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Subject Personal Pronouns in Spanish Narratives of Puerto Ricans in New York City: A Variationist Study

by

Nydia Flores

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2002

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CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

Subject personal pronouns in Spanish Narratives of Puerto Ricans in New York City: A Variationist Study

by

Nydia Flores

Advisor: Professor Ricardo Otheguy

The variable use subject personal pronouns (SPPs) in Spanish has been studied in Peninsular dialects, U.S. Spanish, Latin America and Puerto Rico. This study further investigates the phenomenon in Puerto Rican residents of New York City (NYC) and compares findings with previous research conducted in San Juan.

We investigate the following linguistic factors and find that they have a positive effect on the use of SPPs: The form used in previous mention of the verb's subject, the distance to last mention of the verb's subject, and switch reference. In general, the speakers in this NYC study when compared to San Juan, exhibit similar patterns of pronominal expression with regard to most internal factors. Supplementary factors are also investigated: the verb's TMA, person and number, and verbs in phrases of habitual collocation.

We also discover that speakers favor the use of SPPs and null subjects in clusters, an effect that we believe serves as a pragmatic device which speakers use to maintain protagonists in their stories in the open and salient.

The external factors we investigated are narrative style, age, gender, and exposure to NYC, which we presume, can be indirectly related to contact with English.

The external factors that produced significant effects on SPPs were age and narrative style. We find similarities in the patterns of SPP expression to those documented in Puerto Rico with regard to age. Namely, older speakers in NYC have a more conservative use of overt SPPs when compared to the younger generation. We also find that conflict narrative has a positive effect on SPP use. The factor that investigated the effects of exposure to NYC points in two different directions. While the NYC native-born speakers showed a stronger tendency to use more overt SPPs than the recent arrivals and established residents, the study also shows support to a non-contact hypothesis.

Dedicatoria

A Mami,

por su energía y apoyo...

A Papi,

que de él heredo mi gusto por el estudio.

A Luis, mi querido hermano, que me pintaba el camino hasta el final.

Y... Guelita.

A mis vecinos en las Torres Gemelas y Battery Park City...Ellos le pusieron punto final a mis oraciones el 11 de septiembre del 2001.

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I need to acknowledge key figures in the technical phase of my research: Gregory Guy for his multiple Emails from Toronto or anywhere in Brazil, and Luis Amarál for initiating me to VARBRUL 2000 from Brazil. My thanks go also to Robert Bayley and Richard Young for their technical advice.

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I send my thanks to all my friends and family in Puerto Rico who expressed interest in my work as foreign as it may have sounded, especially Penny Ann. In New York City, I would like to thank Steve for insisting that I pursue this degree. And finally, Luis, my brother, who kept an eye on me all through this process, como siempre.

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Chapter 1 Statement of the Problem

A carefully investigated problem in the grammar of Spanish is the variable expression of subject personal pronouns (henceforth SPPs), as in the difference between *canto* [(I) sing] and *hablamos* [we talk] as compared to *yo canto* [I talk] and *nosotros hablamos* [we talk]. When the pronoun is expressed, we refer to it as an overt SPP. When it is elided, we refer to the pronoun as a null subject or null pronoun. Speakers have the option of using the null or overt forms, since the use of either form is said to represent two ways of saying the same thing. The purpose of this study is to identify some of the factors that influence speakers' use of one or the other variable.

SPPs have been studied in Latin American and Peninsular dialects (Barrenechea and Alonso, 1977; Enríquez, 1984; Bentivoglio, 1988, 1993; Cameron, 1992, 1993), and in Puerto Rico (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996; Cameron, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996; Morales, 1986, 1988, 1999). In the United States, research on this feature has been conducted in largely Latino communities in Boston, Northern California and Los Angeles (Bayley and Pease-Alvarez, 1997; Hochberg, 1986; Silva-Corvalán, 1982,1994;). But none has been conducted in New York City (NYC), where large numbers of Puerto Ricans have lived since the turn of the 20th century (Zentella, 1997). Thus the present study examines the use of overt and null SPPs in a new speech community.

The study also compares results with findings previously reported for San Juan (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996; Cameron, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996).

This study examines internal or linguistic and external or social factors. Under internal factors, we investigate reference relations, since previous research conducted in Puerto Rico has looked at several factors under this category and thus provides a point of comparison. We also determine whether the form used in a previous mention of the verb's subject influences the use of SPPs and examine distance to last mention of an overt SPP. Since the corpora were obtained from oral narratives, we also investigate the use of multiple 3rd person protagonists in a story to see if competition among these protagonists exerts some influence on the appearance of overt pronouns.

Supplementary factors are also investigated in this study: person and number of the verb, its tense, mood, and aspect (TMA), and verbs in phrases of habitual collocation. Results stemming from internal and external factor groups allow us to compare, in more detail, the manner in which the NYC community uses overt SPPs with the use of these forms on the island.

Sociolinguistic research is not complete unless it integrates external factors in its study. Thus, we also investigate the effects of narrative style, age, gender, and contact with English with the purpose of determining

whether these factors operate as predictors of overt rather than null SPPs, since several of these external factors have been found to influence their use.

The Spanish narratives used in this study were obtained from 41 Puerto Rican men and women, residents of NYC, ages 23 to 81, who ranged from recent arrivals, established residents, to NYC native-born. They were asked to recount an incident that was significant or had left an impact on their lives. The corpora were gathered using methods of sociolinguistic interviews (Labov, 1984), taping and transcribing each narrative.

To analyze the data in this study, we use the VARBRUL program, which determines the probabilistic weight that each factor contributes to the use of overt or null SPPs.

Chapter 2 The Review of the literature

2.1 Introduction

Research on the variable use of pronouns in null subject languages has been conducted mainly with the goal of explicating the various constraints on pronominal expression. While some studies have focused on the reasons why high rates of overt pronouns are expressed, others have attempted to identify the forces that can constrain their usage.

2.2 Other languages and SPP variation

Spanish, as is the case of Portuguese, Turkish, Italian and other languages, is known to be a pro-drop or null subject language, which means that speakers have the option of expressing the SPP or omitting it. Languages such as French and English are not considered to be null subject languages, for in almost all instances SPPs must be expressed.

Research conducted with Brazilian Portuguese participants by Lira (1982) found that a speaker's choice to express pronominal subjects was based on several factors. For instance, 2nd person was found to favor pronominal subjects, and subject referents mentioned in a prior clause also favored pronominal subjects. It was also found that a switch in reference influenced speakers' use of SPPs. The result of Lira's study showed that, except for gender differences, social factors did not have any significant effect on the use of pronominal subjects.

Paredes Silva (1993) also studied the use of null and overt SPPs in Brazilian Portuguese and noted that, in writing, the most important constraints on the use of this feature were discourse-based. She found that SPPs were used to clarify and identify referents among several potential candidates.

Turkish SPPs were examined by Enç (1986). This study maintained that in Turkish SPPs were used to signal topic change. That is, if a speaker chooses to change the topic, the speaker has various devices to do so, one being the expression of nominals and pronominals.

For Egyptian Arabic, Eid (1983) explained that the variable use of SPPs was influenced by amibiguity and a switch in reference.

Li and Thompson (1979) examined pronoun use in Chinese discourse. They maintained that null subjects are the norm for this language and that there appeared to be considerable variation among native speakers as to where a pronoun should occur. They explained that a factor which could mostly predict the occurrence of 3rd person subject pronouns in written Chinese narratives depended on the relationship between conjoined clauses and the lengths of the texts. The longer the texts were, the higher the rates of pronominal insertion.

Japanese narratives have been researched by Clancy (1980). This study particularly examined referential choice with 3rd person human referents. Clancy found that when Japanese speakers recounted narratives, there were high frequencies of null subjects, providing the subject remained the same. When a switch in reference occurred, speakers used nominals.

According to Clancy, the only two referential forms, which speakers used with any frequency, were noun phrases and ellipsis or nulls (p. 131).

Haeri (1989) studied children's narratives in Persian. This research explained that the zero subject is the default value for the thematic subject of narrative discourse. The study concluded that in the case of the overt subject, the form used in a previous mention operated as a constraint in the selection of the null or overt subject expression. It was also noted that the overt subject appeared when it was different from the subject of the immediately preceding main clause.

For American Sign Language Bayley (2001) found that switch reference operated as a constraint on the expression of pronominal subjects. This study, which documented pronominal expression in ASL in various regions in the U.S., found that exposure to English, a factor that has not been found to condition the use of SPPs in previous research, did in fact result as a positive influence in the use of SPPs.

2.3 Research conducted on Spanish varieties

In recent years, sociolinguists working on Spanish have focused a lot of attention on SPP variation. These variationist studies have examined internal and external constraints. Several studies have observed internal or linguistic factors such as switch reference, verbal morphology, semantic verb type, the degree of discourse connectedness, pronoun position, verb TMA, specific vs. non-specific uses of *tú*, and main and subordinate clause type. Variationist analyses have also studied external or social factors that may

constrain the use of SPPs. Age, socio-economic status, gender, dialect origin, and exposure to English are the social factors that have been most rigorously studied. The studies have been conducted in a number of Spanish-speaking countries, including Puerto Rico (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996; Cameron, 1992; Morales, 1986), Spain (Enríquez, 1984, Cameron, 1992), Argentina, Venezuela, and Chile (Barrenechea and Alonso, 1977; Cifuentes, 1980); variationist accounts, as mentioned earlier, have also addressed Brazilian-Portuguese (Lira, 1982; Paredes Silva, 1993). In addition, research has been carried out in the U.S. mainland Spanish speaking communities of California (Bayley and Pease-Álvarez, 1997; Dumeyakor, 1994; Silva-Corvalán, 1994) and Boston (Hochberg, 1986).

2.4 Peninsular Spanish and pronominal expression

Rosengren's (1974) variationist study of Madrid Spanish examined written literary discourse. His data revealed that singular pronouns were more likely to be expressed than plurals. He also noted that overt pronouns were more likely to appear in main clauses rather than subordinate clauses and that pronouns were more frequently found at the beginning of a clause rather than at the end. His study also documented high rates of expressed pronouns with estimative or mental verbs such as *creer* (to believe) and *pensar* (to think).

Enríquez (1984), in a comprehensive study of spoken Madrid Spanish, suggested that pronouns were overtly used by speakers to express emphasis

and contrast. She also noted that mental verbs such as *pensar, creer,* etc. showed high rates of pronominal expression.

Cameron's (1992) account of the variable use of SPPs in Madrid Spanish presents compelling data with regard to the effects of switch reference. He showed that speakers in Madrid express high rates of SPPs in a switch reference environment, and that singular SPPs are expressed in higher frequencies than plural ones, a fact that has been documented in a significant number of studies conducted in other Spanish varieties.

2.5 Caribbean Spanish and pronominal expression

Several studies have noted that speakers of Caribbean Spanish express higher rates of SPPs than speakers of other Spanish dialects. Such findings are documented in studies conducted in Puerto Rico (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996; Cameron, 1992; López Morales, 1983; Morales, 1986; Pérez Sala, 1973), and the Dominican Republic (Benavides, 1973; Jiménez-Sabater, 1975; Henríquez Ureña, 1939). Several studies are descriptive in nature and not quantitative, however. Lipski (1994), for instance, maintains that

> "Puerto Rican Spanish retains subject pronouns, particulary *yo, tú,* and *usted,* in instances where they would be redundant in other Spanish dialects. This is partially due to the erosion of final consonantes which signal morphology (Hochberg, 1986; López Morales 1983; Morales, 1980, 1986" (p.335).

2.6 Internal factors researched in Puerto Rico, the U.S., and Madrid

Hochberg (1986) conducted a variationist study that examined morphological ambiguity as an internal factor affecting pronominal expression in the Spanish of Puerto Ricans living in Boston. Her study raised the

question whether morphological ambiguity in verbs increased speakers' use of overt pronouns. The results showed that when the final /-s/ in 2nd person singular verbs was dropped, a characteristic of many registers in most Spanish Caribbean dialects, functional compensation occurred. Speakers used pronouns at a higher rate because, with /-s/ deletion, the verb alone cannot help distinguish person. This study has since been disputed by Cameron (1992) and Morales (1997).

Cameron's (1992) seminal study conducted on varieties spoken in Puerto Rico and Madrid used quantitative analysis and concluded that although Puerto Rico's variety had higher rates of pronominal expression, both varieties had similar contextual patterns with regard to the feature under study. That is, in contexts where frequencies of pronominal expression were higher or lower in Madrid Spanish, they were also higher or lower in the Spanish variety spoken on the island. Cameron found that a switch in reference showed a robust effect on overt-null pronoun alternation, a finding which has been also reported by a number of other variationist researchers (Bayley and Pease-Álvarez, 1997; Bayley, 2001; Cameron, 1992, 1995; Morales, 1986; Silva-Corvalán, 1982).

Most of the non-variationist literature surrounding switch reference regards it as a syntactic device used to track nominal reference. This is what has been referred to as the canonical perspective; it considers switch reference to be a "toggle switch" (Rising, 1990) that tracks subjects between verbs. Haiman and Munro (1983) maintained that the function of switch

reference was to avoid ambiguity of reference, and a significant number of languages used obligatory inflectional endings as markers to indicate a switch in reference. These are sometimes referred to as canonical switch reference languages.

Other literature has suggested that analyses of canonical switch reference languages should not be confined to tracking the syntactic subject, but rather a pragmatic subject, agent, topic or pragmatic peak (Roberts, 1988). This context suggests that the designated area of a canonical switch reference analysis should extend to the semantic domain of the NPs involved in a switch, not only the NPs.

The most extensive variationist study of switch reference in a non-canonical switch reference language (Spanish) is Cameron (1992). His study examined how switch reference emerged as a central pragmatic constraint in conditioning the use of SPPs, and argued that a switch in reference operates as a constraint on the use of SPPs in the Spanish of Puerto Ricans residing on the island.

Morales (1986) and Silva-Corvalán (1982) maintained that the expression versus the non-expression of nominal subjects or pronominals depended on a speaker's previous mention of that subject. They noted that same-reference subjects usually constitute old information known by the speakers, and that null subjects or pronouns would be favored under these circumstances. However, unknown or forthcoming new information would be expressed in nominals. Morales (1986) also found that a switch in reference

was a condition for subject expression and seemed to involve a language universal. Namely, speakers used a more attenuated form, such as a null subject, when referring to a subject that is the same as the one mentioned in the previous clause, but they used an overt pronoun or a nominal when the referent has not been mentioned previously.

In sum, the two most debated linguistic factors affecting pronominal expression in the Spanish of Puerto Ricans are final /-s/ deletion on verbs and switch reference. While more recently researchers (Cameron, 1992; Morales, 1997,1999) have agreed that final /-s/ deletion or person ambiguity does not operate as a constraint on SPP expression in Puerto Rico, Cameron's (1992) and others' findings indicated that switch reference does act as a constraint in Puerto Rico as well as in Madrid.

2.7 External factors researched in Puerto Rico, the U.S., and Mexico

With regards to external constraints, Ávila-Jiménez (1996) and Morales (1986) in their research conducted in Puerto Rico found that age was a significant factor in conditioning the expression of SPPs. Ávila-Jiménez (1996) also found that narrative styles, education levels, and occupation operated as influences on the variable expression of the feature under study.

While many sociolinguistic studies have limited their research to a few external factors, such as those previously mentioned, an even smaller number of studies (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996; Enríquez, 1984; Montes, 1986) have examined external stylistic factors such as contrast, emphasis, and conflict vs. non-conflict narrative in the use of SPPs. Little is known about the

influence that narrative-style discourse exerts on pronominal expression (Solomon, 1998). And there has not been any research conducted on the effects of oral narratives and the variable expression of SPPs in the Spanish of Puerto Ricans in NYC.

There has been great debate as to how contact with English may be influencing speakers of Spanish to produce a redundant use of subject pronouns. English does not have the same inflectional richness in its verbs as Spanish, and it is not considered a null subject language. It requires almost all verbs to have an expressed subject. Therefore, while *Cantamos* or *nosotros cantamos* are referentially equivalent in Spanish, speakers cannot alternatively use "We sing" and *"(0) sing" to convey the same meaning in English. The latter would be considered ungrammatical unless used in a limited set of circumstances such as verb sequences and in the imperative mood.

Many scholars have suggested that exposure to English may contribute to the heightened rates of SPPs observed in the Spanish of Puerto Rico, but other studies (Flores & Toro, 2000; Morales, 1986; Pérez Sala, 1973) did not support the notion that contact with English correlated with high levels of subject pronoun use.

Having stated that English has an almost obligatory use of SPPs, researchers have suggested that Spanish speakers on the island of Puerto Rico are paralleling structures similar to those of English. There have been both variationist and non-variationist accounts of how this social factor can

condition the use of overt SPPs. Several linguists who described the Spanish variety of Puerto Rico argued for the permeability of syntactic structures (Gil y Gaya, 1959; De Granda, 1978; Navarro Tomás, 1974). Their descriptive accounts suggested that English contact has led speakers on the island to parallel structures that appeared in English. Navarro Tomás (1974), for example, claimed that Puerto Rican Spanish had a high degree of English influence in syntactic structure as well as lexicon. He specifically noted that the use of SPPs was redundant and attributed their use to English influence.

Morales (1986), in a variationist account, explained that large amounts of linguistic interference from English did exist, and that Puerto Rican Spanish did not remain free of foreign influence. She found evidence of English influence in various syntactic structures, but not in the use of SPPs. She was unable to find a correlation between their use and the levels of exposure to English.

Pérez Sala (1973), in another variationist study, arrived at a similar conclusion to that of Morales (1986). He cited Gili Gaya (1959) who maintained that:

> *"Las personas que repiten con insistencia el sujeto pronominal en la conversación o en los escritos, dan a su estilo un aire marcadamente extranjero".* (Pérez Sala, 1973, p. 81).
>
> Persons who insistently repeat pronominals in conversation or writing give an air of marked foreignness. (My translation)

Sala believed that it was redundant to say*: Yo salí de casa a las cuatro.* "I left the house at four", but he noted that this construction appeared in the Spanish varieties of Madrid, Perú, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Mexico,

areas that he considered at the time to have little or no contact with English. His research suggested that speakers used personal pronouns to add emotional weight to an expression that could have been produced with a null subject.

Ávila-Jiménez (1996) shared Morales' (1986) original opinion regarding the permeability of syntactic structures. Her study suggested that while all age groups in her study favored the use of null subject pronouns, a pattern of increased use of overt pronouns seemed to predominate among speakers below the age of 50. Her study could not explicate this tendency of the younger generation and suggested that further research was needed to account for this pattern. Among the explanatory possibilities she noted were her participant's proximity to an academic environment and the influence of social networks. Ávila-Jiménez's study, however, did not support the claim that English contact alone could account for higher use among the island's younger generation.

In short, variationist research conducted in Puerto Rico reveals that contact with English does not correlate with rates of expression of SPPs in Spanish. However, within earlier non-variationist studies, linguists seem to be completely divided. Some descriptive accounts claim that there are large amounts of linguistic interference from English (lexical borrowing and syntactic transfer), while others suggest that Puerto Rican Spanish remains free of foreign influence.

With respect to Spanish speakers in the U.S. mainland, findings in Silva-Corvalán (1994) and Bayley and Pease-Álvarez (1997) also revealed that English contact did not influence the use of SPPs or nominal subjects. Their research was conducted in California. Bayley and Pease-Álvarez found that children with the greatest exposure to English did not use any more SPPs than others.

In sum, exposure to English has not been found to correlate with increased use of pronouns and nominal subjects either in the Spanish varieties spoken in the United States or in Puerto Rico.

Although variationist research on subject pronouns has been limited within the context of narrative discourse, Solomon (1998), Montes (1986), and Avila Jiménez (1996) examined subject pronoun variation using, to some extent, concepts from the Labovian narrative structure. Solomon (1998) examined the effects of social and stylistic constraints on Spanish subject expression by analyzing data from Yucatec Spanish, a variety spoken in the Yucatán Peninsula. She compared narratives, in which the main theme was a conflict between the narrator and another character, to all other narratives that presented a non-conflict situation. Her data revealed that conflict narratives, in which the narrator was part of the conflict, had a much higher rate of overt pronominals than non-conflict narratives. Solomon's claim regarding the effects of conflict-narrative vs. non-conflict narrative is central to this study since this dissertation provides groundbreaking research with respect to oral narratives and their effect on null and overt SPP expression.

Other research (Ávila Jiménez, 1996; Montes, 1986) regarding narrative-style discourse has observed careful vs. informal speech and the use of SPPs. For instance, Ávila-Jiménez's results showed lower rates of overt pronouns used in careful speech as opposed to those found in informal speech. In her research, Montes (1986) also suggested that contrast narratives contained higher rates of SPPs than non-contrast narratives.

2.8 What is known about SPPs in Spanish in New York City

Although, as we have seen, a significant amount of research has been conducted on the use of null and overt SPPs in several Spanish dialects, none has been conducted in New York City. This gap in the literature includes research on Puerto Ricans who live in NYC, where daily contact with English exposes speakers to a language with an almost categorical use of either nominals or SPPs.

In a separate preliminary study conducted in NYC (Flores & Toro, 2000) it was found that exposure to English did not have significant effects on the use of SPPs. This study was conducted using data from several Spanish varieties spoken in NYC (Dominican, Cuban, Mexican, and Puerto Rican).

Chapter 3 The Envelope of Variation and Research Questions

3.1 Introduction

The present chapter describes the envelope of variation for the present study and will explain the research goals and questions. Before defining the envelope of variation in this present study, it is important to underscore that in order for an envelope of variation to exist, there must be alternative ways of saying the same thing in a given syntactic environment. The alternatives, according to Labov (1972), do not occur randomly. The frequency with which they occur may be constrained by multiple elements. In other words, the frequency of occurrence of a variable can be conditioned by linguistic, stylistic, and social contexts, which at times can operate simultaneously. It is the goal of variationist research to determine which forces operate as constraints on a variable linguistic feature as it appears in the different contexts within the envelope. This study uses quantitative analysis, namely, the VARBRUL program, to determine the probabilistic weight that each factor contributes to the use of overt or null SPPs.

3.1.1 The envelope of variation

The envelope of variation refers to the set of environments within which a linguistic feature, in our case SPPs, is said to vary or to constitute a linguistic variable. There are certain environments where SPPs are not variable but must be obligatorily expressed, as in:

(a) *El$_1$ llegó tarde pero ella$_2$ no <u>dijo</u> nada.*

(He arrived late but she didn't say anything).

The *ella* here is a case where the speaker could not have used a null and still preserve the same meaning. Without the *ella*, *dijo* would be interpreted as having *él* as its subject.

(b) *El$_1$ llegó tarde pero no 0$_2$ <u>dijo</u> nada.*

More specifically, since the subject of the verb (a) *dijo* is another 3rd person singular pronoun and must be obligatorily expressed, a clause like this with pero + NP_2 Verb is not be considered in our analysis since it is not a site where variation can exist. The same occurs in the case where the use of a null SPP is the only option:

Muchos amigos míos que <u>son</u> policías...

(Many friends of mine that are policemen...)

Here an expressed SPP produces:

**Muchos amigos míos que ellos <u>son</u> policías...*

In Spanish in general, including the Spanish variety spoken in Puerto Rico, this sentence is not considered grammatical. Hence, a clause as *ellos <u>son</u>* could not be counted in this present study. Thus, and in keeping with prior research (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996; Cameron, 1992, 1995), the envelope of variation for this study must be defined as a site where variation exists and must exclude sites where only one or the other variant is either obligatorily expressed or absent. Although Cameron (1992) included [+human] and [+animate] referents such as household pets, the present study only included verbs whose subject could have been [+human]. The envelope of variation in this present study is therefore defined as

a tensed verb whose [+human] subject can be either a null or expressed SPP. If the alternation cannot occur the verb is excluded from the study.

3.1.2 Details of exclusions and inclusions in the analysis

As previous studies have indicated (Bayley and Pease-Alvarez, 1997; Cameron, 1992; Silva Corvalán, 1994; Otheguy & Zentella 2000), there are certain specific uses of certain verbs where pronouns are obligatorily expressed or are obligatorily absent. These particular verbs, where the alternation could not have existed, were excluded from the coding process. In addition, recall that only verbs with [+human] subjects were included. The following is a list of the exclusions:

- Non-personal subject as *Eso duró tres años.*(Participant #1)
- Existential verbs *haber* as *Hay que trabajar mucho.* (Participant #8)
- Verbs with inanimate subjects such as *Faltaban dos horas para los bancos cerrar y ellos cierran a las tres.* (Participant #7)
- Verbs with non-personal pronouns such as *Eso no es así.* (Participant #7)
- Verbs with *uno* as their subject such as *Uno no se imagina...* (Participant #24)
- Verbs with impersonal *se* such as *En Puerto Rico se vive muy bien.* (Participant #41)
- Verbs that had subjects referring to atmospheric conditions as *Hace calor en Florida.* (Participant #3)
- Verbs in pseudo-cleft constructions where the SPP falls to the right of the verb (D'Introno, 1982) as in *La que me voy soy yo.* (Participant #8)
- Verbs in constructions of contrast with *pero* as in *Ellos optaron por el suicidio pero ellas no pensaron igual* (Participant #16). The subject of

the verb *pensaron* must be expressed in this sentence since the referents are not the same. In this instance, the verb *pensaron* is excluded from the study. As opposed to including: *El redujo la velocidad pero siguió tocando bocina*...(Participant #19). The subject of *siguió* is the same as *redujo*. Variation can exist with *siguió*.

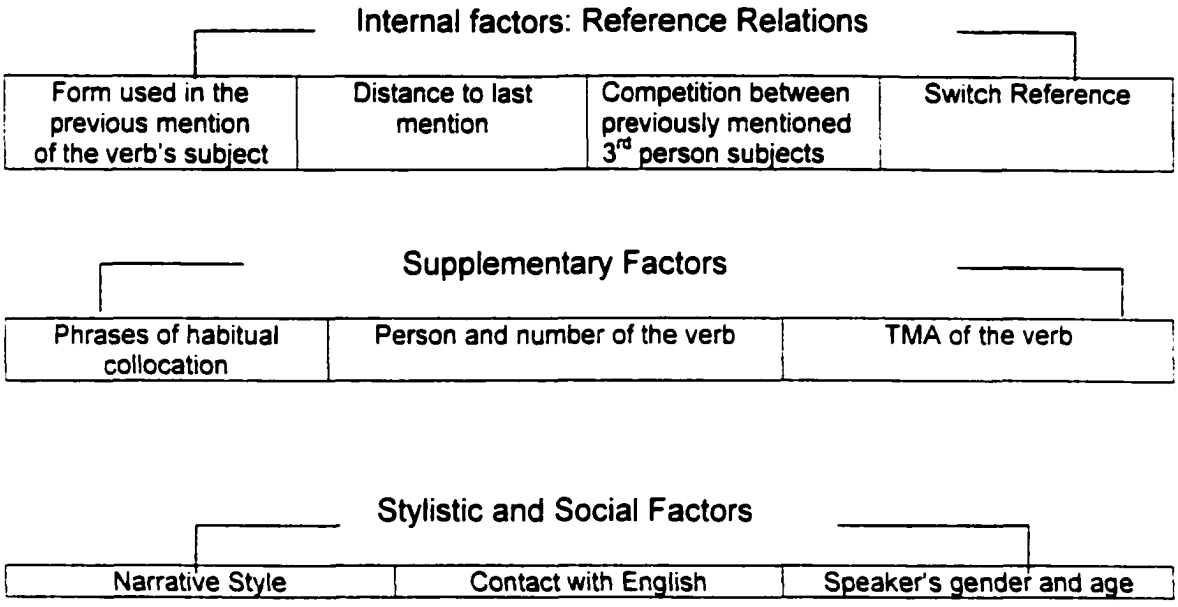
- Verbs in constructions where the pronoun is expressed with *mismo* as in *El mismo me lo dijo*. (Participant #30)
- Subject headed relative clauses *Muchos amigos mios que son policias*. (Participant #40)
- Set phrases *Que sé yo*, *Digo... ¡No chaves!*

Phrases of habitual collocation were included: *tú sabes vs. sabes*.

For an explanation on the distinction between set phrases and phrases of habitual collocation and how these verbs were coded see chapter 5.

3.2 Research goals and questions

The use of SPPs is examined within two main categories: internal factors that address reference relations, and external factors that address social and stylistic matters.



Reflecting general usage in the sociolinguistic literature, we use the word "constraint" as a term of art to mean a particular internal or external factor that has a statistically noticeable effect in the rate of occurrence of a particular linguistic feature. Here, we say that certain factors constrain, or fail to constrain, the appearance of overt SPPs.

3.3 Reference Relations Variable

The study looks at a well-known set of factors that affect the use of SPPs, namely reference relations, in a population where this feature has not been studied, namely NYC Puerto Ricans. It discusses whether reference relations, some of which have tended to show strong effects in speakers residing in Puerto Rico, preserve their strength in NYC.

3.3.1 Reference Relations: The previous full set mention of a verb's subject

The study examines the relationship between the manifestation of a verb's subject as a null or overt form and the form used in its previous mention. The question we address is thus:

Is the appearance of a subject as either null or overt pronoun constrained by the form used in its previous mention? That is, does the previous mention of the verb's subject as a null pronoun, an expressed pronoun, or a nominal affect the way it is expressed in the token under study?

3.3.2 Reference Relations: The distance to the last mention of a verb's subject

This factor examines the distance between the verb's subject and its previous full set mention as measured in clauses (for an explanation of our use of the term "full set mention", see Chapter 5). The main goal here is to determine whether the distance between a token in question and its previous full set mention has an effect on the feature under study. The question we address is:

Is the presence of a SPP in the verb under study constrained by the distance between the verb's subject and its previous null, nominal or pronominal mention? To be more specific, does the number of clauses between the verb's subject and its immediately previous null, nominal, or pronominal mention have an effect on pronominal use?

3.3.3 Reference Relations: Competition between previously mentioned 3rd and singular and plural SPPs

This factor examines the immediately preceding context of the verb under study and determines whether additional 3rd person singular and plural subjects create an environment of potential interference. The question we address is thus:

Is the presence of SPPs in 3rd person verbs affected by the presence of additional 3rd person nouns and pronouns in the immediately preceding context?

3.3.4 Reference Relations: Switch reference

The fourth factor that we study under reference relations is what is generally referred to as switch reference. We use the terms "trigger" and "target" (Cameron 1992; Comrie, 1983) to refer to the subjects of verbs in a switch- or same-reference relationship. A trigger refers to the subject of a verb appearing in what is known as the controlling clause. The target is the subject that we will mark as either a switch or same in reference with respect to the trigger NP. The questions we address under the heading of switch reference are:

1. Is the presence of a SPP in the target verb constrained by a switch in reference? In other words, is an overt SPP favored in instances where the target is different from the trigger?
2. Is the presence of a SPP in the target verb constrained by a

relation of partial overlap between a target and trigger? More specifically, are higher frequencies of SPPs expressed when the target *yo* (I) is a subset of the trigger *nosotros* (we) or vice-versa, *nosotros→yo*.

3.4 Stylistic Factor: Narrative Style

This study investigates the effect that conflict narratives have on the presence or absence of SPPs. The questions we address are:

1. What effect does conflict narrative have on the use of SPPs?
2. Do speakers express more SPPs when they are involved in a conflict narrative as opposed to when they are not part of the conflict?

3.5 Social Factor: Contact with English

This study examines the effect of English contact on the use of SPPs. English contact is studied here through several surrogate variables: the degree of exposure to NYC, language spoken at home, total years in NYC, and age of arrival in NYC. The questions we address are:

1. Is there a correlation between what is presumed to be greater English contact and heightened rates of overt SPPs?
2. Do Puerto Rican Spanish speakers in NYC use their pronouns following similar linguistic patterns to speakers in Puerto Rico?

3.6 Social Factor: Age

We also investigate the effects of age on the variable under study. The questions we address are:

1. Does age have an effect on the rates of overt SPP use?
2. Do participants in NYC show the same patterns of pronominal expression as those found in age groups in research conducted in Puerto Rico?

3.7 Social Factor: Gender

1. What effect does gender have on the use of SPPs?
2. Do participants in NYC, females and males, have similar linguistic patterns, with respect to the feature under study, as residents of Puerto Rico?

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

I hypothesized that certain aspects of SPP variation in Puerto Rico should be evident in the speech community of Puerto Ricans living in NYC. The initial expectation was that the factors which had been determined to have a strong effect on the variable use of SPPs in Puerto Rico should also have a strong effect in NYC. Although the Puerto Rico studies followed a different research design from mine, the results obtained in Puerto Rico were deemed to be relevant in the design of this present study.

4.2 The materials for the narratives

The narratives obtained in this present study were recorded and transcribed using the following equipment:

a. One Sony TCS-580V stereo cassette recorder

b. One Sony ECM-T110 Lavaliere Microphone which was clipped on to each participant

c. Forty-two 60-minute XL II Maxell audio cassettes

d. One Panasonic RP-2692 Standard Cassette Transcriber

In August 1999, I received permission from the Committee on the Protection of Human Subjects to carry out interviews to obtain the narratives of the 42 participants in this study. Each recording lasted no less than 30 minutes and a maximum of 60, approximately 1,770 minutes on tape. The recordings were taped after having described the confidentiality of the project to each

participant. From the total of 42 participants, I chose to include only 41 in this present study since one speaker, after having finished his recording, declared during his interview that he had lived in New Jersey for an extended period of time even though he had worked in the metropolitan NYC area for most of his career. This study was designed to include only Puerto Rican participants who lived in NYC. As such, this study uses a judgement sample since choosing participants was predetermined by social criterion (Chambers, 1995).

I conducted face-to-face interviews and told every participant that I was collecting only oral narratives, and invested more interest in the story by providing the participants with one cue that was, if necessary, repeated after a story had been completed:

> *Me podría contar de algún incidente, o alguna persona que le haya dejado un impacto en su vida... Ya sea un evento, un acontecimiento, una historia de su niñéz, o algo que le haya sucedido a una persona que usted conoce.*
>
> (Can you narrate some incident or tell me of some person that has left a great impact in your life...It can be an event, an incident, a story from your childhood, or something that happened to a person you know.)

If a participant asked me for an example, I would then complete the cue with the same example:

> *Por ejemplo, el nacimiento de su primer niño, el parto, el primer beso de un novio/a, la primera vez que llegó a Nueva York, de algún tío o primo, o novio o novia...*
>
> (For example, the birth of your first child, childbirth, the first kiss of a boy/girlfriend, the first time you arrived in NYC, about an uncle or cousin, boyfriend or girlfriend...)

Some of the narratives were based on stories such as the joyful or painful birth of a child, an accident such as being struck by lightening, spousal arguments, a robbery, the break up of a relationship, a childhood friendship, the death of a relative, parent or friend, arguments in the workplace, rental and moving crisis in NYC, the first kiss, the first meeting with their current or previous spouse, adventurous trips, graffiti artist culture and police raids, struggles with parents, the participants' first impressions and problems upon arrival to NYC, and negative and positive childhood experiences, etc. After recording the narratives, interviews regarding the participants' personal background were conducted. The purpose of postponing these interviews until the end was to avoid influencing the speaker's choice of topic.

In keeping with Labov (1984), the narratives were recorded in a variety of settings. Several recordings were conducted in the participants' homes while others were conducted at their place of work. That is, I went to their place of work such as a supermarket, the cellar of their building, an office, a cafeteria, a restaurant, a print shop, a vegetable market, etc. A few came to my office for privacy. One interview was conducted in a car. My goal was to obtain the most natural story participants could produce without any interruptions, and in a comfortable setting so that they could narrate one story after another. If a participant stopped in the middle, I remained silent or re-stated the same cue. Participants knew that I was not going to speak, and my verbal gestures assisted in supplanting what could be considered a conversational exchange. In a

few instances I had to prompt them with a more specific cue and I used their storyline to motivate them to continue with a new story such as 'tell me about what happened after this incident'. All of the participants shared their personal experiences with me and were pleased to be part of this collection of narratives.

I transcribed all 41 tapes and entered the first 400 verbs in the analysis since, within the first 400 tokens, a variety of interesting conflict and non-conflict narrations were provided.

4.3 The Contacts

As suggested by Labov (1970), the ideal study of a speech community could randomly identify individuals, and then study several groups of which an individual was a member. Although Labov found that this might be difficult to accomplish given the numbers required, he suggested that such a model does not go beyond the realm of sociolinguistic study if it starts with a smaller population. Before any sociolinguistic study is carried out however, Labov (1972) argued that preliminary investigations should be conducted with the purpose of identifying if a variable exists in a given community. The feature under study, the variable use of SPPs in Puerto Rican Spanish, has been studied by scholars (Avila-Jiménez, 1996; Cameron, 1992; Morales, 1997) in Puerto Rico. A pilot study (Flores & Toro, 2000) was conducted in NYC where it was determined that the feature under study is indeed a variable that appears in the population of Puerto Ricans living in NYC.

In keeping with prior research, a networking approach (Haeri, 1996; Labov, 1984; Zentella, 1994) was followed with the purpose of contacting the 42 individuals who participated in this study. The criterion for choosing these participants was that they currently were living in New York City (NYC) and also were either born in NYC or arrived in the City from Puerto Rico during some period of their life. Or, as it occurred with several speakers, they went back and forth between Puerto Rico and NYC, but were currently settled in New York. Following the principles of survey methodology (Labov, 1984), I selected participants who were referred by neighborhood acquaintances to a variety of people such as delivery people, supermarket stockers, managers, produce personnel, who in turn introduced me to a neighborhood doorman who also introduced me to a variety of plumbers, handymen, security guards, and other people who worked in my neighborhood. Acquaintances in my place of work also referred me to colleagues, family members, and other friends. The rationale for using such an approach stems mainly from the fact that, according to Zentella (1994), no predominantly Puerto Rican section of the City remained intact after the housing reshuffling of the 1960s, and Puerto Ricans were currently spread among NYC's five boroughs. The networking approach provided me with a vehicle to obtain what I considered to be intimate narratives. Participants were able to easily produce long narratives that I could not have obtained had I been a complete stranger. Instead, the approach provided me with an entry to the speaker's world and the social network grew with every meeting. The participants' ages ranged from 23

through 82 and they lived in all 5 NYC boroughs but either lived or worked in Manhattan.

Initial entry to the network of contacts was not difficult. Perhaps the fact that these participants had seen me in their place of work or around my neighborhood facilitated the production of the oral narratives. My Puerto Rican background may have also contributed to the ease in which the participants narrated their stories. But participants were not made aware of my place of birth or whether I was educated in New York City or Puerto Rico. I was able to switch registers with every participant with the hope of offering them a level of comfort for the production of the narrative.

The meetings were held privately. No group interviews were held, and I was the only person present in their interview. In only one instance, a doorman insisted that I stay in the lobby while he conducted his regular business. All other meetings that were held in public venues were privately recorded and third parties were not present. All the narratives were spontaneous, improvised, and informally produced.

TABLE 4.1

The locations of narratives

Location	No. of participants
Home	11
Office	13
Supermarket	4
Restaurant/cafeteria	3
Building basement	2
Car	1
Lobby/park bench	4
Library	3
Total	41

Table 4.1 shows the location where narratives were recorded. Location was not a factor in this study.

4.4 Demographics

According to Zentella (1997), NYC is home to the largest concentration of Puerto Ricans, 896,763. With key Working Papers published by *El Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños* (Center for Puerto Rican Studies) during the late 70's and 80's, we find language research on this group largely dedicated to issues of bilingualism, code-switching, language maintenance or loss, and to some extent, morphological and phonological concerns, and language attitudes and loyalties. For further reading, the reader is advised to see Klein (1980), Poplack (1980 a,b, 1983), Torres (1997), and Urciuoli, (1997).

The following tables illustrate the distribution of age, gender, profession, education level, and occupation. In general, there is a balanced representation of males and females in this study. Recall that gender and age were included as external factors that may influence the use of SPPs.

TABLE 4.2

The distribution of participants by age and gender

Age	Male	Female	Total
20s	4	2	6
30s	6	8	14
40s	7	6	13
50s	2	3	5
60s	0	0	0
70s	1	1	2
80s	0	1	1
Total	20	21	41

Although at a glance the age distribution may not be as balanced after the age of 50, in Table 3 we re-distributed the data. The following table shows that there were 20 participants in their 20's and 30's, and 18 participants in their 40's and 50's, which accounts for the majority of participants in the study. There were only 3 seniors above the age of 70. Recall that the effects of age are examined in this study.

TABLE 4.3

Participants' ages re-distributed according to gender

Age	Male	Female	Total
20s'-30's	10	10	20
40s'-50's	9	9	18
Above 70	1	2	3

TABLE 4.4

Distribution of participants by educational level

Educational Level	Male	Female
Attended/s Graduate School	4	4
Attended/s Undergraduate School	6	11
Completed High School	7	4
Not completed High School	3	2
Total	20	21

The educational level of the participants was slightly dissimilar between males and females. More females had college experience than the males. However, the reader should note that I did not make a distinction between

participants who attended college versus those who completed college. They were all included in the undergraduate category. Educational level was not a factor in this study.

TABLE 4.5

The distribution of participants by occupation

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Professional	6	8	14
Managerial	3	5	8
Clerical/Skilled	3	6	9
Unskilled/Retirees	8	2	10
Total	20	21	41

With respect to the participants' occupations, those who were in the banking, teaching, TV reporting, and nursing professions, etc. were placed under the professional category. Participants who were categorized under managerial were those whose profession required them to supervise other individuals in the workplace. Skilled and clerical participants were those who worked as secretaries, administrative assistants, printers, and a postal worker. Participants in the unskilled category were those who delivered to homes, cut produce, stocked shelves, were doormen, worked as handymen or were unskilled retirees. Occupation was not a factor included in this study

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4.5 Levels of bilingualism

Levels of bilingualism were a concern in this study. Table 6, illustrates the reported language used at home by the participants. In Chapter 6, I fully address the manner in which data regarding exposure to English were defined and collected.

TABLE 4.6

Distribution of participants' genders according to language spoken at home

Language at home	Male	Female	Total
Uses Spanish at home	7	1	8
Uses English at home	10	9	19
Uses both languages	3	11	14
Total	20	21	41

These data are based on self-reported information and provide, at a glance, an overview of the participants' language use in the home. The table also shows that the majority of the participants are in daily contact with English in their homes. Those who claimed to only use Spanish at home are still, and to some extent, considered to be in daily contact with English since they worked in a bilingual setting. Language spoken at home was one of the external factors that we used to define level of contact with English.

TABLE 4.7

Participants' years in the NYC

Years in NYC	Female	Male	Total
Less then 15	2	4	6
Between 16-30	7	7	14
Between 31-45	10	6	16
Over 45	2	3	5
Total	21	20	41

Table 4.7 shows the distribution of years in NYC according to gender. The majority of the participants had resided between 16 to 45 years in the City.

Chapter 5 Explanation and illustration of internal factors

5.1 Introduction

This dissertation investigates four linguistic factors and their effects on the variable use of Spanish SPPs: (a) the form used in the immediately previous mention of the verb's subject, (b) the distance to the last mention of the verb's subject, and (c) competition or potential interference between previously overtly mentioned 3rd person referents and (d) switch reference. All four factor groups address the matter of reference relations.

5.2 The verb's subject was previously mentioned as a subject in the form of a null, lexical, SPP, or non-personal subject pronoun

This factor group studied whether and to what extent the form used in the immediately previous full set mention of a verb's subject had an effect on the type of subject used in the verb under study. This variable was designed to answer the question: Is the appearance of SPPs constrained by the form used in the previous mention of its subject? In part, this factor group was designed using concepts related to the maintenance of reference, specifically, givenness and assumed familiarity (Chafe, 1976; Prince, 1982), which suggested that speakers use attenuated forms such as pronouns or nulls to express given information whereas new information is expected to be expressed with lexical subjects.

We coded this factor group with five factors:

0 = There is no prior full set mention of this verb's subject as a subject

within the previous 10 clauses
N = The previous mention of this verb's subject is a noun.
P = The previous mention of this verb's subject is a personal subject pronoun.
D = The previous mention is another type of subject pronoun (e.g., a demonstrative, *aquel, aquella, esa*, etc.)
U = The previous mention is a verb inflection (i.e., a NULL).

The narrative below illustrates how this factor group was coded.

Me fui (56) después de la misa y cuando llego (57) a la catedral ahí en la ciento y diéz y Amsterdam están (58) estos... dos ayudantes del obispo y me entregan (59) una carta.

(Participant: #16)

((I) went later to the mass and when I get to the cathedral there in hundred and tenth and Amsterdam there are these... two helpers of the bishop and they hand me a letter.)

	Coded as:
...Me fui (56) después de la misa y	...
cuando llego (57) a la catedral ahí en la ciento y diéz y Amsterdam	U
están (58) *estos* ...dos ayudantes del obispo y	0
me entregan (59) una carta.	N

The previous mention of the subject of Verb (57) *llego* is a 1st person null subject pronoun *(yo)*, which is also the subject of Verb (56), *fui*. Therefore, (57) was coded as factor U. Verb (58) *están* was coded as 0 since its subject was not previously mentioned within 10 clauses (recall this is an excerpt of a narrative). The subject of Verb (59) *entregan* was a plural null third person plural. The previous mention of this subject was *dos ayudantes*, a noun, and, therefore, (59) was coded as factor N.

The following discourse was extracted from the beginning of a narrative, and it provides further examples of how this factor group was coded:

Déja (1) ver, este... impactante... vamos (2) hablar sobre... un incidente reciente, estaba (3) en Tíbet y... no a... perdona (4) no, veníamos (5) de la parte de... del suroeste de la China, la parte que le llaman (6) en inglés eh...Shangrilá y veníamos (7), es el primer, eh fue el primer viaje que teníamos (8) de una ciudad a otra en guagua.

(Let me see, um... impactuous... let's talk about...an incident recent, (I) was in Tibet and... no um...pardon me no, we were coming from a part of... the southwest of China, the part that they call in English, em...Shangrila and we were coming, this is the first, um, was the first trip that we had from a city to another on bus.)

	Coded as:
Déja (1) ver	not entered
este... impactante...	
vamos (2) hablar sobre... un incidente reciente,	0
estaba (3) en Tíbet y... no a...	0
perdona (4) no,	U
veníamos (5) de la parte de... del suroeste de la China, la parte	0
que le llaman (6) en inglés eh... Shangrilá y	0
veníamos (7) es el primer, eh fue el primer viaje	U
que teníamos (8) de una ciudad a otra en guagua.	U

Verb (1) *déja* was not coded since it is not a site of variation and was considered a set phrase (see chapter 5, section 5.5 for an explanation). Verbs (2) *vamos* and (3) *estaba* were coded as 0 since there was no prior full set mention of their subjects. For Verb (4) *perdona*, its previous mention was found in Verb (1), a 2nd person singular null pronoun. Therefore, it was coded as factor U. Verb (5) *veníamos* was coded as 0 since there was not a prior full set mention of its verb's subject within the previous ten clauses. However, Verb (8) *teníamos* was previously mentioned as a 1st person plural null pronoun in Verb (7) *veníamos*. Hence, it was coded as U.

Examples when the previous mention is a demonstrative:

The following narratives illustrate how tokens were coded as D (when the previous subject is a demonstrative).

Y *ese* se quitó la camisa y cuando estamos (334) allí nos da por tirarnos a la playa al agua con la ropa que teníamos (335).
El muchachito se volvió (336) loco.

(Participant: #34)

(And that one took his shirt off and when we were there, it occurred to us to throw ourselves in the water on the beach with the clothes. The guy went crazy.)

Coded as:

Y *ese* se quitó la camisa
y cuando estamos (334) allí
nos da por tirarnos a la playa al agua con la ropa
que teníamos (335).
El muchachito se volvió (336) loco. D

The previous mention of the subject of Verb (336) *muchachito* was *ese*, a demonstrative, found in the first clause.

Aquél me dijo (403) que me echara (404) para el lado y que me iba (405) explicar el mapa. Y resulta que él pensó (406) que no llegabamos (407) a Malawi y cuando regresamos (408), ese ese hombre se volvió (409) blanco, blanco.

(Participant: #34)

(That one told me that I should move aside and that (he) would explain the map. And it ended up that he thought that we wouldn't reach Malawi and when we returned, that man turned white, white.)

Coded as:

Aquél me dijo (403)
que me echara (404) para el lado
y que me iba (405) explicar el mapa. D
Y resulta que él pensó (406)
que no llegabamos (407) a Malawi
y cuando regresamos (408),
ese hombre se volvió (409) blanco, blanco.

The previous mention of the subject of Verb (405), a 3rd person singular null pronoun, was found in the subject of Verb (403) *dijo*, aquél, a demonstrative.

Previous mention 'as subject':

The term used in this factor group, 'full set mention as a subject', refers to the referent of the subject of the verb under study in its previous mention in the role of subject, not in the role of object.

... Me acuerdo (84) que pasé (85) los cuarenta minutos restantes de la trayectoria agarrando el gatito de peluche que Ana y Andrés me habían dado (86)...No se lo dije (93) a Ana ni Andrés. Ellos no saben (94) nada, ni lo sabrán (95) jamás...

(Participant: #19)

(... (I) remember that (I) passed the remaining forty minutes of the trajectory holding the cat of fur that Ana and Andre had given me ... (I) never told Ana or Andre. They don't know anything, nor (they) will know never...)

	Coded as:
... Me acuerdo (84)	...
que pasé (85) los cuarenta minutos restantes de la trayectoria agarrando el gatito de peluche	U
que Ana y Andrés me habían dado (86)	0
...No se lo dije (93) a Ana ni Andrés.	U
Ellos no saben (94) nada,	N
ni lo sabrán (95) jamás...	P

In this instance, the subject of Verb (94) received a previous mention in (93) *Ana ni Andrés*, but this mention does not count since the NP *Ana ni Andrés* appeared in the role of object, not subject. The relevant previous full set mention of (94) was therefore not in (93), but in (86), where *Ana ni Andrés* appeared as subjects. Hence, (94) was coded as N pointing to (86). Verb (95) *sabrán*, we coded as P, since the previous mention of this verb's subject was the plural overt pronoun *ellos* found in (94) *saben*.

Previous 'full set' mention:

In order to determine what a qualifying previous 'full set' mention of a verb's subject is, I defined 'full set' as an NP which was semantically equal in content and in person and number. In other words, if the token under study is

a plural NP, its previous mention must be plural and it must refer to the same entities.

Zoraida y Tita vivían (191) siempre en ese apartamentito y arriba vivían (192) los novios. [Risa]... Entonces ellas vivían (193) en el, pues, en el tercer piso y en el cuarto piso vivían (194) otras amistades de nosotras...
(Participant: #21)

(Zoraida and Tita lived always in that apartment and above lived the boyfriends. (Laugh) .. Then they lived in it, because, in the third floor and in the fourth floor lived other friends of ours...)

	Coded as:
Zoraida y Tita vivían (191) siempre en ese apartamentito	...
y arriba vivían (192) los novios. [Risa]...	...
...Entonces ellas vivían (193) en él, pues en el tercer piso	N
y en el cuarto piso vivían (194) otras amistades de nosotras...	0

In this example, the previous full set mention of Verb (192) *vivían* is not Verb (191), even though it is also *vivían*. The referent of (191) is *Zoraida y Tita*, which is not the same as *los novios*, the subject for (192). Similarly, the subject of Verb (193) *vivían* has a relevant previous full set mention in Verb (191) *vivían*, namely *Zoraida y Tita*. If the subject of (191) had been a singular subject, *Zoraida*, then it would not have been a qualifying previous 'full set' mention of the subject *ellas* in Verb (193).

An example of an NP that is not considered a semantically equal in content:

Some problems occurred with regard to this factor group in terms of what is defined as 'a semantically equal' full set mention of a verb's subject. For instance, in this next narrative, the speaker personifies a bus and driver

as one entity. In doing so, it was difficult to track the previous mention of the verb's subject as being equal in content. But this example was a rare case:

Entonces empezó la guagua a tocar bocina. ...y él redujo (16) la velocidad, pero siguió (17) tocando bocina y se echó (18) al carril izquierdo...
(Participant: #19)

(Then...started the bus to honk its horn. ... and he reduced his speed, but (he) continued honking the horn and (he/it) threw itself on the left lane...)

	Coded as:
Entonces empezó la guagua a tocar bocina.	...
...y él redujo (16) la velocidad,	0
pero siguió (17) tocando bocina y	P
se echó (18) al carril izquierdo...	U

The subject of Verb (16) *redujo* referred to the driver of the bus. This subject was not previously mentioned within ten clauses as a subject and therefore was coded as 0. Although it may seem that the subject of *redujo* had its previous mention in the form of a 3rd person null pronoun in the verb *empezó*, as in *El empezó la guagua* 'he started the bus', it could not be coded in that manner. When locating the previous mention of the subject of (16) *redujo*, it was determined that its subject refers to the driver, while the subject of *empezó* is *la guagua*. These subjects are not semantically equal in content even though we know that the entity which reduced the speed and honked the horn was the same.

5.3 Distance between the target verb's subject and the previous mention of its subject as subject of another verb

This factor group studied whether and to what extent the distance to last mention of the verb's subject had an effect on the use of SPPs. It

measures the distance, in terms of clauses, between an expressed or null SPP and its previous mention.

The elaboration of this factor group was based on Givón (1983), who maintained that the referent of an overt pronominal might be represented by a zero anaphor in a latter clause provided that the topic, focus or referent was indeed a semantic argument of the predicate of the clause. Givón measured persistence in terms of the number of clauses to the right of the referent, and his *Continuity Hypothesis* dealt with aspects of high and low continuity, depending on the number of disruptions that appeared between the token under observation and its previous mention.

Along similar lines, Cameron's (1992, 1995) findings showed that the farther an NP is from its previous mention, the higher the frequency of SPPs, and the fewer the nulls.

This factor group was closely related to the one discussed in the previous section. While that factor looked at the form used in the previous mention of the subject, this one looked at the distance between the subject and its previous mention.

We coded this factor group with five factors:

0 =There is no nominal or pronominal mention of this verb's subject as subject within the prior three clauses.
P =The mention appears in the prior clause.
W =The mention is within 2 to 5 clauses.
6 = The mention is 6 to 10 clauses back
B = The mention is beyond 10 clauses

The following is an example of how this factor group was coded:

...yo estaba (66) sugiriendo en realidad que no eran sociología porque él dijo (67) porque esos eran los cursos trendy...esos son los cursos trendy...y...que más fue lo que dijo (68) ...que esos eran cursos trendy...que eso no eran las necesidades del departamento. Y la cuestión... bien negativo, y yo le digo (69), oye (70), ven (71) acá...Yo no vine (72) aquí porque a mi me dió la gana...

(Participant: #30)

(...I was suggesting in reality that (they) weren't sociology because he said because those were trendy courses... those were the courses trendy ...and...that what else did (he) say....that those were trendy courses...that that was the need of the department. The thing ...very negative, and I told (him), listen, get over here...I didn't come here because I wanted to...) (Participant: #30)

	Coded as:
...yo estaba (66) sugiriendo en realidad que no eran sociología	
porque él dijo (67)	
porque esos eran los cursos trendy	
...esos son los cursos trendy	
...y...que más fue lo que dijo (68)	W
...que esos eran cursos trendy...	
que eso no eran las necesidades del departamento.	
Y la cuestión, pues... bien (*era o estuvo*) negativo,	
y yo le digo (69),	6
oye (70),	6
ven (71) acá...	P
Yo no vine (72) aquí	W
porque a mi me dió la gana...	

The previous mention of the subject of Verb (68) *dijo*, was found within 2-5 clauses in Verb (67) *dijo*. Hence, (68) was coded as a W. The previous mention of the subject of Verb (69) *digo* was found in the 1st person singular null subject of Verb (66) *estaba*, eight clauses back in distance. Thus, (69) was coded with factor 6. The subject of verb (70) *oye* was previously mentioned as an overt 3rd person singular pronoun *él* in Verb (67) *dijo*. Even though the subject of Verb (70) *oye* is the null 2nd person pronoun (*tú*), and thus differed in form from the subject of verb (67) *dijo*, which was the 3rd

person singular overt pronoun *él*, the former is still considered a previous mention since both refer to the same entity. The subject of Verb (71) *ven* was previously mentioned in the prior clause in Verb (70) *oye*. Therefore, Verb (71) was coded as a P, meaning its previous mention was in a prior clause. Finally, Verb (72) *vine* was coded with a W since its subject was previously expressed within 2-5 clauses in Verb (69) *digo*.

When analyzing this factor group, there were instances where the distance to last mention was interrupted by a string of clauses headed by the referent *uno*, a non-specific, non-personal subject pronoun. Even though verbs with *uno* are not part of our study, the *uno* clauses are, of course, counted when measuring distance to previous mention under this factor group.

Example of clause counting with intervening *uno*:

Y en eso pues, me dejé (61) de ese trabajo y yo fui (62) para trabajar allí casi cinco años. Nunca, nunca, esperaba (63) de todas las cosas que me pasó allí, la experiencias que no..., que nunca tenía (64) pero la cosa después trabajar con estas personas que yo aprendí (65), porque uno siempre cree que tiene problemas que uno tiene una lucha. Pero cuando uno ve una persona así, una persona siempre andando en en un su camino de de día normal... Pero de un momento le da un carro, le pega un fuego a la casa, uno está bebiendo...este, uno viene a robar la cartera y le tiran (66) un ácido ... ...Uno ve la gente, y uno ve que lindo es la persona que lindo es la persona... Todas las cosas que yo vi (67), gente que se le cayeron [XXX] brazos, ...
(Participant: #24)

(And in that well, (I) left this job and I went to work there about five years. Never, never. (I) expected of all the things that happen (to me) there, the experiences that no..., that (I) never had but the thing after working with these persons that I learned, because one always believes that (one) has problems that one has a struggle. But when one sees a person like that, a person always walking in their path from one normal day.... But from one moment a car hits (him/her), (he/she) puts a house on fire, one... is drinking...then, one comes to steal the purse and (they) throw acid.....One sees the people, y one sees how pretty is the person how pretty is the person... All those things that I saw, people that (their) arms would fall off...)

(In the following display the numbers (10), (9), etc. refer to the number of clauses. In this example we show how Verb (67) *vi* had a previous mention beyond 10 clauses).

	Coded as:	
Y en eso pues, me dejé (61) de ese trabajo		
y yo fui (62) para trabajar allí casi cinco años.	P	
...Nunca, nunca, esperaba (63) de todas las cosas	P	
que me pasó allí,		
la experiencias que no, que nunca tenía (64)	W	
pero la cosa después de trabajar con estas personas		
que yo aprendí (65),	W	
porque uno siempre cree		
que tiene problemas		
que uno tiene una lucha.	(10+)	
Pero cuando uno ve una persona así,	(10)	
una persona siempre andando en en un su camino de de día normal...	(9)	
Pero de un momento le da un carro,	(8)	
le pega un fuego a la casa,	(7)	
uno está bebiendo...este,	(6)	
uno viene a robar la cartera y	(5)	
le tiran (66) un ácido ...	(4)	0
uno ve	(3) ↑	
que lindo es la persona...	(2) |	
... Todas las cosas que yo vi (67),	(1) |	B
gente que se le cayeron [XXX] brazos, ...		

Before illustrating the coding of Verb (67) following the *uno* clauses, we walk the reader through the coding of Verbs (62) to (66).

Verb (62) *fui* was coded as factor P since the previous mention of its subject, was found in the prior clause in Verb (61) *dejé*. The same occurred with Verb (63) *esperaba*, which was coded as factor P since its subject was previously mentioned in the prior clause in Verb (62) *fui*. Verb (64) *tenía* was coded as W since its subject was previously mentioned within 2-5 clauses in Verb (63) *esperaba*. The same code W was given to Verb (65) *aprendí*, whose subject was previously mentioned within 2-5 clauses in Verb (64)

tenía. The subject of Verb (66) *tiran* was not mentioned within the last 10 clauses, therefore Verb (66) was coded as 0.

When analyzing Verb (67) *vi*, and prior to its mention, we found a string of impersonal pronouns *uno* as subject of multiple clauses. Although *uno* did not enter in the study because it was not a SPP, all clauses with *uno* were counted when calculating the distance between a referent and its previous mention. Hence, the subject of Verb (67) *vi* was located more than 10 clauses back in Verb (65) *aprendí* and therefore was coded as B.

5.4 Competition or potential interference between previously overtly mentioned 3rd person singular and plural referents

This factor group studied whether and to what extent competition or potential interference between previously mentioned 3rd person singular and plural subjects had an influence on the variable use of SPPs. The purpose of this factor group was to determine whether contexts with two or more 3rd person singular and plural subjects (henceforth 3rd person subjects) in previously mentioned verbs tend to produce more appearances of overt SPPs in the verb under study. The rationale would be that the two or more 3rd person subjects in the context create an environment for potential referential ambiguity and may tend to be clarified with the use of overt subject pronouns.

The design of this factor group rests mainly on concepts suggested by Givón (1983) in his *Continuity Hypothesis*, as well as Arnold (1998), Ariel (1990), and Prince (1982). Givón maintained that:

> The more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more *coding material* must be assigned to it (original emphasis p.17)

Arnold (1998) suggested that a number of factors influence a speaker's choice to use nulls or pronouns. She argued that recency, subjecthood, first mention, protagonist identity, repeated mention, and prior pronominal reference, etc. all played a role in determining the speaker's choice to use more or less specific forms. Arnold also dealt with noun subjects, which we do not discuss here. Ariel (1990) maintained that distance, the number of competitors, saliency, and unity were factors that affected the accessibility status of an antecedent. If accessibility is affected when 3rd person competitors exist in a narrative, then speakers should favor the use of forms that can easily identify the competitors and favor less null subject pronouns.

We coded this factor group with three factors:

0 = The verb is not in the 3rd person
N = The subject of this 3rd person verb was not competing for subject status with other nouns or overt 3rd person pronouns.
C = The subject of this 3rd person verb was competing for subject status with other 3rd person nouns or overt pronouns.

Example of competing subjects and how this factor group was coded:

No he vuelto (24) a Puerto Rico y quería (25) ir para vacaciones este año, pero...[XXX] yo tengo (26) amigos aquí que eramos (27) amigos allá como cinco o seis años conocido. Primero me vine yo (28), y después poquito a poco ...primero me vine yo (29) , y después se vinieron dos (30), después tres...so ahora, ahora estamos (31) toditos aquí. Y el último que regresó, el mejor amigo mío...estudiamos (32) en la escuela, e, regresó (33) el año pasado estaba (34) allá y ...que no están las cosas bien.

(Participant: #31)

((I) haven't returned to Puerto Rico and (I) wanted to go for vacation this year, but I have friends here that we were friends there around five or six years known. First came I, and later little by little...first came I, and later came two, later three...so now, now we are all here. And the last one that came back, my best friend... (we) studied in

school, um, (he) came back last year (he) was there and...that things were not that good.)

	Coded as:
Yo tengo (26) amigos aquí	0
que eramos (27) amigos allá como cinco o seis años conocido.	0
Primero me vine yo (28), y	0
después poquito a poco ...primero me vine yo (29),	0
y después se vinieron dos (30),	N
después tres...	
so ahora, ahora estamos (31) toditos aquí.	0
Y el último que regresó, el mejor amigo mío...estudiamos	0
(32) en la escuela,	
él regresó (33) el año pasado	C
estaba (34) allá	C
y ...que no están las cosas bien.	

Verb (26) *tengo* had a 1st person overt subject pronoun *yo*. Since it was not a 3rd person subject, it was coded as factor 0. The same occurred with Verbs (28) and (29). Verb (27) *eramos* had a 1st person plural null subject pronoun and therefore it also was coded as factor 0. Verb (30) *vinieron* had an overt subject *dos*. This verb was not in competition with any other previous 3rd person singular and plural subjects and was coded as factor N. Verb (31) *estamos* had a 1st person plural null pronoun *nosotros* as its subject, and it was coded as 0. Verb (32) *estudiamos* had a 1st person plural null subject and was coded as 0. However, Verb (33) *regresó* had a 3rd person null subject (*él*), which was in competition with *el último que regresó* and *el mejor amigo mío*, which along with a null first person singular are the subject of *estudiamos*. Hence, (34) was coded as factor C. Verb (34) *estaba* had a 3rd person singular null subject and it was in competition with the previous verb's 3rd person singular null subject as well as *el último, el mejor amigo mío*. Thus, Verb (34) was also coded as C.

In another narrative we find an example of competition between previously overtly mentioned 3rd person pronouns *él* and *ella.*

Yo no sabía (66) casi nada de la enfermedad. Cuando él supo (67) que él lo tenía (68), él no se lo dijo (69) a nadie. Él no se lo dijo (70) a mi mamá tampoco. Ella lo supo (71), por el ho...en el hospital. Porque él se enfermó (72), se puso (73) bien malo.

(Participant: #8)

(I didn't know hardly anything of the illness. When he knew that he had (it), he did not tell anyone. He did not tell my mother either. She found out, through the ho...in the hospital. Because he was ill, (he) got really sick.)

	Coded as:
Yo no sabía (66) casi nada de la enfermedad.	
Cuando él supo (67)	N
que él lo tenía (68),	N
él no se lo dijo (69) a nadie.	N
El no se lo dijo (70) a mi mamá tampoco.	N
Ella lo supo (71), por el ho...en el hospital.	C
Porque él se enfermó (72),	C
se puso (73) bien malo.	C

Verb (67) *supo* was coded as N since it was not competing with any other previously mentioned 3rd person subject. Verb (68) *tenía* was also coded as N since both verbs (67) and (68) refer to the same entity and they were not competing with other 3rd person subjects in previous mentions. The subject of Verbs (69) and (70) were also the same, all refer to the 3rd person overt pronoun *él.* However, Verb (71) had a new 3rd person overt subject pronoun *ella.* This subject was competing with the previous subject in (70) *él.* Thus, (71) was coded as factor C. Verb (72) *enfermó* was competing with 3rd person pronouns in (71) *ella*, and (70) *él* and was therefore coded as C. Verb (73) *puso* was competing with previously mentioned 3rd person subjects in (70) *él*, (71) *ella*, and (72) *él.* Therefore, (73) was also coded as factor C.

5.5 Switch reference

This factor group studied whether and to what extent a switch in reference had an effect on the variable use of SPPs. The condition of same or switch reference was defined by Cameron (1992, 1995):

> "...as two related reference relations that may hold between two NPs. When these two NPs have different referents, they are 'switch' in reference. When these two NP's share the same referent, they are 'same' in reference." (1992, p.117)

The relationship of switch and same reference is defined between two NPs where the second NP is the [+human] subject of a tensed verb that occurs after and nearest to another subject NP of a tensed verb. $NP_{(1)}$ is known as the trigger and $NP_{(2)}$ as the target. The target is the subject NP that is marked as either switch or same with respect to the trigger. We followed Cameron's (1992, 1995) formula:

$$\underset{(1)}{\underline{NP + Tensed\ V}}\ (X).....(Y)\ \underset{(2)}{\underline{NP + Tensed\ V}}\ (Z)$$

We coded this factor group with five factors:

0 = There is no trigger (for beginning of discourse)
1 = The target NP referent is **the same** as the trigger NP
2 = The target NP referent is **not the same** as the trigger NP
3 = The target NP referent is a subset of the trigger NP
4 = The trigger NP referent is a subset of the target NP

In spoken narratives, defining triggers is complicated by the fact that there are times where interruptions, digressions, and changes in narrative events take place. The first few examples below illustrate how this factor group was coded in general. We then describe some exceptional cases. The

reader should recall that the only verbs in the study were those where SPPs and lexical subjects were or could have been expressed.

Example of how the switch reference factor group was coded:

...Por ejemplo, déjame (1) contarte un poquito sobre...de este apartamentito aquí donde yo vivo (2) en la diez, que yo vivo (3) ahí desde mil novecientos...setenta ... (Participant #21)

(...For example, let me tell you a little about...this apartment here where I live on 10th, that I live here since ... nineteen seventy...)

	Coded as:
...Por ejemplo, déjame (1) contarte	0
un poquito sobre...de este apartamentito aquí	
donde yo vivo (2) en la diez,	2
que yo vivo (3) ahí desde mil novecientos...setenta ...	1

Verb (1) was coded as 0 since it was the first verb in the discourse and it did not have a trigger or a preceding verb with a referent. Verb (2) was coded as factor 2 since its subject was the overt 1st person *yo*, but its trigger NP was a 2nd person singular null in *déjame*. Verb (3) was coded as factor 1 since its subject was a 1st person *yo* and so was the subject of its trigger NP in (2) *vivo*.

There were two other factors that we coded under this factor group. These two factors were cases where the target NP was a subset of the trigger NP, or when the trigger NP was a subset of the target NP. We refer to these instances as partial overlap.

Example of partial overlap: The trigger is a subset of the target

Yo tenía (2) como, déjame (3) ver, yo tendría (4) como diez, once años por ahí Entonces, nosotros vivíamos (5) en Chelsea.
(Participant 4)

(I was about, let me see, I was about ten, eleven years old, around there. And then, we lived in Chelsea.)

	Coded as:
Yo tenía (2) como,	
déjame (3) ver,	2
yo tendría (4) como díez,	2
once años por ahí.	
Entonces, nosotros vivíamos (5) en Chelsea.	4

In this example we coded Verb (5) *vivíamos* as factor 4 since its trigger subject in Verb (4) was 1st person *yo*, a subset of the 1st person plural target NP *nosotros*. Note that we included the verb *déjame* (3) since it was considered a phrase of habitual collocation.

Example of partial overlap: The target is a subset of the trigger

Entonces, yo dije (384), yo sé (385) que no va a ser fácil cambiar tu forma de ser. Estamos (386) hablando de tú cambiar la forma que tú has vivido (387) toda tu vida, de la forma que tú actúas (387).

(Participant #8)

(Then, I said, I know that it won't be easy to change your ways. We are talking about changing the manner that you have lived all your life, the manner that you behave.)

	Coded as:
Entonces, yo dije (384),	
yo sé (385) que no va hacer fácil cambiar tu forma de ser.	
Estamos (386) hablando de tú cambiar la forma que	
tú has vivido (387) toda tu vida,	3
de la forma que tú actúas (387).	1

Here Verb (387) was coded as factor 3 since its subject, 2nd person *tú*, is a subset of the trigger subject, the null 1st person plural pronoun in (386).

It should be noted that there are differences in the criteria we used to define trigger and target NPs. Target NPs must be [+human] since we are studying the use of SPPs. Triggers, on the other hand, can be [+/- human].

Example of [-human] trigger:

	Coded as:
NP 1 +V (NP2) + V Eso es otra cosa que le he enseñado (293) ...	2

(Participant #31)

(That is another thing that I have taught (him)).

Here the NP trigger of Verb (293) *he enseñado* was *eso* and therefore (293) was coded as 2 since its subject, a 1st person singular null pronoun, was not the same as the NP trigger, *eso*. Note that *eso* can be a trigger even though it is not a SPP and thus is not part of the study.

NPs not considered triggers:

In the next example, we find a narrative that is more complex to analyze since we find a [+human] NP expressed without a tensed verb and intervening between two clauses with tensed verbs. This floating NP does not qualify as a trigger because it does not occur with a tensed verb.

Entonces, yo dije (302), "tengo (303) que buscar lo que aparezca". Pero la cuñada de mi mujer, yo vine (304) a vivir con ella, me dio (305) un mes... (Participant #31)

(Then, I said, (I) have to look for whatever appears. But the sister-in-law of my wife, I ended up living with her, (she) gave me housing for a month...)

	Coded as:
Entonces, yo dije ,(302)	
"tengo (303) que buscar lo que aparezca".	1
Pero la cuñada de mi mujer,	
yo vine (304) a vivir con ella,	1
me dio (305) albergue por un mes...	2

In this instance, Verbs (303) and (302) had the same 1st person subject and were coded accordingly. Similarly, Verb (304) had the same subject as (303),

also 1st person. Note the intervening NP, *la cuñada de mi mujer*, between Verbs (304) *vine* and (303) *tengo*, is not a trigger for verb (304) because it did not appear as a subject of a tensed verb. In this study, only the subjects of tensed verbs can be triggers.

A problem also emerged in coding verbs that had subordinate object clauses with inferred subjects.

Example of an inferred subject in a trigger-target relationship:

Y cuando te metes (289) en el agua dices (290),"el hueso no siente el frío de la carne, el hueso no siente el frío de la carne, el hueso no siente el frió de la carne, el hueso no siente el frío", y te metes (291) y sales (292). Y haces (293) un hábito, eso es otra cosa que le he enseñado (294) al que no lo sepa. Y yo soy (295) puertorriqueño.

(Participant #31)

(And when you get in the water you say, the bone does not feel the cold of the skin, the bone does not feel the cold of the skin, the bone does not feel the cold of skin, the bone does not feel the cold, and you get in and out. And make a habit, that is another thing that I have taught to the one who does not know. And I am Puerto Rican!)

	Coded as:
Y cuando te metes (289) en el agua	...
dices (290), "el hueso no siente el frío de la carne,	1
el hueso no siente el frío de la carne,	
el hueso no siente el frió de la carne,	
el hueso no siente el frío",	
y te metes (291) y	2
sales (292).	1
Y haces (293) un hábito,	1
eso es otra cosa que	
le (294) he enseñado	2
al que no lo sepa.	
Y yo soy (295) puertorriqueño.	2

In this example, we coded the target NP subject of Verb (295) *soy*, the 1st person overt pronoun *yo*, as different from the inferred subject of its trigger located in the tensed verb of the previous clause *que no lo sepa*. The verb

sepa contains an inferred subject *cualquiera*, as in *cualquier persona que no lo sepa* 'for whoever doesn't know'. It is important to note that the difficulty that arose in analyzing the trigger-target relationship is that the switch reference formula requires the NPs be subjects (null or overt) of tensed verbs. In this particular case, however, the clause could not have taken an NP after the *que:*

**al que él no lo sepa*

This particular clause is in a lower clause of an A-over-A structure. Cameron (1992) suggested that in A-over-A structures or complex NPs, the closest NP to the target NP is the one identified as the trigger NP. Hence, *a cualquiera* or *an inferred* ***él*** *in a* ***él*** *que no lo sepa* is the NP trigger for the subject *yo* of Verb (295) soy. Since both subjects are different, (295) was coded as factor 2.

A complementary clause headed by an overt or null subject:

In this example, coding for switch or same reference is not complicated by a complementary clause since the clause could have an overt subject:

Pero yo sé (41) que me voy a casar (42) con este hombre.
(Participant #11)

(But I know that (I) am going to get married with this man.)

Here the target subject of verb (42) and the trigger of (41) are the same, both could have been expressed or null. The speaker could have expressed the pronoun, *que* ***yo*** *me voy a casar.*

Example that, despite appearances, is not considered partial overlap:

We also find instances that require an intimate knowledge of the narrative. As noted earlier, partial overlap exists in instances where the trigger is a subset of the target, or the target is a subset of the trigger. In the next narrative we find that a complete understanding of the story was required in order to determine that Verb (187) was not a case of partial overlap:

Porque él cogió (174) el primero...el initial shock from the lightening...entonces él se murió (175). Y mi prima ni sabía (176) que estaba (177) muerto. Estaba (178) ella buscándolo. ¿Cómo está (179) el amigo? ¿Cómo está (180) el amigo? Entonces yo le dije (181) a ella, "bueno yo creo (182) que el amigo tuyo no está (183) vivo. Porque cuando yo lo vi (184) no estaba (185) moviéndose. Estaba (186) en el piso ahí. Cuando llegamos (187) a la casa..." (Participant: #1)

(Because he received the first ... initial shock from the lightening... then he died. And my cousin didn't know that (he) was dead. (She) was looking for him. How is the friend? How is the friend? Then I told (her), "Well, I think that your friend is not alive. Because when I (him) saw (he) was not moving. (He) was on the ground there. When we arrived to the house...)

	Coded as:
Porque él cogió (174) el primero	
...el initial shock from the lightening	
...entonces él se murió (175).	1
Y mi prima ni sabía (176)	2
Que estaba (177) muerto.	2
Estaba (178) ella buscándolo.	2
¿Cómo está (179) el amigo?	2
¿Cómo está (180) el amigo?	1
Entonces yo le dije (181) a ella,	2
"bueno yo creo (182)	1
que el amigo tuyo no está (183) vivo.	2
Porque cuando yo lo vi (184)	2
no estaba (185) moviéndose.	2
Estaba (186) en el piso ahí.	1
Cuando llegamos (187) a la casa...	2

(Participant: #1)

The subject of Verb (187) *llegamos* is 1st person plural. The trigger for (187) is the subject of Verb (186), a 3rd person singular null pronoun. This NP was not considered a subset of (187) *llegamos* since the referent in (186) was the friend who had died. The subject of the verb *Llegamos* had a split antecedent, *mi prima* and *yo*, mentioned separately several clauses back. Therefore, verbs (187) and (186) were considered a case of a switch in reference and were coded as 2.

Different forms in the NPs are considered the same and not switches in reference:

In the following example, we find an instance where different forms appear in the trigger and target NPs and are not coded as a switch in reference. The speaker was performing in real time as in direct speech in Verb (64) and immediately shifted and continued recounting to the interviewer in Verb (65).

Me ignoraban (59), hasta que me alcé (60). Y entonce le dije (61), "¡Yo quiero (62) una cerveza bien fría y de aquí no me voy (63) hasta que me la den (64)!" Y me la tuvieron (65) que dar.

(Participant: #13)

((They) would ignore me, until I exploded. And then (I) told them, " I want a beer very cold and from here I am not leaving until (they) give. And they had to give (it to me)).

	Coded as:
Me ignoraban (59)	
hasta que me alcé (60).	2
Y entonces le dije (61),	1
"¡Yo quiero (62) una cerveza bien fría y	1
de aquí no me voy (63)	1
hasta que me la den (64)!"	2
Y me la tuvieron (65) que dar.	1

The subject for Verb (64) *den* was the 2nd person plural null pronoun (*ustedes*). The subject target of Verb (65) *tuvieron* was a 3rd person plural null pronoun. Both, however, referred to the same entity. Thus, (65) was coded as 1, having the same trigger and target NP. It is important to note that verbs (62) to (64) appeared in quotes while (65) appeared as an address to the hearer.

Same forms in the NPs are considered a switch in reference:

The following example shows how two NPs can be expressed with the same form (i.e., both have the same person and number) and yet refer to different entities.

De momento miramos (59) y no estaban (60) los padres de nosotros y nosotras buscando (61) y mis padres estaban (62) desesperados. Pasaron...como una hora, ellos buscándonos (63) y buscándonos (64) y ellos pensaban (65) que, "bueno..., se robaban (66) los niños" a veces decían (67). A mami la asustaron (68).

(Participant: #15)

(In the moment we looked and they weren't the our parents and we looking...and my parents were desperate. Passed...about one hour, they were looking and looking and they thought that, well...,they stole the children sometimes they would say. My mother (they) scared (her).)

	Coded as:
De momento miramos (59)	
y no estaban (60)	2
los padres de nosotros	
y nosotras buscando (61)	2
y mis padres estaban (62) desesperados.	2
Pasaron... como una hora,	
ellos buscándonos (63)	2
y buscándonos (64) y	1
ellos pensaban (65) que, "bueno...,	1
se robaban (66) los niños"	2
a veces decían (67).	2
A mami la asustaron (68).	1

The subject of Verb (66) *robaban*, a 3rd person plural null pronoun, refers to potential kidnappers while the subject of Verb (67) *decían*, also a 3rd person plural null pronoun, refers to hometown folk. Since the trigger and target subjects have different referents, (67) was coded as factor 2. Verb (68), however, was coded as factor 1 since it referred to the same subject in (67), the hometown folk.

5.6 Supplementary factor groups: Phrases of habitual collocation

We coded the data under three supplementary factor groups: Phrases of habitual collocation, person and number of the verb, and tense, mood, and aspect (TMA). The factor group for terms of habitual collocation had two factors.

The factor group was coded as:

Y= Verb appears in a phrase of habitual collocation
N= Verb does not appear in phrase of habitual collocation

First, an explanation is due regarding the distinction between set phrases and phrases of habitual collocation. I have made a terminological distinction between set phrases and phrases of habitual collocation since there has been great debate about the use of SPP in a set phrase. Set phrases I defined as phrases where SPPs were not variable and therefore the phrases did not enter in this particular study. For example, *que sé yo* 'what do I know' is a phrase where we could not omit the SPP and therefore did not enter the study.

A phrase of habitual collocation, on the other hand, I considered as a phrase used repeatedly, and was a site where variability was possible. This factor group studied whether and to what extent phrases of habitual collocation had an effect on the variable use of SPPs. In order to understand in quantifiable terms how phrases of habitual collocation are constructed and how speakers alternate the use of SPPs in this environment, I decided to code all habitual phrases under a separate factor group. This is an example of a set phrase vs. a phrase of habitual collocation:

...Digo...tú sabes...eso no es asi...

Digo is a set phrase	(not entered)
sabes	(entered)

(...(I) say...you know...that's not the way it is...)

Example of a narrative with phrases of habitual collocation:

*... Mis parientes estaban levantados a esa hora, pero entonces yo estaba empezando a conectar, **tú sabes**, la la idea de Santa Claus, donde vienen los jues uh... los juguetes y cuando yo me levantaba um... vi la sala lleno de de regalos, **tú sabes**, y la comida, la galletas y todo eso, **tú sabes**, ...*

(Participant 18)

(... My relatives were up a that time, but then I was starting to connect, you know, the the idea of Santa Clause, when arrive um... the toys and when I would wake up um... (I) saw the living room full of you know, and the food, the crackers and all that stuff, you know...)

5.7 Supplementary factor group: Tense, Mood, and Aspect

The second supplementary factor group was the verb's TMA. This factor group contained eleven factors:

TMA was coded as:

P = Present Indicative, e.g. *canto, estoy cantando*
R = Preterit Indicative, e.g., *canté*
I = Imperfect Indicative, e.g., *cantaba, estaba cantando*
K = Periphrastic Future, e.g., *voy a cantar*
F = Future Indicative, e.g., *cantaré*
C = Conditional, e.g., *cantaría*
S = Present Subjunctive, e.g., *cante*
U = Past Subjunctive, e.g., *cantara*
H = Perfect forms, e.g. *he cantado, había cantado*
M = Imperative, or indicative or subjunctive used imperatively, e.g., sal, cante, canta, ten, etc.
0 = A TMA form of the verb that is not listed above

Imperative verbs, as Cameron (1992) indicated, such as *vete, déjame quieta, cállate,* etc. were excluded in his study while other linguists have included these verbs (Bayley and Pease Álvarez, 1997; Otheguy and Zentella, 2000). In the present study this factor was coded separately for technical, not necessarily linguistic reasons. First, by coding these verbs separately, I was able to discover that imperatives had 7% of their SPPs expressed. Therefore, imperative verbs can be considered sites where SPP variation could also exist. Second, through initial VARBRUL runs, I was able to nil these verbs from the entire count or amalgamate them with another TMA category that was found to be insignificant. Had I not included them in the general count, I would have never been able to ascertain whether indeed imperatives had lower rates of pronominal expression. Third, these interviews were conducted with only two persons, the investigator and the narrator.

There are fewer possibilities of imperative uses in this environment than in instances where conversations with multiple speakers are being recorded. Only 457 verbs of an initial 16,517 were initially coded as imperative forms.

5.8 Supplementary factor group: Person and number

The person and number factor group was coded as:

0 = Verb inflection is not intelligible or inferable.
1 = Verb is 1s person, e.g., *Yo canto*
2 = Verb is 2s Person SPECIFIC, e.g., *cantas, tú cantas bien*
9 = Verb is 2s person, Non-Specific, *tu=uno*
3 = Verb is 3s person, e.g., *El/ Ella canta*
4 = Verb is 1p person, e.g., *Nosotros cantamos*
5 = Verb is 3p Person, e.g., *Ellos/Ellas cantan*
6 = Verb is 2s Person, for addressee, e.g., *usted canta*
7 = Verb is 2p Person, for addressees, e.g., *ustedes cantan*

The narratives in this study were for the most part monologues in which the speaker would very rarely get interrupted. In other words, narratives did not contain interviews, question or answer frames, etc. Under these circumstances, many 2nd person pronouns were non-specific since the *tú* was not directed to the interviewer, as in:

Tú crees que tienes problemas pero cuando vienes a ver y tú miras la lucha de otros...

(You think that (you) have problems but when you really see and you look at the struggles of others...)

In this example, specific *tú* was used:

Yo dije, ah, pues, que se vaya! Cuando se... Empaqueta mis cosas que me voy... empaquétalas tú. Yo no tengo tiempo! (Participant #8)

(I said, ah, well, (I) want (him) to go! When (he) was... Pack my things that I am leaving...You pack them. I don't have time.)

I coded all 2nd person verbs with a distinction as to whether the *tú* was specific or non-specific, for the purpose of determining the differences in the use of SPPs with all persons and number and, more specifically, of examining the differences in the use of SPP expression in the 2nd person specific vs. non-specific cases. Verbs with specific *tú* had 53% of their pronouns expressed. Verbs with non-specific *tú* had 60% of the pronouns expressed. Results regarding the person and number factor group will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

Chapter 6 External factors

6.1 Introduction

In addition to correlating with internal factors such as the ones presented in Chapter 5, a sociolinguistic variable like the one under study here can also be correlated with external stylistic and social factors (Labov, 1972). The present study investigates the variable use of SPPs with one stylistic variable, narrative style, and with three external factor groups: English contact, age, and gender.

The narrative style factor examined, through a single factor group, whether and to what extent conflict narratives vs. non-conflict narratives influence the use of SPPs.

The English contact factor group examined four related factor in this category: Degree of exposure to NYC, age of arrival in New York City, total years in New York City, and the participants' preferred language spoken at home. Finally, and in addition to those just mentioned, the participants' age and gender were also examined with the purpose of determining their effects on the feature under study. Thus, the study included one stylistic and six external factor groups (four factor groups related to English contact plus gender and age).

6.2 Narrative style

This factor group examined three types of narratives: Conflict narratives that contained adversity, arguments, contrastive perceptions in the recounting

in which the participant was involved in the conflict, conflict narrative where the participant was not involved in the conflict, and narratives where there was an absence of conflict. This factor group was coded with three factors. (Note that the codes for 9, 1, 2 were used to enable us to easily identify this factor group in VARBRUL runs and distinguish it from other factor groups in the exhaustive printouts and listings that contained similar numeric codes used with other factor groups.)

9 = The token does not appear in a conflict narrative
1 = The token is in a conflict narrative involving the narrator
2 = The token is in a conflict narrative ***not*** involving the narrator

Following Labov and Waletsky (1966), I structured this research using oral narratives of personal experiences that can represent a sample of a population of Puerto Ricans living in New York City, rather than expert story tellers who have re-told stories. My definition of narrative followed Labov and Waletsky (1966):

> "...any sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture" (1966, p. 28).

Temporal information, the telling of what occurred when, is central to their definition of narrative.

Schiffrin (1994) noted that narratives have linear structures in which each component structure may provide different kinds of information. She explained that Labovian narratives contain an abstract section which summarizes the experience and presents general propositions, orientation clauses which describe background information, a complicating action segment which describes an event, an evaluation section where speakers

comment on events outside of the complication and, a coda, a clause that shifts from the past to that of the current conversation. Despite the research conducted with respect to a narrative's framework, I found that the participants in this study often did not follow this linear structure. Some participants presented the complicating story first, whereas others did not. Some participants listed and introduced a series of complications and later broke them down to recount in a story-by-story approach. Others introduced protagonists and then told the details immediately. The majority of the participants started with the complicating action in the beginning of their narration. Recall that they were asked to recount a story about something, someone, or some incident that left a great impact in their life.

Polanyi (1989) explained that narrative events are seldom composed of only event clauses. They sometimes contain stative clauses which differ from event clauses in temporal interpretation. These stative clauses usually refer to the state of affairs, which persist over some interval of time in the discourse world, rather than occurring at one unique discrete instant (p. 17). Providing a participant's recounting was embodied by a conflict, the entire section that contained the conflict was coded as a conflict narrative in this research regardless of the presence of a stative clause, because these stative clauses were still embodied by the conflict.

The factor group of narrative style was elaborated in part following Silva-Corvalán, (1994) who indicated that semantic-pragmatic constraints influenced the use of SPPs. Silva-Corvalán (1997) and Morales (1999) also

suggested that pronouns were used for emphasis and when a subject was the focus of contrast as also discussed in Enríquez (1984) and Montes (1986).

In research conducted by Solomon (1999) on the use of SPPs in Yucatec Spanish, narratives that contained conflicts showed a strong effect on the use of pronominals.

Example of a non-conflict narrative:

Pues te diré (2) el primer beso que a mi me dieron yo era (3) media estúpida cuando era (4) jovencita, era (5) media santurrona...y me acuerdo (6) que el primer beso que a mi me dieron, yo salí (7) corriendo a casa a la a enjuagarme la boca y eso que a mi me encantaba el muchacho. Enjuagarme la boca con listerine, y pasta de diente y me cepillé (8) hasta el ñu. Me enterré (9) el cepillo hasta las amígdalas porque me dió, como, como asquillo.

(Participant #13)

(Well, (I) will tell you the first kiss that (they) gave me I was slightly stupid when (I) was young, (I) was slightly saintly ...and (I) remember that the first kiss that (they) gave me, I flew running out of the house to rinse out the mouth and even that was a guy that I liked. Rinse (my) mouth with listerine, and touthpaste and (I) brushed my teeth to the gums. (I) buried the brush down to the tonsils because (that) gave me, like, like disgust).

Verbs (2) to (9) in the previous narrative segment was coded as factor 9 since these tokens appear in a non-conflict narrative.

Example of a conflict-narrative involving the narrator:

No sé (292) si te acuerdas (293) de aquel novio que yo tenía (294). JL, pues...ese muchacho yo lo conocí (295) y la verdad que lo conocí (296) en una época en mi vida que yo estaba (297) bien...bastante mal y muy deprimida y fue (298) un hombre tan y tan dulce y tan tan amoroso.... Y tuvimos (300) una relación bien interesante... ...Pero el hombre, yo soy (302) una persona muy fuerte y yo necesito (303) alguien o que sea más fuerte que yo... ...yo sé (304) si me le puedo (305) sentar encima, me le voy (306) a sentar encima y voy (307) a hacer lo ...que me da la gana. Y él, a pesar de su dulzura era (308) una hombre muy muy débil porque su...él

cuando yo lo conocí (309) estaba (310) bien medio deprimido porque a él su esposa lo había abandonado (311) hacía unos años y el vivía (312) con sus dos hijos... y su esposa lo dejó (313) por otro hombre. Y entonces cada vez se peleaba (314) con el hombre, parece que volvía (315) donde él, y cuando se contentaba (316) con el hombre, lo dejaba (317) de nuevo. Y el muy bobolón pues, aceptaba (318) esa situación porque según el dice (319) no había conocido (320) a nadie que le interesara... ...pero cuando nosotros empezamos (321) esa relación...él se enamoró (322) de mi también.

((I) don't know if (you) remember that boyfriend that I had. JL, well... that guy. I met (him) and truthfully, that (I) met (him) in a period of my life that I was very... very bad and very depressed and (he) was a sweet sweet man so so loving ... And we had a very interesting relationship... ...But the man, I am a very strong person and I need someone that can be stronger than me..... ... I know if (I) I can sit on him, (I) will sit on (him) and I am going to do it ...that which I please. And he, even though he was sweet, was a very very weak man because his... he when I met him (he) was partially depressed because his wife had abandoned him about a few years and he lived with his two children...and his wife left him for another man. And then every time (she) would fight with that man, it looks like (she) would return to him, and when they reconciled with that man, (she) would leave (him) again. And the very dummy well, accepted that situation because as he said, (he) hadn't met anyone that would interest him...but when we started that relationship... he fell in love with me too.)

Verbs (292) to (322) in the previous narrative were coded as factor 1 since the tokens appear in a conflict narrative involving the narrator.

Example of a conflict narrative not involving the narrator:

Y eso me pasó este fin de semana con una muchacha que había perdido su hermana, am, hace como siete años atrás. Y esa fue una relación tan tan intensa y fue, tan, am, fue una tragedia tan grande para ella. Porque para perder una hermana, no fue como perder una hermana, eso fue, para ella fue como perder su mundo completo. Pues, pues, cuando ella cuando ella perdió (201) su hermana, ella dejó (202) de funcionar completamente por un buen tiempo. And it was pathological. It really became...los cumpleaños, ella le traía (203) bizcocho al al al al graveyard. I mean, it was...lo que sucedió fue que ella se unió (204) tanto tanto tanto con su hermana que ella, en un sentido, se perdió (205) ella también. Y se se se le hizo tan difícil por años, años y años ella no pudo (206) coger y y y y recoger y recuperar la la la esa parte de su vida.

(And that happened this weekend with a girl that had lost her sister, um, about seven years ago. And that was a very very intense...and was, so, um, was a tragedy so big for her. Because to lose a sister, (it) wasn't like losing a sister, that was, for her it was almost losing her entire world. Well, well, when she when she lost her sister, she stopped completely functioning for a long tiempo. And it was pathological. It really became...los cumpleaños, time. And it was pathological. It really became...the birthdays, she would take cake to to to to

the graveyard. I mean, it was....what happened was that she was so united so so so with her sister that she, in a sense, lost herself also. And it it it became very difficult for years, years, and years she couldn't pick up and and and pick up and recover the the the that part of her life.)

Verbs (201) to (206) in the previous narrative segment all appeared in a conflict narrative that did not involve the narrator, and were all coded as factor 2.

6.3 Contact with English

This variable, which we study through four related factor groups, examines whether and to what extent contact with English had an effect on the variable use of SPPs. It was organized following, in part, Otheguy's and Zentella's (2000) research, which is being conducted on a much larger segment of Spanish speakers in New York City, as well as Bayley's and Pease Álvarez's, (1997) and Silva-Corvalán's (1994). Contact with English is defined with a combination of factors: by the degree of exposure to NYC, age of arrival to NYC, language spoken at home, total years in NYC. The factors under each of the four factor groups appear below:

Degree exposure to NYC (Absence from the City were not taken into account)

R= speaker has lived in NYC between 0-5 years (recent arrival)
E= speaker has lived in NYC over 16+ years (established)
N=speaker has lived in the NYC since birth and had any 5 of the first 8 years of education in the US (native New Yorker)

Total years in NYC (Absence which interrupted residency were counted here)

1=less than 15 years

2=between 16-30
3=between 31-45
4=45+

Age of arrival to NYC

B = born in NYC
C = as a child until age of 12
T = as a teenager (13-19)
A = adult over 20+

Language at home

E=English
S=Spanish
B=Both

As mentioned in Chapter 2, and with regard to the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico, researchers (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996; Morales, 1986; Pérez Sala, 1973) have found that contact with English does not influence the use of SPPs. Research conducted in the U.S. mainland also pointed out that SPP expression was not influenced by English (Bayley and Pease Álvarez, 1997; Flores and Toro, 2000; Lipski, 1996; Silva-Corvalán, 1994). Thus, it was essential to further investigate the effects of English contact since limited research has been conducted, with regard to the feature under study, in the Spanish of Puerto Ricans in New York City.

6.4 Gender

This factor group studied whether and to what extent gender had an effect on the use of SPPs. The term gender is used in this study to refer to socially constructed categories often associated to biological sex. Trudgill (1983), for instance, suggested that women more than men produce on

average linguistic forms which are closely associated to the prestige language. It has also been noted that men use a higher frequency of non-standard forms, and that women are usually the innovators in language change (Labov, 1991).

It was coded as:

F = female
M= male

6.5 Age of participants

This factor group studied whether and to what extent the age of the participants had an effect on the use of SPPs. This is also a self-reported factor group and it was coded as:

Age of participants:

2= in his/her 20's
3= in his/her 30's
4= in his/her 40's
5= in and above their 50's

Age variability in language can be seen through incremental frequencies in the use of an innovative variant depending on the age of participants. For instance, research conducted by Avila-Jímenez (1996) in San Juan showed that speakers above the age of 50 used SPPs at lower rates than speakers in their 20's. Building on that research, this factor group was constructed with two purposes. First, we needed to ascertain if there

was a difference in the use of SPPs among the different age groups. Second, we needed to also compare our findings with those of previous research.

Chapter 7 Results of the variationist analysis: Internal factors

7.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters I defined the internal and external factor groups and the manner in which the factors were coded. We now move to discuss the findings. The next chapter discusses the results of the external factor groups and how they intersect with the internal factors presented in this chapter.

7.2 Interpreting the data

To perform the quantitative analysis, I used VARBRUL 2000 (Amarál, 1997, Perreira Scherre, 1993). Previous versions of VARBRUL (Pintsuk, 1987) were consulted but were found to have limited amounts of cell space for the body of data I needed to input. VARBRUL is a statistical program that determines the probabilistic contribution of different factors to the operation of a rule (Preston, 1996). The program provides an indication of a rule's probability of applying by indicating what is referred to as its 'weight'. In this study the rule is the expression of overt SPP (PRO+).

VARBRUL can test for the significance of factor groups through a step-up/step-down analysis that identifies which factors and factor groups are significant at the $p<.05$ level. The p weight represents the probability that the result obtained from the chi-square test was due to chance. Unless otherwise indicated, the p weight for the linguistic factor groups that remained in the study was found at $p< .0001$.

I used IVARB, the version of the VARBRUL program that operates binomial analyses. IVARB looks for a favoring effect on a dependent variable, in this case PRO+. It defines a probability value of above .50 as favoring its presence. A probability value of .50 means no effect. That is, higher than .50 means a favoring effect, lower than .50 means a disfavoring effect. The dependent variable factor group was coded as:

Dependent Variable

0 = There is no overt subject
1 = Overt subject is a SPP (before or after the verb)

The initial corpus of this study contained over 24,000 verbs. We had 15 independent variables, each with 3 to 15 factors. I stopped coding tokens after reaching 16,500 verbs. After the initial runs were completed, with the guidance of the VARBRUL 2000 (Amarál, 1997) program, the N was fixed at 15,589. VARBRUL 2000 was able to create a cell file (MAKECEL) that could carry up to 3000 cells, but it was also limited in that IVARB 2000 could only accept 2000 cells in a run. In addition, the program identifies factor groups that should be thrown out or are found to be superfluous to the analyses.

7.3 Results of factor group: The verb's subject was previously mentioned as a subject in the form of a null, a lexical, a SPP, or another type of pronoun

We now move to discuss whether and to what extent the form used in the immediately previous full set mention of the target verb's subject had an effect on the form of the subject in the target verb. For details relating to how

this factor group was coded, the reader is referred to Chapter 5. Building on prior research, I predicted that:

- If the target verb's subject is an overt SPP, its previous mention will tend to appear in the form of a lexical item.
- If the target verb's subject is a null, its previous mention will tend to appear in the form of a SPP.

In other words, we expected, along the lines of Givón (1983), a tendency for the order of the subject forms to be:

Lexical → PRO+ → NULL

This would reflect Givón's notion of more coding material followed by less coding material. The findings for this factor group, however, did not support either of my predictions.

TABLE 7.1

Probability of appearance of SPPs (PRO+) in target verb when the previous mention was a null, a lexical, another SPP, or non-personal pronoun, expressed in VARBRUL weights
(PRO+)

	Probability of Overt SPP Expression (PRO+) in the Target Verb
Previous mention: overt SPP	.64
Previous mention: a non-personal pronoun (i.e., a demonstrative)	.55
No previous mention as subject in 10 previous clauses	.54
Previous mention: a lexical	.44
Previous mention: a null	.37

(p<.0001)

Table 7.1's probabilistic weights show that if the verb's subject is an overt SPP:

- the most likely form of its previous mention will be another overt SPP (.64). That is, PRO+ followed by another PRO+;
- the second most likely form of its previous mention will be another type of subject pronoun such as a demonstrative (.55). That is, DEMO+ followed by a PRO+;
- the third most likely form will be NO MENTION as subject in the prior ten clauses (.54). That is, NO MENTION followed by PRO+. Note that NO MENTION as the third most likely prior form of appearance of the target verb's subject outranks previous mentions as lexicals or nulls.

These three results are directly opposed to my predictions.

On the other hand, this table also indicates that:

- a previous mention in the form of a lexical item disfavors overt SPP in the target verb (.44) and favors nulls. This indicates a decrease in the level of coding material from a lexical to a null (LEX followed by a NULL);
- a previous mention in the form of a null subject disfavors overt SPP in the target verb (.37) and favors another null also. This indicates a maintenance in the level of coding material from a null to another null (NULL followed by a NULL).

Diagram 1 and 2 will help to better visualize the use of null and overt SPPs up to this point:

Diagram 1

Probability Weights	Previous mention		Target Verb	
.64	**PRO+**	→	**PRO+**	**Favors PRO+**
.55	**DEMO+**	→	**PRO+**	
.54	**NO MENTION**	→	**PRO+**	
.44	Lexical	→	PRO+	Disfavors PRO+
.37	Null	→	PRO+	

Diagram 1 indicates that there is a tendency to express overt subject pronouns in clusters (.64, .55). However, when the previous form is NO MENTION, speakers are also likely to express overt SPPs.

Diagram 2

Probability Weights	Previous mention		Target Verb	
.63	**Null**	→	**Null**	**Favors PRO+**
.56	**Lexical**	→	**Null**	
.46	NO MENTION	→	Null	Disfavors PRO-
.45	DEMO+	→	Null	
.36	PRO+	→	Null	

Diagram 2 indicates that there is a tendency to use null subject pronouns in clusters (.63). However, if the previous mention is a lexical item, we are also likely to get a null pronoun in the target verb. This particular result follows Bentivoglio (1983) who indicated that a higher incidence of decay occurs after a nominal. Chafe (1976) also pointed out that we should expect a high concentration of nulls after lexicals.

With regard to this factor group then, it appears that NYC speakers are not, in some instances, following my predictions which suggested that more

coding material is followed by less coding material. Instead, we find that more coding material is followed by similar coding material, and less coding material is followed by similar coding material as seen in diagram 1.

7.3.1 Discussion of findings: Form used as a previous mention

We asked whether the form used in a previous mention of the target verb's subject (as a subject) had an influence on the use of overt SPPs in the target verb. We found effects and probabilities weights that suggested that speakers tend to repeat pronouns in clusters. These data, in general, showed that the presence of subject pronouns leads to further use of overt pronouns, and that the use of nulls leads to the use of more nulls. While scholars such as Enríquez (1984) and Morales (1999) maintained that overt SPPs are used to disambiguate or for emphasis, we find that the cluster effect serves as a pragmatic device that preserves entities in the open in the story, provides continuity, adds saliency to the characters, and conveys a sense of unity to the narrative.

Similar cluster effects have also been attested in Puerto Rico with singular pronouns (Cameron, 1992), and with the use of other features among Puerto Rican Spanish speaking residents of Philadelphia (Poplack, 1980), and in Brazilian Portuguese (Pereira Scherre & Naro, 1991). Poplack (1980), for instance, indicates that there is a tendency for local redundancy where "the presence of plural markers before the token favors marker retention on that token, whereas the absence of a preceding marker favors

deletion" (p. 63). Scherre & Naro (1991) describe successive occurrences of plural markers. They suggested that "presence of a zero plural marker on the last element of the subject leads preferentially to lack of plural markers of the verb and whereas the presence of –s favors plural marking of the verb" (p.28). The cluster effect was also found by Cameron (1998), but with respect to the use of direct quotations. Cameron (1998) points out that verbs of direct report favor the use of more verbs of direct report.

There are a few reasons why we find that this cluster effect serves as a pragmatic device. In the case of overt SPPs, other coding material in the surface has already indicated person and number; therefore, the repetition of more identical overt forms serves as a device to indicate that the entity being spoken of is being kept in the open and on the table in a salient manner. In the case of clustered nulls, the speaker is preserving the entity in the open, but not necessarily in a salient manner. Perhaps the saliency in the case of nulls is reduced due to the mutual knowledge that was previously established by the speakers.

Secondly, Ariel (1988) has maintained that a definite description such as a lexical should be a better retriever of information when an antecedent is not highly accessible; a pronoun is a better retriever when the antecedent is highly accessible and close by. Clustered null subjects seem to operate as even better retrievers than pronouns due to the accessibility of their referent that is close by.

Another reason that may explain why these clusters appear can be the type of discourse that was being analyzed, narratives that contained stories. There is structure in a narrative, and in both instances of clusters we find that unity also plays a pragmatic role. For instance, Fox (1987) points out that by using a pronoun, the speaker shows "an understanding that the preceding sequence has not been closed down" (p.18). This suggests that the clusters of overt subject pronoun convey a sense of continuity of information within the narrative and indicates that the story is not over or that the entity being spoken of has not been disengaged from the storyline. Schiffrin (1981), for example, found the tendency for verbs in one tense to cluster in a narrative because maintaining one tense is part of a general picture of semantic and syntactic issues linked to the narrative. We find that just as maintaining tense adds to the general picture of semantic and syntactic issues linked to a narrative, overt pronoun and null clusters add to the pragmatic issues linked to the narrative. They seem to add a preservative effect and also provide a sense of unity in the narrative.

Clusters also assist in conveying a sense of continuity. In part, our results somewhat contradict Givón (1983), who suggested that the referent of an overt pronoun may be at some point represented by a zero, provided that the topic, focus, or referent is indeed a semantic argument. In this study we find that speakers use SPP clusters even when semantic argument remains the same.

These results with regard to clusters bring into question concerns of accessibility and the use of less specific forms noted by Arnold (1998) who suggested that the same grammatical functions in NPs should bring about less specified forms, and the same thematic role of the NPs should also produce less specified forms. Yet, the opposite occurs in this study where we find that the same grammatical functions, overt SPPs in subject roles, and the same thematic roles, as agents, are overtly expressed throughout clauses. Speakers in this study do not necessarily want to decrease the importance of the characters or protagonists by using pronouns, but rather maintain their subject and thematic role as agents through the use of these clusters.

The question that arises then is why is it that speakers in these narratives have the tendency of using these clusters vs. another pragmatic device. Clancy (1980), for instance, argued that maintaining referential forms for particular characters in narratives is one way that speakers achieve unity and clarity. Furthermore, Schiffrin (1994) maintained that research on referring terms in narratives reveals that, with regard to referring terms in sequence, a particular referring term in one place constrains the referring terms that will occur in another place. It was also noted that in a narrative a speaker builds a story in which the number of entities that act and interact with one another are limited, and that these entities operate in a defined location and period (Schiffrin, 1994). Thus, once a referent has been introduced, it is continually used in the framework relevant to the narrative.

Schiffrin (1994) also suggested that, with respect to referring sequences in narratives, first-time mentions of references are often lexicals, but next-mentions usually are less-explicit because they draw upon additional sources of information that has been textually grounded. She noted that Gricean pragmatics offers an explanation to sequenced uses of less-explicit forms such as pronouns. Explicit next-mentions in a narrative can be viewed as a violation of the maxim of quantity: *Do not make your contribution more informative than required.* Since the narrators in this study were recounting personal incidents, it may have been sufficient, within the boundaries of each story, to use overt pronouns in second mentions and beyond second mentions to represent the main protagonists, for a lexical might have produced a violation of the maxim of quantity. We already know from these results that once a lexical was used, speakers followed the lexical item immediately with a null.

Schegloff, (1987) in describing talk interaction, addressed the issue of how speakers *do* (his emphasis) reference to persons

> "so as to accomplish, on the one hand, that nothing but referring is being done, and/or on the other hand that something else in addition to referring is being done by the talk practice which has been employed?" (p.440)

Schegloff argued that full noun phrases or names are used locally and initially as reference forms, but pronouns are designed for local use in subsequent reference forms. This distinction suggests that speakers not only use pronouns to refer to a lexical, but that pronouns serve other functions. Thus, we find that pronouns used in clusters provide continuity, preserve the entity who is being spoken of in the open or prominent.

7.4 Results of factor group: Distance between the target verb's subject and the previous mention of its subject as subject of another verb

We designed this factor group, as mentioned in Chapter 5, with the purpose of examining the effects that the distance between the verb's subject and its previous mention as a subject had on SPP expression. We were concerned with how long overt SPPs and nulls last before the speaker changes the form in which they are expressed. Chafe (1976), for instance, argued that a speaker's treatment of an item as given, "should cease when he judges that item to have left his addressee's consciousness" (p.32).

A reasonable hypothesis regarding this factor group is to expect higher frequencies of overt SPPs when the distance between the subject of the target verb and its previous mention as subject is long, but higher frequencies of nulls when the distance is short. Table 7.2 gives the results.

TABLE 7.2

Probability of appearance of overt and null SPPs depending on distance between target verb's subject and its previous last mention as subject, measured in frequencies and VARBRUL weights (PRO+)

	One clause back (prior)	VARBRUL Weights		2+ clauses back	VARBRUL Weights
Overt PRO+	38%	.46		56%	.56
Null PRO-	62%	.54		44%	.44

(p<.0001)

The results indicate that:

- When the previous mention of the target verb's subject was located in the prior clause, it disfavored the use of overt SPPs (.46) with the target verb.

- When the previous mention of the target verb's subject was anywhere between 2 to 10+ clauses back, it favored the use of an overt SPP with the target verb (.56).

Thus, our hypothesis was confirmed since SPP expression is clearly constrained by the distance between the verb's subject and its previous mention.

7.4.1 Discussion of findings: Distance to last mention

The findings indicate that when speakers must make on-going decisions to refer to characters in their narratives, they prefer using more explicit forms such as personal and non-SPPs rather than null forms unless the previous mention is very close. When the previous mention of the target verb's subject is located close (one clause back), then the tendency is to use a null in the following target verb, not an overt pronoun. To better visualize the distance, we have this diagram:

a. the target verb's subject previous mention is located in the prior clause favors a null in the target verb:

NP + Vb..... NP+ **Target Vb**
(prior clause) → **Null PRO-**

b. the target verb's subject previous mention located *beyond* the prior clause favors an overt in the target verb:

NP+Vb...NP+Vb...NP+Vb...NP+Vb...NP+Vb...NP+**Target Vb**
(2 to 10+ clauses back) → → → **Overt PRO+**

According to Givón (1983), one of the factors that can disrupt or discontinue a topic is that of distance to last mention. The results with regard to this factor group are in line with Givón (1983) in that we find speakers favor the use of a null in the target verb's subject when the previous mention was found in the prior clause. In this sense, the potential for disruption is minimized. In longer clausal distances where disruption was likely to occur, the speakers used an overt pronoun to carry continuity of referent, and possibly prevent disruption.

7.5 Results of factor group: Competition or potential interference between previously overtly mentioned 3rd person singular and plural referents

The purpose of this factor group was to determine whether other previously overtly mentioned 3rd person singular and plural referents conditioned the use of SPPs. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the factor group was designed following Givón's (1983) *Continuity Hypothesis*, which argued that more coding material is usually assigned to a topic if it is hard to process, discontinuous, or disruptive. We assume here that more coding material can be defined as overt uses of 3rd person SPPs when there are instances of other overt 3rd person subjects that have the same gender and number. When the characters in the narratives were the same, we would have expected nulls to be favored. It also followed Arnold (1998) and Ariel (1990) who indicated that competition, namely, the number of NPs that are potentially in the role of antecedent, is one factor that affects accessibility.

Therefore, if other competing 3rd person subjects interfere with accessibility to an antecedent, we assumed that the realization of SPPs would assist in disambiguating the identity of the person being spoken about.

Contrary to what was expected, an initial VARBRUL run in a step down analysis asked for this factor group's removal, supporting the null hypothesis. That is, the results with regard to this factor group are that there is no connection between high or low numbers of potential 3rd person antecedents and the variable use of SPPs.

7.6 Results of factor group: switch reference

As mentioned in Chapter 2, previous research conducted in Puerto Rico and Madrid (Cameron, 1992, 1995), in several regions in the U.S. (Bayley and Pease-Álvarez, 1997), (Bayley and Valli, 2001), (Silva-Corvalán, 1982, 1994), in Brazil (Lira, 1982; Paredes Silva, 1993) and Caracas (Bentivoglio, 1987) has reported that a switch in reference favors the use of SPPs. I constructed my hypothesis based on these previous findings as well as a number of other sources (Comrie, 1983; Haiman, 1983; Jacobsen, 1967; Rising, 1990; Roberts, 1988; Stirling, 1993) that described languages that have other means of signaling a switch in reference, such as bound and unbound morphemes. For non-pro drop languages such as English, Givón (1983) noted that less coding material is needed when subjects are the same. Among the devices used for indicating a switch in reference in English are: unstressed vs. stressed pronouns, agreement vs. free pronouns, and word order differences. Since there is evidence that languages have switch

reference devices, and that speakers use some kind of strategy to signal a switch in reference, then it was my hypothesis that participants in this study

- would express overt SPPs to signal a switch in reference;
- would express null subjects when the subjects are the same.

Recall the definition of a switch in reference and the formula used in this study: The relationship of switch and same reference is defined between two NPs where the second NP is the [+human] subject of a tensed verb that occurs after and nearest to another subject NP of a tensed verb. NP(1) is known as the trigger and NP(2) as the target. It is important to note that the target is the subject NP that is marked as either switch or same with respect to the trigger.

Cameron's (1992, 1995) formula was used:

$$\underset{(1)}{\underline{\text{NP + Tensed V}}}\ (X).....(Y)\ \underset{(2)}{\underline{\text{NP+ Tensed V}}}\ (Z)$$

The reader is advised to refer to Chapter 5 for detailed narratives illustrating switch and no-switch examples. My hypothesis was confirmed since the data show that a switch in reference conditions the use of overt SPP expression.

TABLE 7.3

Use of null and overt SPPs in switch and no switch reference environments in Spanish narratives of Puerto Ricans in NYC

	The target NP is the same as the trigger NP (no switch)		The target NP is not the same as the trigger NP (switch)	
		N=		N=
Null PRO-	62%	(4,711)	46%	(3,456)
Overt PRO+	38%	(2,899)	54%	(4,033)
Total	100%	(7,610)	100%	(7,489)

(p<.0001)

Table 7.3 shows that a switch in reference favors overt SPP use. On the other hand, when the subjects are the same or there is no switch, higher rates of nulls are expressed. The frequencies for switch reference were translated in VARBRUL weights as .57, favoring the expression of subject pronouns (PRO+). When there was no switch, PRO+ weights decreased to .43.

We now turn to a comparison of switch reference findings in NYC, San Juan, and Madrid (Cameron, 1992).

TABLE 7.4

SPP expression: A comparison of switch and no switch reference between speakers in Madrid and San Juan (Cameron, 1992) and Puerto Ricans in New York City (this study)

	Madrid (Cameron, 1992,1995)	San Juan (Cameron 1992, 1995)	New York City (This study)	Madrid (Cameron, 1992,1995)	San Juan (Cameron 1992, 1995)	New York City (This study)
	No switch	No switch	No switch	Switch	Switch	Switch
	Rate (N)	Rate (N)	Rate (N)	Rate (N)	Rate (N)	Rate (N)
Overt	11% (114)	31% (316)	38% (2,899)	30% (315)	57% (630)	54% (4,033)
Null	89% (903)	69% (689)	62% (4,711)	70% (726)	43% (475)	46% (3,456)
% N=	100% (1,017)	100% (1,005)	100% (7,610)	100% (1,041)	100% (1,105)	100% (7,489)

The comparison between the three regions bears some elaboration. NYC speakers show very similar rates of overt SPPs in a switch reference environment to San Juan speakers. Although all three regions show higher rates of overt SPPs in instances when a switch in reference occurs, the Madrid frequencies show more polarization than those found in San Juan and NYC. The spread between the frequencies of overt and null subject pronouns in a switch reference in Madrid's variety is 40 percentage points, whereas San Juan has a spread of only 14. In NYC we find the spread at only 8 percentage points.

The slight differences in the frequencies of switch and non-switch reference found between NYC and the islanders may be attributed to the fact that Cameron's (1992, 1995) research did not restrict itself to the study of

SPPs, rather he included non-personal pronouns such as *uno*, *aquel*, *eso* as possible NP targets. Another reason why the slight difference may have occurred is that Cameron's (1992, 1995) research used oral interviews, not oral narrative stories as we did in this present study.

We now turn to an examination of how switch reference interacts with singular and plural number. The relevant results are in the following tables.

TABLE 7.5

Use of singular and plural overt SPPs (PRO+) in all the narratives

	Rates	VARBRUL Weights
Overt PRO+ Singular SPPs	51%	.57
Overt PRO+ Plural SPPs	20%	.25

(p<.0001)

In table 7.5 we find that speakers favor the use of overt singular SPPs in all the environments in the narratives.

TABLE 7.6

Frequencies of expression of overt SPPs (PRO+) crosstabulated with singular and plural SPPs NYC in switch reference environment

	Overt Singular SPPs (PRO+)	Overt Plural SPPs (PRO+)
Switch Reference	65%	25%
No Switch Reference	43%	14%

(p<.0001)
(chi square for totals 1225.727)

When we performed a crosstabulation, a program that creates two-way contingency tables for two factor groups (in this case Switch Reference and singular and plural SPP use), we found that in an environment when a switch occurred, the use of singular SPPs increased from 51% in all narratives to

65% in switch reference environments. The use of overt plurals increased from 20% in all narratives to 25% in switch reference environments.

With respect to singular and plural subjects and the switch reference factor, other research (Cameron, 1992, 1995) produced similar findings.

TABLE 7.7

Comparison of Puerto Rico and NYC Participants: the use of overt singular and plural SPPs in switch reference

	PRO+ Singular	PRO+ Singular		PRO+ Plural	PRO+ Plural
	New York (this study)	San Juan (Cameron, 1992)		New York (this study)	San Juan (Cameron, 1992)
Switch reference	65%	66%		25%	24%
No switch reference	43%	35%		14%	10%

Table 7.7 shows that NYC Puerto Ricans and the San Juaneros express singular and plural overt subject pronouns in a switch reference environment at very similar rates. In short, with regard to switch reference in general, the NYC participants are behaving in a linguistically similar way to their counterparts on the island.

Cameron (1995) suggested that plural subjects make switch reference analyses more complex, especially in environments where a preceding singular subject is a switch in reference and yet counts as a subset of the plural subject. In the next section, we discuss instances of partial overlap or subsets.

7.6.1 Results of partial overlap and subsets

We now turn to two other factor groups of switch reference, namely,

instances where there is partial overlap between the trigger and target NPs. Recall that the factor group for switch reference was coded for cases where an NP trigger can be a subset of the NP target or vice versa, for example, *yo→nosotros* or *nosotros→yo*.

TABLE 7.8

Use of null and overt SPPs (PRO- and PRO+) in subset or partial overlap environments

	The target NP is a subset of the trigger (ex. *nosotros→yo*)		The trigger NP is a subset of the target NP (ex. *yo→nosotros*)	
		N=		N=
Null PRO-	52%	(51)	80%	(279)
Overt PRO+	48%	(48)	20%	(71)
Total	100%	(99)	100%	(350)

($p < .0001$)

The numbers in table 7.8 are low, considering the N =15,589. Nonetheless, the frequencies seem to suggest that null pronouns are favored in subset environments in general. However, the probability weights behave differently. The weights indicate that only when targets are subset of triggers (for example, *nosotras→yo*), is there a .53 probability of overt pronominals being expressed. Recall that the verb under study is always the target NP. When the triggers are subsets of targets (*ella→nosotras*), on the other hand, there is a disfavoring effect for the application of PRO+, .43. That is, the plural target disfavors the use of overt pronouns. This tendency makes sense since it patterns with a well-known fact that singular pronouns are expressed at higher rates than plural pronouns (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996;

Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1992; Enríquez, 1984; Cifuentes, 1981; Hochberg, 1986; Morales, 1986; Silva-Corvalán, 1997). Therefore, when the NPs are in a partial overlap environment, it would seem more likely that higher rates of pronominals will be expressed when a singular NP target is a subset of the plural NP trigger such as *nosotros→ yo*, where we find .53 probability of PRO+'s application.

7.6.2 Discussion on findings: Switch Reference

Our purpose was to identify the effects, if any, of a switch reference on the use of SPP expression in the Spanish narratives produced by Puerto Ricans living in NYC. We found that a switch reference does operate as a predictor of overt SPP expression. While the effects on pronominal expression in a switch reference were found to be slightly different than those found in Puerto Rico (Cameron, 1992), NYC Puerto Ricans are still linguistically similar to speakers in Puerto Rico with regard to this factor. A switch reference in both these areas showed very similar rates of SPP expression.

Conclusions that can be made with respect to the Spanish narratives obtained from the participants in this study, then, are that a switch reference conditions the use of SPPs and the patterns of overt pronominal expression in a switch reference environment found in NYC are similar to those found on the island.

7.7 Results supplementary factor group: person and number

We have already mentioned that heightened rates of expression are found among singular SPPs. We now move to present findings regarding the supplementary factor groups, in particular person and number and their effect on the alternation under study.

TABLE 7.9

Frequencies of overt and null SPP (PRO+) expression and person and number (N=15,617)

Person & Number	PRO+ Rate	PRO+ N=	PRO+ VARBRUL WEIGHTS	PRO- Rate	PRO- N=
The verb inflection is not inferable	4%	1	.06	96%	27
1st person, *yo*	52%	3,901	.59	48%	3,668
2nd person specific, *tú*	53%	502	.52	47%	450
2nd person non-specific, *tú*	60%	632	.58	40%	420
2nd person formal, *usted*	48%	16	.58	52%	17
2nd person plural, *ustedes*	59%	24	.67	41%	17
3rd person, *el/ella*	48%	1,428	.52	52%	1,570
1st person plural, *nosotros*	17%	235	.23	83%	1,173
3rd person plural, *ellos/ellas*	22%	331	.27	78%	1,205
Totals	45%	7,070		55%	8,547

p<.0001)

It has been reported that 1st person singular *yo* has the highest rate of expression of all SPPs (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996, 1997; Morales, 1986). In this respect, the results of this present study depart slightly from previous findings. The VARBRUL weights indicate that second person singular and plural *usted* and *ustedes*, 1st person singular *yo*, and non-specific *tú* have the highest probability of being expressed.

With regard to the data reported for speakers in Madrid and San Juan (Cameron, 1992), we find that NYC Puerto Rican speakers pattern closely to their San Juan counterparts in the following table:

TABLE 7.10

Frequencies of SPP expression (PRO+) by person and number: comparisons between San Juan, Madrid, and NYC

	NYC (this study)	San Juan (Cameron, 1992)	San Juan (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996)	Madrid (Cameron, 1992)	Madrid (Enríquez, 1984)
	PRO+	PRO+	PRO+	PRO+	PRO+
1st person, *yo*	52%	50%	43%	32%	34%
2nd person specific, *tú*	53%	48%	59%	40%	33%
2nd person **non-specific**, *tú*	60%	69%	79%	19%	9%
2nd person formal, *usted*	48%	-	-	-	-
2nd person plural, *ustedes*	59%	-	-	-	-
3rd person *el/ella*	48%	39%**	50%*	8%	14%
1st person plural, *nosotros*	17%	15%	15%***	6%	11%
3rd person plural *ellos/ellas*	22%	25%		8%	14%
3rd person plural non-specific *ellos*	-	-	12%	-	-
Non-specific *uno*	-	85%	-	8%	38%

* (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996) included *el/ella, uno, usted* in the same category 50%
**(Cameron, 1992) included *este, esta, aquel, aquella* in the 3rd person category 39%.
***(Ávila-Jiménez, 1996) amalgamated all plurals *nosotros, ellas, ellos, ustedes* 15% .

Although grammatical person may have been categorized differently in these studies, we use these studies for comparison since findings from Cameron (1992) and Ávila-Jiménez (1996) specifically investigated the use of SPPs. In general, note that there are more similarities in the frequencies found in NYC and San Juan (Cameron, 1992) than those found in studies conducted in Madrid (Cameron, 1992) (Enríquez, 1984). With regard to 2nd person specific

and non-specific *tú,* Puerto Rican NYC speakers at 53% seem to fall within the range of frequencies found between the San Juan speakers in Cameron's (59%) and Ávila-Jiménez's (48%) study. The same occurred with non-specific *tú*. New York group fell within the range of frequencies found in Cameron's study (69%) and Ávila-Jiménez's (79%), with a 60% use of SPPs. We find the same also occurred with the 3rd person. The results from NYC approximate Cameron's San Juan study, a design that our study has attempted to build upon.

Table 7.10 also shows that non-specific 2nd person *tú* favors overt pronominal expression in both San Juan and NYC groups while the opposite occurs, as cited in Cameron (1992, p. 238), with Madrid speakers. Specific *tú* favors overt pronominal expression in Madrid's variety. Cameron also found that Argentinean and Chilean Spanish varieties are linguistically similar to San Juan's and also favor the overt expression of 2nd person subject pronoun in non-specific *tú* instances.

Turning to a comparison between NYC and San Juan, we find that the results are similar in both areas, as shown in Table 7.11.

TABLE 7.11

Probability of the appearance of SPPs (PRO+) expressed in VARBRUL weights: a comparison of San Juan and NYC speakers

Person	NYC	San Juan
1st person, *yo*	.59	.59
2nd person specific, *tú*	.52	.51
2nd person **non-specific**, *tú*	.58	.72
2nd person formal, *usted*	.58	-
2nd person plural, *ustedes*	.67	-
3rd person *el/ella*	.52	.47
1st person plural, *nosotros*	.23	.15
3rd person plural *ellos/ellas*	.27	.26

The VARBRUL weights cannot be compared on a strictly equivalent basis since the two studies contained different factor groups and different factors. But this table calls attention once again to the similarities in the results of both studies.

7.8 Results supplementary factor group: Tense, Mood, and Aspect (TMA)

This was the second supplementary factor group in this study. The results show a tendency for speakers to use overt SPPs with a variety of tenses and moods. The imperfect indicative, e.g., *cantaba, estaba cantando*, shows the highest frequency of overt pronominal expression.

TABLE 7.12

Distribution of overt SPP expression (PRO+) among Verbs' TMA expressed in frequencies and VARBRUL weights

TMA	Frequencies	VARBRUL Weights
Imperfect Indicative, e.g., *cantaba, estaba cantando*	54%	.61
Conditional, e.g., *cantaría*	50%	.57
Present Indicative, e.g. *canto, estoy cantando*	50%	.54
Present Subjunctive, e.g., *cante* and Past Subjunctive, e.g., *cantara*	48%	.50
Preterit Indicative, e.g., *canté* and Perfect forms, e.g. *he cantado, había cantado*	38%	.45
All other forms including Imperative, or indicative or subjunctive used imperatively, e.g., sal, cante, canta, ten, etc.	7%	.05

(p<.0001)

Recall that participants were recounting stories and incidents of their past. This table shows that speakers did not favor the overt expression of SPPs in the present and past subjunctive, preterit indicative, perfect forms, and the imperative.

7.9 Results supplementary factor group: Phrases of habitual collocation

This factor group examined to what extent terms of habitual collocation influenced the alternation under study. Earlier in Chapter 5 we indicated that phrases which were habitually used by speakers had optional expression of pronominals (*tú entiendes* vs. *entiendes*). Recall that terms which contained obligatory SPP in set phrases such as *que sepa yo or que yo sepa* 'what do I know' were excluded from the analysis.

TABLE 7.13

Use of overt SPP Expression (PRO+) in phrases of habitual collocation

The verb appears in a phrase of habitual collocation:	VARBRUL Weights
Yes	.66
No	.49

($p<.0001$)

It is important to note that in lengthy informal narratives where participants are recounting stories, speakers may tend to use phrases of habitual collocation more frequently than in formal or careful speech. We find a logical pattern here: a high probability of overt SPP expression in phrases of habitual collocation.

7.10 Chapter summary

Findings show that the distance to last mention and a switch reference exert an influence on use of overt SPPs. The factor group that examined the form used in a previous mention of a verb's subject did not operate as predicted. We found that if the verb's subject is an overt SPP, its previous mention was another overt SPP or non-personal SPP. We also found that if the target verb's subject was a null, its previous mention was usually another null or a lexical. We named these sequenced occurrences *clusters*.

With regard to switch reference, we found that it exerts an influence on SPP expression. However, we found that NYC Puerto Ricans expressed more overt SPPs in a non-switch than their counterparts on the island. In general, we found similar frequencies in the expression of overt SPPs when

we compared residents of NYC with those on the island in particular with regard to the verbs' TMA and person and number.

Chapter 8 Results of the variationist analysis: External factors

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we discussed findings for the internal factor groups. This chapter provides an account of the stylistic and external factors. We discuss the following:

1. Narrative style
2. Factors related to contact with English: degree of exposure to NYC, age of arrival, language spoken at home, and years in NYC
3. Age of speakers

In chapter 4 and 5 we defined these variables and showed examples of how the narratives were coded.

There were many social variables that we could have investigated in this study, but as we discussed in earlier chapters, this study builds upon previous research conducted in Puerto Rico, in particular, Cameron (1992). This consideration and the fact that we had coded over 16,000 tokens limited the number of factors that we could investigate in this study to the ones just mentioned.

Before we proceed with the results, recall that this present study had included another external factor group. Gender was found not significant in the VARBRUL runs. In other words, the results are that there is no connection between male and female speakers and the use of null and overt SPPs.

8.2 Results for narrative style

Prior to conducting our study, our search of the literature showed that the effects of different styles of narrative had not yet been fully researched with respect to Spanish SPP variation. Some researchers had suggested that discourse pragmatic elements influence the use of SPPs (Montes, 1986; Silva-Corvalán, 1982). But few researchers have actually pointed out the specific direction in which to examine these discourse pragmatic concerns (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996; Montes, 1986).

Recall that we constructed the factor of narrative style based on concepts from Solomon (1999), who concluded that narratives containing conflicts have a strong effect on the use of overt SPPs in Yucatec Spanish. Along these lines, we distinguish, within the same transcript, narratives that contain conflict from those that do not.

My hypothesis was that conflict narratives would operate as a favoring pragmatic influence on SPP expression since narrators were recounting incidents with other characters, and were perhaps integrating elements of contrast and controversy that charged their stories. (See discussion in chapter 6 section 6.1 for examples of conflict vs. non-conflict narratives). In Simmel's (1955) pioneering work, he described the conflict process as one which is aimed at resolving opposing perspectives. His uses the phrase "divergent dualisms" to explain contrasting or opposing perceptions, convictions, forces, or aims which set one individual or group at cross-

purposes with another. Also recall that contrast favors the use of overt pronouns (Cameron, 1992; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Solomon, 1998).

TABLE 8.1

Probability of overt SPP expression (PRO+) in conflict vs. non-conflict narratives, expressed VARBRUL weights

	PRO+	Frequencies
Conflict narrative	.53	50%
Non-conflict narrative	.47	40%

(*p*<.0001)

As seen in table 8.1, the probability weights show that conflict narratives do favor the use of overt SPPs. The percentage of overt SPP found in conflict narratives is much greater (by 10 percentage points, and with a strong significance value) than in non-conflict narratives. The VARBRUL analysis shows conflict style narrative to condition (at .53) whereas non-conflict narratives do not.

We now show the effects of conflict narrative in relation to some of the other factor groups under study. These next comparisons will continue to show the positive effects of conflict narratives on the use of SPPs in greater detail.

In order to conduct these comparisons, we turn to crosstabulations. Recall that crosstabulations can assist in unveiling patterns which would otherwise remain undetected. Crosstab in the VARBRUL program creates two-way contingency tables for two independent factor groups. We will also use crosstabulations throughout this chapter as a means of comparing the distribution of participants among various factor groups.

TABLE 8.2

Use of overt singular SPPs (PRO+)
crosstabulated with conflict narratives

	Singular Overt PRO+
Verbs in all narratives	51%
Verbs in conflict narratives	56%
Verbs in non-conflict narratives	46%

(*p*<.0001)
chi square for totals 62.348

In chapter 7 we saw that speakers favored the use of overt SPPs with singular verbs. In table 8.2 we see that this tendency continues. Whereas 51% of all the singular verbs in the narratives appeared with an overt SPP, the percentage rises to 56% in verbs that are in conflict narratives and are in the singular.

In chapter 7 we saw that overt SPPs were favored in a switch. We now compare whether the same occurs in a conflict narrative.

TABLE 8.3

Use of overt SPPs (PRO+) in a switch reference environment crosstabulated with conflict narrative style

	Overt PRO+ In Switch	Overt PRO+ In All Verbs
Conflict	57%	50%
Non-conflict	50%	40%

(*p*<.0001)
chi square for totals 49.377

In table 8.3 this tendency continues to be strong. We see that whereas 50% of the verbs in conflict narratives appeared with overt SPPs, the percentage rises to 57% in the verbs that have a switched subject and are in a conflict

narrative. Also note that the frequency of overt SPPs increases by 10 percentage points in switched subjects in non-conflict narratives when compared to all verbs in a non-conflict narrative.

In short, the questions we address are:

1. What effect does conflict narrative have on the use of SPPs?

2. Do speakers express more SPPs when they are involved in a conflict as opposed to when they are not part of the conflict?

We found that conflict narratives do condition the use of overt SPPs regardless of the narrator's involvement in the conflict. However, verbs in conflict narratives were more likely to appear with more overt SPPs than other verbs. More specifically, when measuring the effects of conflict narrative on singular verbs, we found that even more overt singular SPPs were expressed in these conflict narratives. We also found that when a switch in reference occurred in a conflict narrative, the likelihood of the appearance of overt SPPs was increased. Thus, the speakers in this study as a whole expressed more overt pronouns in conflict narratives. This result was found among all age groups and with all degrees of exposure to NYC.

We now turn to discuss how the different factors of English contact and age influence affect the use of SPPs.

8.3 Results for Contact with English

As discussed in chapter 2, researchers believe that Caribbean Spanish speakers, in general, express overt SPPs more than speakers of other Spanish varieties. We discussed that some scholars have suggested that

influence from English may be a factor that contributes to these high frequencies. However, variationist studies conducted in Puerto Rico (Morales, 1986; Pérez Sala,1973) have been unable to correlate the use of overt pronominals and contact with English. We also mentioned that U.S. mainland variationist studies have not found English contact to be a contributing factor in the use of more overt SPPs.

Thus my expectation was, consistent with previous research on U.S. Spanish varieties (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996; Flores & Toro, 2000) and Puerto Rico (Morales, 1986), that there would not be a correlation between English contact and pronominal usage.

Recall that it was with this background research that we formulated several factor groups that indirectly relate to the issue of contact with English:

- Degree of exposure to NYC, which categorized speakers as being native New Yorkers, established residents (16+ years), or recent arrivals (0-5 years). Absences from the City, which interrupted the period of residence, were not taken into account in this factor group.
- Age of arrival to NYC, which categorized speakers as born in NYC, arriving as a child, a teen, or an adult over the age of 20+
- Language spoken at home, Spanish, English, or both
- Total years in NYC, which classified speakers with respect to the total years spent in the City. Absences which interrupted residence were counted here.

It is also to be kept in mind that the data collected for this factor group were self-reported by the participants. Still, these factors indirectly address the matter of English contact and from all appearances do provide interesting and useful results. A further caution to be acknowledged is that statistical

studies of this nature are unable to directly address individual or subgroup divergences that under a different kind of research model might yield important results (Cameron, 2000, p. 259).

The only factor group under the category of contact with English that survived the step up/step down analysis of the VARBRUL program was the first, degree of exposure to NYC. All other factor groups related to English contact were found not significant in VARBRUL runs.

The non-significance of age of arrival, language at home, and total years in NYC shows that it is immaterial for rates of use of overt SPPs whether one arrived as a child or at an older age, whether one speaks English or Spanish at home, or whether one's total years in NYC are many or few.

A more complex picture with regard to the potential for English contact emerges when we look at the factor group that did yield significant results, namely, degree of exposure to NYC. Recall that this factor did not take into account the participants' absences from the City. We need to bear this in mind since the other closely related factor, total years in NYC, was found non-significant.

TABLE 8.4

Distribution of overt SPPs (PRO+) according to participants' degree of exposure to NYC
(n=7,069)

	Overt PRO+	
	Rate	N=
Recent Arrivals (0-5 years in NYC)	31%	(247)
Established residents (16+ years in NYC)	38%	(2,548)
Natives (born in NYC)	53%	(4,274)

(*p<.0001*)

TABLE 8.5

Distribution of overt SPPs (PRO+) according to degree of exposure to NYC expressed in VARBRUL weights

	PRO+
Recent Arrivals (0-5 years in NYC)	.39
Established residents (16+ years in NYC)	.45
Natives (born in NYC)	.55

(*p<.0001*)

Tables 8.4 and 8.5 show that the only group that favors the use of more overt SPPs is the NYC native-born group. In these tables we also find a progression in the frequency of SPP use and the strength of the probability weights. Both increase as degrees of exposure to NYC increase. The degree of exposure to NYC, as we see it, may be consistent with an English contact hypothesis since, according to the Department of Education's Adult Literacy Survey,

> "Virtually everyone who was born in the United States or immigrated to the United States before age 12 was fluent in English as an adult". (NCES, 2001)

We now present details on how the favoring of SPPs by the degree of exposure to NYC crosstabulates with singular verbs and the factor groups that deal with reference relations. The purpose of these next few comparisons is to see how the three differentiated groups compare to each other, and to see how the three individual groups compare to the islanders whenever the comparisons are possible.

TABLE 8.6

Use of overt singular SPPs (PRO+) crosstabulated with degree of exposure to NYC

	Singular overt SPPs	All verbs with overt SPPs
	PRO+	PRO+
Recent Arrivals (0-5 years in NYC)	33%	31%
Established residents (16+ years in NYC)	45%	38%
Natives (born in NYC)	58%	53%

(p<.0001)
chi square for totals 67.766

As discussed in Chapter 7 and earlier in this chapter, we noted that speakers favor the use of overt pronouns with singular verbs much more than with plural verbs. We now find that this general favoring of overt pronouns with singular verbs is also reflected in three different levels according to degrees of exposure to NYC. This table shows an increase in the use of overt pronominals in a similar progression as we found in tables 8.4. and 8.5.

TABLE 8.7

Use of overt plural SPPs (PRO+) crosstabulated with degree of exposure to NYC

	Plural overt SPPs	All verbs with overt SPPs
	PRO+	PRO+
Recent Arrivals (0-5 years in NYC)	25%	31%
Established residents (16+ years in NYC)	15%	38%
Natives (born in NYC)	25%	53%

(p<.0001)
chi square for totals 67.766

In Table 8.7 we do not find the same progression as mentioned in the previous tables 8.4 and 8.5. Instead, the recent arrivals and the NYC native-born groups show the same frequency of overt pronominals with plural verbs.

Recall that a switch in reference was found to condition the use of overt SPPs. The purpose of this table 8.8 is to show whether the three groups have the same patterns in a switch reference environment.

TABLE 8.8

Use of overt SPPs (PRO+) crosstabulated with switch reference and degree of exposure to NYC

	The target is the same as the trigger (**no switch**)	The target is different from the trigger (**switch**)
	PRO+	PRO+
Recent Arrivals (0-5 years in NYC)	22%	49%
Established residents (16+ years in NYC)	32%	48%
Natives (born in NYC)	46%	64%

(p<.0001)
chi square for totals 42.993

First, we find that each group increases the use of overt pronouns from a non-switch to a switch environment. But this table requires further elaboration, for it too shows a break in the progression from recent arrivals to natives. For instance, the recent arrivals expressed 49% of their subject pronouns overtly in a switch while the established residents expressed 48% of their subject pronouns overtly.

On the other hand, note that it is the recent arrivals that make a clear distinction in the use of overt pronouns when switching reference (27 percentage point gap between switch and non-switch). The established residents and the native-born group have only a 16 percentage point and an 18 percentage point gap respectively. This smaller gap found in the established residents and NYC native-born group may suggest a weakening effect in switch reference since it is the recent arrivals that still remain with the strategy of expressing more overt pronouns to signal a switch. However, to fully establish that a switch reference strategy has been altered through English contact, changes in pronoun stress, a tendency to use more lexicals, and changes in word order would also need to be examined.

Since we now know that the NYC native-born group shows a stronger tendency to use overts in both the switch and non-switch reference environments, we should then compare the NYC native-born group with the San Juan speakers.

TABLE 8.9

Comparison between NYC-born Puerto Ricans and San Juan-born Puerto Ricans in the use of overt SPPs (PRO+) in switch reference environments

	San Juan (Cameron, 1992)	Native-NYC born Puerto Ricans (this study)
	PRO+	PRO+
The target is different from the trigger (**switch**)	57%	64%
The target is the same as the trigger (**no switch**)	31%	46%
Percentage point difference	*26*	*18*

We find the patterns of switch reference similar in the two groups. However, in table 8.9 we find the gap between switch and non-switch in the San Juan group is 26 percentage points. The NYC native-born group, on the other hand, has only an 18 percentage point difference between switch and non-switch instances.

The greater use of SPPs by the NYC native-born groups in the non-switch environment, and the fact that this group does not strongly distinguish as much between a switch and non-switch environments, mildly support that this group behaves linguistically different from its counterparts. However, the 26 to 18 percentage point difference is not very robust. We should also note that the differences found in the frequencies in table 8.9 may not be of an exclusively linguistic nature. We can also attribute the differences found to differences in the studies themselves.

We would also like to add that, with regard to switch reference, Madrid Spanish (Chapter 7, Table 7.4) showed a 19 percentage point difference

between a switch and no-switch environment. Although San Juan and NYC Puerto Ricans, relative to Madrid, have higher frequencies of overt pronominal expression, the percentage point difference found in Madrid is very similar to results in table 8.9 where the NYC Puerto Rican has an 18 percentage point difference and the Madrid speakers have a 19 percentage point difference. Thus, the results with regard to switch reference and English contact are suggestive but not at all conclusive.

We now turn to analyze how the NYC native-born Puerto Rican group compares to the other two groups in this present study with regard to two other internal factor groups: the form used in the previous mention of a verb's subject, and the distance between the previous mention of the target verb's subject.

TABLE 8.10

Use of overt SPPs (PRO+) according to degree of exposure to NYC, crosstabulated with type of form used in previous mention as subject

	Previous mention: overt SPP	Previous mention: another subject pronoun (i.e., a demonstrative)
	PRO+ in target verb	PRO+ in target verb
Recent Arrivals (0-5 years in NYC)	60%	-
Established residents (16+ years in NYC)	58%	56%
Natives (born in NYC)	69%	63%

(*p*<.0001)
chi square for totals 364.343

Recall that these comparisons show how the differentiated groups operate within a factor group. In chapter 7 we described how the group as a whole operated within these factors. In table 8.10 we find that all three groups tend to favor the use of overt SPPs in the target verb when the previous mention

is another overt subject pronoun (PRO+ followed by PRO+). They also favor the use of an overt pronoun in the target verb when the previous mention of the subject is a demonstrative (DEMO followed by PRO+). Thus, the cluster effect remains unaffected by the type of exposure. Note that we only find divergence in recent arrivals: Instances where the previous mention was a demonstrative form were non-existent in our data. Also note that the established residents express fewer overt pronouns than the recent arrivals in this table, a pattern that does not follow the progressive increase that matches degrees of exposure as found in the tables 8.4 and 8.5.

TABLE 8.11

Use of overt SPPs (PRO+) according to degree of exposure to NYC, crosstabulated with type of form used in previous mention as subject

	Previous mention: a lexical	Previous mention: a null
	PRO+	PRO+
Recent Arrivals (0-5 years in NYC)	26%	20%
Established residents (16+ years in NYC)	32%	27%
Natives (born in NYC)	43%	37%

(*p<.0001*)
chi square for totals 364.343

In table 8.11 we find that all three groups do not necessarily favor the use of overt SPPs when the previous mention of the target verb's subject is a lexical or another null since these frequencies are rather low. That is, nulls favor the use of more nulls (NULLS followed by NULLS) and lexicals that appear in a previous mention of the verb's subject favor nulls in the target verb (LEX followed by NULLS). Thus, the cluster effect is consistent with our

findings discussed in chapter 7 and appears to be unaffected by the degree of exposure to NYC.

TABLE 8.12

Use of overt SPPs (PRO+) according to degree of exposure to NYC, crosstabulated with distance between target verb's subject and its last mention as subject

	Previous mention found ***beyond*** the prior clause (2+ clauses back)	Previous mention found in the ***prior*** clause (1 clause back)
	PRO+	PRO+
Recent Arrivals (0-5 years in NYC)	51%	21%
Established residents (16+ years in NYC)	50%	32%
Natives (born in NYC)	64%	46%

(*p<.0001*)
chi square for totals 44.862

In table 8.12 we still examine the three groups separately and, in general, find that there is a stronger tendency among the three groups to favor the use of overt SPPs in the target verb when the previous mention is located *beyond* the prior clause. However, we find an unexpected similarity between recent and the established residents with regard to the distance between the target verb's subject and its last mention. The recent arrivals and the established residents only have a 1 percentage point difference (50%-51%). Therefore, degree of exposure is not, once again, reflecting a progression in this table. Nonetheless, all three groups have the tendency of disfavoring overt pronouns in instances where the previous mention of the

target verb's subject is in the prior clause. In other words, a null pronoun is immediately followed by a null pronoun in the target verb.

We now move to compare the factor group of degree of exposure with narrative style.

TABLE 8.13

Use of overt SPP expression (PRO+) according to degree of exposure to NYC crosstabulated with conflict narrative vs. non-conflict narrative

	Non-Conflict Narrative	Conflict Narrative
	PRO+	PRO+
Recent Arrivals (0-5 years in NYC)	30%	35%
Established residents (16+ years in NYC)	32%	45%
Natives (born in NYC)	50%	55%

(*p<.0001*)
chi square for totals 361.858

Although we have pointed out that conflict narratives favor the use of overt SPPs, we compare the three groups for the purpose of seeing whether they have similar patterns in this environment. When we compare the frequencies of pronominal expression in conflict vs. non-conflict narrative, we find a steady increase in the use of overt pronouns in each of the groups. Furthermore, there is a progressive 10% increase (35%-45%-55%) in the use of overt SPPs from the recent arrivals to NYC native-born groups in conflict narratives, which parallels an increase in overts in non-conflict narratives (30%-32%-50%). This seems to suggest that the degree of exposure to NYC works in conjunction with conflict narratives to increase the use of overt pronouns. These results seem to also suggest that as the degrees of

exposure to NYC increase, the use of overt pronouns in conflict and non-conflict narrative increases.

We should note that the established residents make a clear distinction between expressing overt pronouns in conflict narratives (45%) and not expressing them in a non-conflict environment (32%), a 13 percentage point difference. The other two groups, the NYC native-born and the recent arrivals, have only a 5 percentage point difference. The small gap found in the recent arrivals and the NYC native-born groups shows a diminished sensitivity to conflict narrative.

8.3.1 Discussion of external findings related to: Contact with English

In discussing contact with English, the reasoning here has been that NYC Puerto Ricans who are born in NYC, came at a younger age, say they use English at home, or have lived in the city for a long time can be presumed to be strongly bilingual. That is, participants with these characteristics can be presumed to speak not only Spanish as shown on our transcripts, but to also be fluent in English. This assumption, that informants of a certain type speak English, conforms to everyday observations and to findings of social science surveys such as NCES 2001. While it is true that individual Puerto Ricans may live in NYC for years without learning English, there can be no doubt about the statistical correlation between degrees of exposure to NYC, and bilingual status.

Our study proceeded to test whether this indirectly established knowledge of English correlated with increased use of SPPs. The expectation of a connection between English contact and increased SPPs stems from a well-known fact that English uses SPPs almost categorically, thus providing an area of possible contact influence on Spanish.

The findings here point in different directions with regard to the issue of contact with English as a possible motivation in the use of SPPs. Most findings fail to support a contact hypothesis. But one result appears to give it support.

The following findings do not encourage an explanation of use of SPPs in terms of English influence:

- Three of the original factor groups under the category of English contact: language at home, total years in NYC, and age of arrival were found not to have an effect on the variable under study.

We also found that the effect of exposure did not persist in that the three groups, the recent arrivals, established residents, and NYC native-born had similar patterns of overt SPP expression. For instance:

- All three groups favored the use of overt SPPs and null subject pronouns in clusters.
- All three groups had the tendency to use more overts in the target verb when the previous mention of the target verb's subject was found in the prior clause and beyond 2 clauses.

- All three groups had the tendency to express more singular SPPs than plural SPPs.
- All three groups had the tendency to favor the use of overts when the previous mention was another SPP and a lexical.
- All three groups had the tendency to favor the use of overt SPPs in a conflict narrative rather than a non-conflict narrative.

However, increased exposure to NYC, which we presume to be statistically correlated with increased exposure to English, did provide results that are consistent with a contact explanation:

- The degree of exposure to NYC shows that participants who are NYC native-born have the highest probability of expressing more overt SPPs than established residents and recent arrivals.

We also found that the effect of exposure persists with the NYC native-born group:

- in a non-switch environment
- in conflict and non-conflict narratives.

With regard to English contact this study addressed two research questions:

1. Is there a correlation between what is presumed to be greater English contact and heightened rates of pronoun expression?
2. Do Puerto Rican Spanish speakers in NYC use their pronouns following similar linguistic patterns to speakers in Puerto Rico?

There has been wide debate regarding the influence that English may have on the Puerto Rican Spanish residents of NYC.

According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988),

> "In order to support a claim that feature X arose in a language A under the influence language B, we need to show that features *a,b,c,y,z*—at least some of which belong to a subsystem different from the one X belongs to—also arose in A under the influence of B". (p.61)

Research has been conducted by several scholars with the purpose of determining whether English exerts some influence in Puerto Rican speakers of Spanish in NYC and nearby Brentwood, a suburb, (García & Morín, 2001; Klein, 1980; Pousada & Poplack, 1982; Torres, 1994; Zentella, 1994). Although only several studies have been variationist in nature, the general picture presented is that English is widely used by New York Puerto Ricans, and speakers show influence of English in aspects of the lexicon.

With regard to grammatical features, however, the general picture that has been presented is that many or the ones that have been studied remain intact. For instance, Pousada and Poplack (1982) did not find a significant difference in the TMA system of NYC Puerto Ricans from those documented on the island. Zentella (1994) conducted a study with NYC children and also documented a full array of verb tenses. With regard to SPPs, in a preliminary study of English contact and pronominal expression in NYC, Flores and Toro (2000) did not find that the factor of degrees of exposure to NYC exerted an influence on speakers of several Spanish varieties. This study included Puerto Ricans who were NYC native-born. Klein (1980), on the other hand, found a correlation with being NYC native-

born and heightened uses of the progressive when the simple present was called for.

The present study is partially consistent with the non-contact findings of these scholars since, as discussed, we found no correlation between increased use of SPPs, as predicted of a contact hypothesis, and such indirect indicators of age of arrival, self-reported use of language at home, and total years in NYC. However, as discussed, this present study has two indicators that support an English contact hypothesis. We found, in some instances, a step-wise increase in the use of SPPs that matched the degrees of exposure to NYC from recent arrivals to NYC native-born. Secondly, NYC native-born Puerto Ricans show higher frequencies of overt SPPs than all other residents in all linguistic environments. Another finding that is perhaps consistent with a contact hypothesis was shown in Table 8.8, where we found a weakening effect of switch reference as predictor of SPP use among NYC native-born Puerto Ricans.

Our second question under English contact addressed whether speakers in NYC, with regard to SPP expression, are linguistically similar to their counterparts in Puerto Rico. As background to this question, recall that as a general group the NYC participants in this study maintained similar patterns to those found on the island with regard to pronominal expression and grammatical person and number, as well as with switch reference, as we saw in chapter 7. When we compared findings with regard to internal factors in Cameron (1992) with the internal findings in this present study, we

found very similar results. We did not find an unusually high rate of overt SPPs when compared to Puerto Rico even with the NYC native-born group. If our study would have produced frequencies on the internal factor groups that surpassed and strongly differed from the frequencies found on the island by Cameron (1992) and Ávila-Jiménez (1996), this would have constituted support for a contact hypothesis. The fact that we did not weakens an explanation of NYC usage in terms of influence from English.

Other findings with regard to degree of exposure to NYC emerged that do not support a contact hypothesis. The cluster effect that we discussed in chapter 7 still remained common to all three groups categorized under degree of exposure to NYC. That is, the recent arrivals, the established residents, and the native-born New Yorkers all favored the use of overt SPPs in the target verb's subject after the use of another pronominal, and a null followed by another null. We also found that the participants in this study have a tendency of disfavoring overts in the target verb's subject when the previous mention of the verb's subject is located in the prior clause.

We now turn to examine whether and to what extent age is a factor that influences SPP expression.

8.4 Results for Age

This factor group was originally coded in decades: participants in their 20s, 30s, 40s, and 50+. However, a test of significance allowed us to amalgamate two groups in one, 20s and 30s.

TABLE 8.14

Distribution of overt (PRO+) SPP expression according to different age groups
(n=7,069)

	Overt PRO+	
	Rate	N=
20s and 30s age group	48%	(3,754)
40s age group	46%	(2,207)
50+ age group	36%	(1,108)

(*p*<.0001)

TABLE 8.15

Distribution of overt (PRO+) SPPs according to participants' age expressed in VARBRUL weights

	VARBRUL WEIGHTS of PRO+
20s and 30s age group	.52
40s age group	.50
50+ age group	.44

(*p*<.0001)

Table 8.14 and 8.15 shows that participants who are in their 20s and 30s show higher rates of pronominal expression, and according to the VARBRUL weights, have a higher probability of expressing SPPs than the two other age groups. The 50+ age group shows a clear disfavoring at .44, while the 40s group shows no effect. That is, they neither favor nor disfavor the use of overt pronominals. Ávila-Jiménez's (1996) and Lizardi's (1993) studies conducted in Puerto Rico also found a 50+ age group cut off. Lizardi (1993) found that older speakers (50+) exhibited lower frequencies of preverbal subject pronouns than the younger groups. Ávila-Jiménez (1996), who conducted a variationist study on the use of

overt and null SPPs, also found that 50+ age group expressed overt pronouns at much lower rates than the younger generation.

TABLE 8.16

Comparison of NYC Puerto Ricans vs. San Juan-born Puerto Ricans in the use of overt SPPs (PRO+) according to age

	San Juan (Ávila-Jiménez,1996)	New York City (this study)
	PRO+	PRO+
20s, 30s, 40s age groups	43%	47%
50+ age group	33%	36%

In table 8.16 we compare San Juan and NYC participants and find similar frequencies of overt pronominal expression with regard to age. The 50+ age group does show a lower concentration of overt SPPs in NYC and San Juan.

We now compare how the three age groups in this study operate individually within the factor groups that we compared earlier under reference relations. The purpose of these next comparisons is to show that, although there is a 50+ age group cut-off, and the 20s-30s age group has the highest probability of expressing overt SPPs, within the groups themselves there is more revealing information.

TABLE 8.17

Use of overt (PRO+) singular SPPs crosstabulated with the different age groups

	Singular overt SPPs	All verbs with overt SPPs
	PRO+	PRO+
20s and 30s	56%	48%
40s	56%	46%
50+	50%	36%

(*p*<.0001)
chi square for totals 42.544

Note that by differentiating the three groups, we are able to see how they compare to each other. We have noted that speakers favor the use of overt SPPs with singular verbs much more than with plurals. We now find that this general favoring of overt SPPs with singular verbs is also reflected among the three age groups. In table 8.17 we find that singular overt SPPs are used more by only two of the groups, participants in the 20s-30s and 40s. The 50+ age group seems to depart slightly from this pattern.

TABLE 8.18

Use of overt plural SPPs (PRO+) crosstabulated with different age groups

	Plural overt SPPs	All verbs with overt SPPs
	PRO+	PRO+
20s and 30s	22%	48%
40s	21%	46%
50+	14%	36%

(p<.0001)
chi square for totals 42.544

In table 8.18 we find that, with regard to plural SPPs, all three groups tend to disfavor overts. This observation is particularly strong in the 50+ age group where we find that only 14% of the overt pronouns were realized. The 20s and 30s and 40s age groups show similar tendencies in the use of overt plural SPPs.

TABLE 8.19

Use of overt SPPs (PRO+) in a crosstabulation of switch reference and age groups

	The target is the same as the trigger (**no switch**)	The target is different from the trigger (**switch**)
	PRO+	PRO+
20s and 30s	42%	60%
40s	40%	56%
50+	27%	48%

(*p<.0001*)
chi square for totals 47.080

As an undifferentiated group, we saw that the participants in the present study favored the use of overt SPPs in a switch reference. Note in table 8.19 that the patterns in all three age groups show a favoring toward the use of more overt SPPs in a switch and less overt SPPs in non-switch instances. We also find that the 50+ age group separates from its counterparts in that they clearly use fewer overt SPPs in a non-switch environment. We now move to discuss how the three differentiated groups used overt SPPs in two other factor groups under reference relations: the previous mention of the target verb's subject and the distance between the verb's subject and its previous mention. We compare these groups in order to see if the same pattern emerges, the 50+ age group cut off.

TABLE 8.20

Use of overt SPP expression (PRO+) according to participants' age crosstabulated with form used in previous mention of target verb's subject

	Previous mention: overt SPP	Previous mention: another subject pronoun (i.e., a demonstrative)
	PRO+ in target verb	PRO+ in target verb
20s -30s	68%	67%
40s	65%	38%
50+	56%	67%

(*p<.0001*)
chi square for totals 116.612

In general, table 8.20 shows that the 50+ age group does not strongly depart as expected from its counterparts with regard to this factor group. We find, however, that the 40s age group shows a tendency to disfavor overt SPPs in the target verb's subject when the previous mention is a demonstrative. All three groups:

- Tend to favor the overt SPPs in the target verb's subject when the previous mention is another overt SPPs. (PRO+ followed by PRO+). The cluster effect remains unaffected by age.
- Tend to use overt SPPs in the target verb when the previous mention of the target verb's subject is a demonstrative (DEMO followed by a PRO+). However, the 40s age group uses fewer overt SPPs in these instances.

TABLE 8.21

Use of overt SPP expression (PRO+) according to participants' age crosstabulated with form used in previous mention of target verb's subject

	Previous mention: a lexical	Previous mention: a null
	PRO+	PRO+
20s -30s	37%	32%
40s	40%	34%
50+	33%	25%

(*p<.0001*)
chi square for totals 116.612

In general, table 8.21 shows that the 50+ age group again does not depart as expected from its counterparts with regard to this factor group either. All three groups:

- Show a tendency to disfavor the use of overts in the target verb's subject when the previous mention is a lexical (LEXICAL followed by a NULL).
- Show a tendency to disfavor the use of overts in the target verb's subject when the previous mention is a null (NULL followed by a NULL).

In sum, the patterns we find with regard to the previous mention of the verb's subject can be considered very similar and not affected by age.

TABLE 8.22

Use of overt SPP expression (PRO+) according to participants' age crosstabulated with distance between target verb's subject and its previous mention as subject

	Previous mention found ***beyond*** the prior clause (2+ clauses back)	Previous mention found in the ***prior*** clause (1 clause back)
	PRO+	PRO+
20s and 30s age group	60%	42%
40s age group	59%	40%
50+ age group	50%	28%

(*p<.0001*)
chi square for totals 30.574

In this table 8.22 we find that all three age groups seem to show the same patterns. They tend to favor the use of overt SPPs in the target verb's subject when the previous mention is found *beyond* the prior clause, and tend to disfavor the use of overts when the previous mention of the target verb's subject is located in the prior clause. Note, however, that the 20s-30s and 40s age groups show the strongest tendency of expressing overt SPPs in the target verb when the previous mention of that target verb's subject is found beyond the prior clause. The 50+ age group separates from its counterparts by having lower frequencies of overt SPPs in the target verb's subject when the previous mention of the verb's subject is located in the prior and beyond the prior clause.

Before ending this section on how the various age groups expressed overt SPPs, we should examine how the different age groups expressed overt SPPs in conflict vs. non-conflict narratives to see if the 50+ cut off is still evident.

TABLE 8.23

Use of overt SPP expression (PRO+) according to the participants' age crosstabulated with conflict narrative vs. non-conflict narrative

	Non-Conflict Narrative	Conflict Narrative
	PRO+	PRO+
20s and 30s	42%	53%
40s	45%	48%
50+	31%	44%

(*p*<.0001)
chi square for totals 223.620

We learned earlier in this chapter that conflict narratives condition the use of overt SPPs. In table 8.23 we see how all age groups follow the same pattern. All three groups increase the use of overts in a conflict environment.

While this pattern is common to all the groups, there are still some differences found in table 8.23. Note that the 20s-30s and the 50+ age groups have an 11 and 13 percentage point difference respectively in the use of overt pronouns in conflict vs. non-conflict narrative. The 40s age group, however, has only a 3 percentage point difference. That is, this age group does not mark the distinction of conflict vs. non-conflict by using overt SPPs as strongly as the other two groups. It is the 20s-30s and the 50+ age groups that show a stronger tendency of expressing overt pronouns in conflict vs. non-conflict narrative.

8.4.1 Discussion of findings: Age

The factor group of age addressed two questions.

1. Does age have an effect on the alternation under study?

2. Do participants in NYC show the same patterns of pronominal expression as those found in age groups in research conducted in Puerto Rico?

We found a correlation between the factor of age and the use of SPPs. The group with the strongest probability of expressing overt SPPs is the 20s and 30s age group. While Morales (1986) suggested that the younger generation in Puerto Rico has had more contact with English, her research could not determine that exposure to English was influencing the speakers' use more overt pronouns on the island.

We found that participants over the age of 50+ expressed fewer overt personal pronouns than those in the 20s, 30s, and 40s throughout this study. We also found that:

- The cluster effect was prevalent with all age groups.
- All three age groups favored the use of overt pronouns with singular verbs.
- All three age groups showed similar patterns of overt pronominal expression in a switch reference.
- All three age groups disfavored overts in the target verb's subject when the previous mention of the verb's subject was in the prior clause, and favored overts in the target verb's subject when the previous mention of the verb's subject was found beyond the prior clause.

- The 20s-30s and 50+ age groups showed a strong tendency of using overt pronouns in conflict narratives yet the 40s age group does not and we cannot provide an explanation for this finding.

The second question we needed to investigate with respect to age was whether there were similarities in pronominal usage in NYC with those on the island. We found similar frequencies of overt pronominal usage among the 50+ age group when we compared data reported by Ávila-Jiménez's (1996). Although her research varies somewhat in terms of the factors investigated, the overall use of overt pronominals in both these studies shows a decrease in the use of overts. Since the results in this study match closely with the findings in Puerto Rico (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996) we are now able to show that, in both geographical areas or both speech communities, participants above the age of 50+ are behaving linguistically the same with regard to the feature under study. Hence, some other internal or external factor must be influencing participants above 50+ to disfavor overt SPPs.

With regard to conflict narrative, the participants in their 20s-30s and 50+ showed a stronger tendency of using more overt pronouns in conflict narratives than the 40s age group. No explanation is afforded for this finding.

8.5 Chapter summary

We found that narratives that contain conflict influence speakers' use of overt SPPs. We also found that age influences overt SPP expression. Speakers between the ages of 20 to 30 expressed more overt SPPs than the

other age groups. Speakers above 50 have a tendency to express fewer overts than any of the age groups.

With regard to English, we found that NYC native-born Puerto Ricans consistently used more overts. This consistency favors an English contact hypothesis. On the other hand, we found evidence that points to the contrary. Speakers who were native-born also used overts in clusters following the tendencies of the other two groups categorized under English contact. All participants, recent arrivals, established, and NYC native-born favored the use of overts when a previous mention was located beyond the prior clause. Furthermore, with regard to the frequencies of overt SPP expression, the participants in this study showed very similar frequencies than those found in Puerto Rico. Finally, no support for a contact hypothesis was derived from the lack of correlation between age of arrival, language use at home, and total years in NYC and any increase in the use of SPPs.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The primary goals of this study were to analyze previously unattended aspects of Spanish sociolinguistics, namely the variable use of SPPs in the speech community of Puerto Ricans residing in NYC. More specifically, we aimed:

(1) To identify the significant constraints on the use of SPPs with respect to Puerto Ricans who reside in NYC

(2) To compare findings with other variationist accounts conducted on the island with the purpose of providing explanations for differences appearing in NYC, if any.

To address these goals, we set out to investigate the effects of several internal and external factors on pronominal expression in the narratives of our participants:

(a) the previous use of the target verb's subject;

(b) the distance between the target verb's subject and the previous mention of the its subject;

(c) competition between 3rd person referents as possible subjects of the target verb;

(d) switch reference and partial overlap environments;

(e) narrative style;

(f) contact with English: Years in NYC, language at home, degree of exposure to NYC, and age of arrival;

(g) participants' age;

(h) participants' gender

Our data came from 41 Puerto Rican NYC residents who narrated stories in Spanish.

For the analysis we constructed and presented:

- a working definition of the envelope of variation,
- a description of the exclusions and inclusions in the analysis,
- definitions and examples of the internal and external factor groups examined,
- a description of the coding process that we followed,
- an explanation of how the data should be interpreted.

9.2 Internal factors

We investigated several factors under the category of reference relations with the purpose of uncovering their effects on the variable use of SPPs. The following factors showed a positive effect on the use of SPPs:

1. the form used in the previous mention of the target verb's subject,
2. the distance between the target verb's subject and its previous mention as subject,
3. switch reference and partial overlaps.

9.2.1 The form used in the previous mention of the target verb's subject

We found that when the target verb's subject was an overt SPP, the previous mention of the subject was most likely to be another SPP or another pronoun. On the other hand, we found that when the target verb's subject was a null subject pronoun, the previous mention was likely to be a lexical or another null subject. The repeated patterns of overt preceded by another overt, and a null preceded by another null, which we called clusters, suggested that the speakers in this study had the tendency of preserving information regarding the characters or protagonists in their stories in two ways. They kept information in the open and on the table by using more overt SPPs, or they preserved information in a less salient manner with the use of nulls.

The cluster effect, nulls followed by nulls and overts followed by overts, was also found in San Juan. The clusters in this present study were characteristic of all age groups and all levels of exposure to NYC. The cluster effect, we maintained, serves as a pragmatic device that preserves entities in the open in the story, provides for continuity, adds saliency to the characters, and conveys a sense of unity to narrative.

9.2.2 The distance between the target verb's subject and its previous mention as subject

With respect to this factor, we showed two significant findings. We confirmed that SPP expression was constrained by the distance between the verb's subject and its previous mention. The farther the distance a previous

mention was to a target verb's subject, the stronger the probabilities were for the use of overt SPPs in the target verb. However, if a previous mention was located in the prior clause, speakers favored the use of nulls in the target verb's subject. We found these results in all groups, regardless of degrees of exposure to NYC or age.

9.2.3 Switch reference and partial overlaps

We confirmed that a switch in reference had a positive effect on the use of overt SPPs. As a whole, the participants in this NYC study expressed overt SPPs in similar switch reference patterns to those found in San Juan.

In instances of partial overlap, we found that speakers expressed more overt pronouns in the target verb when the trigger was a plural subject and the target was singular: *nosotros→yo* more than in *yo→nosotros*.

9.3 External and stylistic factors

We investigated the effects of contact with English, gender, age and conflict narrative style on SPP expression. Gender and several factors under the factor group of English contact did not produce any effects on the use of SPPs. The following factors produced significant findings:

- Conflict narrative style
- Degrees of exposure to NYC
- Age

9.3.1 Narrative style

We found that conflict narrative did strongly favor the use of overt SPPs. Furthermore, when speakers recounted stories that contained conflict, singular verbs, which normally have high concentrations of overt pronominals, had even more overt singular SPPs. This also occurred with verbs that had a switch reference. Even more overt SPPs appeared in switch reference environments in conflict narratives. This finding was consistent in all age groups and all participants under degrees of exposure to NYC.

9.3.2 Contact with English

The possibility of English contact was investigated with four related factor groups: Age of arrival, exposure to NYC, years in NYC, and language at home under the presumption of a correlation between them and the use of English creating a context for possible English contact effects. However, most of these factors were found not to be significant.

There are two indicators that strongly support an English contact hypothesis. Namely, that the NYC native-born Puerto Rican consistently used higher rates of overt SPPs and that there was a step-wise increase in the use of SPPs from recent arrival to native-born residents. In addition, we found that the effect of switch reference as a predictor of SPP use was weakened among NYC-native born Puerto Ricans. However, the findings contain several indicators that argue against an English contact hypothesis. First, we found that three factors, total years in NYC, language at home, and age of arrival were found non-significant. Second, all three groups under degrees of exposure favored nulls and

overts in clusters, favored overts when the target verb's subject was located beyond the prior clause, and favored overts in conflict narratives. And third, the frequencies in the use of overts were very similar to those found in Puerto Rico, in particular, with the verb's TMA, and person and number.

9.3.3 Age

The factor group of age, which had three factors: 20s-30s, 40s, and 50s+ also showed significant results. Age conditions the use of overt pronominal expression according to the VARBRUL weights. The most significant finding suggested that if participants were between the ages of 20 through 39, we could expect higher rates of overt SPPs. However, participants in the 50s+ age group behaved linguistically different with regard to the use of overt SPPs. This age group consistently used fewer overt SPPs than the other two age groups. This result was compatible with findings reported among residents of Puerto Rico (Ávila-Jiménez, 1996; Lizardi, 1993), where older speakers showed a more conservative use of overt SPPs; and it was also suggested that the younger groups were showing a change in progress.

With regard to conflict narrative, the participants in their 20s-30s and 50+ showed a stronger tendency to use more overt SPPs in conflict narratives than the 40s age group, but we offer not explanation for this occurrence.

9.4 Supplementary factor groups

We examined three supplementary factor groups: the presence of overt SPPs with the verbs' person and number, the verbs' TMA, and the presence of SPPs in phrases of habitual collocation.

9.4.1. Person and number

We found that the Puerto Rican residents of NYC favored the use of overt SPPs with 1st person *yo*, a finding that has been documented in other Spanish varieties as well.

There were other findings with regard to person and number:

a. 2nd person specific and non-specific *tú* had heightened rates of pronominals.

b. When we compared the use of overt pronouns in the NYC group with those in island with regard to person and number, Puerto Ricans in NYC expressed overt SPPs within the range of frequencies documented on the island.

9.4.2 TMA

We found that overt SPPs were favored mostly in the:

- imperfect indicative, *cantaba*
- the conditional, *cantaría*
- the present indicative, *estoy cantando* or *canto*

9.4.3 Phrases of habitual collocation

We provided a working definition that distinguished set phrases from phrases of habitual collocation. We found that when speakers used these phrases of habitual collocation, they had a strong tendency to express more overt SPPs and that the use of overts was not categorical.

9.5 Future Research

There are several unanswered questions that this study points to. In the following section we suggest areas that may guide future researchers with regard to the feature under study.

We found a favoring effect in the use of overt SPPs in speakers who were in the 20s-30s age group and a disfavoring effect with speakers who were above 50+. These findings also match the age groups studied on the island by Ávila-Jiménez (1996). Since speakers from the island and NYC have been found to pattern similarly with respect to the feature under study, we should question if there is evidence for a change in progress with young adults as suggested by Ávila-Jiménez (1996) for island speakers, or if young adult speech patterns change with regard to pronominal expression as they grow older in general. We should note that the 40s age group in this present study did not show any tendency to favor or disfavor overt SPPs. Two questions need to be addressed.

- What factors contribute to the young adults' favoring of more overt SPPs?
- Why do older adults disfavor the use of overt SPPs?

We found a correlation with NYC native-born Puerto Ricans and the use of overt pronominals. Yet we did not find a correlation with established residents. Other external factors such as education, schooling socio-economic variables, contact with other languages in their respective speech communities, and the speakers' social network should be examined. In Puerto Rico, Morales (1986) was not able to find a correlation with the use of overt pronouns and English contact. Some of the findings from this present study seem to suggest that there is potential for an English contact hypothesis. However, we need to add that Morales (1986) maintains that speakers on the island are moving towards a fixed SVO order and this change can also be taking place in NYC. Several questions can be addressed then:

- What external variables appear to influence speakers born in NYC that do not necessarily affect residents who have been in NYC for shorter periods of residence?
- Are NYC native-born Puerto Ricans moving toward the SVO order found in Puerto Rico vs. other residents such as the established residents and recent arrivals? If so, are the same SVO patterns appearing on the established and recent arrivals?

The cluster effect found common to all age groups and all speakers in the various categories of exposure to NYC indicated that speakers had a tendency to use overt pronouns followed by more overt pronouns. They also used nulls followed by other nulls. While we found these clusters

characteristic of narrative-style speech, we may question if these clusters appear in other speech settings:

- Do these clusters appear in the speech patterns of participants who are responding to questions and answers in an interview setting?
- Do these clusters appear in careful and casual speech?

It is a known fact that nulls are favored over overts in general. We also know now that Puerto Ricans living in NYC as well as islanders, in general, favor the use of null subjects (Ávila-Jiménez,1996; Cameron, 1992). In this present study, however, the use of overt SPPs increased in the conflict narratives. More specifically, the speakers' use of overt SPPs increased to 50% in conflict narrative style in general. In Yucatec Spanish, Solomon (1999) first found that conflict narratives in which the main theme was a conflict involving the narrator favored overt SPPs. Other narratives not involving the narrator were found to disfavor overts. She attributed this general favoring of overts in conflict narratives to the proposal that speakers have a high personal stake in narratives that they recount if they are involved in the conflict. This present study produced a different result. The data in this study showed that regardless of the speakers' involvement in the conflict narrative, heightened uses of overt SPPs appeared. We should ask:

- Do speakers use more overt SPPs in conflict narratives in other Spanish varieties?

Since narratives that contained conflicts had an effect on the use of overt SPPs, we should also investigate if this effect permeates socio-economic classes and education levels, and external factors that this study did not address. We can ask:

- What effect does schooling or socio-economic standing have on speakers' recounting of personal vs. non-personal conflict narratives?

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