lives. This in turn, increases their likelihood of choosing a possessive adjective over the other two variants.

In general, the findings identify the social predictors affecting nominal possession in Barranquilla and in the Spanish of New York Colombians after a few years in NYC, where it is simultaneously in contact with English and with Spanish from all corners of the Hispanic World but mainly from the Caribbean. The similarities in the effects of external factors on the expressions of nominal possession and futurity, respectively, in both Barranquilla and New York, are remarkable. The apparent lack of clearly defined patterns regarding SES and age constitutes an incentive for further study to fully understand the intricacies of the social conditioning on the expression of nominal possession. I address the social conditioning on subject pronoun expression in the paragraphs that follow.

## 5.5 Social conditioning on subject pronoun expression (SPE)

The distribution of overt and null pronominal subjects and the effects of the linguistic predictors which condition SPE constitute the main topics of Chapter 4. The distribution of null and pronominal subjects (Table 5.12) shows a statistically significant difference in the overt pronominal rates found in our speaker cohorts. SPE is internally conditioned by seven predictors. Interestingly, despite the difference in pronominal rates, and as with futurity and possession, SPE is under

largely similar linguistic conditioning in both Barranquilla and the New York City Colombian enclave.

**Table 5.12.** Distribution of overt and null pronominal subjects

Variable	Barranquilla	New York
Overt subjects	34.3% (1,031)	43.3% (1,303)
Null subjects	65.7% (1,978)	56.7% (1,703)
Total	100% (3,009)	100.0% (3,006)
$X^2 = 52.25$	$df = 1$	$p = 4.89^{-13}$

The conditioning effects of social predictors on SPE do not appear to be as strong as those on the expressions of futurity and nominal possession. As discussed in previous sections, the expressions of futurity and nominal possession are significantly conditioned by more social factors than SPE is. Two social predictors significantly condition SPE in Barranquilla: conversation conditions and gender and age combined as a single predictor. In the diasporic setting, SPE is only conditioned by the combined effects of gender and age. The remaining social predictors explored (educational attainment, arrival age, LOR, and linguistic repertoire) do not significantly condition SPE.

### 5.5.1 Conversation conditions

Conversation conditions significantly constrain SPE but not futurity or possession. This predictor conditions SPE in Barranquilla but not in New York City. The results, presented in Table 5.13, show that one-on-one conversations favor overt subjects among Barranquilleros with a probability weight of .53. Concurrently, the presence of members of the consultants' social networks moderately favors null subjects with .47.

**Table 5.13.** Effects of conversation conditions on SPE in Barranquilla

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
One on One Conversation	.53	37.4%	562/1501	49.9%
Others Present	.47	31.0%	468/1508	50.1%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	6	$p = 00468$	Input .30	

Given the tendency exhibited by the Romance languages towards increased overt pronoun rates stemming from the evolutionary trajectory of Latin discussed in Chapter 4 (§ 4.6), the favorable effect of one-on-one conversations on overt

pronominal subjects may suggest that consultants felt at ease during the data gathering process and freely used vernacular speech representative of their actual linguistic behavior. Concomitantly, the participatory presence of others did not appear to contribute to upset the observer's paradox and help obtain more vernacular speech. Thus, as far as SPE is concerned, at least in Barranquilla, the presence of third parties does not appear to promote spontaneity or informality in linguistic behavior.

### 5.5.2 Effects of gender/age on SPE

In analyzing gender and age, I considered the following. First, Orozco & Guy (2008: 78) report that age conditions SPP usage in Barranquilla. Second, a gender gap with reversed effects in New York has been found in the expressions of futurity and possession. Thus, I initially explored age and gender as separate predictors in both speaker cohorts finding, as with Shin and Otheguy (2013), clear gender gap effects (Table 5.14). Concurrently, I also found interactions between gender and age. Thus, to gain additional insight into the social forces constraining SPE, I probed the combined effects of age and gender as a complex predictor carefully controlling the distribution of consultants and tokens in each multivariate cell. Similar to what occurs with the expression of possession, by combining age with another social predictor, I uncovered some interesting differences between speakers on either side of age forty in both communities.

Initial results (see Table 5.14) show identical tendencies as well as probability values in both Barranquilla and NYC, as follows. Women promote overt SPPs with probability values of .53 while men favor null subjects with .47. Despite statistically significant increases in the New York pronominal rates for both genders, the reversal effect that occurs with the future and the possessive does not impact SPE. That is, women in both speaker cohorts favor overt pronominal subjects. In general, women's favorable effect on overt subjects concurs with findings in speech communities both monolingual – including Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic (Alfaraz 2015), and Mexico City (Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015) – and bilingual (Bayley & Pease-Alvarez 1997; Carvalho & Child 2011: 22; Hurtado 2001; Otheguy & Zentella 2012, Shin 2013; Shin & Otheguy 2013). This tendency can be explained as a manifestation of the women effect initially observed by Otheguy & Zentella (2012) and subsequently established by Shin (2013) and Shin & Otheguy (2013). These scholars have determined that, in New York City, women act as linguistic innovators by leading a change in progress toward significantly higher pronominal rates than in the rest of the Hispanic World.

In Barranquilla, the combination of gender and age as a single predictor (Table 5.15) reveals that women born before 1960 favor overt SPPs with a statistical

Table 5.14. Effects of gender on SPE

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
<i>Barranquilla</i>				
Women	.53	37.1%	552/1496	49.6%
Men	.47	31.4%	475/1513	50.4%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	6	$p = 00687$	Input .26	
<i>New York City</i>				
Women	.53	45.6%	751/1650	55.0%
Men	.47	40.6%	551/1356	45.0%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	6	$p = .00256$	Input .41	

Table 5.15. Effects of the intersection of gender &amp; age on SPE

Factor	Prob.	%	N	% data
<i>Barranquilla</i>				
Women Born before 1960 (over 40)	.55	40.3%	329/816	27.1%
Women Born after 1960 (under 40)	.51	33.4%	227/680	22.6%
Men Born before 1960 (over 40)	.49	30.6%	244/797	26.5%
Men Born after 1960 (under 40)	.46	32.3%	231/716	23.8%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	9	$p = 0218$	Input .30	
<i>New York City</i>				
Women born after 1960 (under 40)	.55	46.4%	376/810	26.9%
Women born before 1960 (over 40)	.51	44.8%	376/840	28.1%
Men born after 1960 (under 40)	.47	46.8%	326/697	23.1%
Men born before 1960 (over 40)	.42	34.1%	225/659	22.0%
Range/ <i>p</i> -value	13	$p = 000289$	Input .41	

weight of .55. On the other end of the spectrum, men born after 1960 favor null subjects with .46. At the same time, women born after 1960 and men born before 1960 have a neutral effect on SPE with probabilities of .51 and .49, respectively. These differences in the sociolinguistic behavior of speakers born on either side of 1960 – already present in the expressions of futurity (§ 5.3.3) and possession (§ 5.4.3) – appear to constitute a powerful effect that conditions multiple linguistic variables in Colombian Spanish. Concurrently, the favoring effect that older women in Barranquilla exert on overt SPPs as well as women's higher pronominal rates is congruent with women favoring overt SPPs throughout the Hispanic

World, as stated above. In Barranquilla, older women's SPE clearly differentiates them from the rest of the community. They constitute the only segment of the population that favors overt SPPs, having both the highest probability value (.55) and pronominal rate (40%). This tendency directly opposes that of younger males who, with a probability value of .46, promote null subjects.

In the New York City Colombian enclave, younger women promote overt subjects with a statistical weight of .55 while older women have a neutral effect with a probability value of .51. The statistical tendencies for men, compared to those in Barranquilla, appear to have reversed. Those born after 1960 now moderately favor null subjects with a statistical weight of .47. On the other hand, older men – those born before 1960 – clearly disfavor overt pronominal subjects with a probability value of .42.

In general, the effects of the transition to their new sociolinguistic environment appears to reflect in a pronominal rate increase by all NYC gender/age segments with regard to their Barranquilla counterparts using the values in Table 5.15 to establish comparisons. This increase is more significant among younger speakers as New York men under 40 have a pronominal rate of 47% as opposed to that of 32% for their Barranquilla counterparts ( $X^2$  30.53,  $p = 3.286^{-8}$ ). Likewise, New York women under 40 have a pronominal rate of 46% while those in Barranquilla register 33% ( $X^2$  26.14,  $p = 3.172^{-7}$ ). On the other hand, speakers over 40 years old register modest increases. The pronominal rate for older women increases from 40% in Barranquilla to 45% in New York ( $X^2$  3.16,  $p = .0753$ ) whereas that for older men increases from 31% in Barranquilla to 34% in New York ( $X^2$  1.90,  $p = .168$ ).

## 5.6 Discussion

After exploring the linguistic conditioning on the three linguistic variables under study (the expressions of futurity, nominal possession, and variable subject pronoun usage) in the three previous chapters, the present chapter has focused on the effects of social predictors on these linguistic variables. In line with the long-standing premise that our knowledge of the effects of social predictors is crucial to our understanding of the language variation and change mechanisms (Labov 1972: 252), I intended to gain a better understanding of the social conditioning on Colombian Spanish. By determining the social forces constraining language variation in Barranquilla, we have learned about the tendencies in effect prior to the onset of direct language contact. By the same token, by identifying the social conditioning on the New York Colombian population, we have increased our understanding of what happens during the early stages of simultaneous, direct contact with English and New York City Spanish.

As shown in the previous chapters, the effects of linguistic predictors suggest that Barranquilla, Colombia and the metropolitan New York City Colombian enclave constitute two different segments of the same speech community. That is, the linguistic variables under study are conditioned by the same linguistic predictors in both speaker cohorts with their individual factors exhibiting similar tendencies, being the lexical effects of the verb on SPE notably exceptional. By contrast, it is difficult to compare the effects of social predictors on both populations because, among other things, in most cases those predictors that condition a given linguistic variable in one corpus do not in the other. For instance, in Barranquilla education conditions only the future but neither the possessive nor SPE. In New York, it conditions the future and possession but not SPE. Nevertheless, gender – despite interacting with age in conditioning SPE – reveals important findings as it conditions all three linguistic variables in both settings. Specifically, the effect of gender on the future and the possessive in New York runs contrary to its effect in Barranquilla.

In answering our first research question specific to this chapter (*What are the social forces that condition the expressions of futurity, possession, and subject pronoun usage in the Spanish of Barranquilla, Colombia and in that spoken by New York Colombians?*), we have identified the external predictors conditioning language variation in Colombian Spanish. The effects of these social predictors are discussed above in Sections 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5. In the paragraphs that follow, I will evaluate the larger tendencies as well as the commonalities exhibited by the effects of these social predictors. In so doing, I will discuss how they relate to the effects of both dialect convergence and language contact.

The impact of conversation conditions on SPE suggests that, as far as the corpora explored in the analyses reported here are concerned, the speech obtained during one-on-one conversations is representative of the consultants' vernacular. In other words, it appears that these corpora were built upon fieldwork conditions that successfully mitigated the observer's paradox (Labov 1972: 209, 2006[1966]: 86) regardless of the presence or participation of members of the consultants' social networks.

The findings for all three linguistic variables reveal gender gaps in both speaker cohorts. There are clear-cut gender gaps with the expressions of futurity and possession. The gender gaps in SPE, however, are smaller as the effects of gender on SPE reveal a strong interaction with those of age. Barranquilla women favor the morphological future and overt subjects. They also promote possessive adjectives at the expense of possessive periphrases. If we consider that, in diachronic terms, the preferential use of the MF and possessive adjectives, respectively, indicates a higher degree of formality and adherence to normative usage, then the gender tendencies in effect in Barranquilla suggest that women have a

conservative sociolinguistic behavior. Conversely, men in that community appear as linguistic innovators by disfavoring the morphological future at the same time that they prefer possessive periphrases to the detriment of possessive adjectives.

The gender gaps found in Barranquilla with women having a conservative linguistic attitude and men being rather linguistic innovators are congruent with findings in other speech communities. Among other things, this appears to reflect women's tendency to hypercorrect more than men (Romaine 2002: 102). Another possible explanation for Barranquilla women's conservative sociolinguistic behavior may be that they wish to present themselves as "individuals worthy or respect" (cf. Eckert 1989; James 1996: 108; Romaine 2002: 104). The other side of the same coin would lead us to think that, given traditional male roles in Colombian society, the tendencies registered by men could arguably result from traditional patterns of masculine or macho behavior. So, men in Barranquilla may exhibit more informal linguistic usage as a way to exercise their societal status and adjust to covert prestige norms (Chambers 2009: 235ff.; Labov 2001: 215; Silva-Corvalán 2001: 99; Trudgill 1972). Thus, our Barranquilla consultants appear to fall within established patterns of sociolinguistic behavior. That is, women favor standard or more normative variants, which is highly consistent with numerous findings on language and gender (cf. Holmes 1997: 132; Chambers 2009: 115ff. and references therein).

Interestingly, the NYC gender gaps run contrary to those in Barranquilla as follows. In the diasporic setting, women display an innovative sociolinguistic behavior by (a) promoting the PF in detriment of the MF and (b) disfavoring possessive adjectives. Contrariwise, New York Colombian men exhibit a conservative linguistic attitude as they favor the MF at the expense of the PF; they also favor possessive adjectives, the possessive variant more closely associated with normativity. That is, men favor the more "correct" and conservative variants. Considering that the current variation in the expressions of futurity and possession constitute instances of change from below, then we have a fact congruent with Labov's (1990: 215) Principle II of gender differentiation since he postulates that women are most often the innovators in such type of change. These tendencies could be interpreted as showing New York Colombian women as leaders of change while men resist it. Concurrently, these tendencies appear to show that the influence of contact with English largely accounts for the differences between Barranquilla and New York City. If so, this would reflect the effects of a language shift from Spanish to English. Such change in sociolinguistic behavior would be congruent with women in bilingual communities leading the shift to a more prestigious language (cf. Gal 1979), which in this case would be English.

The gender gap reversals in both the expressions of futurity and possession are remarkably identical. With both of these linguistic variables, New York Colombian

women exhibit an innovative sociolinguistic behavior whereas men, by favoring the variants traditionally associated with normative usage, maintain a conservative attitude. This state of affairs appears to suggest that New York Colombians reflect their adjustment to their new sociolinguistic environment through their sociolinguistic behavior. The difference between Barranquilla and New York can be accounted for in terms of James' (1996) premise that the sociolinguistic behaviors of women and men reflect different agendas in different settings. Nevertheless, explaining the role reversal in the New York Colombians' gender gaps poses a formidable challenge to sociolinguistic theory. Taken separately, the tendencies in Barranquilla have precedents and so do those in New York City. Nevertheless, we still do not know with certainty whether the role reversals are motivated more strongly by contact with English or by dialectal convergence with New York City Spanish.

In an attempt to account for the gender gap reversals, I examined the sociolinguistic situation of the New York Colombian enclave. All but one of these consultants relocated directly from Colombia to New York City. In their new sociolinguistic environment, New York Colombians have continued to communicate mainly in Spanish, still their dominant language at data collection time. They joined a heavily Caribbean Spanish speech community, as Puerto Ricans have traditionally dominated the city's Hispanic population (Zentella 1997a: 170). Given that gender gaps have also been reported in the expression of futurity in Puerto Rican Spanish, I compared the tendencies among the Colombian expatriates to those of their Puerto Rican neighbors in trying to account for the reversal. Table 5.16 shows that New York Puerto Ricans exhibit tendencies identical to those back in Puerto Rico (cf. Claes & Ortíz López 2011: 65). Moreover, New York Colombians, arguably, as a consequence of dialectal convergence, now exhibit tendencies identical not only to those of New York Puerto Ricans but also to those in Puerto Rico. In both Puerto Rican communities, women act as leaders of change by favoring the PF.

The other side of the same coin shows that New York Colombian women's disfavoring effect on the MF, the receding futurity variant, has become statistically significant as compared to that in Barranquilla. Thus, expatriate Colombians' tendencies for all three futurity variants are identical to those of NY Puerto Ricans. Besides, Cameron (1998) shows that Puerto Rican women lead a change in progress in the use of direct quotations in Puerto Rican Spanish. Furthermore, women promote the innovative higher use of overt pronominal subjects in New York City Spanish (Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Shin 2013; Shin & Otheguy 2013). The Puerto Rican effect is not limited to the expression of futurity. The favorable effect Colombian women have on the PF is congruent with their higher pronominal rates. Having evidence emerging from two linguistic variables, we can say



**Table 5.16.** Gender on the expression of futurity in Puerto Rico and New York

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>San Juan, Puerto Rico (Claes &amp; Ortíz 2011)</i>									
Women	[.46]	15/239	6%	.44	41/239	18%	.56	180/239	75%
Men	[.54]	19/219	9%	.57	48/219	22%	.43	152/219	69%
Range				13			13		
I = input	I = .05	34/458	7%	I = .19	92/458	20%	I = .74	332/458	73%
<i>New York City Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b)</i>									
Women	.39	8/584	1%	[.49]	108/584	19%	.56	468/584	80%
Men	.61	39/572	7%	[.51]	91/572	16%	.44	44/572	77%
Range	22						12		
I = input	I = .02	47/1156	4%	I = .13	199/1156	17%	I = .82	910/1156	79%
<i>New York City Colombians (from Table 5.2 above)</i>									
Women	.41	41/909	5%	[.49]	249/909	27%	.54	618/909	68%
Men	.59	92/937	10%	[.51]	310/937	33%	.46	535/937	57%
Range	18						8		
I = input	I = .03	133/1845	7%	I = .28	559/1845	30%	I = .60	1153/1845	63%

that NY Colombian women act as linguistic innovators. Considering the sociolinguistic situation of the New York Colombian population in light of the evidence we possess, we can conclude that the New York Colombian role reversal is likely a consequence of convergence with Puerto Rican Spanish rather than entirely a result of contact with English. Although gender gaps also obtain in SPE, these gaps reflect the same tendencies in both speaker cohorts with women favoring overt pronominal subjects and men promoting null subjects. These gender-related tendencies coincide with findings of women promoting the change in progress toward increased use of overt pronominal subjects in monolingual communities such as Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic (Alfaraz 2015), and Mexico City (Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015) as well as in such language contact situations as Minorca, Spain among bilingual speakers of Spanish and Catalan (de Prada-Pérez 2015) and New York City (Shin & Otheguy 2013). If Spanish is evolving toward becoming a non-pro drop language, as discussed above (§ 4.6), then all of those cases where women promote overt pronominal subjects would imply that women lead this change regardless of contact with other languages.

Gender and age intersect in conditioning SPE in both communities. Their intersection helps uncover differences between speakers on either side of age forty. In Barranquilla, specifically, women over the age of 40 promote higher overt

pronoun usage while men under 40 disfavor it. Moreover, the SPE tendencies indicate that women promote higher use of overt pronominal subjects in both speaker cohorts. Although all gender/age groups in New York show an increase in their use of overt pronominal subjects, the youngest speakers experience the most significant pronominal rate hikes. Interestingly, the progression toward higher overt pronominal usage for all New York speakers appears to stem from the combined effect of (a) dialectal convergence toward a higher pronominal rate as New York City Spanish is heavily Caribbean, and (b) language contact with English, a non-drop language. Both (a) and (b) pull in the same direction.

The effects of age by itself, i.e., in the absence of gender, clearly illustrate the differences between linguistic and social forces on Colombian Spanish, as age conditions each linguistic variable differently in either speaker cohort. This predictor conditions all three future variants in both settings exerting the strongest conditioning pressure among social predictors. Over half a century of variationist research on the effects of age, recognized as the main social correlate of language change (Chambers 2002: 349) indicates that younger speakers consistently promote linguistic innovations (Labov 2001: 437). In Barranquilla, the use of the periphrastic future increases as age decreases. In fact, the youngest speakers register the highest use of the PF and the lowest of the MF. This same tendency obtains in NYC. In the emigrant setting, the hierarchical apparent-time effect is more clearly visible, with the favorable effect on the PF increasing as age decreases whereas the opposite obtains for the MF. This same apparent-time pattern obtains among New York Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b: 363), showing that the MF is slowly ceasing to function as a futurity marker as the PF strengthens its dominance on the expression of futurity. These tendencies provide a second piece of evidence as to the effects of dialectal convergence on Colombian Spanish in New York City. However, these tendencies may also arguably stem from the effects of (direct as well as indirect) contact with English.

In conditioning the possessive, age interacts with SES in Barranquilla while in NYC it acts as an independent predictor. The effects of age on the possessive in New York show that the youngest speakers, as with the expression of futurity, also exhibit the most English-like usage by favoring possessive adjectives. Although age does not significantly constrain possessive periphrases in New York, the existing tendencies show that the oldest speakers have the highest use of possessive periphrases. This is consistent with their lower English proficiency and closer contacts with other Spanish-dominant Latinos in New York.

In general, age reveals interesting differences between speakers born on either side of 1960—roughly those over and under 40 years old. This 1960 or age 40 effect conditions all three linguistic variables under study. These differences are analogous to those found in the expression of futurity in Castellón, Spain (Blas Arroyo

2008: 112) as well as to findings in SPE in Mexico City (Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015). Further research will help determine whether analogous generational differences also occur with other linguistic variables and if they extend to other speech communities. Nevertheless, the apparent lack of consistent age patterns with the possessive as well as with SPE calls for further research to determine the actual effect of age on these linguistic variables.

Whereas educational attainment only conditions the future in Barranquilla, it conditions both the future and the possessive but not SPE in New York. This suggests that the effect of education may become more relevant with the change of sociolinguistic landscape. Moreover, the influence of contact with English clearly reflects on the findings, as speakers with higher education in the US are the strongest promoters of the periphrastic future. Concurrently, these consultants most strongly disfavor the morphological future. The findings for education also inform us as to the effects of linguistic repertoire, as we can see differences between those who are proficient in English and those who have remained Spanish dominant. These findings are also congruent with those by Shin & Otheguy (2013: 439), who have found a correlation between exposure to NYC life and more English-like speech patterns.

The effects of those predictors that are particular to the diasporic population, LOR and arrival age, go hand in hand. The conditioning effects of LOR on the possessive appear to stem from two main causes. The favorable effect that speakers who have been in the US between five and twenty years have on the possessive periphrasis may result from their increased contact with other Hispanics originally from the Caribbean, a region where this variant occurs quite frequently (A. J. Toribio; G. Alfaraz, p.c.). Arrival age by itself conditions the possessive and, in combination with LOR, the future. In general, the effects of LOR and arrival age evince that arriving younger and staying longer are both consistent with a disfavoring effect on the morphological future; they are also consistent with a higher rate of use of the particular forms most analogous to English usage, namely the periphrastic future. These tendencies support the premise that the younger people are when they immigrate, the better they adjust to the host community's life style and linguistic habits. Once again, this fact is consonant with the effects of exposure to NYC (Shin & Otheguy 2013: 439). Consequently, the Colombian youths' bilingualism in English would prompt them to favor both the periphrastic future and possessive adjectives.

For the most part, we can account for the tendencies exhibited by SPE and the future in terms of how the influence of bilingualism and dialectal convergence combine to spur increased use of overt pronominal subjects as well as that of the periphrastic future at the expense of the MF. However, accounting for what happens with the possessive may present a formidable challenge. On the one hand, the

influence of contact with English would prompt the increased use of possessive adjectives. On the other hand, the influence of contact with other Spanish speakers in a community where speakers of Caribbean Spanish, mainly from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, constitute the largest segment of the population would prompt increased use of possessive periphrases. This situation provides an incentive to explore how the expression of possession will continue to evolve in this community as well as in other communities with similar sociolinguistic situations.

## 5.7 Conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter was to explore the effects of social predictors on language variation in Colombian Spanish. The larger sociolinguistic situation under study, as discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, shows that the same linguistic predictors condition language variation in Barranquilla and New York City. Moreover, the effects of the individual factors within each predictor are essentially the same in both speech communities, lending support to the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000). Conversely, the present chapter has shown that the effects of social predictors in NYC are, for the most part, different from those in Barranquilla. Differences are especially noticeable in the case of gender, which shows opposite effects on the expressions of futurity and possession in both communities. Thus, we are witnessing differences in linguistic behavior triggered by the new sociolinguistic environment Colombians find in NYC.

The analysis of external predictors is particularly important because these predictors can tell us how recent demographic changes impact linguistic changes already in progress prior to the inception of a contact situation. In the case of the expression of futurity, a series of internally motivated, ongoing changes, which started in Colombian Spanish long before the onset of simultaneous dialect and language contact, has accelerated in the New York Colombian community (Orozco 2007a). The increased use of overt pronominal subjects in NYC as compared to Barranquilla is consonant with natural SPE tendencies: (a) overt pronominal subjects appear to be increasing diachronically (Erker & Guy 2012: 531; Owens & Michnowicz 2014; Orozco 2015a: 32); (b) overt pronominal rates would increase in NYC as a consequence of contact with English, a non-pro-drop language (cf. Otheguy & Zentella 2012). The situations of the expression of futurity and SPE are congruent with what has occurred with Spanish in Los Angeles (Silva-Corvalán 1994a); these situations are also consistent with the consequences of direct language contact. The case of the expression of possession is particularly interesting since it is simultaneously under social forces that push and pull in

opposite directions. On the one hand, the combined influences of dialectal convergence and levelling appear to promote the proliferation of possessive periphrases. On the other hand, contact with English would promote the occurrence of possessive adjectives and slow down an imminent change toward increased use of possessive periphrases. Cases of contact situations that counteract ongoing changes have precedents in the Hispanic World (cf. Blas Arroyo 2008).

The gender gaps in all three linguistic variables and both communities under study are consistent with the fact that “gender is a powerful differentiating factor in almost every case of stable social stratification and change in progress that has been studied” (Labov 2001: 262). At first glance, the finding that the NYC tendencies run contrary to those in Barranquilla appears to stem from the combined effects of contact with English and dialect convergence. These effects would reflect the diasporic population’s adjustment to their new sociolinguistic environment as they assimilate to life in New York City. Concomitantly, the reversal in the gender effects is consistent with Eckert’s (1989) observation that “gender does not have a uniform effect on linguistic behavior for the community as a whole.” These results are also congruent with the premise that with respect to linguistic behavior, “there are a variety of different factors which can give rise to differences between women and men” (James 1996: 119).

The findings regarding the effects of external predictors suggest that sociolinguistic roles differ within different segments of the larger speech community of speakers of Colombian Spanish. In assessing the impact of social forces, it is important to consider that the social circumstances of recent immigrant populations often involve abrupt changes in their socioeconomic and occupational status as well as in their family roles. These changes may subsequently affect their sociolinguistic behavior. Although, it is clear that the social predictors significant for both populations exert different pressures, it is virtually impossible to tease apart the effects of linguistic predictors from those of dialectal convergence. Nevertheless, the similarities between the sociolinguistic behaviors of New York Colombians and both Puerto Ricans and New York Puerto Ricans, provide robust evidence that dialectal convergence is also affecting Colombian Spanish in New York perhaps as strongly as contact with English. Consequently, we appear to have identified differences in linguistic behavior that may have arisen in response to the new sociolinguistic landscape in which New York Colombians find themselves. Concurrently, although the theory of interdialectal parallelism can account for what happens with linguistic factors, apparently, it does not help predict the effects of social predictors.

The normative pressures in effect in Barranquilla appear to have weakened in New York, and the variation and change in progress brought to NYC is aided by contact effects from the influence exerted by bilingualism in English. Moreover,

the effects of social predictors reflect some differences that may be attributable to a relatively short period of contact with English as well as to dialect convergence brought on by contact with – the heavily Caribbean and mostly Puerto Rican – New York City Spanish. In the particular case of the New York Colombian community, external predictors can tell us how a recent population shift impacts processes already in progress prior to the onset of simultaneous, direct language and dialect contact. Learning about how changes in people's social situations affect their linguistic behavior will lead to a better understanding of language variation and change in immigrant and multilingual settings.

The current state of affairs appears to indicate that, according to Gumperz (1972: 224ff.), if we assume that the effects of social predictors drive linguistic change in general, then, the differences in the effects of social predictors between New York and Barranquilla may point in the direction of incipient linguistic change. If the results of this study prove to be typical of contact situations of recent inception, we can expect the emerging changes in the effects of social predictors to precede inevitable changes in the effects of linguistic predictors. That is, the differences in the effects of social predictors appear to signal the prelude of structural changes which would gradually give way to a new speech community in New York where the sociolinguistic norms still shared with Barranquilla will eventually disappear. Further research will ultimately help us satisfactorily answer the questions that still remain open regarding the pressures exerted by social factors.



# Conclusions

This chapter brings together the most important conclusions drawn from our analyses of language variation and change in Barranquilla and New York City. The main findings reveal remarkable similarities in the linguistic conditioning on the expressions of futurity, possession and subject pronoun usage, respectively, in both communities, lending support to the theory of interdialectal parallelism. That is, the similarity of predictor effects found suggests that, despite the influence of language and dialect contact, the two populations are still members of the same speech community. Notwithstanding interesting differences in the effects of social predictors, the observed variation constitutes an instance of a much larger crosslinguistic evolutionary process of ongoing change that seems to have accelerated in the diasporic setting. These findings augment our knowledge of language variation and change, as they shed light on instances of morphosyntactic variation, especially those involving analytic and synthetic variants.

### 6.1 Summary

The purpose of this chapter is manifold. First, I summarize the previous chapters. Second, I draw conclusions regarding the linguistic and social conditioning on language variation in the Colombian Spanish of Barranquilla and New York City. Third, I discuss the main theoretical implications of my findings and provide some concluding remarks addressing some of the various paths for further study stemming from this work.

In Chapter 1, I provided a description of Colombian Spanish in which I discuss its main varieties and highlight its most salient phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features. I also discussed the Spanish spoken in New York City. I described my research procedures, the data, and the speakers who provided it. In Chapters 2 through 5, I have carried out variationist investigations of the expressions of simple futurity, nominal possession, and subject pronoun usage in Barranquilla and New York City. With my analysis, I have answered four overarching research questions and probed the main hypothesis that both Barranquilla and the NYC Colombian enclave are still members of a larger speech community (§ 1.4.3). This hypothesis tests the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000), which proposes that the conditioning forces on language variation and change



are consistent within different segments of a single speech community. Moreover, I have addressed research questions and hypotheses specific to each linguistic variable under study as I analyzed each variable in terms of internal and external predictors.

I examine the expression of futurity in Chapter 2. In both speaker cohorts, the periphrastic future (e.g., *voy a cantar* 'I'm going to sing') is the most frequently occurring of the three variants. It is followed in order of frequency by the simple present (e.g., *canto mañana* 'I sing tomorrow') and the morphological future (e.g., *cantaré* 'I will sing'), respectively. The frequency differences between Barranquilla and NYC for each futurity variant are statistically significant. The occurrence of the periphrastic future (PF) in the New York Colombian community has increased significantly from 45.9% to 62.5% ( $X^2 = 90.609$ ,  $p = < 2.2^{-16}$ ) to the detriment of those of both the simple present (SP) and the morphological future (MF). Conversely, the occurrence of the MF has decreased dramatically. While it registered a frequency of 18.2% in Barranquilla, it only registered 7.2% in New York ( $X^2 = 92.401$ ,  $p = < 2.2^{-16}$ ). Thus, the PF has not only claimed the dominant role in the expression of futurity that SP shared with the MF (Kany 1951), but has also largely replaced the morphological form. My results are congruent with the reports of the prevalence of the periphrastic future in all varieties of Spanish as well as with those regarding the drastic reduction of use of the morphological future as a futurity marker.

The expression of futurity is conditioned by eight internal predictors: (1) temporal distance, (2) clause length, (3) clause type, (4) grammatical person and animacy of the subject, (5) grammatical number of the subject, (6) length of morphological future verbal inflection, (7) adverbial specification, and (8) verb transitivity. Length of morphological future inflection exerts the strongest conditioning pressure on all three variants in both speaker cohorts. The influence of *ir* 'go' shows especially interesting effects as it promotes the simple present (SP) and strongly disfavors the PF. Perhaps this is a consequence of *ir*'s evolution from lexical verb to auxiliary and its participation in the formation of the PF. Moreover, results revealed that the same internal predictors significantly condition futurity in both speaker cohorts and that individual factor tendencies also pull largely in the same directions. These results provide a first piece of evidence implying that we are dealing with two segments of the same speech community.

In Chapter 3, I explored the expression of nominal possession. As with futurity, this is another tripartite linguistic variable. Its variants are possessive adjectives (e.g., *mi amigo* 'my friend'), definite articles (e.g., *el amigo* 'my [the] friend'), and possessive periphrases (e.g., *el amigo mío* 'my friend'). While possessive adjectives occur more frequently than the other two variants in Barranquilla, in New York they rank close second to definite articles. These maintain a fairly

stable frequency of occurrence in both populations – 45.7% in Barranquilla versus 46.6% in New York. On the other hand, possessive periphrases occur in New York (12.1%) almost twice as frequently as they do in Barranquilla (6.5%). The differences in frequency of occurrence between the two speaker cohorts are also statistically significant. Besides, as with the expression of futurity, the possessive adjective – the form traditionally favored by normative usage – occurs less frequently in New York than in Barranquilla. Contrariwise, the possessive periphrasis – the newest possessive variant – is twice as frequent in New York. Eight internal predictors condition nominal possession: (1) semantic category of the possessed noun, (2) type of subject, (3) distance in words between referent and possessive, (4) grammatical person of the possessor, (5) location of the possessive, (6) adjectives in the genitive NP, (7) grammatical gender of the possessee, and (8) clause length. Semantic category of the possessed noun and type of subject are the predictors most strongly conditioning the possessive. Similarities in the effects of internal predictors on the expression of nominal possession in both settings provide a second piece of evidence that we are dealing with two segments of a larger speech community.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the analysis of subject pronoun expression (SPE), mainly the alternation between overt and null subjects as in *nosotros caminamos* and *caminamos* both meaning we walk. Findings reveal respective overall overt pronominal rates of 34.3% in Barranquilla and 43.3% in New York City that are representative of Caribbean Spanish and Spanish in contact with English, respectively. Although the difference in overall pronominal rate between the two communities is statistically significant, the same internal predictors condition SPE in both settings: (1) grammatical person and number of the subject, (2) switch reference, (3) priming, (4) verbal tense, mood and aspect, (5) verb type (6) lexical content of the verb, and (7) clause type. As occurs throughout the Hispanic World, the predictors that most strongly condition the alternation between overt and null subjects are (a) grammatical person and number of the subject and (b) switch reference. Moreover, the individual factor tendencies for all linguistic predictors are largely the same not only for both speaker cohorts but also for all the Spanish varieties explored so far. Thus, despite differences in how the verb conditions SPE in the two speaker cohorts due to apparent lexical effects, we have a third piece of evidence that Barranquilla and the NYC Colombian enclave constitute two separate segments of a single speech community.

In Chapter 5, I addressed the social predictors that condition each of the three linguistic variables under analysis. In contrast to the similarities in the effects of internal predictors on both speaker cohorts, findings uncover a series of differences between the two populations. First, the external predictors that condition a given linguistic variable in one community do not always do so in the other.

Second, further differences between speaker cohorts exist in the effects of those predictors that condition language variation in both Barranquilla and New York City, as follows. There are gender gaps for each of the linguistic variables under study. Interestingly, there are gender role reversals with the expressions of futurity and possession, respectively, as men in Barranquilla exhibit an innovative linguistic behavior while in NYC, it is women who become the innovators. Additionally, the effects of age provide a clear picture of the differences between internal and external predictors on language variation in Colombian Spanish as age conditions each linguistic variable differently in either community. One notable exception, however, occurs with the expression of futurity. In both settings the younger the speaker, the more frequently the PF occurs while the favorable effect on the MF increases proportionally with age. In general, the effects of social predictors show that Colombian Spanish in New York City is strongly influenced by Caribbean Spanish and that dialectal convergence appears to have a stronger effect than language contact.

## 6.2 Discussion and implications

The distributions of variants summarized in the previous section answer research questions particular to Chapters 2 through 4. By identifying the conditioning forces in effect in Barranquilla and New York City, I have also answered our first overarching research question (*What predictors condition the sociolinguistic variables under study in Colombian Costeño Spanish?*). The findings in Chapters 2 through 5, also summarized in the previous section, clearly answer our second research question (*Are the internal and external predictors respectively conditioning language variation in both speaker cohorts the same, and are the effects of individual factors also the same?*). Our findings show that, on the one hand, the internal predictors conditioning the three linguistic variables are the same in both speaker cohorts, and the effects of individual factors have similar tendencies. On the other hand, the linguistic variables under study are neither consistently conditioned by the same external predictors nor do their individual factors have a uniform effect in both communities. Thus, our finding of greater internal similarities concomitant with greater external differences answers our third overarching research question (*Are there greater differences or similarities in the effects of internal or external predictors?*). Concurrently, the similarities in the effects of linguistic predictors validate our main hypothesis that *both speaker cohorts are still members of the same speech community*. In sum, the main findings of this volume indicate that essentially the same internal predictors similarly constrain language variation and change in Barranquilla and the New York City Colombian enclave, two segments

of the larger speech community of speakers of Colombian Spanish. Thus, our results also lend validity to the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000). Furthermore, these results seem to be congruent with Silva-Corvalán's hypothesis that in language-contact situations a number of changes affecting the guest language are internally motivated since "they are in progress in the 'model' monolingual variety before intensive contact with another language occurs" (1994a: 208).

In addition to the similarities in the internal conditioning on the linguistic variables under study in both speaker cohorts, we have identified similarities with other speech communities in the conditioning forces on the expression of futurity and SPE. Due to being an understudied linguistic variable, we do not have data from other communities about the possessive. However, we can assume that some similarities will be unearthed when it is studied elsewhere. In the expression of futurity, similar tendencies to those found in the present analysis, most notably in the effects of temporal distance and adverbial specification, have been reported in other speech communities where the expression of futurity has been explored including Castellón, Spain (Blas Arroyo 2008), San Juan, Puerto Rico (Claes & Ortíz-López 2011), NYC Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b), and Xalapa, Mexico (Kyzar 2014). Additionally, the predictors conditioning SPE and their individual factor effects are known to be "remarkably similar across geographical settings and communities" (Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015: xiii). This suggests that Spanish preserves a great deal of morphosyntactic unity and, by showing similarities that go well beyond our two speaker cohorts, lends further support to the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism.

Having addressed our main hypothesis and three of our five overarching research questions, now we turn our attention to our fourth question: *How do direct language contact with English and contact with NYC Spanish affect Colombian Spanish? Is Colombian Spanish more strongly affected by contact with English or by dialectal convergence with New York City Spanish?* To answer this question, let us first go back to the distributions of variants for the linguistic variables under study. In the expression of futurity, the statistically significant (a) increase in the occurrence of the periphrastic future and (b) decrease in the use of the morphological future that Colombian Spanish registers in NYC as compared to Barranquilla appear to be motivated by the influence of contact with English. The predominant form of futurity in English is directly analogous to the Spanish PF (*voy a cantar*; 'I'm going to sing. '), which may well tend to favor the selection of the Spanish periphrastic future among Spanish-English bilinguals. This influence appears to favor the PF at the expense of the MF in the Spanish of both Colombians and Puerto Ricans in NYC, as the PF occurs more frequently among these speakers than in Barranquilla and San Juan, respectively (see Table 6.1). In fact, New York Puerto Ricans, apparently due to their community's more prolonged

**Table 6.1** The future in Colombia, Puerto Rico, and New York City

Community	MF	SP	PF
New York Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b)	4.1% (47)	17.2% (199)	78.7% (910)
San Juan, Puerto Rico (Claes & Ortíz-López 2011)	7.4%(34)	20.1% (92)	72.5% (332)
New York City Colombians (this volume)	7.2% (133)	30.3% (559)	62.5% (1153)
Barranquilla, Colombia (this volume)	18.2% (270)	35.9% (532)	45.9% (681)

and more intense contact with English, use the PF the most and the MF the least among the four speaker groups in Table 6.1. Concurrently, the statistically significant higher frequency of use of the PF in Puerto Rico (72.5%) than in the New York Colombian enclave (62.5%) suggests that the increase in the occurrence of the PF in New York as compared to Barranquilla is driven not only by the effects of contact with English – which would promote higher PF usage – but also by dialectal convergence with Puerto Rican Spanish, another promoter of higher PF usage.

Our SPE analysis shows further convergence to the New York City Spanish patterns that Colombian expatriates find in their new sociolinguistic surroundings. The most noticeable difference appears to be New York Colombians' statistically significant higher overt pronominal rate (43.3%) than that in Barranquilla (34.3%). Thus, the statistically significant difference in pronominal rates between New York and Barranquilla ( $X^2 = 51.265, p = 8.071^{-13}$ ) also suggests that New York Colombians are showing signs of convergence to their adopted sociolinguistic landscape. The verb and semantic categorization also show intriguing tendencies. Verbs condition the expressions of futurity and SPE while semantic categorization conditions possession. In terms of lexical content of verb, the New York Colombian patterns have started to become more Puerto Rican-like (cf. Claes 2011: 205) and less similar to those in Barranquilla (cf. Orozco 2015a).

While the influence of contact with English on the expression of futurity and SPE is fairly clear, it is not so for the possessive. One finding that defies explanation is the statistically significant ( $X^2 = 22.60, p = 1.994^{-6}$ ) higher frequency of possessive periphrases in New York (12.1%) compared to Barranquilla (6.5%). If the increased use of possessive periphrases in NYC does represent an ongoing change, it could be explained in terms of the generalized acceleration of ongoing changes in situations of language contact (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1994a). Another plausible explanation could be that it is due to dialectal convergence with the Caribbean-dominated New York City Spanish, as possessive periphrases occur quite frequently in Caribbean Spanish (Gabriela Alfaraz; A. Jacqueline Toribio, p.c.). Thus, the case of the expression of possession is particularly interesting since

it is simultaneously under forces that push and pull in opposite directions. On the one hand, the influences of dialectal convergence and levelling appear to promote the proliferation of periphrastic constructions in general and possessive periphrases in particular. On the other hand, the influence of contact with English appears to favor the occurrence of possessive adjectives, which would slow down or even inhibit the change in progress. It would be necessary to closely follow this situation to determine which of these two pressures finally wins out in the expression of possession in New York City Spanish.

Furthermore, the effects of social predictors provide an additional piece of evidence to the conclusion that dialect convergence plays an important role in the linguistic differences between New York Colombians and Barranquilleros. These effects suggest that the differences between the two Colombian speaker groups may not be entirely due to contact with English and that dialectal convergence toward New York Puerto Rican Spanish also plays an important role. The aforementioned gender gap role reversal exhibited by New York Colombians compared to sociolinguistic behaviors prevalent in Barranquilla<sup>7</sup> makes the speech of New York Colombians more similar to that of San Juan, Puerto Rico as well as to that of New York Puerto Ricans. After all, there are more Spanish speakers in the NYC metropolitan area than in Barranquilla. 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 New York, normative pressures on Spanish have attenuated, as has been attested among NY Puerto Ricans (Orozco 2015b), and an underlying change in progress toward the periphrastic future is clearly manifested. This ongoing change is aided by the combined effects of dialect convergence and language contact which include the influence exerted by bilingualism in English. However, further research is needed to satisfactorily answer the questions that still remain open regarding the individual forces of some internal factors. Furthermore, this situation may reflect that, as a result of direct contact with English and with New York City Spanish, changes in progress which started in Colombian Spanish prior to the onset of language contact have accelerated in New York City.

Finally, we address the larger implications of our findings as we answer our fifth overarching research question (*What are the implications of the existing variation, and how does this variation fall within the larger context of cross-linguistic phenomena?*). In tackling this question, I will start by addressing the following underlying although, so far, unstated question. *How do the*

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7. In Barranquilla, women have a conservative linguistic behavior while men act as linguistic innovators. The exact opposite obtains in New York City.

*three linguistic variables under study relate to one another?* Let us start with the expression of futurity.

As stated in Chapter 1, in language contact situations such as that of the Colombian community in NYC, there are certain processes that characteristically take place. The occurrence of lexical borrowings from English is already part of the speech of this community, bilingualism – together with its accompanying linguistic phenomena – is widespread, and its younger members are increasingly English dominant. The gradual disappearance of the morphological future would represent a reduction of domain of use, i.e., a case of simplification (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1994a). This development, together with the reduction of domains of the subjunctive mood, already attested in the Spanish spoken in New York City (Zentella 1997b), would provide further proof of the impact of language contact. The current situation of Colombian Spanish in New York City provides us with an opportunity such as that envisioned by Weinreich: using short-term diachronic observation to clarify basic problems that involve longer time spans (1967[1953]: 104).

Upon closer examination, the distributions of variants for all three linguistic variables under analysis reveal some interesting parallels and similarities. In both, the expressions of futurity and possession, we have older variants, i.e., the morphological future and possessive adjectives, traditionally favored by normative usage, which are receding. Moreover, in subject pronoun expression, we have an old morphosyntactic feature inherited from Latin, preference for null subjects, which appears to be progressively giving way to overt pronominal subjects. However, a major difference – at least between the future and the possessive – is that the morphological future is on its way out while the possessive adjective continues to be highly robust. Both of these forms occur more frequently in Barranquilla than in New York City. Thirdly, in the expression of futurity as well as in the expression of possession, there is a periphrastic innovation resulting from ongoing structural recasting involving grammaticalization. These innovations are expanding in the diasporic setting mainly at the expense of the older variants. There are statistically significant differences between both cohorts in terms of the distribution of forms for all three variants. While the periphrastic future registered a 16.6 percentage point increase in New York compared to its occurrence in Barranquilla ( $X^2 = 90.609$ ,  $p = < 2.2^{-16}$ ), the possessive periphrasis registered an increase of 5.7 percentage points ( $X^2 = 22.60$ ,  $p = 1.994^{-6}$ ). The higher overall occurrence of the periphrastic future and its higher increase of occurrence in the immigrant population apparently result from its having appeared in Spanish earlier than the possessive periphrasis.

Looking at this from a different angle, with both the expressions of futurity and possession we can see that, in general, the results for both linguistic variables in Barranquilla and in New York reveal the complex interaction of linguistic and social



predictors. The use of the innovations (i.e., periphrastic future, periphrastic possessive, and overt pronominal subjects) has increased in the diasporic setting. Thus, if we are dealing with changes in progress, these changes have accelerated in NYC. There are two possible explanations for this acceleration. One is the apparently general principle that existing tendencies for change are accelerated in an immigrant language involved in a contact situation, as Silva-Corvalán (1994a) suggests. The normative constraints on Spanish that exist in Colombia, which would tend to be linguistically conservative, are not present in the English-dominant setting of New York City. As we have noted, the morphological future and possessive adjectives are still considered prescriptively preferable, even though – in the case of futurity – the MF represents only a small fraction of all expressions of futurity in both populations. However, the fact that, while the periphrastic future occurs with a frequency of 65% in New York, the possessive periphrasis registers a frequency of 12% indicates that the change in the expression of futurity is much more advanced than the change in the expression of possession. Moreover, while the evidence for a change in progress in the expression of futurity is substantial, it is less conclusive in the case of the expression of possession. Whether the latter case of variation constitutes an ongoing change in progress remains an open question.

Additionally, the expressions of possession and futurity share other important commonalities. As pointed out by Gili y Gaya (1964) and other scholars, the innovation in the expression of possession is the result of the recasting of the Spanish pronominal system. This process was sparked by the gradual substitution of *vosotros* ‘you (plural)’ by *ustedes* as well as by the ambiguity posed by *su* ‘your (singular), her, his, your (plural), their.’ With the genesis of the possessive periphrasis, definite articles together with possessive pronouns – in the first and second person singular – and subject pronouns – in the remaining grammatical persons – have acquired new morphosyntactic roles. These structural developments provide the Castilian language with a more precise alternative than the existing and, still at this point, barely more frequent expression of nominal possession: the possessive adjective. Consequently, as has happened with the expression of futurity, lexical items already present in the language have acquired new morphosyntactic roles to revitalize the expression of possession.

Further, the genesis and grammaticalization of the possessive periphrases appear to represent a new evolutionary cycle where an analytic paradigm develops as part of the ongoing recasting of the Latin/Spanish pronominal and possessive systems (cf. Kany 1969: 63–70; Gili y Gaya 1964: 240). Thus, considering this situation in view of the evolution of Spanish, we could hypothesize that, being the development of the possessive periphrases subsequent to that of the periphrastic future, it would fit perfectly within the wider scope of diachronic cyclicity (cf. Fleischman 2009[1982]: 152; Givón 1971; Schwegler 1990: 146–147). This



would emerge as another manifestation of that process because the Latin synthetic possessive inherited by Spanish had an analytic realization at one point in its evolution which gave way, during the middle ages, to the modern synthetic possessive adjectives (Penny 2002; Eberenz 2004: 617 and references therein).

In expressing futurity and possession, Colombian Spanish speakers use analytical forms which represent innovations over the older synthetic paradigms. This development of analytical forms appears to respond to a larger tendency since the preference for periphrastic forms has also been observed in the use of adverbs, with adverbial circumlocutions often alternating with adverbs as in (71).

- (71) a. *La situación cambió de manera permanente.*  
 b. *La situación cambió permanentemente.*  
 'The situation changed permanently.'

A motivation for the increased use of analytical paradigms may be the avoidance of long words even if it means using circumlocutions which lead to longer clauses. Perhaps the appearance of other analytical forms outside the verbal system indicates that in the evolution of the Romance languages, in addition to verbal paradigms, other parts of the language develop analytical forms as part of a linguistic generalization ripple effect. Moreover, these findings provide an indication of how the combination of language and dialect contact impacts the Spanish of New York Colombians structurally and diachronically.

Additionally, the results of this study illustrate the linguistic process of simplification, where the language evolves to become either less irregular or/and less ambiguous, which is also often found in situations of language contact (Mougeon, Beniak, & Romaine 2002[1991]; Dorian 1981; Trudgill 2000; Silva-Corvalán 1994b). As has been attested crosslinguistically (Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1991; Ultan 1978), the results of this study show that the morphological future has been able to survive by acquiring new semantic domains. Among these domains we have epistemic modality (Gutiérrez 1995; Sedano 1994) and polite commands (Kany 1951; Niño-Murcia 1992). At the same time, the morphological future has become a marked future form. On the other hand, the periphrastic future has not only claimed the dominant role in the expression of futurity, but has also largely replaced the morphological form. The frequent occurrence of verbal periphrases to replace inflections in Spanish represents a consequence of the so-called instability of futures, i.e., their tendency to be recast periodically from modal VPs as discussed by Fleischman (2009[1982]: 31) and Schwegler (1990), respectively. The agglutination of the periphrastic future, discussed in Chapter 2, would eventually develop into an instance of a preposed auxiliary. A likely outcome of this development would be the need to use an overt subject which is currently dispensable in Spanish (Fleischman 2009[1982]: 116ff.).

The implications of our analysis of subject pronoun expression indicate the following. In its evolutionary trajectory, Latin appears to be departing from being a language where, as Richards (1958: 56) describes, “it is not necessary to use personal pronouns for the subject of a sentence.” Modern French and Haitian Creole are non-pro-drop or non-null subject languages, and Brazilian Portuguese is now considered a semi-pro-drop or partial null-subject language (cf. Erker & Guy 2012: 531; Pöll 2015). What does this leave for Spanish? The frequent occurrence of verbal periphrases to replace inflections in Spanish discussed by Fleischman (2009[1982]: 31) and Schwegler (1990), as well as earlier in this volume, may develop into the need to use overt subjects (Fleischman 2009[1982]: 116ff.). A particular linguistic change, rather than occurring in a vacuum, goes hand in hand with other changes. Thus, these developments appear to be manifestations of a larger series of syntactic changes toward fixed SV syntax that has been proposed for Spanish (Givón 1971, Green 1976, Schwartz 1975). A consequence of such change would be a proliferation of overt SPP usage. In fact, the high incidence of overt SPPs in Dominican Spanish has been associated with this apparent change in progress (Alfaraz 2015; Jiménez Sabater 1975; Lunn 2002; Morales 1989, 1997; Pöll 2015; Shin & Otheguy 2013; Toribio, 2000). The implications and ramifications of such developments, however, constitute topics for subsequent research.

The results concerning SPE provide additional evidence regarding the status of SPE in Costeño Spanish. Some of the research avenues opened by this study have to do with how to more appropriately explore the effects of the verb. Some others pertain to the direction of evolution in connection with SPE; that is, whether Costeño Spanish is on its way to becoming more Mainland-like and less Caribbean. The existing differences between SPE in Barranquilla and NYC provide evidence that (a) it is necessary to further explore the lexical effects of the verb on SPE from various perspectives, and (b) lexical idiosyncrasy provides a more reliable account of the effects of the verb on SPE. However, further research is needed to satisfactorily answer the questions that still remain open regarding the individual forces of some internal factors.

In general, our findings advance our knowledge of the multifaceted effects of linguistic contact and dialectal convergence on morphosyntactic variation leading to change via grammaticalization. They also provide important information that helps compare the sociolinguistic forces constraining variation in NYC Spanish to those doing so in other (Hispanic) speech communities. As this volume has shown, research on linguistic contact can enrich our knowledge of language immensely. As it happens in immigrant communities, contact provides information valuable in predicting trends in language variation and change. As the NY Spanish-speaking community continues to evolve, it is imperative to continue studying its sociolinguistic situation, among other things, because it can help us answer

questions that otherwise would remain unanswered for, at least, several decades. Nevertheless, we are only beginning to know the long-term effects of this multifaceted situation. Just as contact was crucial in the genesis of Spanish, it continues to play an important role in its evolution. Therefore, this study calls for further research on the sociolinguistic situation of immigrant communities.

### 6.3 Concluding remarks

In this volume, we have explored three linguistic variables comparing data from Barranquilla, Colombia and the NYC Colombian community. This chapter has discussed the main overarching research findings, which indicate that the Spanish spoken in both settings is still under the same conditioning effects, thus providing evidence in support of the Theory of Interdialectal Parallelism (Guy 2000). Additionally, I have answered one important, although unstated question: *What do the expressions of futurity, nominal possession, and subject pronoun usage have in common?* Our findings also provide evidence that the instances of language variation explored here involve ongoing changes, which appear to be accelerated in the expatriate population. In the case of the expression of futurity, the change in progress is nearing completion in NYC (cf. Orozco 2015b). We also have some evidence of the change towards more frequent overt pronominal expression (cf. Shin 2013; Shin & Otheguy 2013). In the case of the expression of possession, despite some noticeable contact effects in New York, we do not possess conclusive evidence of robust ongoing change. The findings also suggest that bilingualism by itself does not, in the short term, trigger changes in the effects of internal predictors. That is, the language is not changing significantly despite the widespread presence of contact-related phenomena. Having provided evidence from morphosyntactic linguistic variables, this study provides a baseline of findings that set the stage for research on other types of linguistic variables. Since, as the findings of the present study, among others, show that language variation and change do not occur in a vacuum, we are now in a position to further explore variation in search of processes of phonological or pragmatic nature that go hand in hand with the morphosyntactic variation investigated here.

Our findings suggest the existence of other instances of change in progress – perhaps still to be identified – that are also part of a much larger evolutionary process. This volume has addressed a piece of the enormous jigsaw puzzle that language variation and change constitute. The status of the three linguistic variables that we have explored evinces that all of them are conditioned by strong internal and external forces that involve large-scale evolutionary processes. If these findings prove to be typical of contact situations of recent inception, we can expect

the emerging changes in the effects of social forces to inevitably precede changes in the effects of linguistic predictors. Our knowledge of how both Colombian and New York City Spanish continue to evolve will depend on the findings of longitudinal studies still to be undertaken.

As Orozco (2004: 60) affirms, the future of Colombian Spanish depends largely on the country's demographic and social conditions. As the southern and Amazonian regions of Colombia continue to develop and evolve, one inevitable outcome would be the genesis and evolution of new linguistic varieties, perhaps influenced by the surviving indigenous languages as well as by contact with Portuguese. Concurrently, if the internal migrations that Colombia experienced during the latter part of the 20th and early part of the 21st centuries provide an indication of increased mobility, they stand to further impact ongoing variation in Colombian Spanish. Furthermore, the continued emigration of Colombians to other Latin American nations, as well as to the United States, Canada and Europe will most likely result in the formation of other diasporic Colombian communities. All of these factors will undoubtedly contribute to open exciting lines of research for scholars in linguistics and other disciplines.



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This volume fills a void in language variation and change research. It is the first to provide an empirical, comparative study of Spanish in Colombia and New York City. Remarkable similarities in the linguistic conditioning on language variation in both communities contrast with interesting differences in the effects of social predictors. The book provides a window into the effects of language and dialect contact on change and serves as a model for studies comparing diasporic populations to their home speech communities.

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