Fifth International Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics

April 8-10, 2010
North Carolina State University

Conference Program

Sponsored by:
The College of Humanities and Social Sciences Office of Research and Engagement
The Department of English
The Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures
The North Carolina Language and Life Project
¡Bienvenidos a Raleigh y al 5º Taller Internacional de Sociolingüística Hispánica!

We are excited to welcome you to WSS5. The great amount of interest in the conference this year and the strong program outlined here, especially in light of the difficult economic climate, speak to the growing importance of WSS to scholars in all fields of Spanish sociolinguistics. We hope that you find the workshop as rewarding to attend as we have to plan.

We want to thank all of our abstract reviewers, session chairs, volunteers, and participants for making this conference a success. We also want to thank the departments and programs at North Carolina State University that provided funding for the conference: The College of Humanities and Social Sciences Office of Research and Engagement, the Department of English, the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, and the North Carolina Language and Life Project. Special thanks also to Walt Wolfram, for his guidance and support throughout the planning of this conference.

The WSS5 Organizing Committee
Jim Michnowicz, Mark Darhower, Robin Dodsworth, Lucjan Mordzak and Valerie Wust

CHASS
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
Program

Thursday, April 8 (Riddick Hall – Room 450)

4:30-5:00 Registration

5:00-7:30 Session I: Subject pronoun expression and other variables

Chair: Robin Dodsworth (North Carolina State University)

- Subject pronoun expression in a variety of Spanish in contact with Portuguese. Ana M. Carvalho & Michael Child (University of Arizona)

- Subject pronoun expression in Spanish-Veneto bilinguals: The role of subject clitics. Hilary Barnes (Fayetteville State University)

- A sociolinguistic analysis of three linguistic variables in two communities: Barranquilla & New York. Rafael Orozco (Louisiana State University)

- Dialect perceptions and language attitudes about bilingual varieties. Ana M. Carvalho (University of Arizona)

Friday, April 9 (Talley Student Center – Room 3118)

8:00-8:50 Registration
8:50-9:10 Welcome speeches

9:15-10:45 Session 2: Spanish in the U.S.

Chair: Mark Darhower (North Carolina State University)

- Name ethnicity, identity and Spanish proficiency. MaryAnn Parada (University of Illinois at Chicago)

- Nonstandard grammatical variants and linguistic accommodation. Gabriela Alfaraz (Michigan State University)

- Second person singular pronoun use during simulated conversations by Colombians in the North Carolina Piedmont Triad. Scott Lamanna (Indiana University)

10:45-11:00 Break
11:00-12:00 Plenary Address

“Spanish-English code-switching among Latinos: the real and the imaginary, lo in y lo out”

Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (University of Texas-Austin)

12:00-1:15 Lunch

1:00-1:15 Business Meeting (WSS6)

1:15-3:15 Session 3: Phonological/phonetic variation

Chair: Lotfi Sayahi (The University at Albany - SUNY)

- El condicionamiento sociolingüístico de la oclusiva glotal en los medios de comunicación en Puerto Rico. Wilfredo Valentín-Márquez (Millersville University)

- The disappearance of unstressed vowel devoicing from the Spanish of Cusco, Peru: Change from above in a post-isolated dialect. Ann Marie Delforge (Montclair State University)

- Going retro: The influence of increased access to education and the role of the linguistic market in Caracas Spanish. Manuel Díaz-Campos, Stephen Fafulas & Michael Gradoville (Indiana University)

- The intervocalic voicing of /s/ in Ecuadorian Spanish. Whitney Chappell (Ohio State University)

3:15-3:30 Break

3:30-5:30 Spanish Voices Documentary Premiere and panel discussion (Talley Student Center – Room 3118)

A documentary produced and directed by Danica Cullinan under the aegis of the North Carolina Language and Life Project. The film will be followed by a panel discussion on the effects of migration in the southeast United States. Sponsored by CHASS offices of extension and diversity, and the NC State Department of Multicultural Student Affairs. Free and open to the public.

Panel:

Rich Slatta, History, NCSU - Moderator
Martha Crowley, Sociology and Anthropology, NCSU
Irene Godinez, Independent consultant
Norma Marti, NC Division of Public Health
Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, Spanish Language and Linguistics, University of Texas-Austin
6:00-8:00 Dinner (Italian Buffet - Brownstone Hotel: Assembly Room)

Saturday, April 10 (Withers Hall – Room 232A)

8:00-8:45 Registration

8:45-10:45 Session 4: Language Contact
Chair: Ana M. Carvalho (University of Arizona)

- Code-switching in Al-Andalus: re-assessing language contact in Muslim Spain. Lotfi Sayahi (The University at Albany – SUNY) & Juan Antonio Thomas (Utica College)
- Linguaphobia in Catalonia: the limits of quantifying language attitudes. Michael Newman (Queens College – CUNY)
- Mainland v. Island: A comparative morphological study of Spanish-Turkish contact. Rey Romero (University of Texas Pan American)
- On the status of Afro-Bolivian Spanish features: Decreolization or vernacular universals? Sandro Sessarego (Ohio State University)

10:45-11:00 Break

11:00-12:00 Keynote Address:
"Southern-Bred Latino/a English: An Emerging Ethnolect"

Walt Wolfram (North Carolina State University)

12:00-1:00 Lunch

1:00-2:30 Session 5: Phonological/phonetic variation; Language contact
Chair: Manuel Diaz-Campos (Indiana University)

- Are negative questions in Puerto Rican Spanish not special? Meghan Armstrong (Ohio State University/Universitat Pompeu Fabra)
- Throw a minority language into the mix: Intergenerational transmission amongst Catalans and Gallegos in New York City. Eva Juarros-Daussa (SUNY at Buffalo)
- Spanish in contact with French and English in Montreal: Lexical borrowings, semantic extensions, loan translations and morphosyntactic innovation. Maria Fionda (University of Florida)
2:30-4:00 Session 6: Morphological/syntactic variation

Chair: Rafael Orozco (Louisiana State University)

- Choice in mood following Spanish adverbs quizá(s): A consequence of time reference and lexeme effect. Elizabeth Finanger (Pennsylvania State University)
- Distinguishing two "synonyms": A variationist analysis of quizá and quizás in six Spanish dialects. Christina García (Ohio State University)
- La despluralización del verbo “haber” existencial en el español salvadoreño. José Roberto Alexander Quintanilla Aguilar (Butler University)
- Marcador epistémico y discursivo: ‘dizque’ en el español panameño. Delano Lamy (University of Florida)

4:00-4:15 Break

4:15-5:30 Poster Session (Withers Hall Lobby)

- The results of competition between a written Catalan standard and the expression of local identity. Mark Amengual (University of Texas at Austin)
- The importance of delimiting the domain of variation for the analysis of Differential Object Marking in Spanish. Sonia Balasch (University of New Mexico)
- Forms of address in Chilean Spanish. Kelley Bishop & Jim Michnowicz (North Carolina State University)
- La muerte del “usted” y el triunfo del “tú” en la España actual: Un estudio del uso de “tú” y “usted” en el programa radiofónico español Julia en la onda. Isabel Domínguez (SUNY at Buffalo)
- Lateralization in Puerto Rican Spanish. Verónica González (North Carolina State University)
- Yesterday, all my troubles have seemed (PP) so far away: Variation in pre-hodiernal perfective expression in Peninsular Spanish. Bonnie Holmes & Colleen Balukas (Pennsylvania State University)
- The process of devoicing of the voiced palatal /ʒ/ in the Spanish dialect of Buenos Aires. Patricia Infantino (North Carolina State University)
- The Sociolinguistic Archive and Analysis Project (SLAAP). The North Carolina Language and Life Project (North Carolina State University)
• The Expression of Nominal Possession in Colombian Spanish: ¿Qué Pasa en Nueva York? Rafael Orozco & Sarah Sullivan (Louisiana State University)

• Discourse and Negotiation of Identity: Amerindian Groups in North Carolina. Liliana Paredes & Donald Kyle Danielson (Duke University)

• Attitudes towards the Spanish /θ/ and its acquisition by immersion students in Madrid. Kathryn Ringer-Hilfinger (University at Albany – SUNY)

• Spanish Language Maintenance and Shift in Raleigh, North Carolina. Jenny Vojtko (North Carolina State University)

5:30-6:30 Plenary address:

"Signed, Sealed, but not Delivered: Problems in (and Possible Solutions for) Determining the Envelope of Variation"

Scott Schwenter (Ohio State University)

7:00-9:00 Dinner (Wolfpack BBQ (with vegetarian lasagna) – Talley Student Center 3118)
Keynote and Plenary Abstracts

Southern-Bred Latino/a English: An Emerging Ethnolect.
Walt Wolfram
North Carolina State University

The presentation considers the emerging varieties of Hispanic English developing in the Mid-Atlantic South based on current sociolinguistic research in representative urban and rural contexts of North Carolina. By comparing the data from emerging varieties of Hispanic English in North Carolina with longstanding, stable varieties of Chicano/a English in the Southwest US, we can determine what features of regional English in the American South might become a part of a newly emerging ethnic variety of English. We conclude that there are both parallel and unique dimensions of Hispanicized English in the mid-Atlantic South and set forth principles and processes that account for its formation.

Spanish-English code-switching: The real and the imaginary, lo in y lo out.
Almeida Jacqueline Toribio
University of Texas at Austin

This presentation offers an overview of the multiple facets of Spanish-English code-switching among U.S. Latinos—its properties, its practitioners, its motivations, and its contexts. The exposition benefits from ample illustrations of oral and written code-switching, highlighting the findings of a vast literature representative of diverse disciplines and interpretive frameworks and disclosing those aspects that merit additional scholarly attention.

Signed, Sealed, but not Delivered: Problems in (and Possible Solutions for) Determining the Envelope of Variation
Scott Schwenter
The Ohio State University

Determining the Envelope of Variation (AKA Variable Context) is a necessary step in any variationist research project. Following from Labov’s Principle of Accountability, the Envelope of Variation defines all those contexts where a linguistic variable—and specifically its variants—may occur. In this talk, I will point out several critical issues that arise in the process of defining the Envelope of Variation for morphosyntactic variables, and argue that, up until now, researchers have not examined this analytical construct from a sufficiently critical perspective. I will offer examples from my own research on Spanish and Portuguese as well as that of other scholars where crucial decisions about the Envelope of Variation have at least partially predetermined the resulting analysis. I will at the same time offer some potential solutions for these problems, and in the process show the importance and relevance of notions and techniques from research in pragmatics for variationist analysis.
Abstracts
(in order of presentation)

Subject pronoun expression in a variety of Spanish in contact with Portuguese
Ana M. Carvalho & Michael Child (University of Arizona)

In both Spanish and Portuguese, the expression of a subject pronoun is variable. However, studies have shown that, in general, Spanish dialects tend to favor null pronouns while in Brazilian Portuguese, overt expression of pronominal subjects is becoming more and more frequent (Kato & Negrão, 2000; Paredes Silva, 1993). In this paper, we focus on subject pronoun expression in a variety of Spanish in contact with Portuguese in northern Uruguay from a variationist perspective.

Using tokens extracted from 12 sociolinguistic interviews with Spanish-Portuguese bilinguals born and raised in a bilingual Uruguayan border town, our first aim is to identify and describe the factors that condition the expression of the subject pronoun in border Spanish. Preliminary results indicate person, switch reference (or continuity of reference, see Shin & Otheguy, 2009), and reflexive use of the verb to be important in conditioning personal pronoun usage in this variety of Spanish.

In addition, we compare these results with distributional patterns found in monolingual varieties of both Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish by other studies, in order to test to what extent the behavior of this variable in this bilingual variety of Spanish is affected by contact with Portuguese. Our results indicate that in general, subject pronoun expression in border Spanish mirrors that of monolingual speakers of Spanish, which leads us to conclude, for now, that Portuguese does not seem to be influencing these bilinguals’ realization of this variable. Our ultimate goal in investigating cross-linguistic patterned variation is to explore to what extent bilinguals utilize parallels between their languages in situations where similar languages are in contact.

Subject pronoun expression in Spanish-Veneto bilinguals: The role of subject clitics
Hilary Barnes (Fayetteville State University)

This paper examines subject pronoun expression in Spanish-Veneto bilinguals in Chipilo, a small community in central Mexico. Chipilo presents a unique case for the study of language contact and subject pronoun expression for several reasons. First, Veneto remains the first language of most, if not all, of the bilinguals in the community and both Spanish and Veneto are null subject languages (see Brandi and Cordin, 1989). Unlike Spanish, however, Veneto requires obligatory subject clitics that occur in the 2sg, 3sg, and 3pl forms, as shown in (1).

− (mi) parle (nuatri) parlón
− (ti) tu parla (vuatri) parlé
− (lu) al parla (luri) i parla
− (ela) la parla (ele) i parla

It is hypothesized that subject clitics may be reanalyzed as subject pronouns in bilingual Chipilo Spanish in exactly those forms that require clitics in Veneto, thereby leading to increased subject pronoun expression. To investigate this research question, 18 sociolinguistic interviews were selected from a larger study and a total of 4,696 tokens of null and overt subject pronouns were analyzed using GoldVarb. Tokens were coded for person/number, verb form ambiguity, switch-reference, and the gender, age, and L1 of each participant. Of the 18 participants selected, 5 are L1 Spanish speakers and 13 are L1 Veneto speakers, although all have some knowledge of both languages through membership in the community. All factors were returned as significant except L1. First person pronouns favor overt subject pronouns, which is in-line with previous research (e.g., Otheguy et al. 2007, Silva-Corvalán 1982, 1994, Travis 2007), however, third person forms neither favor nor disfavor overt pronouns. Thus, the hypothesis that subject clitics are reanalyzed in bilingual speech as subject pronouns is not supported. In only one case does a subject clitic appear to surface in bilingual Spanish speech, as seen in (2). In this case, the 3sg feminine subject clitic is inserted in an otherwise monolingual Spanish utterance.

− Ella la fue la que la levantó. (female, born 1944, L1 Veneto)

Gender and age were also returned as significant factors: women and speakers between the ages of 51-64 favor overt forms. This could be explained as a question of language dominance. Interestingly, however, L1 was not returned as significant. This preference for overt forms on the part of women and older speakers is instead attributed to the somewhat frequent use of a repetitive yo found in the speech of several participants, as seen in (3). This repetitive yo follows a Veneto pattern as seen in (4) where the subject pronoun is repeated for emphatic purposes.

− Yo me había yo encerrado yo todo el día dormía yo. Todo el día, todo el día yo estaba yo en la cama. Pero yo también parecía yo una gallina clueca, de veras. (female born 1948, L1 Veneto)

In sum, the data does not support the hypothesis that Veneto subject clitics are reanalyzed as subject pronouns in bilingual Chipilo Spanish. In fact, the rate of subject pronoun expression is consistent with that of other monolingual and bilingual varieties of
Spanish (e.g., Otheguy et al. 2007). However, we do see some degree of Veneto influence in subject pronoun expression, particularly in the repetitive use of 1sg pronouns. Future research will further examine the role of language dominance in subject pronoun expression and the Veneto influence in bilingual Chipilo Spanish.

References

---

**A sociolinguistic analysis of three linguistic variables in two communities: Barranquilla & New York**

Rafael Orozco (Louisiana State University)

This study expands on previous, separate analyses of the linguistic variables used to express futurity, possession, and overt pronominal subjects in two communities: Barranquilla, Colombia and the Colombian Community in New York City. As I examine the status of these linguistic variables, I first compare the distribution of their variants. Then, I explore the constraints that significantly condition them. Additionally, I test Guy’s (2000) theory that the factors constraining language variation and change are consistent within different segments of a speech community.

The data examined in this study were extracted from two corpora, the Corpus del Castellano Barranquillero (CorCaBa), and the Corpus del Español Colombiano en Nueva York (CEsCoNY). They were built from sociolinguistic interviews with socially stratified groups of speakers from Barranquilla and members of the Colombian community in New York City, respectively. In exploring linguistic constraints, I conducted a series of parallel statistical regression analyses for each variant in each linguistic variable to test the effects of nine factor groups on the expressions of futurity and overt pronominal subjects as well as ten on the expression of possession. I also explored five social constraints in Barranquilla and eight in NYC.

The results demonstrate that the factors constraining language change and variation are consistent within different segments of a speech community. The findings reveal interesting parallels between all three linguistic variables. There is an innovating form in the future and the possessive occurring more frequently in NYC. Moreover, the linguistic constraints conditioning the occurrence of a paradigm in each community are similar for each linguistic variable. That is, the linguistic constraints acting on the variables are largely the same in both communities. The social constraints reveal the significant effect...
of sex on the expressions of futurity and possession in both communities. However, its effect in NYC runs contrary to that in Colombia. There is also an interesting age effect on the expression of pronominal subjects. The similarity of the linguistic constraint effects suggests that, despite the influence of language contact in NYC, the two communities still belong to the same speech community. These findings help explain other instances of morphosyntactic variation, especially those involving analytic and synthetic variants. Furthermore, they contribute to augment our understanding of language variation and change with regards to Spanish in the United States, Spanish in contact with other languages, and in general terms, in situations of linguistic contact of recent inception.

Reference:

Dialect perceptions and language attitudes about bilingual varieties
Ana M. Carvalho (University of Arizona)

This paper focuses on perceptions and attitudes that speakers of monolingual, standard varieties have about bilingual border dialects. More specifically, it studies how Uruguayan Portuguese, spoken by bilinguals on the Uruguayan-Brazilian border region, is perceived by speakers of Brazilian Portuguese with no awareness of the existence of this dialect, spoken outside national borders. Uruguayan Portuguese is seen as a Portuguese-Spanish hybrid by speakers who are linguistically insecure and believe that they do not speak either language well, but a mix popularly called “Portuñol”. Nevertheless, variation studies have shown that instead of a monolingual and mixed variety, the Uruguayan border population has access to a socially stratified bilingual and multidialectal repertoire that includes both local and national varieties of Portuguese and Spanish (Carvalho 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006). In this study, I am interested in exploring to what extent political borders influence people’s dialectal maps, a claim made by Auer 2002. By investigating whether this dialect is perceived as ‘Portuguese’ by speakers who are not aware of its border and bilingual origin, I look at whether purist language attitudes and linguistic insecurity influence the popular tendency to classify Uruguayan Portuguese as a hybrid. Results are based on an online survey with 130 Brazilians who were asked to judge speech samples of Uruguayan Portuguese, recorded with three women from different social classes. The surveys suggest that middle-class Uruguayan Portuguese is perceived as pure Portuguese and is positively evaluated, while the working-class sample is perceived as Spanish-influenced and is negatively evaluated – mirroring very closely the sociolinguistic stratification shown by variation studies. These findings support the claim that without awareness of a political border and presuppositions about language mixture, dialectal borders do not necessarily persist. Ultimately, this study sheds light on the intersections of language attitudes and ideology and linguistic analysis.

References:
Given names serve as long-term labels that play a central role in the socialization of children and influence the shaping of personal identities over time. Names convey certain social meaning, such as ethnic background and societal membership, and have even been shown to connote such qualities as cheerfulness, morality, ambition and attractiveness (Mehrabian, 1992, 2001; Erwin, 1993). Likewise, first names can also impart differentiated impressions based on familiarity, spelling and ethnicity, to name a few. For immigrants and their descendants in the United States, first names can serve as a powerful indicator of commitment to majority assimilation (see Sue and Telles, 2007) and can influence how they are perceived ethnically and linguistically.

The purpose of this study was two-fold. First, I examined the relationship between name ethnicity and assimilation, as evidenced in the Spanish proficiency of college-age second generation Latinos in Chicago. Utilizing a corpus of 387 names of Latino university students and their corresponding Spanish class placement information, trends were identified between the two. Results point to a correlation between name ethnicity and Spanish proficiency in that those with more ethnic names tended to place higher. This paper discusses how affective and identity issues, as related to name ethnicity in this instance, are possibly brought to bear on level of ultimate attainment in the heritage language. The second objective of the study was to explore attitudes held by Chicago-raised second-generation Latinos toward personal names, naming practices and Spanish proficiency as they relate to Latino identity. This was realized by collecting data from 45 participants via an online survey. Among other findings, the individuals of this sample having ethnic names were more likely to identify as primarily Latino (and less likely to identify as primarily American) than were those with less ethnic names. Nevertheless, a majority did not believe that having a Hispanic name is especially important for one to feel ethnically identified or to speak Spanish natively. With respect to plans for naming their children, the participants did not express a strong desire to give their children either
strictly ethnic or non-ethnic names—instead, they attributed more importance to ease of pronunciation in both English and Spanish. Additionally, a possible indication of identity negotiation was that a surprisingly large number of the participants with non-ethnic or language-neutral names indicated a preference for a Spanish pronunciation of their name. Conversely, those with ethnic names did not express a reverse preference (i.e. an English pronunciation) at the same rate.

References

---

Nonstandard grammatical variants and linguistic accommodation
Gabriela Alfaraz (Michigan State University)

It is well known that grammatical variation can be difficult to observe, in part because of the infrequent occurrence of variants. The study of nonstandard grammar is fraught with difficulties because nonstandard forms may be avoided in an interview situation. This paper discusses nonstandard forms in Spanish that figured in a research design that drew on techniques from cognitive psychology and generative syntax. Techniques to elicit formal acceptability judgments are used in experimental syntax (Cowart, 1997; Schütze, 1996) and the think-aloud protocol has long been used as a data collection tool in cognitive psychology (Ericsson & Simon, 1980). In this paper we provide evidence that suggests that integrating grammatical acceptability tasks, along with a concurrent think-aloud method, in the sociolinguistic interview can ensure a quantifiable number of tokens and render valuable insight into the patterning of grammatical variants in a community (Cornips & Poletto, 2005; Henry, 2005).

The data for this study were collected from 44 subjects of Mexican and Cuban origin in a city in the Midwestern US. The objective of the study was to examine linguistic accommodation by studying the occurrence of certain features of the two varieties, including variation of the copulas ser and estar (Silva-Corvalán, 1986), the variation of the verbs of visual perception ver and mirar, and questions with overt subject pronouns, among others.

The findings indicated that the two groups are not accommodating; moreover, the findings from the acceptability tasks, together with evidence from the think-alouds, strongly suggested divergence rather than convergence. The results for conversational and elicitation data were tabulated using a multiple regression analysis that showed that regional dialect, age, gender, socioeconomic status, social network, and length of residence, quantified in terms of a Regionality Index, as suggested by Chambers (2000, 2002), were significant for the variation of the copulas. The results for the grammatical
acceptability tasks and the think-aloud revealed that Mexican-origin subjects were not aware of dialectal differences, but that Cuban-origin subjects identified nonstandard forms as being linked to Mexican identity. The use of elicitation techniques facilitated the study of grammatical variables by forcing the use of the target forms and, more importantly, the acceptability judgment tasks in conjunction with the think-aloud methodology rendered valuable information that enriched the interpretation of the nonstandard grammatical variants and the direction of accommodation.

Works Cited

Second Person Singular Pronoun Use during Simulated Conversations by Colombians in North Carolina
Scott Lamanna (Indiana University)

Colombian Spanish represents a promising avenue for the expansion of research on U.S. Spanish. First, Colombians make up a significant component of the U.S. Hispanic population, as the largest group of South American origin in the country (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). In addition, the status of Colombian Spanish as a minority variety within a larger minority language community makes it appealing as a focus of empirical investigation. Unlike Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, Colombians do not represent the largest Hispanic group in any of the major communities of Spanish-speakers in the U.S. Thus they serve as an ideal case for examining dialect contact, as the influence of more widely-spoken varieties of Spanish is exerted on the Colombian variety. Relatively little research has been done to date on the Spanish of Colombian communities in the U.S. (Hurtado, 2001, 2005a, 2005b; Orozco, 2004, 2007a, 2007b; Ramírez, 2003, 2007), and these studies are limited to the states of Florida and New York.

The current study addresses the above gap in the literature by analyzing the effects of dialect contact on the Spanish spoken by Colombians residing in the Piedmont Triad region of North Carolina, an area with a recently established and rapidly growing Colombian immigrant community (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The linguistic variable
examined is choice of second person singular pronominal address form (tú or usted, both equivalents of you in English). The use of these forms varies between different dialects of Spanish (Lipski, 1994), and second person pronouns have been examined previously in studies of the effect of dialect contact on U.S. Spanish varieties (Hernández, 2002; Schreffler, 1994). However, the effect of contact between a dialect where usted is preferred by many speakers in a wide range of contexts, including informal ones (highland Colombia) (Lipski, 1994; Travis, 2002; Uber, 1985) and one in which tú is preferred in informal domains (Mexico) (Covarrubias, 2000; Schwenter, 1993) has not yet been investigated.

Three groups of participants are included in the present study: twenty-four Colombians originally from Bogotá and currently residing in the majority-Mexican Hispanic community of the Piedmont Triad, a corresponding group of twenty-five Colombians in Bogotá, and twenty-three Mexicans in the Piedmont Triad. Participants carried out a series of simulated conversations, in which they indicated how a given person would address another in response to a situation that could occur between two people in daily life. Independent extralinguistic variables examined include two participant variables (group and gender) and three interlocutor variables (relative status, relative age, and degree of acquaintance). A one-way ANOVA was run to test for differences in the mean percentage of tú use among the three participant groups. In addition, a binary logistic regression identified the variables that determine pronoun use for each group when all variables are considered together. Results of the study are mixed regarding the influence of dialect contact on the use of second person singular pronouns by Colombians in North Carolina. While the overall frequency of use of tú and usted does not show the NC Colombians accommodating to their Mexican interlocutors by using more tú and less usted than Colombians in Bogotá, the variable hierarchies that determine pronoun choice provide some evidence that the NC Colombians are converging with the NC Mexicans in terms of the relative importance assigned to different variables when selecting a pronoun.

References


---

**El condicionamiento sociolinguístico de la oclusiva glotal en los medios de comunicación en Puerto Rico**

Wilfredo Valentín-Márquez (Millersville University)

Una novedosa articulación oclusiva glotal que ocurre como variante de (s) final de palabra en contextos pre-vocálicos recién comienza a capturar el interés de los estudios sociolinguísticos sobre variación fonológica en el español de Puerto Rico. Los análisis que de esta variante hacen Valentín-Márquez (2006) y Morales Reyes (2009) se basan en datos de habla espontánea recogidos en distintas comunidades de la Isla, mientras que Valentín-Márquez (2009) y Satterfield & Benki (2009) examinan específicamente el habla de cantantes puertorriqueños de reggaetón durante entrevistas televisivas, toda vez que la articulación glotal de (s) se ha ligado a la popularidad de dicho género musical en la Isla (Valentín-Márquez 2006). Las frecuencias con que emerge la glotal se han cuantificado, además, en un corpus de las más populares canciones de reggaetón (Valentín-Márquez 2009).
Esta investigación expande el análisis de la ocurrencia de [ʔ] en contextos mediáticos, cuantificando datos tomados de programas de radio y televisión que incluyen muestras de habla tanto de informantes anónimos como de políticos, funcionarios gubernamentales y reconocidas personalidades de los medios (músicos, actores y anclas de noticias). Además de examinar la contribución del sexo de los hablantes, el análisis del condicionamiento social agrupa a los informantes en cuatro categorías de edad: (a) niños, (b) adolescentes y jóvenes, (c) adultos jóvenes y de mediana edad, y (d) envejecientes. Una dimensión adicional es examinada al comparar las frecuencias de ocurrencia de la variante glotal en contextos de distintos grados de formalidad (e.g., comentarios espontáneos versus lectura de noticias o repetición de libretos memorizados).

El presente estudio parte de la hipótesis de que el rasgo glotal de (s) ocurre más frecuentemente en el habla femenina y entre las generaciones más jóvenes, así como en contextos de menor formalidad, lo que es confirmado por los resultados preliminares. Los hallazgos se discuten a la luz de las percepciones generales que imperan en Puerto Rico sobre la corrección lingüística, la proyección de una identidad nacional y las pronunciaciones socialmente estigmatizadas.

Referencias:
Morales Reyes, Alexandra. 2009. La realización de la glotal como variante de /s/ final de palabra: Evidencia de procesos meta-fonológicos en el habla de los puertorriqueños. Ponencia presentada en el Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, San Juan, PR.

Satterfield, Teresa & José R. Benkí. 2009. Activao: Tracking The Emergence of a New Variety of Spanish. Ponencia presentada en el Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, San Juan, PR.


. 2009. Los sonidos del flow boricua: rasgos dialectales en la lengua del reggaetón. Ponencia presentada en el Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, San Juan, PR.

---

The Disappearance of Unstressed Vowel Devoicing from the Spanish of Cusco, Peru: Change from Above in a Post-Isolated Dialect  
Ann Marie Delforge (Montclair State University)

This paper describes the recession of unstressed vowel devoicing, a salient phonetic feature of Andean Spanish, in the Southern Peruvian city of Cusco. Reconstruction following a major earthquake in 1950, including significant improvements in transportation linking the area to regions beyond the Andes, abruptly transformed Cusco from a small, isolated provincial capital into a thriving metropolis and major tourist destination which receives visitors from many areas including numerous parts of the Spanishspeaking world. The disappearance of a conspicuous characteristic of the local accent from residents’ speech can thus readily be attributed to dialect leveling following a significant increase in contact with other varieties of Spanish (Kerswill &
Williams 2000). However, spectrographic analysis of two-minutelong segments of sociolinguistic interviews with a sample of 150 native Cusqueñans, 75 men and 75 women stratified by age groups defined in terms of milestones in Cusco’s recent history and by social status, demonstrates that this sound change has followed a fairly uncommon pattern of social diffusion.

I find that the members of Cusco’s small, tight-knit, upper class who grew up in the years following the great earthquake were the first to eliminate unstressed vowel devoicing from their speech (Table 1). The recession of this pronunciation can therefore be considered one of the relatively small number of sound changes initiated by a group at the top of the social hierarchy documented to date (Baranowski 2008, Dubois & Horvath 1999, Gómez 2003, Labov 1966, Watt & Milroy 1999). It is also one of a very few sociolinguistic studies (Baranowski 2008, Kroch 1996) to investigate the linguistic behavior of a self defined, elite social group whose membership is partially determined by knowing the “right” people and belonging to the “right” clubs rather than by purely socioeconomic criteria.

As an examination of my informants’ biographies does not indicate that the Cusco upper class had significantly more contact with speakers of other Spanish dialects following 1950 than did other residents of the city, my discussion of the data focuses on the potential effects of attitudes toward their own provincial status held by the Cusco elite on their linguistic behavior as well as the possible contribution of social network structure to the early reduction of unstressed vowel devoicing exhibited by this group. A variety of sources from anthropology (De la Cadena 2000) and history (Tamayo Herrera 2008) document the pervasive desire of Cusco’s upper crust to become more cosmopolitan. It is possible that this attitude at least partially mediated their rapid adoption of fully-voiced unstressed vowels. And, as the Cusco upper class is a small group whose members interacted primarily with one another in both professional and social contexts in the recent past and continue to do so to a large extent even today, they can be described as forming a dense, multiplex, closed network (Milroy and Milroy 1992) in which linguistic change can be propagated with extreme rapidity. Other strata of Cusquenan society are best characterized as consisting of diffuse social networks (De los Heroes 1997).

The elite’s initial rejection of unstressed vowel devoicing affected men’s and women’s speech to an equal extent, although women did lead in subsequent abandonment of this regional pronunciation by the upper middle and middle classes (Table 2) as is expected in the adoption of prestige, supra-local variants (Labov 2001). I attribute the lack of a gender difference in the early stages of this process to its swift progress and note parallels in studies of other linguistic changes resulting from sudden, large-scale social transformation (Dubois and Horvath 1999, Kochetov 2006b.) I also present results of an attitude survey including a matched guise procedure and a questionnaire completed by a separate sample of 106 Cusqueñans designed to measure participants’ conscious awareness of unstressed vowel devoicing as well as their assessment of it. The data indicate that Cusquenans are in fact cognizant of the existence of this pronunciation and demonstrate that there are significant cross-generational differences in their evaluations of the phenomenon which parallel the trends observed in language use. While the oldest participants, who reached adulthood before the earthquake, regard unstressed vowel devoicing as simply indicative of a speaker’s Andean origins, younger
informants associate the phenomenon with poverty, lack of education and low social status.

Table 1. Ages in 2005, Social Class and Rates of Unstressed Vowel Devoicing (40,556 tokens)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Lower</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Upper Middle</th>
<th>Upper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young (25 and under)</td>
<td>8.84</td>
<td>6.37</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle 1 (26 to 40)</td>
<td>15.88</td>
<td>11.07</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>3.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle 2 (41 to 55)</td>
<td>15.49</td>
<td>16.77</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>3.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older (56 and older)</td>
<td>17.57</td>
<td>14.88</td>
<td>16.11</td>
<td>16.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Results of Binomial Logistic Regression in Genmod (40,556 tokens)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
<th>Chi Square</th>
<th>Probability Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19.98</td>
<td>&lt; .0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>470.85</td>
<td>&lt; .0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>759.47</td>
<td>&lt; .0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender*Class</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>&lt; .2414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender*Age</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>&lt; .2858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class*Age</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>389.80</td>
<td>&lt; .0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender<em>Class</em>Age</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39.51</td>
<td>&lt; .0112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References
Going retro: The influence of increased access to education and the role of the linguistic market in Caracas Spanish.

Manuel Díaz-Campos, Stephen Fafulas & Michael Gradoville (Indiana University)

Sociolinguistic research has mentioned the role that the linguistic market has in using and accessing more standard forms in areas where professional preparation is expected (Sankoff and Laberge 1978). Even though this notion of the linguistic market has been used, there are no studies examining in detail how education ties in with occupation as reflected in linguistic behavior. Variationist sociolinguistic research throughout the Spanish-speaking world has documented the importance of factors such as age, sex and socioeconomic class in identifying sociolinguistic stratification within individual communities (e.g., Cameron 2005, Cedergren 1973, Cepeda 1990, Dorta 1989, Fontanella de Weinberg 1973, 1979, Holmquist 1985, 1988 and López Morales 1983, Medina-Rivera 1997, etc). Nevertheless, a deeper investigation of the intersection between education, occupation, and socioeconomic status is warranted. The present study not only examines the influence of gender and socioeconomic class in the patterning of linguistic behavior, but furthermore focuses on the access to education and its relation to the linguistic market, in order to provide a more complete picture than has previously been offered in the Spanish-speaking world. To achieve this goal, multiple variable phenomena including intervocalic /ɾ/ deletion, syllable-final /ɾ/ deletion, and intervocalic /d/ deletion are examined in correlation with gender, social class, age, occupation and the role of the linguistic market in explaining the behavior of these variables in the Spanish of Caracas.

Recordings of speech samples were analyzed from the corpus Estudio Sociolingüístico del Habla de Caracas (Bentivoglio & Sedano 1993) with equal representation of: socioeconomic level (upper class, middle class, and lower class), age (14-29, 30-45, and 61 and older), and sex (male and female). The analysis is based on three dependent variables: 1) Intervocalic /ɾ/ deletion in para ‘for’ (i.e. [pá] vs. [páɾa]), 2) syllable-final /ɾ/ deletion (i.e. [kantáɾ] vs [kantá] ‘to sing’ and 3) intervocalic /d/ deletion (i.e. [kantádo] vs [kantáo] ‘sung’). The sociolinguistic variables of socioeconomic class, gender, and age were examined as well as the professional activities and education level of the speakers in order to provide information about their involvement in the linguistic market.

The findings of this investigation reveal that upper and middle class speakers are less likely to use vernacular variants of all three variables than the lower socioeconomic speakers in the community. This behavior of the upper and middle class in contrast with
the working class in Caracas Spanish can best be explained as a consequence of participation in the linguistic market where more prestigious variants are expected in the professional setting that these groups belong to. Further, as access to education increases in younger generations, a sharp rise in the use of the conservative variants is reflected in the lowest socioeconomic class. This paper contributes to an explanation of the conservative behavior of the upper and middle classes, as well as the youngest participants from the lower class, by observing the intersection of gender, age and social class as well as the role of participation in the linguistic market and level of education.

References
Labov, William (1990). The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change . Language Variation and Change (2) : 205 54.
The intervocalic voicing of /s/ in Ecuadorian Spanish.
Whitney Chappell (Ohio State University)

While previous research has drawn attention to the phenomenon of Ecuadorian /s/-voicing in intervocalic environments (Canfield 1981, Lipski 1989/1994, Robinson 1979, Toscano 1953), none has analyzed this case of dialectal variation in depth. The most thorough analysis is that of Robinson (1979), who claims that the voicing phenomenon only occurs at syllable boundaries in the Quito dialect, e.g. es él ‘it is him,’ as a remnant of the medieval /s/ and /z/ contrast. This study provides the first quantitative analysis of that claim: it shows that intervocalic /s/ voicing does not solely occur at word boundaries in the Quito dialect, but may occur in word medial position as well, influenced by the previously unmentioned factor group of syllable stress.

The data used in this study come from the recorded archives of Quito radio station Radio la luna. In total, ten 20-minute interviews that took place between March and April of 2009 were chosen, all of which focused on local issues and events. The interviews were analyzed with Praat software, and the spectrographs of all the tokens of /s/ realizations were reviewed. Tokens were counted as [z] when a strong voice bar was present, and those with no strong voice bar, but rather noise dispersed throughout the window, were counted as [s]. Finally, the numbers of each variant were tallied, and a variable rule analysis was conducted to determine whether any other significant factors influenced the variant.

According to the variable rule analysis, the most significant factor group affecting /s/ voicing is, as Robinson suggested, the occurrence of a word boundary. Tokens occurring word-finally across a word boundary favor the voiced variant with a factor weight of .97, and all intervocalic environments favor the voiced variant with a factor weight of .81. Contrary to what Robinson claimed, however, the occurrence of intervocalic [z] across a word boundary and intervocalic [s] word medially are not categorical rules in the Quito dialect; in fact, only 65% of [z] tokens occurred across a word boundary as described by Robinson, shown in Figure 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Across Word Boundary, Word 1 Final</th>
<th>Across Word Boundary, Word 2 Initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>65% (36/55)</td>
<td>6% (3/55)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. Distribution of intervocalic [z].

In another Ecuadorian dialect, these word medial [z] tokens could be explained by morphological divisions; Robinson asserts that in the Cuenca dialect, the voiced variant may be found word medially to signal a boundary between prefix and root. However, my data shows that the Quito dialect also incorporates word medial [z], and not always in a position of prefix-root separation, as seen by the underlined [z] realizations below.

1. *Que hemos avanzado en muchas cosas, que hay mucho mas que hacer.*
   ‘That we have advanced in many things, that there is much more to do.’
2. *Este es un proceso de gente que se ha jugado la vida para concluir un pais mejor.*
   ‘This is a process of people risking their lives to create a better country.’

This word medial variability could be accounted for with another previously ignored factor: syllable stress. Tokens that occur as an onset in a pretonic or posttonic syllable, like those in examples 1 and 2, favor the voiced variant with a factor weight of .60 and .
71, respectively, while tonic syllables and those with no neighboring stress disfavor voicing of the /s/, with factor weights of .44 and .41. This study bolsters the notion that phenomena believed to be in categorical distribution are often much more complicated than initially thought, and a quantitative analysis is necessary to more fully understand the variability. Robinson provides good predictive factors for Ecuadorian /s/ voicing, but the application of his rules in the Quito dialect is not categorical, and we cannot ignore the exceptions.

**Code-switching in Al-Andalus: re-assessing language contact in Muslim Spain.**

Lotfi Sayahi (The University at Albany – SUNY) & Juan Antonio Thomas (Utica College)

This paper analyzes contact between Romance and Arabic and its implications for the adaptation of Arabic loanwords in Spanish. The objective is to analyze the structure of examples of written code-switching as well as the morphological adaptation of the Arabic definite article al- in order to clarify the process of lexical borrowing. By analyzing these two elements, we will show that bilingualism was not limited to Mozarabic speakers but that it was common among Arabic-dominant speakers as well.

ÁLBA DÍYA EŚTA DÍYA    Blanco día [es] este día
DÍYA Dalášara ḥáqqaa     el día de San Juan,
BEŠTIRÉY MEW almudabbáj     me pondré mi traje de brocado
wanišúqq arrúmHa šáqq       y bien quebraré la lanza.
   (Corriente 1997)

Data was drawn from 41 Arabic kharjas which contain code-switching to Romance, similar to (1) (Corriente 1997). We analyzed and quantified the type of switching and the syntactic constituents that are more frequently switched. In addition, we analyzed a corpus of 1290 Arabic loanwords present in the RAE dictionary (not including derivations).

Quantitative analysis shows that code-switching between Arabic and Romance shares similar structure with the current abundant data on code-switching, even though it was recorded in written form. There are cases of both intra- and inter-sentential switches with NPs being the most switched categories. Part of this will be attributed to the diglossic situation of Arabic that allows no interference in Classical Arabic but leaves the door open for non-Arabic elements to be present in the vernacular. As a result, bilingualism was not characteristic of speakers of Mozarabic only, but also of Arabic speakers, as shown in the analyzed examples of code-switching. As for the behavior of al-, we will first show that, unlike what is commonly believed, it is maintained in only 31% of the Arabic loanwords, assimilated in 18.75% and not present in the majority of them, 50.25%. In Arabic, the article is a highly frequent particle required in the NP and AdjP, invariable across gender and number, and assimilated before coronal consonants. Since many of the loanwords do not present a systematic nor a regularized usage of the article, borrowing was not a translation-mediated process but rather a result of bilingual interactions with frequent code-switching occurrences, such as those documented in the kharjas.
Linguaphobia in Catalonia: the limits of quantifying language attitudes
Michael Newman (Queen's College – CUNY)

Surveys (Huguet & Janet 2008) and matched guise tests (Newman, et al. 2008) identify Latinos as the demographic group in Catalonia with the most negative attitudes towards Catalan. Similar rejections of Catalan and in other cases Spanish exist in smaller proportions among autochthonous residents. However, these data only tell the proportions revealing linguaphobic—as we call it—responses, and at most their breakdown into factors like solidarity and status. Since there is evidence of at least some tendency for Latinos to adopt Catalan as a socially useful resource (Marshall 2007), we conducted about 30 focus group interviews with over 100 diverse students in four Barcelona-area high schools to explore their attitudes in greater depth.

We found that types of linguaphobias differ by groups and language in question. Latinos expressing negative attitudes towards Catalan often refer to frustrations with having to interact in a language they do not fully understand in their classes. These participants also express doubts about remaining in Catalonia and note the superfluousness of Catalan in a society where knowledge of Spanish is universal. However, these feelings appear to subside with greater proficiency. Beyond the obvious circularity involving the association of positive attitudes with better learning outcomes, respondents themselves reported positive feelings increasing with competence.

This relative malleability contrasts both with the same participants’ feelings about Peninsular dialects of Spanish and those of linguaphobic autochthonous youths to either Catalan or Spanish. In those cases, negativity seems anchored in authenticity (Pujolar 2000, Woolard 2008) despite the greater knowledge of the variety in question. For example, Latinos’ rejection of Peninsular Spanish is widespread, sometimes visceral, and associated with unhappiness with living in Spain. An extreme case is a Dominican who reported not watching Spanish TV because he did not want to hear the local accent. More widespread are reports of linguistic policing of Latinos who are heard using Peninsular forms, e.g., mocking them as españolitos. Almost universal is avoidance of accommodation to certain Peninsular variants. For example, vosotros was rarely used, and tuteo ustedeo practices remained largely as in the home country. These feelings are associated with strong preferences for Latin-American cultural manifestations in music, norms of interaction, and social networks. Autochthonous youths who reject either Catalan or Spanish are a minority, but their feelings seem less permeable to change. These youths learned the language in question in childhood, but they avoid using it except when obliged to. They express parochial attitudes in favor of monolingualism although of course they differ as to which language should dominate. Those in favor of Spanish couple their linguistic preferences with alignments with the Spanish state and sometimes with family roots elsewhere in Spain even among third generation youths. There is frequent favoring of Spain-oriented symbols and cultural practices as opposed to ones perceived as Catalan. Some practices such as supporting the Real Madrid football
team or Flamenco-tinged rhythmic clapping (palmadas) are sometimes perceived by more Catalan-oriented peers as anti-Catalan. Those in favor of Catalan monolingualism support Catalanian independence. They are highly politically engaged, and tend to support forms of cultural purism that match their linguistic purism, for instance listening to politically-engaged Catalanist music.

These results suggest that exclusive reliance on quantitative language attitude measures can lead to spurious conclusions. For example, the panorama is more optimistic for Catalan acquisition by Latin American immigrants than quantitative data alone suggest. As younger immigrants and second generation Latinos learn Catalan as children, our results suggest that they may be open to use it since Catalan, unlike Peninsular Spanish is not associated with an out-group identity.

References

Mainland vs. Island: A Comparative Morphological Study of Spanish-Turkish Contact
Rey Romero (University of Texas Pan American)

The Spanish language arrived in Turkish lands as early as 1492, when the Ottoman Sultan invited the Sephardic Jews expelled from the Iberian Peninsula to settle throughout his Empire. However, the Islamic precept of zimmi allowed the Spanish Jews to keep their religious, judicial, and educational institutions, and thus Spanish remained as the language of the community for hundreds of years, until the birth of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s. The new independent nation of Turkey enforced strict national language policies, making Turkish as the only language of education and government. Eventually, all foreign schools were outlawed in Turkey, and national campaigns coerced minorities such as Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, to adopt the language as a sign of Turkish citizenship. Thus, within a few generations, Sephardic Jews became bilingual in Turkish, and in the last two generations Judeo-Spanish has been replaced in most linguistic domains.

This study aims to compare two Sephardic populations undergoing language shift from Spanish to Turkish: Istanbul vs. Prince Islands. I administered sociolinguistic interviews
on the first group in Istanbul in 2007. The community has lived in Istanbul for centuries, and, although the traditional Jewish neighborhoods no longer exist, most Sephardim have maintained their Jewish identity through a network of schools, synagogues, and cultural centers spread throughout the city. However, the community is mostly dispersed and Judeo-Spanish plays a very minor and peripheral role in most linguistic domains. I interviewed the second group in the Prince Islands (Adalar in Turkish), namely in Büyükkada, the summer of 2009. Even though the Jewish community of the Prince Islands may be considered an extension of that in Istanbul, as many commute for work and have houses in both locations, there are many factors that differentiate both communities. The community in the Islands is more cohesive and the Sephardim live closer to one another. They attend the same recreation clubs, some of which cater exclusively to the Jewish population, and several generations live together for several months, thus creating the propitious circumstances to transmit the Spanish language to the next generation.

My previous study in 2007 mapped the structural consequences of Turkish bilingualism present in the morphology of the Istanbul dialect. I plan to identify and explain the structural consequences in the morphology of the Prince Islands dialect in 2009 and compare it to that of the Istanbul community. I will be looking at the morphological features of gender (masculine/feminine) and number (singular/plural) agreement, and observe, compare, and analyze the progression of change, if any, present in both communities. My study on the Istanbul dialect identified an increasing tendency among the younger generation to omit gender and number agreement. Are the Prince Island results comparable to the language shift in Istanbul? Are there any morphological features more sustainable in any one community? What social and geographical factors, mainland vs. island, influence the dynamics of Spanish-Turkish bilingualism present in both communities?

On the status of Afro-Bolivian Spanish features:
Decreolization or Vernacular Universals?
Sandro Sessarego (Ohio State University)

The vast majority of the linguistic varieties which emerged from the contact of African languages and Spanish in the New World did not become creoles due to several historical reasons (Laurence 1974; Lorenzino 1998; Lipski 2000; Holm 2003; Diaz-Campos & Clements 2008; etc.). In fact, while displaying certain phonological and morphological reductions, as well as African lexical borrowing, these dialects clearly lack the radical grammatical restructuring found in creoles such as Sranan Creole English, Haitian Creole French, São Tomense Creole Portuguese, etc. On the other hand, these languages closely resemble their superstrate and, even if highly stigmatized from the social point of view, they are perfectly intelligible by someone speaking only standard Spanish.

However, based on the presence of certain particular features (i.e. lack of gender agreement, bare plurals, etc.) these vernaculars have sometimes been considered the result of decreolizing processes (Bickerton and Escalante 1970; Granda 1978; Schwegler 1993, 1996; Álvarez and Obediente 1998; etc.).
A language for which such a hypothesis has recently been suggested is Afro-Bolivian Spanish, an Afro-Hispanic dialect spoken in the Yungas, Department of La Paz, Bolivia.

By looking at the “radically simplified VP and DP of the basilectal Afro-Bolivian dialect”, Lipski (2006:37) hypothesizes a possible creole origin for this vernacular, which after undergoing a process of decreolization due to contact, would now be at one of its final stages, closer to more prestigious regional Bolivian Spanish. Lipski, however, recognizes the lack of reliable sociodemographic data for Afro-Bolivian; for this reason he does not discard the hypothesis of a stable but not creolized variety of Spanish.

In this study, an alternative explanation is provided based on both sociohistorical as well as linguistic evidence.

The socio-historical conditions in which ABS developed are analyzed to identify the most likely scenario which gave birth to the dialect we know today: first, the relative proportions of Africans, Europeans, and other groups over time; second, the codes of social interaction governing the relative statuses and the relationships of these groups; third, the specific sort of community setting within which these groups became further differentiated or internixed.

Moreover, comparisons with different Spanish/Portuguese dialects are considered in order to determine whether the VP and DP features of basilectal Afro-Bolivian have to be ascribed to a decreolizing language or can be accounted for by appealing to a non-creole origin.

Results indicate that today’s ABS features can be better accounted for in terms of Vernacular Universals (Chambers 2003).

This model suggests that a small number of phonological and grammatical processes recur in vernaculars whenever they are spoken. The core of Chambers’ theory maintains that “the standard dialect differs from other dialects by resisting certain natural tendencies in the grammar and phonology” (Chambers 2003: 254). Such a framework suits the ABS case perfectly, in that this vernacular developed in an isolated speech community far from the prestige norms and in presence of socio-demographic conditions which highly discourage a possible creole hypothesis. On the other hand, ABS is better described in terms of a non-creolized, conventionalized advanced interlanguage, which co-existed with Highland Bolivian Spanish since its inception.

Are Negative Questions in Puerto Rican Spanish Not Special?
Meghan Armstrong (Ohio State University/Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS) has been claimed to be unique among Caribbean varieties with respect to a "special" intonational contour used for negative questions where a specific answer is expected (Sosa, 1999; Quilis, 1987). The claim is that this "special" negation contour is different from true absolute interrogatives in its nuclear configuration. In current Sp_ToBI (Estebas Vilaplana & Prieto, 2009) these contours are known as H+L* L% (negation) and H* L% (true absolute interrogatives), though they have been labeled differently in previous research. A more recent study by Armstrong (2009) for PRS found that H+L* L% appeared in absolute interrogatives with no negation, which
brings the previous claim into question. This study aimed to confirm whether or not 
H+L* L% is restricted by the polarity of the question.
Two sources were utilized for the study: 1.) Four female speakers of PRS aged 22-25 
who were recorded participating in a Map Task and 2.) a Read Speech Task in which 14 
participants (11 female, 4 males aged 19-40) were recorded producing questions in 
context for four conditions: True Absolute Interrogatives, Negation, Counter-
expectedness and Confirmation. The utterances were analyzed in Praat and Sp_ToBI 
labeled by the author.
There were four contours that were most frequent in the data, accounting for 224 tokens. 
Of the 224 tokens, 76% were one of the two configurations described above. Figure 1 
shows the distribution in percentages of the two different contours for each condition. 
The figure clearly demonstrates that H+L* L% is not strictly limited to questions with 
negation, and in fact it occurs rather infrequently with negation. The contour occurs 
almost as frequently as H*L% does for true absolute interrogatives. On the other hand, 
H*L% is not restricted to true absolute interrogatives and occurs with negation more 
frequently than H+L* L%. Both contours were found for the confirmatory and counter-
expectedness conditions, though they were relatively infrequent for the counter-
expectedness condition. Additionally, it does not seem likely that one contour might be 
used for true absolute vs. confirmatory questions.
When pragmatic context, specifically negation was controlled for, the results revealed 
that the restrictions on H* L% vs. H+L* are not in fact driven by polarity, nor do they 
seem to be driven by whether the question is confirmatory or out-of-the-blue. These 
findings demonstrate the importance of empirical studies that control for specific 
syntactic/pragmatic contexts in order to uncover meaningful contrasts in a given variety. 
While the pragmatic distinction between the contours does not seem to be clear from the 
results, native speaker intuitions suggest that the difference in contour may be depend on 
affect. For instance H* L% was judged as sounding more "interested" than H+L* L%. 
Controlling for not only pragmatic context, but also observing its the interaction with 
varying degrees of affect plays a crucial role in determining intonational contrasts and 
their distributions.

Figure 1. Percent Usage of H* L% vs. H+L* L% by Pragmatic Condition (n=224)

References
Armstrong, Meghan. 2009. Puerto Rican Spanish. IV Workshop on Sp_ToBI: 
Transcription of the Spanish Language. Las Palmas, Spain.
Estebas Vilaplana, E. & Prieto, P. 2009. La notación prosódica en español. Una revisión 
del Sp_ToBI. Estudios de Fonética Experimental XVIII, 263-283.
This paper presents new ethnographic and quantitative results regarding linguistic practices and ideologies leading to language maintenance and shift in the immigrant context. Data comes from multilingual families residing in NYC in which at least one of the parents is born in Catalonia or Galicia, while the children are born and raised in the USA. These two populations of atypical, or fortunate (Lindenfeld and Varro, 2008) immigrants have in common the particular alchemy of languages potentially available to the children: two globalizing languages, Spanish and English, and one minority language with an uncertain future, either Catalan or Galician. They however differ in the sociolinguistic situation of these two languages in their country of origin: while Catalan has been subject to increasing governmental revitalization campaigns since the active prosecution of dictatorial times ended in 1974, which have succeeded in restoring its usage in the public sphere and in constructing it as a central symbol for national identity, similar campaigns have not succeeded in restoring the national symbolic value of Galician or increasing its usage in the original territory (Euromosaïc, 1992). When individuals that grew up in these different sociolinguistic circumstances migrate to the USA and start a family (oftentimes in a linguistically mixed marriage), they are faced with the decision of which language to transmit to their children. Choices vary, and a number of interesting patterns arise: some parents decide to transmit their minority language (in addition to, or sometimes instead of, Spanish); some choose to speak to them in Spanish altogether, relegating Catalan or Galician to some landmark, identity-forming words and expressions that will allow them to fit in when visiting their Spanish family; many even opt to expose their children to some additional language (normally French, through French school), often in addition to the minority language at home, and avoiding Spanish altogether; yet others, despite of their own bilingual experience, abandon all multilingual aspirations and converge to English at home as well as in the community. While individual variation exists, we found that national origin gave rise to clear patterns, with Catalans being more inclined than Gallegos to maintain their minority language, marginalize Spanish, and hold a generally positive attitude towards multilingualism. Gallegos were more responsive to the economic value of speaking different languages, while Catalans tended to assign more marked emotional values to their languages. It is argued that the differences in the two groups might relate to the relatively different sociolinguistic situations of their minority languages in their lands of origin. Empirical data is based on participant observation in the course of two years, qualitative in-depth study of ten families (five of each group), and quantitative results from a pilot questionnaire about linguistic practices and ideologies administered to 24 families. This study offers new insights on attitudes toward multilingualism held by different groups of fortunate immigrants, how they differ from other minority groups, and
the emotional links which multilingual speakers develop towards their various languages. In addition to adding to our understanding of the determinants of linguistic and ethnic maintenance, we aim to complement previous studies that describe one of the most diverse communities in the world (e.g., García and Fishman 1997) by including information on two non-reported linguistic populations.

Spanish in contact with French and English in Montreal: Lexical borrowings, semantic extensions, loan translations and morphosyntactic innovation.
Maria Fionda (University of Florida)

While Spanish language contact phenomena have been the focal point of many linguistic studies in different parts of the world, virtually no studies have addressed this topic in Canada, where prominent Spanish-speaking communities reside (Godenzzi, 2006). Furthermore, few Spanish linguistic studies address contact between languages in a setting where three codes are present. This study breaks new ground in the field of Spanish language contact studies by investigating the Spanish language in Montreal, Canada through Spanish language periodicals and radio shows in the Montreal Hispanic community. Previous research in language contact has documented linguistic outcomes mainly in the form of lexical borrowings and code switching (Poplack & Meechan, 1998; Sankoff, 2001; Silva-Corvalán, 1994) and semantic extensions and loan translations (Otheguy, 1993; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Weinreich, 1953). Researchers have also focused on morphosyntactic changes due to language-internal constraints and social influences on language change (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988).

This study looks for evidence of linguistic influence of French and/or English on Montreal Spanish, provides an inventory, proposes categorizations and analyzes the distribution patterns of the data. Furthermore, it investigates which of the two languages, French or English, exercises greater influence on Spanish. The results confirm that evidence of contact exists in the form of established lexical borrowings, non-established lexical items, as shown in (1), semantic extensions, as in (2), loan translations, and morphosyntactic variation, as in (3). In addition, other innovations displaying varying processes and/or changes are also found, as is exemplified in (4).

2. From French: tiempo pleno ‘full time’, Sp. tiempo completo
   From English: aplicar ‘to apply (for a job)’, Sp. solicitar
3. From French: mueblado ‘furnished’, Sp. amueblado

Finally, the analysis suggests that the dominating language of influence upon Montreal
Spanish is French.

References


Choice in Mood Following Spanish Adverbs quizá(s); a Consequence of Time Reference and Lexeme Effect

Elizabeth Finanger (Pennsylvania State University)

Throughout history, the Romance languages have purportedly experienced loss of Subjunctive forms (Camús Bergareche 1990; Harris 1974; Poplack 1992; Silva-Corvalán 2001) with extension of the Indicative and Conditional to contexts where previously the Subjunctive was exclusively used (Klein-Andreu 1991; Silva-Corvalán 1985). However, in the context of epistemic adverbs in Spanish (tal vez ‘maybe’, quizá(s) ‘perhaps’, posiblemente ‘possibly’, etc.) there is evidence of an increase in the use of the Subjunctive (Houle & Martínez-Gómez 2009). This paper examines the linguistic factors that influence variation in choice of mood following the epistemic adverbs quizá and quizás (both meaning ‘perhaps’ or ‘maybe’) in modern Argentine Spanish (Ex. 1-2).

1. QUIZA eso es lo más duro del oficio. (W.130.A)
   ‘perhaps that is (ind.) the most difficult part of the job.’

2. QUIZA esto sea lo mejor que podemos lograr (W.91.A)
   ‘perhaps this is (subj.) the best that we can achieve.’

Although among prescriptive accounts there is discord as to whether a difference in mood necessarily corresponds to a difference in certainty or probability by the speaker, the neutralization-in-discourse hypothesis (Sankoff 1988), which is the working hypothesis for the study of grammatical variation in a variationist framework, posits that while nuanced meanings may exist in some contexts, they need not be operating every time a variant form surfaces. Empirical studies report that tense is the primary linguistic factor in determining mood following epistemic adverbs: past temporal reference favors Indicative mood while non-past time reference favors Subjunctive mood. The research
The question at hand is whether there are influential linguistic factors beyond time-reference that influence choice in mood and whether the Subjunctive is indeed on the rise in these adverbial contexts.

The results from a corpus analysis of written and oral data from CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual) (N = 483), in which the overall rate of Subjunctive use following quizá(s) is 46%, provide further support for the previous observation that time reference is the primary factor in determining mood following epistemic adverbs quizá(s) in Spanish (Woehr 1972; Schwenter et. al 2008; Houle & Martínez-Gómez 2008). A multivariate analysis found all other factors considered in previous studies – such as polarity, written vs. oral source, and person/number – insignificant. Furthermore, the data make a supplementary contribution by shedding light on an additional factor that has not been considered in previous studies – namely, a lexeme effect found with the verb ser ‘to be’. The high frequency verb ser ‘to be’ was found to strongly correlate with Subjunctive mood – suggesting entrenchment of prefabricated word sequences. This finding provides further support for usage-based theories of grammar in which frequency plays a role in creating and shaping grammar (e.g., Bybee 2006) and reveals the importance of incorporating a lexeme analysis in future studies of mood choice in Spanish (cf. Poplack 1992).

In summary, we find that, one, both Indicative and Subjunctive mood are equally accepted following quizá(s) – suggesting perhaps a rise in the use of the Subjunctive from the 17th century, where Indicative dominated in 85% of quizá(s) tokens (Houle & Martínez-Gómez 2009). Two, past time reference favors Indicative, while non-past time reference favors Subjunctive. Three, when quizá(s) if followed by the verb ser it is more likely to surface in a Subjunctive verb form than an Indicative form. These findings can be incorporated in the Spanish-language classroom.

References
Houle, Leah and Rebeca Martínez-Gómez. 2008. La alternancia del subjuntivo e indicativo con los adverbios epistémicos. Manuscript from The University of New Mexico.

Distinguishing two "synonyms": A variationist analysis of quizá and quizás in six Spanish dialects.
Christina García (Ohio State University)

There is a long-standing tradition of studies concerning mood choice in Spanish. More recently, these studies have included the use of subjunctive versus indicative in constructions that contain epistemic adverbs. This area of research is particularly interesting because traditional grammars state that the use of subjunctive in this context is optional. Previous work on mood choice with adverbs that express possibility/probability has focused on data from literary sources (Woehr 1979; Renaldi 1977); however, there are few studies that have taken into consideration other types of data. DeMello (1995) included data from interviews collected in twelve major Spanish-speaking cities; however, the quantitative analysis was limited by the small number of tokens for each dialect.

King et al. (2008) was the first large-scale multivariate analysis to look at mood choice with a group of epistemic adverbs, specifically tal vez, quizá, quizás, posiblemente, probablemente, in data from Argentina, Mexico, and Spain. Building on the methodology and results of this study, the present study takes a closer look at subtle differences between the supposed “synonyms” quizás and quizá. I extend the study to include data from the CREA corpus (www.rae.es) for three other dialects of Spanish (Cuban, Peruvian, and Venezuelan). Following the previous study’s methodology, I coded the data for the following independent variables: adverb, polarity, tense/aspect of verb, (non-)adjacency of adverb and verb, temporal reference of the verb, person/number, dialect, style (oral or written), and verb. Moreover, two new independent variables, clause and following phonological context, were added to the analysis. Combining the tokens from the previous study for quizás and quizá with the new data, I report on the results from over 2,000 tokens of the two adverbs in six dialects of Spanish.

Confirming previous results on these two adverbs, the multivariate analysis shows that the constraints on mood choice for quizás and quizá are quite different. Two factor groups were found significant for both of these adverbs: temporal reference and
adjacency. Interestingly, however, there were differences in the factor weights for quizás and quizá. For example, while past temporal reference disfavored and present favored the use of subjunctive for both adverbs overall, future temporal reference disfavored the subjunctive for quizá, but favored the subjunctive for quizás. These results demonstrate that the traditional parenthesized representation of the optional <s> in quizá(s) is inaccurate. Additionally, the new factor group of clause was significant for both adverbs combined and for quizás, but not for quizá. When the adverb is in a main clause, the subjunctive is favored; however, when it is in a subordinate clause, the subjunctive is disfavored. Lastly, a second multivariate analysis comparing adverb and following phonological context shows that a following vowel favors quizás, while a following pause or consonant favors quizá, thereby revealing phonological conditioning of adverb choice. In conclusion, this study reveals that there are both functional and pragmatic differences between quizás and quizá and offers a correction of their usual representation as mere orthographic alternatives.

References
King, Christy; Megan McLeish; Jessica Zuckerman; and Scott Schwenter. 2008. Epistemic adverbs and mood choice in three Spanish dialects. Paper presented at NWAV 37, Houston.
Renaldi, Thomas W. 1977. Notes on the functions of acaso, quizá(s) and tal vez in American Spanish. Hispania 60.332-36.

La despluralización del verbo “haber” existencial en el español salvadoreño.
José Roberto Alexander Quintanilla Aguilar (Butler University)

Este estudio analiza, desde un enfoque sociolingüístico, la pluralización de “haber” en el habla oral espontánea (a través de entrevistas sociolingüísticas) y en la lengua escrita y/o formal (artículos de periódicos, entrevistas, reportajes, etc.) en el español de El Salvador. Nuestro trabajo demuestra que la pluralización de “haber” está ampliamente extendida en el habla espontánea salvadoreña, favorecida por todos los factores extralingüísticos y lingüísticos que se estudiaron. Sin embargo, es en la lengua escrita o muy formal que se observa mayor variación entre la forma impersonal y la pluralizada, con una tendencia a despluralizar las oraciones existenciales con “haber” cuando entran en juego factores extralingüísticos, como el nivel de educación del hablante y el tipo de habla (escrita
versus oral), y lingüísticos, como el tiempo pretérito, las frases simples y las oraciones negativas.

Referencias

---

**Marcador epistémico y discursivo: ‘dizque’ en el español panameño.**

Delano Lamy (University of Florida)

El marcador ‘dizque’ es una combinación del verbo ‘decir’ y la conjunción ‘que’, los cuales han sido fusionados mediante el uso frecuente (Bybee, 2006; Kany 1944). A través del tiempo, el verbo ‘dice’ (o ‘dicen’) comienza a perder ciertas propiedades léxicas y sufre cambios fonológicos por medio de la frecuencia, dando la forma ‘diz’, la cual se fusiona con la conjunción ‘que’. Esta forma adquiere un uso evidencial, donde el hablante se distancia de la información que provee. Luego, comienza a utilizarse con el significado de ‘supuestamente’, ejemplificando una función epistémica (Company Company, en prensa; Kany, 1944; Travis, 2006), como en los ejemplos (1) y (2). Este camino hacia ‘dizque’ se parece al proceso de subjetivización, y a la vez, al proceso de gramaticalización (Bybee, Pagliuca, Perkins, 1991; Hopper & Traugott, 2003 Traugott, 1995).
– Eso no sucedía hace apenas 12 años atrás cuando usábamos el libro ese disque "la ciencia nos ayuda" que ilustraba como 20 mil veces los eclipses de sol y luna....
– Primero Mariano "El Puto" Rivera, no quiso jugar porque disque Panamá no tenía nivel.

No obstante, en este análisis se proponen usos extendidos de la forma ‘dizque’ en el español panameño, como por ejemplo en (3), un uso discursivo con significado abstracto, en (4), una función de contradicción, y en (5), una función descriptiva con cinismo:
– Y la verdad no te pierdes de nada. No es dizque “wow, espectacular” ni nada por el estilo... las alitas de pollo estan buenas, eso sí.
– Sinceramente tranquilos muchachos usmeños, los que hablan tanto es porque mucha envidia tienen. jajajaja....Diske que estamos en quiebra jajajja....solo nuestros terrenos están valorados por 14 millones de dólares.
– Y hablando de programas viejos de TV, se acuerdan de uno que se llamaba SUPER PAN (o algo así), que se trataba de un panadero que era dizque super héroe (‘taba gallito pero daba risa).

El análisis se basa en datos recogidos de foros cibernéticos, usando la búsqueda de Google (Hill, 2005). Sólo se utilizaron foros en donde participa un alto número de usuarios panameños. Se codificaron los ejemplos de ‘dizque’ según el contexto en el que fue utilizado en base al conocimiento de un hablante nativo de la variedad panameña. Este estudio ofrece una nueva contribución al campo de la sociolingüística, ya que nunca se han estudiado estos usos innovadores de ‘dizque’ en el español panameño a este nivel.

Bibliografía
Ocampo, F. (2005). Movement towards discourse is not grammaticalization: The evolution of claro from adjective to discourse particle in spoken spanish. The Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, Penn State University, College Station, November 10-13, 2005

1 No se editó la ortografía en los ejemplos.
Poster Session Abstracts

The results of competition between a written Catalan standard and the expression of local identity.
Mark Amengual (University of Texas-Austin)

Language is intimately linked to identity, given that speakers embrace the identity of a particular community, or group within the community, through the language they use (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982; Bucholtz, 1999; Spolsky, 1999; Sterling, 2000). In multilingual settings, speakers draw on language in signaling distinct identities (Myers-Scotton 1993). Such is the case on the island of Majorca, which presents a complex case of multilingualism with clashing identities linked to the presence of two languages—Catalan and Spanish—and their attendant dialects and registers. Bilinguals on the island speak Majorcan Catalan (MC), a dialect of Eastern Catalan that differs considerably from Standard Catalan (SC), the Central Catalan dialect spoken in and around Barcelona (Recasens, 1991). One of the most salient features that differentiates MC from SC is the lack of an overt inflectional morpheme for first person singular present indicative verb forms (Dols, 1993; Dols & Wheeler, 1996; Serra, 1996, Lloret, 2005; Pons 2002, 2006, 2007; Amengual & Blanco, in press). Thus, many MC verbs end with consonants from the verb root, e.g. in MC, compr ‘(I) buy’ and obr ‘(I) open,’ but in SC compro ‘(I) buy’ and obro ‘(I) open.’. Although characteristic of MC oral speech, morphemic reduction is generally absent from written language, which adheres to SC models. However, since a speaker’s identity is more deliberately represented in written language (Doyle, 2005; Ivanic, 1998), MC forms may emerge in the representation of local identities and socio-political stances.

This work explores the ways in which Catalan-Spanish bilinguals in Majorca project identities through language performance (following Le Page & Tabloret-Keller’s ‘acts of identity’), specifically by examining the occurrence of morphemic reduction in the written productions of MC speakers. It does so by reference to the results of a written translation task in which 35 Majorcans (mean age 29.1) were presented with 42 Spanish sentences and were asked to provide a written translation in Catalan; the sentences included target items that would elicit MC morphemic reduction (see 1). Participants were classified based on language dominance (Spanish or Catalan), language(s) used at home (Spanish, Catalan, or both), and attitude towards MC, SC and Spanish (see 2). The responses on the written translation task and the survey items were analyzed with attention towards the characteristic MC verbal morphology and its potential role in revealing language attitudes and enacting identity.

The results indicate that many bilinguals represent the MC morphemic reduction in writing, a significant finding, as this dialectal feature is not present in the written medium. A multivariate analysis of the data indicates that morphemic reduction (MC) or maintenance (SC) correlates with individual factors such as gender, language dominance, level and language of education, as well as with speakers’ identification with Majorcan cultural autonomy and linguistic identity. The variation with which MC verbal morphology is represented in written production attests to the Majorcan bilinguals’ attitudes toward the vernacular and the standard. This work contributes to the fields of
sociolinguistics and social psychology of language, by examining variation in morpheme reduction in written MC and offers evidence on the projection of identity via regional dialects.

(1) Translation materials
   a. Cuando voy al gimnasio escucho música en mi Ipod (Spanish)
      Quan vaig al gimnàs escolt(o) música en el meu Ipod (Catalan)
   b. Hace mucha calor y por esto entro un rato en la piscina por la tarde (Spanish)
      Fa molta calor i per això entr(o) una estona a sa piscina a s´horabaixa (Catalan)
   c. El profesor me ha dicho que no me concentro suficientemente en clase (Spanish)
      El professor m’ha dit que no me concentr(o) suficientment a classe. (Catalan)
   d. Cuando juego a fútbol con mi sobrino siempre le dejo ganar (Spanish)
      Quan juc(o) a futbol amb el meu nebot sempre li deix(o) guanyar (Catalan)

(2) Sample attitude survey items
   a. Open-ended items
      ¿Preferirías que en la escuela todas las clases fueran en castellano, exceptuando la clase de catalán? ¿Por qué?
      ¿Consideras la variedad mallorquina diferente del catalán estándar? Si es así, ¿qué las hace diferente?
      ¿Piensas que la variedad mallorquina debe tener un estatus oficial y ser la lengua de instrucción en el sistema educativo, en lugar del catalán estándar? ¿Por qué?
      ¿En escritos formales utilizarías la variedad del catalán estándar o la variedad mallorquina? ¿Por qué?

   b. Multiple choice (Spanish/Catalan/Other language)
      Lengua(s) que usas principalmente en tu trabajo
      Lengua(s) en que te sientes más cómodo expresándote oralmente
      Lengua(s) en que te sientes más cómodo expresándote de forma escrita
      Lengua(s) en que te comunicas con tu madre
      Lengua(s) en que te comunicas con tu padre
      Si tienes que escribir una lista o nota a ti para ti mismo/a, ¿qué lengua usas?
      Si puedes elegir ver una película en castellano o catalán, ¿cuál prefieres?

---

The importance of delimiting the domain of variation for the analysis of Differential Object Marking in Spanish

Sonia Balasch (University of New Mexico)

Spanish Differential Object Marking (DOM), i.e., the predilection for using the preposition *a* ‘to’ with certain direct objects (DOs) (*Veo a la hija de Juan* ‘I see [to] the daughter of Juan’) while avoiding it with others (*Veo Ø la casa de Juan* ‘I see Ø the house of Juan’) has captured the interest of many scholars (e.g., Fernández Ramírez 1951, Bolinger 1953; Fish 1967; Comrie 1979 y 1981:117-129, Weissenrieder 1985, 1990 y 1991; Dumitrescu 1997; Domínguez *et al* 1998; Torrego Salcedo 1999, von
Heusinger and Kaiser 2003 y 2007, Tippets and Schwenter 2007). This includes empirical diachronic studies documenting its increasing use (e.g. García and van Putte 1989, Company Company 2002). There has, however, been little study of the contexts in which the variation $a$+DO vs. $\theta$+DO is effectively possible (cf. Pensado 1995:40).

In Balasch (2009), we identified eight contexts in which the variation is not possible in natural language. Quantitative analysis within the remaining envelope of variation suggested that DO specificity – but not definiteness, anaphoric and cataphoric topicality or grammatical number – constrains a-marking of DOs in a Spanish oral corpus of about 50,000 words. Revisiting these data, we note that inanimate DOs, while not prohibiting a-marking, strongly constrains against its use (only 5/296 tokens). Moreover, in the 447 animate and inanimate DO tokens that exclude categorical contexts, there is interaction between animacy and specificity: most of the animate DOs are specific (63%, 98/151), while only a minority of the inanimate DOs are specific (29%, 85/296). Therefore, the statistical significance of specificity previously obtained for this set of tokens is suspect. Indeed the results for animate tokens alone indicate that DO definiteness and anaphoric topicality – but not specificity, cataphoric topicality or grammatical number - constrain the a-marking of DOs.

Labov (1969:729) pointed out the importance of correctly identifying categorical contexts, otherwise “a number of important constraints on variability would be obscured, since they would appear to apply to only a small portion of cases; and the important distinctions between variable and categorical behavior would be lost.” Our study suggests that even if a frequently occurring factor is not categorical, but 'almost' so, it may be worth treating it as categorical. We also know that strongly interacting factor groups may lead to incorrect results (cf. Sankoff 1988:986). We illustrated these principles in showing that animacy, definiteness and anaphoric topicality, but not specificity, as previously thought, are the operative constraints on DOM in contemporary Spanish.

Cited references
García, Erica C. 1993. Syntactic diffusion and the irreversibility of linguistic change: personal a in Old Spanish. In Schmidt-Radefeldt, Jürgen & Harder, Andreas (eds.).
Chilean Spanish is characterized by the use of a variety of forms of address in the second-person singular (usted, tú, and vos), as a way to express different degrees of formality in the relationship of the interlocutors. Previous studies into the contexts of use of these forms of address have based their findings on generalizations (Torrejón 1986, 1991) and indicate a gradually lessening stigmatization of voseo by educated speakers. The current study examines the use of the forms of address with a variety of interlocutors. The investigation tests previous assumptions in a quantitative manner, using survey results taken from 81 residents of Santiago, Chile. Although the overall reported frequencies of voseo are lower than expected, young speakers from the professional class report the highest usage of voseo (17%). These results show V-shaped distributions for vos when frequencies are examined across age groups and social classes. A series of multivariate
statistical analyses determine that “interlocutor” is the strongest factor in determining the choice between vos and tú/usted, with interlocutors such as siblings and friends favoring vos. In addition to the linguistic surveys, the researchers also note the use of forms of address during social interactions (see figure 1). In actual speech, vos is the most common form of address (54% of all interactions). A possible stigmatization of voseo could explain the discrepancy between reported use and actual use of this form. Further data and conclusions are discussed.

Figure 1: Comparison of pronoun frequencies between surveys and actual speech.

Selected references:
La muerte del “usted” y el triunfo del “tú” en la España actual: Un estudio del uso de “tú” y “usted” en el programa radiofónico español Julia en la onda

Isabel Domínguez (State University of New York at Buffalo)

En España hay en proceso una transformación en el uso de las formas de tratamiento de segunda persona singular, que está dando lugar al uso del pronombre solidario, “tú”, en contextos donde la socio-pragmática del español prescribe el uso del pronombre no solidario “usted”. Este proceso de transformación en el uso de los pronombres de tratamiento en países de habla española ya ha sido atestiguado por diversos investigadores tales como Alba de Diego y Sánchez Lobato (1980); Fox (1969; Fontanella de Weinberg (1970); Torrejón (1991); Jaramillo (1995) y Ringer Uber (1985). Este estudio contribuye al estudio sociolingüístico del español actual de España mediante el análisis de los usos de los pronombres personales de segunda persona singular, y ratifica la existencia del avance del “tú”. Además, este estudio demuestra cómo este cambio en el uso de un pronombre, “usted”, por otro, “tú”, causa casos en los que se aprecia inconsistencia en las formas de tratamiento entre personas en un mismo acto comunicativo.

El uso del pronombre informal de solidaridad “tú” parece satisfacer más la idea de igualdad, ya que el pronombre formal era el de más uso entre las clases que tradicionalmente ostentaban el poder y que desfavorecían la igualdad en la sociedad. Por lo tanto, el pronombre informal, característico de las clases sociales menos favorecidas y más proclive a esa igualdad, se alza como el pronombre emblema igualatorio de los individuos de todas las clases sociales. El mayor uso de “tú” es el resultado del avance del sentimiento de igualdad y solidaridad sobre las ideas jerarquizantes y no solidarias (Brown y Gilman, 1960).
Los datos de este estudio provienen del análisis de audios del programa español radiofónico Julia en la onda, a lo largo del año 2009. En estas grabaciones se observa un gran uso del pronombre “tú” en situaciones donde tradicionalmente se espera el uso de “usted”. Los resultados de este estudio ratifican los estudios de otros autores que, hasta ahora, han evidenciado un cambio en el paso de la prevalencia de la semántica del poder a la semántica de la solidaridad en la sociedad española, reflejado en la utilización de los pronombres “tú” y “usted”. En este estudio se examinan las variables género, edad, clase social, nivel socioeconómico y tema de conversación en los audios, para entender y determinar qué factores y en qué medida afectan a la elección de “tú” o “usted”.

Además del mayor uso de “tú” por “usted”, en este estudio también se observa un elevado número de casos en los que los interlocutores se tratan con pronombres diferentes el uno al otro, fruto esto de la inseguridad a la hora de escoger un pronombre de tratamiento. El tratamiento simétrico de los pronombres de segunda persona, ya bien sea el uso de “tú” o de “usted”, es característico de países de habla española donde prevalece una consideración igualitaria de las relaciones humanas sobre una consideración jerárquica (Solé, 1978). Ya que actualmente en el español de España predomina este uso simétrico, los casos en los que se observa un uso asimétrico de los pronombres, causado por la inseguridad de los hablantes sobre qué pronombre usar, evidencian que nos encontramos en un momento de cambio en el idioma. Se aprecia pues, como ya decía Dámaso Alonso (1962), la desafortunada paulatina “muerte” del “usted”. O, quizá afortunada?

Rhotacism and Lateralization in Puerto Rican Spanish
Verónica González (North Carolina State University)

The pronunciation of /r/ as /l/, for example “Puelto Rico” has been stigmatized as a factor of the lower socioeconomic class (Lipski, 2008:124); however it is a factor that is not only associated with Caribbean Spanish in general, but more so with the Puerto Rican culture (Holmquist, 2003). Tomás-Navarro (1948) analyzed Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS) around the island and found out that the use of /r/ was dominant in the southeast area, whereas the use of /l/ was more dominant in the northeast area (80). This project will analyze the use of the (r) and (l) variants in word-internal and word-final position in the (PRS) of Waterbury, Connecticut based on recorded sociolinguistic interviews for at least 30 minutes. There were a total of 12 participants, 6 men and 6 women, ranging from 18-73 years of age. A total of 787 tokens were analyzed through the use of the Multi-variate statistical analysis. The results show that lateralization is favored in word-final position; and when followed by nasals, liquids, a pause, and affricates. It also shows that lateralization is also favored in stressed syllable position and by the younger generation; as well as by women. The overall results show that the adults and the older generation are using the standard [ɾ]; whereas the younger generation (57%) prefers the use of [l]. Young speakers may be focusing more on being able to communicate and preserving the Puerto Rican identity rather than using the standard form.

Selected References:
Yesterday, all my troubles have seemed (PP) so far away: Variation in pre-hodiernal perfective expression in Peninsular Spanish.

Bonnie Holmes & Colleen Balukas (Pennsylvania State University)

The Present Perfect (PP) has extended to erstwhile Preterit contexts in modern Peninsular Spanish yet it is still disfavored in reference to pre-hodiernal past situations. This hodiernal/pre-hodiernal distinction is said represent an intermediate stage of a diachronic process that may eventually result in an extension of the PP to all perfective contexts (as in other Romance languages, most notably French (Schwenter 1994). In this study of oral data (Marcos Martín 1992, Esgueva & Cantarero 1981), we find a PP rate of 27% in ‘yesterday and before’ contexts. Multivariate (variable-rule) shows that choice of the PP is favored by temporal reference indeterminacy and a preceding PP, in support of the hypothesis that grammaticalization advances in temporally indeterminate contexts (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008) and that structural priming plays a role in language change.

Selected References
The Process of Devoicing of The Voiced Palatal /ž/
in the Spanish Dialect of Buenos Aires
Patricia Tavares Infantino (North Carolina State University)

The Argentine dialect is well known amongst many other Spanish dialects due to its voiced and devoiced palatals: /ž/ and /š/ (Chang, 2008; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1979). Many Spanish speakers can recognize the Argentine dialect, although this dialect is found in Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area. Nevertheless, the devoiced palatal variety is spreading all over the Argentine territory (Lipski, 2007).

The purpose of this project is to study the devoicing of the voiced palatal /ž/ in the Spanish dialect spoken in Buenos Aires, Capital of Argentina, and how native speakers of this particular dialect manifest this linguistic variation. According to Fontanella de Weinberg (1979), the voiced palatal appeared in the Rioplatense dialect in the XVIII Century, and this variation has undergone changes throughout the centuries through a devoicing process.

For this study, ten Argentines between the ages of 18 to 63 years old, born and raised in Buenos Aires, Federal Capital, were interviewed. Five of them are female and five are male. Their educational level was taken into consideration for this study because the devoicing of the voiced palatal is socially stigmatized. Our hypothesis was that the group of women who were over 50 years of age would not devoice the palatal because of the social stigma behind it. Nevertheless, data suggest that there is a process of devoicing of the voiced palatal taking place amongst women who are over 50 years old.

References


To express nominal possession, Spanish speakers use a tripartite linguistic variable consisting of possessive adjectives, definite articles, and possessive periphrases. This study, which explores the possession in the Spanish of Colombians in New York, expands on previous analyses of the expression of possession in Colombian Spanish and has a manifold purpose. I identify and explain the effects of the linguistic and social factors significantly constraining the occurrence of each possessive variant. Additionally, I test Guy’s (2000) theory that the factors which constrain language change and variation are consistent within different segments of a speech community. The data were extracted from sociolinguistic interviews with a socially stratified group of twenty Colombian residents of New York City whose ages range from 16 to 68 years old. In exploring the data, I used 1225 tokens to conduct a series of statistical regression analyses for each variant testing eighteen constraints—ten linguistic and eight social. The distribution of forms found revealed that determiners acting as possessives have the largest share of the distribution while the periphrases occur more frequently than in Colombia. The results also revealed that the expression of possession is significantly constrained by eight linguistic and six sofactor groups, mainly the same factors significant in Colombia. They include type of subject, grammatical gender of the possessee, distance between referent and possessive, semantic category of the noun marked for possession, and speaker’s sex. These findings provide an indication of how the combination of language and dialect contact affects the Spanish of New York Colombians. Structurally and diachronically, these results suggest that the incursion of the possessive periphrasis may constitute a manifestation of cyclicity, acrosslinguistic evolutionary process which triggers a number of internal syntactic and morphological adjustments. In general, the results of this study help increase our understanding of variation in contemporary Spanish and of how the sociolinguistic forces constraining language variation in Colombian Spanish conform to established theory. Moreover, these findings, which appear to be extensive to other Romance languages, augment our knowledge of language variation and change in Spanish-spurban communities.

Reference:
Discourse and Negotiation of Identity: Amerindian Groups in North Carolina
Liliana Paredes & Donald Kyle Danielson (Duke University)

The arrival of Mexican immigrants to North Carolina brings with it a new ethnic and social profile to the city of Durham. These new arrivals have long been classified by outsiders as Spanish-speaking, and have been subsequently grouped with immigrants from other Latin American nations that share this linguistic distinction, often without regard to cultural or social differences that may exist between immigrants from different origins. However, upon further investigation, the population of Latin American immigrants in Durham ceases to be even linguistically monochromatic when one considers the diversity brought to the population by the indigenous Mexican peoples that have also arrived in the city in recent years. In addition to the new linguistic realities that these populations bring with them, they also contribute new social, ethnic, and cultural patterns to the area, often while remaining hidden beneath the allegedly homogenous Latin American label.

This work examines the discursive manifestations of these indigenous immigrants, whose sociolinguistic space has shifted from small Mexican pueblos (the first language space), to larger urban centers in their own country (where the second language, Spanish, becomes dominant), to border crossing and life in the United States (where even further sociolinguistic considerations arise). In this third setting, we particularly explore issues of gender and level of formal education as they relate to language use. In part, this work seeks to examine how language differences, ethnicity, conflict, and social inequalities are expressed through the intra-groupal discourse of speakers of different indigenous groups. We propose that the discourse of the speakers, where it consists of questions of linguistic or cultural power and domination, establishes (or fails to establish) communities of practice (Wenger 1998) that determine the future health and survival of the indigenous languages and cultures in North Carolina.

The investigation draws upon recorded conversations with speakers of Chatino, Náhuatl, and Otomí residing in the city and county of Durham.

Attitudes towards the Spanish /θ/ and its acquisition by immersion students in Madrid
Kathryn Ringer-Hilfinger (University at Albany - SUNY)

Recent research on variation in interlanguage has contributed to our understanding of how the study abroad experience impacts the acquisition of sociolinguistic knowledge. Regan et al (2009) report that learners can acquire native speaker rates in relation to categorical phenomena in the classroom but acquiring variation patterns in native speaker speech seems to require contact with the community. The majority of significant work in this area has focused on L2 French (Tarone & Swain 1995; Lemee 2005; Lyster 1994; Rehner & Mougeon 1999; Regan 2008). Therefore, similar research must be conducted in Spanish given that what we have learned about the acquisition of L2 French variation may differ from that of other target languages.
The present study aims at analyzing the process of acquisition of the Spanish /θ/ in English native speakers of Spanish who spend a semester in Spain. The goal is twofold: 1) Measure the nativelike frequency of the voiceless interdental fricative in Spanish learners before, during, and after the study abroad period 2) Examine the learner’s attitude toward use of /θ/ and how they identity themselves within the target language community. Data was elicited through a set of oral and written tasks conducted with 21 university students during three different phases: prior to, during, and after attending their study abroad program in Madrid. The students completed background and language usage questionnaires, took a matched guise test, read a paragraph with 36 target words including 7 possible occurrences of the /θ/, participated in a semi-directed informal interview in Spanish, and completed a language usage questionnaire. The results show that the use of this phonological variable is viewed favorably by L2 learners in Madrid, yet not as favorably by learners who had not yet studied abroad. This reveals that once they are aware of this dialect variant it becomes a more important factor in how favorably they view a speaker. With little or no metalinguistic consciousness of the phenomena of seseo and distinción, gender, pitch, intonation and speed seem to play a larger role in their perceptions. Results of the oral elicitation tasks indicate that students who studied in other places after going to Spain use distinción less consistently or not at all after returning home. Interestingly, the matched guise test results show that the same speakers who first used the /θ/ were judged to be more serious and trendier than when they did not use it. The overall results show that the majority of the students who go to Spain are unaware of /θ/ or that it is characteristic of northern central Spain dialect. This same group also seems to want to speak more like someone who uses /θ/ (who may not actually be native) than like a native speaker who does not use it.

Sources

---

Spanish Language Maintenance and Shift in Raleigh, North Carolina.
Jenny Vojtko (North Carolina State University)

Due to a 595% increase in the Hispanic population between 1990-2005 (Lacy 2007), Raleigh, North Carolina provides a good location to analyze Spanish language maintenance and shift. Previous studies have shown that positive attitudes toward the minority language may lead to language maintenance whereas a negative association between the minority language and social factors will lead toward language shift (Fishman 1966, Sexton 2000). The goal of the present study is to examine the attitudes held by Hispanic immigrants toward Spanish and English in an attempt to determine the extent of Spanish language maintenance or shift to English. A three part questionnaire, eliciting background information as well as attitudes toward language maintenance and shift, was developed and administered to 105 Latinos in Raleigh. Preliminary results show that the informants’ responses are mostly neutral, with a slight shift toward English in combination with continued maintenance of Spanish. Informants originally from an urban area, those in an exogamous marriage, those in a white collar profession in addition to males tend to demonstrate slightly higher trends toward language shift to English.
Overall, however, Spanish continues to be the preferred language in the home, with children and with friends. In addition, the informants have positive attitudes toward using Spanish in order to maintain their culture and traditional values. Further comparisons are also made between the attitudes expressed and the demographic variables of age, gender, length of time in the U.S, occupation, language use, and marital status to determine the extent that each plays in language maintenance and shift for this community.

Selected References
WSS5 Participants

Gabriela Alfaraz  Michigan State University  alfarazg@msu.edu
Mark Amengual  University of Texas – Austin  markamengual@gmail.com
Meghan Armstrong  Ohio State University, Universitat Pompeu Fabra  meghan.armstrong@gmail.com
Sonia Balasch  University of New Mexico  sbalasch@unm.edu
Colleen Balukas  Pennsylvania State University  cpb144@psu.edu
Hilary Barnes  Fayetteville State University  hbarnes1@uncfsu.edu
Kelley Bishop  North Carolina State University  kelley.bishop@gmail.com
Ana M. Carvalho  University of Arizona  anac@u.arizona.edu
Whitney Chappell  Ohio State University  whitney.chappell@gmail.com
Michael Child  University of Arizona  mwc32@email.arizona.edu
Donald Kyle Danielson  Duke University  dkd3@duke.edu
Ann Marie Delforge  Montclair State University  delforgea@mail.montclair.edu
Manuel Diaz-Campos  Indiana University  mdiazcam@mail.indiana.edu
Isabel Domínguez  SUNY at Buffalo  isabeldo@buffalo.edu
Stephen Fafulas  Indiana University  sfafulas@indiana.edu
Elizabeth Finanger  Pennsylvania State University  ehf107@psu.edu
Maria Fionda  University of Florida  mfion@ufl.edu
Christina García  Ohio State University  garcia.318@osu.edu
Verónica González  North Carolina State University  vgonzal@ncsu.edu
Michael Gradoville  Indiana University  mgradov@indiana.edu
Bonnie Holmes  Pennsylvania State University  bonnie_christina@yahoo.com
Patricia Infantino  North Carolina State University  ptanders@ncsu.edu
Eva Juarros-Daussa  SUNY at Buffalo  ejuarros@buffalo.edu
Scott Lamanna  Indiana University  slamanna@indiana.edu
Delano Lamy  University of Florida  dlamy@ufl.edu
Jim Michnowicz  North Carolina State University  michnowicz@ncsu.edu
Michael Newman  Queens College – CUNY  abmindprof@me.com
Rafael Orozco  Louisiana State University  rafael.orozco@nyu.edu
MaryAnn Parada  University of Illinois at Chicago  mparad3@uic.edu
Liliana Paredes  Duke University  lparedes@duke.edu
José Roberto Alexander Quintanilla Aguilar  Butler University  alexquintanilla@gmail.com
Kathryn Ringer-Hilfinger  University at Albany – SUNY  KR447221@albany.edu
Rey Romero  University of Texas Pan American  reyromero8@gmail.com
Lotfi Sayahi  The University at Albany – SUNY  sayahi@albany.edu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Email</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scott Schwenter</td>
<td>Ohio State University</td>
<td><a href="mailto:schwenter.1@osu.edu">schwenter.1@osu.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandro Sessarego</td>
<td>Ohio State University</td>
<td><a href="mailto:sessarego.1@osu.edu">sessarego.1@osu.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Sullivan</td>
<td>Louisiana State University</td>
<td><a href="mailto:sward3@tigers.lsu.edu">sward3@tigers.lsu.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Antonio Thomas</td>
<td>Utica College</td>
<td><a href="mailto:jathomas@utica.edu">jathomas@utica.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almeida Jacqueline Toribio</td>
<td>University of Texas – Austin</td>
<td><a href="mailto:toribio@austin.utexas.edu">toribio@austin.utexas.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilfredo Valentín-Márquez</td>
<td>Millersville University</td>
<td><a href="mailto:wilfredo.valentin-marquez@millersville.edu">wilfredo.valentin-marquez@millersville.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenny Vojtko</td>
<td>North Carolina State University</td>
<td><a href="mailto:jmvojtko@ncsu.edu">jmvojtko@ncsu.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walt Wolfram</td>
<td>North Carolina State University</td>
<td><a href="mailto:walt_wolfram@ncsu.edu">walt_wolfram@ncsu.edu</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes