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**The influence of English on contact Spanish: Preverbal bare
subjects**

Jagendorf, Susan, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON CONTACT SPANISH:

PREVERBAL BARE SUBJECTS

by

Susan Jagendorf

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Richard Hye
Executive Officer

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William A. Storer
Leann Lyons
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

PREVERBAL BARE SUBJECTS

by

Susan Jagendorf

Adviser: Professor Ricardo Otheguy

Students of language contact have pointed out that grammatical borrowing is much less frequent than lexical borrowing. Although studies by Klein and Silva-Corvalán have documented a certain amount of influence on the grammar of Spanish from English, there are few or no studies that document the outright borrowing of a grammatical morpheme from English into Spanish.

The present study shows that in order to understand sentences with preverbal bare subjects in Spanish, we need to postulate the presence of a \emptyset . While this \emptyset morpheme is not part of the article system of traditional Spanish (the Spanish of Spain and Latin America), it is indeed part of the article system of English. We propose that as a result of contact with English, Spanish in the United States (henceforth, contact Spanish), though not traditional Spanish, has borrowed the \emptyset morpheme from English into its own article system. And as a result of the borrowing of this grammatical morpheme together with the meaning that it carries, new messages are also being conveyed in contact Spanish. To support our argument, we

will present evidence from Spanish language newspapers published in the United States and abroad as well as evidence from experimental situations that we have devised.

Preface

Language contact is a natural phenomenon, occurring wherever speakers of different varieties (dialects or languages) regularly interact with one another. The effects of language contact are revealed when linguistic elements from one or more varieties are incorporated into the linguistic system of another variety or varieties, and the direction of this transfer may be uni-, bi-, or multi-directional. The borrowing of phonological, lexical, syntactic or semantic elements does not diminish the borrower; rather, it enables the recipient variety to effectively communicate messages that are part of the linguistic and extra-linguistic environments that surround it.

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CHAPTER ONE
THE ISSUE OF GRAMMATICAL BORROWING

In this chapter, we first discuss arguments that have been made both for and against grammatical borrowing. This is followed by our proposal that not only is grammatical borrowing possible, but that new messages and new signal-meaning pairs appear in U.S. Spanish as a result of contact with English. The signal that concerns us here is \emptyset , which is part of the article system of English and which appears before certain preverbal subjects.

1.1 Introduction

The majority of studies on Spanish-English contact in the United States have dealt with two different types of phenomena --code-switching and lexical innovations. In the case of code-switching, the changes in the speech of bilinguals involve movement back and forth between two totally distinct linguistic systems and both of those systems remain unaffected by each other (Gingràs, 1974; Huerta-Macías, 1981; Klavans, 1983; Lavandera, 1981; McClure, 1981; Pfaff, 1979; Poplack, 1979, 1981; Sankoff and Poplack, 1980; Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980; Valdés, 1981; Wentz and McClure, 1975; Zentella, 1981).

Lexical innovations in various spoken and written varieties of United States Spanish have also been widely documented (García, Fishman, Gertner, Burunat, 1985; Ornstein and Valdés-Fallis, 1979; Otheguy, 1982, 1983;

Otheguy and García, 1987; Sobin, 1982; Zentella, work in progress). These studies show that the Spanish of bilinguals has been influenced by English as a result of heavy contact between the two languages, although the changes they describe appear to be limited to the lexicon. In contrast to the abundance of analyses on code-switching and lexical borrowing, changes as a result of Spanish-English contact that have to do with grammar are dealt with in the literature much less frequently (but see Silva-Corvalán, 1986).

The reluctance to address the issue of grammatical innovations may be rooted in the argument put forth by Sapir (1921, 1949) that morphology, as it relates to the syntax of a language, is simply not borrowed. For Sapir, what sometimes appears to be morpho-syntactic borrowing is actually no different from the mere borrowing of words, since the structural peculiarities of the borrowing language remain largely unaffected. And even though other linguists, especially Weinreich (1953:29-46), have argued for the feasibility of grammatical borrowing, students of Spanish-English contact have continued to echo Sapir's views.

Unlike Sapir, Weinreich has argued that as a result of grammatical interference, weaker morphemes in the borrowing language disappear and are replaced by stronger morphemes. Such grammatical borrowing can apply to even

the most strongly bound morphemes. Furthermore, Weinreich (p.33) has maintained that borrowed morphemes often contain more phonemes than the morphemes they replace, that borrowed morphemes do not crystalize in the speech of bilinguals, and that they often replace \emptyset morphemes (these arguments are particularly worthy of note as they run counter to our findings, as we will show later). Gumperz and Wilson (1971:151) have also stated that "although lexical items are by far the most frequently borrowed, it seems clear that borrowing extends to all aspects of the grammatical systems."

On the other hand, Pousada and Poplack (1979) have claimed that English grammatical influence on Spanish has been minimal at most and that it has never involved the transfer of grammatical forms or grammatical meanings. In their view, Spanish in the United States has developed independently, without any influence from English, and they support their claim with the observation that many developments in United States Spanish parallel changes taking place in the Spanish of Latin America and Spain (henceforth referred to as "traditional Spanish"). Their quantitative study of tense, mood and aspect shows that the verb system of bilinguals has not converged at all with the English verb system. Furthermore, Pousada and Poplack maintain that although there are portions of the verb system of bilinguals that exhibit similarities in

form-content correspondence with the English system, the same areas of overlap exist between standard Puerto Rican Spanish and English. This means that there has been no significant change in the Spanish verb system of United States Puerto Ricans in the direction of English and that this system has not diverged much in any direction from the verb system of traditional Puerto Rican Spanish.

The problem with Pousada and Poplack's study is that it is a quantitative study that says nothing about the kinds of messages that Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States are trying to convey. Quantitative studies do not reveal any information about the linguistic strategies used by bilinguals, and so we cannot gain any insight into the relationship between the grammatical signals in use and the meanings these signals carry, nor can we understand how these signals and their meanings contribute to the messages being conveyed. As Culler (1976, 1986:3) notes in his discussion of Saussure's Course in General Linguistics (1972, 1986), "each language . . . has a distinctive and thus 'arbitrary' way of organizing the world into concepts or categories." Furthermore, these concepts "are members of a system and are defined by their relations to the other members of that system." This means that not only do grammatical signals and the meanings with which they are paired vary from language to language, but it also means that message

types can differ across languages. Otheguy (1983:8-9) also points out that "the inventory of lexical and grammatical meanings of one language is never equivalent to the inventory of another language. That is, words in two languages can have areas of semantic overlap, but it is seldom the case that words in two languages have identical meanings; it is almost never the case that they show total semantic overlap . . . Words in different languages exploit different semantic fields. And when they exploit the same field, they do so with different oppositions." Pousada and Poplack's study -- which is limited to frequency calculations for each form -- does not and cannot show whether the forms being used by bilinguals have preserved their traditional meaning, nor whether they are used for messages framed from the point of view of an English conceptual analysis of reality or from a Spanish one. Contrary to what Pousada and Poplack argue, De Granda (1968) and Klein (1980) both discuss the fact that some Spanish grammatical signals whose meanings only partially overlap with the meanings of English undergo a change, so that the signal-meaning correspondence becomes the same for the grammatical systems of the two languages. They also say that any semantic change is in the direction of English. But Klein specifically states that English influence on Spanish is only observed in cases where the grammatical systems of English and Spanish already

partially overlap in both form and content. That is, signals that carry similar meanings must exist in the two languages for any change to occur. When such similar signals occur, then, as a result of sustained contact with English, Spanish spoken (and written) in the United States may begin to realign some of its grammatical systems in the direction of English. Klein investigates the use of the Present Progressive and the Simple Present tenses in both Spanish and English and shows that the Spanish of Puerto Rican bilinguals in New York requires that the two tenses be used in separate contexts in most cases, just as English does. This is certainly not what happens in the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico and in other Spanish-speaking countries, where the Present Progressive and the Simple Present often share the same semantic field and can be used interchangeably in many contexts. In discussing the results of her study, Klein (p.79) says that "presumably under the influence of English" the bilingual "system of present reference is undergoing a semantic change. Specifically, it seems that in NY Spanish the simple present is changing in meaning, with the result that it is becoming inappropriate for reference to X [a momentous present event] regardless of the pragmatic circumstances." In other words, in the Spanish of Puerto Rican bilinguals in New York, the message of extended present is increasingly transmitted only by the Simple

Present tense, while the message of momentous present is expressed only by the Present Progressive.

Despite the fact that De Granda and Klein have observed English grammatical influence on the grammar of Spanish in the United States, they have not investigated the possibility that uniquely English grammatical signals can be borrowed, together with the meanings that they carry, into United States Spanish. Furthermore, neither they nor other researchers have investigated the possibility that these borrowed signals and their meanings can (and do) contribute to messages that form part of the stock of message types that are routinely communicated in English but that are seldom or never part of communication in traditional Spanish. Perhaps such investigations have not been undertaken because researchers have largely limited their observations to the verb systems of languages in contact, since that is an area where grammatical influence is often apparent. Or perhaps they have failed to consider the fact that different languages say different things, that they communicate different messages. In any case, De Granda's and Klein's observations as well as Pousada and Poplack's study have left us with four unanswered questions:

(a) Is it possible for grammatical signals from English to be borrowed outright into Spanish that is spoken and written in the United States (henceforth, "contact Spanish")?

(b) Can grammatical signals unrelated to verbs, which are the forms that have received the most attention, be borrowed from English into contact Spanish?

(c) If it is indeed possible, can these grammatical signals from English continue to carry English meanings once they have been imported into contact Spanish?

(d) Can borrowed grammatical signals and their meanings contribute to messages that derive from an English conceptual analysis of reality?

This dissertation will show that borrowing between languages involving single grammatical morphemes can and does occur, and that it has occurred in U.S. contact Spanish. We will show, further, that this borrowing can take place outside the verb paradigm, that the grammatical signals that are borrowed continue to carry English meanings, and that their meanings contribute to message types that are usually found in English, but not in traditional Spanish.

The first message type that we have found to be common to contact Spanish and English is what Bolinger (1975) refers to as "indefinite totality." Bolinger states that indefinite totalities stem from an English concept of generalization, and that this message type cannot be communicated in traditional Spanish, the concept of generalization in that language being quite different. As he (p.183) points out, ". . . where English requires the backdrop of some larger but still not world-encompassing class, . . . [traditional Spanish] views the backdrop of the whole universe." Bolinger's point is that in English, when the intention is to generalize, the message that is communicated is one of indefinite totality, but when the language used to generalize is traditional Spanish, a different message, that of (what we call) "world-encompassing totality," is communicated. Bolinger's analysis as well as our findings that contact Spanish, like English but unlike traditional Spanish, can communicate a message of indefinite totality are in line with Culler's (1976, 1986:34) statement that ". . . two languages [can] operate perfectly well with different conceptual articulations or distinctions. . . Not only can a language arbitrarily choose its signifiers [signals]; it can divide up a spectrum of conceptual possibilities in any way it likes." In applying Culler's idea to our findings, it seems that contact Spanish has retained many

of the conceptual articulations or distinctions of traditional Spanish, but that under the influence of English, it has divided up other conceptual possibilities in a manner similar to that of English.

The point that we wish to stress is that it is natural for some new message types to be borrowed by a language that has heavy contact with and that is exposed to the reality of another language. The borrowing of message types in this circumstance is inevitable since the world in which a bilingual utilizes his two languages often involves an overlap in the semantic analyses of reality. However, this does not mean that a Spanish-English bilingual in the United States can simply translate from traditional Spanish to English or vice versa when choosing a language in which to communicate a message. For, as Otheguy (1983:10) states, "a message communicated from one speaker of English to another is almost never the same as the message that serves as its translation. That is, different languages communicate different messages." Otheguy supports his position with ideas drawn from students of translation, such as J.C. Catford, who argues against the notion that individual sentences in two languages can be used to communicate identical messages. While Catford acknowledges that translations exist, he also maintains that they are limited. It is our view that certain of these messages

that exist in English but not in traditional Spanish, including that of indefinite totality, have come to be communicated in contact Spanish, just as they are in English, in connection with changes that have occurred in the grammatical system of contact Spanish.

The second message type that we have found to be common to English and contact Spanish is the English message that a referent has not been sufficiently differentiated in the context (to be discussed in Chapter Three).

The analysis that we propose is that the article system in contact Spanish has changed; that is, something new has been added to the system. Though our analysis will run contrary to what many researchers have said about tendencies against grammatical borrowing, we propose that contact Spanish has borrowed the signal \emptyset , together with the meaning that it carries, directly from English. The inclusion of \emptyset in the contact Spanish article system means that the system now contains el/la, lo (both of which are weak deictics and are to be discussed later) and \emptyset , while the traditional Spanish article system consists only of el/la and lo. It may be that el/la has also undergone changes under the influence of English, but we will concentrate only on \emptyset in this dissertation.

Finally, in this dissertation we will argue that not only are new messages being conveyed in contact Spanish,

and that new signal-meaning pairs are being deployed, but that in judgment situations, the intuitions of bilinguals who use contact Spanish are different from the intuitions of speakers of traditional Spanish. Evidence to support this will come from the results of experimental situations that we have devised.

1.2 Focus of Our Study

Our study of contact Spanish involves subjects that are preverbal and bare (that is, "Niños juegan en el parque," 'Children play in the park,' not "Juegan niños en el parque," nor "Los niños juegan en el parque," nor "Juegan los niños en el parque." Preverbal bare subjects are simple nouns [N] or nouns with modifiers [(Mod) N (Mod) (Mod P)] which lack a preceding el/la, or definite article. El/la is important to our study because in contact Spanish it often does not appear in circumstances where it would normally appear in traditional Spanish. These omissions of el/la involve mass and plural preverbal subjects only. We will see that el/la is absent before preverbal subjects in contact Spanish in precisely the same circumstances in which the definite article the is absent before preverbal subjects in English. Even more importantly, we will see that in the many cases when a preverbal subject is not preceded by el/la in contact Spanish, there is still a grammatical signal in place.

That signal is \emptyset , and it has been imported from English, where it occurs when the is absent before plural or mass preverbal subjects. Finally, we will demonstrate that the meaning of the borrowed signal \emptyset (to be discussed below) contributes to a message of indefinite totality and to the message that a referent has not been sufficiently differentiated in the context, two message types in contact Spanish that derive from an English conceptual analysis of reality.

1.2.1 Word Order in Contact Spanish and Traditional Spanish

The difference between contact Spanish and traditional Spanish that we are concerned with here has to do with a difference in the use of el/la. In addition, there appears to be a secondary factor that distinguishes the two dialects, and that is word order. However, the difference in the use of el/la remains even when the same word order, namely SVO, appears in both dialects. Therefore, it does not appear wise at this time to pursue an independent explanation based on word order. Henceforth, we will make no further mention of word order in this dissertation.

1.3 Defining Relevant Constructs

Before proceeding to give evidence to support our analysis of mass and plural preverbal bare subjects in contact Spanish, there are certain constructs basic to our discussion which require definition. They include the following: "theme" and "rheme," "information point," and "topic." Each one will be explained below.

1.3.1 Theme and Rheme

While there have been many differing and conflicting descriptions of theme and rheme, we will use "theme" to refer to the information within a sentence or stretch of discourse that is shared by both speaker and hearer (for example, "the children" in "The children are doing their homework"). "Rheme," on the other hand, is that information which is least likely to be previously shared between speaker and hearer (as in "are doing their homework" in the example above). To some extent, our explanation of these terms coincides with Suñer's (1982) in that like Suñer, we see the theme-rheme distinction as separate from the distinction between old and new information. In our view, although thematic material contains a relatively low level of information, this does not necessarily mean that the information has been introduced earlier in the discourse and is therefore old. It may be because of general world knowledge or because of

other extra-linguistic cues that certain information is considered thematic. Similarly, rhematic information need not be new as far as the context of the immediate discourse is concerned. It is just that since rhematic information is not likely to be previously shared between speaker and hearer for linguistic and/or for extra-linguistic reasons, it is considered more informative material. So, while old versus new information is bound to the discourse context, thematic versus rhematic information is not.

Although we agree with Suñer that theme and rheme and old versus new information are different constructs, we disagree with her discription of theme and rheme as purely grammatical, linguistic concepts. As we have mentioned above, these concepts also involve extra-linguistic and discourse factors (Contreras, 1980 argues for this view as well). Nevertheless, as Suñer (1982) illustrates, in both Spanish and English thematic material is normally located in the noun phrase before the main verb of a sentence, and rhematic information is usually included in the main verb phrase. It is only in this respect that theme and rheme are linked to grammar.

1.3.2 Information Point

According to Bolinger (1954:153), the "information point" is "that which is felt to answer the question

uppermost in the mind of the speaker and hearer." In other words, it is the item or phrase (often within a larger rhematic phrase) where the greatest concentration of information is located. In an English sentence with normal stress, for example, "Her son fell off a roof," the information point is "roof" since it is the most informative element in the sentence, and it is also the item on which primary stress falls. Of course it is necessary to first have a discourse context and to consider linguistic as well as extra-linguistic factors in order to determine the information point, because while "roof" is the most informative element when the question is "Why did she leave work so suddenly?," it is not most informative when the question is "What did she say about an accident on a roof?" Nevertheless, it is quite common in English and even more common in traditional Spanish (where word order may vary) to find the information point within the rheme of the sentence, since that is usually where the more informative elements of a sentence are. This means that in the traditional Spanish sentence "Llegó el autobús," the information point "el autobús" appears as expected in the rheme, following the main verb and remaining within the main verb phrase (we have already noted in 1.3.1 that rhematic information is usually included in the verb phrase).

1.3.3 Topic

Chafe (1976:50) defines "topic" as that which "limit[s] the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain . . . the topic sets a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds." In other words, in a sentence such as "Officials said that the hostages were not able to speak with each other," "the hostages" is considered to be the topic since that is the noun phrase to which the main predication applies (the reference to main predication here is in terms of the message transmitted by the sentence as a whole). While the topic of a sentence or stretch of discourse often contributes thematic information, that is, information previously shared by both speaker and hearer, it can also provide rhematic information. The latter situation occurs when the topic is located in the main verb phrase of a sentence, the place where rhematic information (that which is not likely to be previously shared) is usually found. In fact, in our example above, the topic "the hostages" is clearly part of the rheme. More frequently however, the topic is located in the noun phrase before the main verb phrase (as in "The hostages escaped") and then it generally contributes thematic information. Furthermore, it is even more usual in English than in traditional Spanish to find topics that are also thematic. Finally, it should be

noted that the concept of topic is not expressed in exactly the same manner in all languages, but the explanation given here applies equally to English and traditional Spanish.

1.3.4 Comparing Traditional Spanish to English

The constructs which have just been defined will enter into our discussion in the chapters that follow. However, before we can refer to these constructs when arguing that contact Spanish has borrowed both a signal and its meaning from English, we must first investigate the similarities and differences between preverbal subjects in traditional Spanish and in English (henceforth, [N] will be used to refer to preverbal subjects with or without modifiers). This means that in addition to discussing the circumstances in the two languages in which preverbal subjects appear bare, we also need to demonstrate how the signals el/la and the operate in traditional Spanish and in English respectively. A thorough explication will involve a comparison of the meanings that these signals carry as well as a discussion of the different messages that the signals and their meanings help to convey. Only when the workings of these signals are understood will it be possible for the reader to comprehend the system by which contact Spanish operates.

CHAPTER TWO

ARTICLES AND PREVERBAL BARE SUBJECTS IN TRADITIONAL
SPANISH VERSUS THOSE IN ENGLISH

In this chapter, we analyze the meaning of el/la in traditional Spanish and discuss its contribution to the message when it appears before the subject. English the and \emptyset are then dealt with in a similar manner. Finally, we look at instances in traditional Spanish of preverbal subjects and we compare them to preverbal bare subjects in English.

2.1 Analysis of el/la + Preverbal Subject
in Traditional Spanish

According to Otheguy (1978), el/la is a weak deictic in opposition to the stronger deictics este/esta, ese/esa etc., and it is also part of a semantic system in opposition to lo. El/la means "discrete," as opposed to lo which means "nondiscrete," and it assigns a meaning of clear, well-delineated boundaries to that which it points out. It follows from this analysis that when el/la precedes a subject (that is, the noun which agrees with the verb) in traditional Spanish, the message includes a reading of the subject as a distinct individual, or as a group of individuals that are members of a class, or as a total class of something with sharply delineated boundaries. Therefore, the subject (whether singular or plural) of each sentence below is viewed as referring to a sufficiently differentiated individual, group, or totality because of the contribution of the preceding el/la:

- (1) El hombre está aquí.
'The man is here.'
- (2) La Taylor es la artista principal. (Solé and Solé, 1977)
'[that] Taylor is the main actress.'
- (3) La vaca da leche.
'The cow gives milk.'
- (4) Los machos están aquí. (Bolinger, 1975)
'The males are here.'
- (5) Los machos son en general más fuertes.
(Bolinger, 1975)
'Males are usually stronger.'
- (6) La necesidad es la madre del invento. (Klein, 1976)
'Necessity is the mother of invention.'

In (1) and (2), reference is to an individual whose identity has been established in previous discourse. The preceding el/la and its meaning of clear, well-delineated boundaries contributes to this interpretation. Actually, in (2) el/la not only signals discreteness, but it also contributes to a sense of contrast in the reading of the referent since the proper noun Taylor is a lexical item that in and of itself identifies its referent. El/la and the accompanying subject in (4) refer to a group of individuals that are members of a class, while in (3), (5) and (6) reference is to a total class or totality of

something. This explanation by Otheguy of the contribution of el/la is in concert with Bolinger's (1975) argument that el/la plus a subject can refer to a particularization or to a generalization; that is, reference can be to a definite particular individual (or group of individuals) or to a total class.

The message that a particular referent has been sufficiently differentiated is part of both traditional Spanish and English. However, while in traditional Spanish differentiation is reached through inference, in English it is reached through the facts of the language. In other words, in English it is certain signals and the meanings that they carry that indicate whether or not differentiation is involved. This is noted by Klein (1976), who argues that there is no explicit signal in traditional Spanish for what Diver (1985) terms "differentiation is involved" but that the use of el/la is consistent with a message that a referent has been sufficiently differentiated. It follows from Klein's discussion that differentiation is not part of the semantic substance of el/la itself; rather, it is the meaning of "discreteness" signalled by el/la as well as the meanings signalled by other elements that interact with each other and with additional linguistic and extra-linguistic information in a particular context to

communicate the message that the referent of a subject has been sufficiently differentiated.

Klein's point, like ours, is that while similar messages may be communicated in two different languages, the inventory of meanings that contribute to these messages is not the same. This is also Saussure's view as discussed in Culler (1976, 1986). As Culler (pp.35-36) notes, "each language ... produces a different system of signifieds [or meanings]: units whose value depends on their relations with one another." So while the message that a referent has been sufficiently differentiated can be communicated in both traditional Spanish and English, it is arrived at from different combinations of meanings (in addition to input from other linguistic and extralinguistic information in the particular context). Therefore, in the circumstance that reference is to individuals, and even though el/la and the themselves carry different meanings, still el/la + [N] in traditional Spanish and the + [N] in English can end up contributing to equivalent messages.

On the other hand, el/la, with its meaning "discrete," can contribute to a message that is routinely communicated in traditional Spanish but that has no equivalent in English. This message involves what Bolinger (1975) describes as a "world-encompassing totality". According to Bolinger, the analysis of reality

that is performed from the point of view of traditional Spanish is in terms of categories or classes, each of which is considered to be one among all possible classes of things and each of which is clearly distinguishable from all other classes. Therefore, when the point of the message is to generalize, el/la + [N] make a contribution to the reading of the referent as a total class whose backdrop is the entire universe. This is why Bolinger lists "Los machos son en general más fuertes" (see (5) above) as a sentence whose subject refers to a class (or world-encompassing) totality. This analysis can also be applied to sentences (3) and (6). Furthermore, these world-encompassing totalities -- that is, the referents of la vaca and los machos -- as well as the world-encompassing totality in (5) are to be interpreted as having been sufficiently differentiated in those contexts, since as Klein (1976:418) notes, ". . . reference to something in its totality is most appropriately treated as reference to something that is, in fact, sufficiently [differentiated] . . ."

We have seen that the thematic portion of a sentence contains information that is shared by both speaker and hearer, and that in SVO languages this information normally appears in the noun phrase immediately preceding the main verb. Since it is commonly accepted that traditional Spanish is an SVO language (Silva-Corvalán,

1983), we would expect the preverbal subject in traditional Spanish to convey thematic information. And since information involving the preverbal subject is usually previously shared by speaker and hearer, we would also expect that the referent of the preverbal subject has been sufficiently differentiated. Hence, it is not surprising that most preverbal subjects in traditional Spanish are preceded by el/la. On the other hand, as we will show later and in sharp contrast to what happens with English the, the absence of el/la before a preverbal subject in traditional Spanish is not associated with any grammatical meaning whatsoever. This means that in Spanish a blank before a preverbal subject (_ [N]) does not signal any information about boundaries and cannot make a direct contribution to any message.

2.2 Analysis of the (and Other Articles) + Preverbal Subject in English

The meaning of el/la in traditional Spanish is the same for both the singular and the plural (Otheguy, 1978), and this is also true for English the (Diver, 1985). However, in English, other articles that are part of the same semantic system as the either do not exist in both the singular and the plural, or do not carry the same meaning in the singular as in the plural. Here we will discuss singular as well as plural forms so that the

workings of the entire English system become evident and so that the differences between the article systems in traditional Spanish and English become apparent.

Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that only the English plural signals and their meanings (which also combine with mass nouns) are central to our study.

According to Diver (1985), the in both the singular and the plural signals that differentiation of the accompanying element is involved and is complete. This is illustrated in (7) through (12):

- (7) The cook spoiled the broth.
- (8) The Mr. Rockefeller is on the phone.
- (9) The cow gives milk.
- (10) The dogs barked when the bell rang.
- (11) The water spilled onto my lap.
- (12) The cats are very independent.

In each example, the preverbal subject is completely differentiated from any other single individual, group or class of referents. (Only in (9) is reference to a representative of a class rather than to an actual individual or group of individuals. Yet, even though the context of (9) does not enable us to separate one particular cow from all other existing or potentially existing cows, the message here, and in generics of this type, involves a class of animals that is to be completely differentiated from all other classes of animals). It is

in these cases that English the contributes to a message that is very similar to a message that traditional Spanish el/la helps to communicate. However, as far as meaning is concerned, the says nothing about boundaries and el/la says nothing about differentiation.

With singular nouns in English (which, to repeat, will not concern us directly and are being discussed simply to offer a complete picture), the is part of a semantic system that involves a three-way opposition with a/an and \emptyset . While the signals that differentiation is involved and is complete, a/an signals that differentiation is involved and is not complete and \emptyset signals that differentiation is not involved. This is noted in (13) through (15):

(13) The cook spoiled the broth.

(14) A cook spoiled the broth.

(15) \emptyset Man does not live by bread alone.

The distinction between (13) and (14) is quite clear. The preverbal subject cook is completely differentiated from all other existing cooks in (13) but not in (14). In other words, the range of referents in (14) is not being reduced to a single individual.

Both (13) and (14) contain overt signals which indicate the extent of differentiation of the referent. In (15), however, there is no overt signal before the preverbal subject man. Despite this fact, a \emptyset signal does exist, and it carries the meaning "differentiation is not

involved." This indicates that for the purposes of the message in (15), there is no need to differentiate at all among individuals. What is also significant about (15) is the fact that the signal for the meaning is a \emptyset . A blank ($_ [N]$) would imply that no signal existed at all; on the contrary, a signal ($\emptyset + [N]$) with a consistent meaning is operating.

With plural nouns, which are our immediate concern, the is involved in a two-way opposition with \emptyset . Both signals carry the meaning "differentiation is involved," but while differentiation is involved and is complete for the, differentiation is involved and is not complete for \emptyset . The carries the same meaning in the plural as it does in the singular, but the meaning signalled by \emptyset in the plural is quite different from the meaning of \emptyset in the singular. The sentences that follow illustrate the distinctions between the and \emptyset in the plural:

- (16) The dogs were barking under my window all night.
- (17) \emptyset Dogs were barking under my window all night.
- (18) The dogs are good pets.
- (19) \emptyset Dogs are good pets. (Carlson, 1977)

In (16) and (18), the range of possible referents is limited to known members of a group of individuals, even though the statements made about the group are specific in the first case and general in the second. Clearly,

differentiation of dogs is complete. The range of possible referents is not so limited in (17) and (19), however. While reference is to a group of actual individuals in (17), differentiation is involved only to the extent that the group dogs is to be distinguished from groups of other kinds of animals. But within the group dogs itself, differentiation is not complete.

Differentiation is not complete in (19) either. That is, the context of sentence (19) encourages a generic interpretation of dogs so that reference is not to a group of actual individuals as it is in (17). Instead, reference is to the class dogs.

With this analysis, once again an important distinction between traditional Spanish and English surfaces. This distinction concerns the different ways in which the two languages view a class of referents. As we noted in Chapter One, Bolinger (1975:183) says that while traditional Spanish views a class of referents as a world-encompassing totality with the entire universe as its backdrop (and thus deserving of el/la with its suggestion that clearly bound entities exist), English views a class of referents as some large, but not world-encompassing totality (and thus not deserving of the with its suggestion of differentiation). Therefore, when a referent is interpreted as generic in English, it is seen as an indefinite generalization, as part of some larger

entity, as an indefinite totality. In such case the does not appear, and as Bolinger (1975:181) notes, "the noun does not specifically refer to a totality but to an indefinite group, from which the speaker infers a totality if the context favors it." This means that the sense of world-encompassing is never involved in the English message. Similarly, the message of indefinite totality is not routinely communicated in traditional Spanish. This distinction must be kept in mind if the reader is to understand how contact Spanish works.

To this point, our discussion of el/la + [N] in traditional Spanish and the + [N] in English has focused on certain similarities and differences in the two varieties. They are noted below, with (a)-(c) showing similarities and (d)-(h) describing the differences:

(a) Both traditional Spanish and English contain preverbal subjects, and both are commonly viewed as SVO languages (especially in the case of English, this has been widely documented).

(b) El/la + [N] and the + [N] contribute to very similar messages involving differentiation of the noun referent, when reference is to actual individuals or to a representative of a class. When el/la and the are present before preverbal subjects, the inference is that the preverbal subject has been sufficiently differentiated.

(c) The meaning of el/la remains the same in the singular and the plural; the meaning of the also remains the same in the singular and the plural.

(d) El/la has the meaning "discrete" and it conveys the meaning of clear, well-delineated boundaries; the carries the meaning "differentiation is involved and is complete."

(e) El/la shares a semantic system with lo (with the meaning "nondiscrete"); the is opposed to a/an and to \emptyset (with the meaning "differentiation is not involved") in the singular, and it is opposed to \emptyset (with the meaning "differentiation is involved and is not complete") in the plural.

(f) In cases where el/la does not appear before a preverbal subject in traditional Spanish (we will discuss these cases in the next section), there is simply a blank carrying no meaning whatsoever; in cases where there seems to be a blank before a preverbal subject in English, there is in fact a signal -- \emptyset -- carrying a meaning.

(g) When reference is to a class of things, el/la + [N] in traditional Spanish in the plural contribute to a message involving a world-encompassing totality, whereas \emptyset + [N] in the plural in English contributes to a message involving an indefinite totality.

(h) World-encompassing totalities do not exist in English; indefinite totalities do not exist in traditional Spanish.

Further comparison of preverbal subjects in traditional Spanish and English is required if we are to support our original claim that a signal -- \emptyset -- and the meaning that it carries have been borrowed from English into contact Spanish. But before we proceed with an inspection of preverbal subjects in the two varieties, it is necessary to refine our claim somewhat. Specifically, the signal that has been borrowed from English into contact Spanish is \emptyset in the plural, not \emptyset in the singular. That is, it is the \emptyset of (17) and (19) above that has been borrowed into contact Spanish, not the \emptyset of (15). This also means that the meaning that has been imported is the one that reads "differentiation is involved and is not complete," and not "differentiation is not involved." With this clarification made, we can move a step closer to providing evidence for our analysis and to supporting an argument that is directly tied to our claim -- that preverbal bare plural and mass subjects in traditional Spanish are not like those found in English, but that preverbal bare plural and mass subjects in contact Spanish are.

2.3 Preverbal Bare Subjects in Traditional Spanish as Opposed to Those in English

The comparison that follows deals with the circumstances in which traditional Spanish does have preverbal bare subjects as opposed to the circumstances in which English does. We will limit our discussion of English preverbal bare subjects to plural and mass subjects, where the absence of the implies the existence of \emptyset before a noun. Simply put, we wish to compare the instances of $_ [N]$ in traditional Spanish with the instances of $\emptyset + [N]$ in English.

2.4 Preverbal Bare Subjects in Traditional Spanish

Four types of preverbal bare subjects occur in traditional Spanish. The first three are considered to be true subjects; the fourth type includes what are usually regarded as fronted objects. We list the four types here and then follow with an explanation and examples of each:

- (A) essences
- (B) thematic subjects with contrastive stress (that may or may not be topics of discourse)
- (C) thematic subjects that are non-topics of discourse
- (D) fronted rhematic objects.

(A) Essences. In circumstances where reference is to the essence of some entity rather than to individuals, preverbal bare subjects may occur in traditional Spanish, as discussed by Alonso (1954). Taking Alonso's examples, (20) in comparison with (21) exemplifies the essence-individual distinction, while in comparison with (22) it exemplifies the distinction between an essence and a subject that refers to a world-encompassing class and so it is expected to be preceded by el/la.

(20) Hombre no es lo mismo que caballero . . .

'Man is not the same thing as "gentleman"....'

(21) El hombre parecía fatigado.

'The man seemed tired.'

(22) El hombre es mortal.

'Man is mortal.'

Hombre in (20) refers to the essence of man. Since the message involves an essence, the notions of differentiation and of well-delineated boundaries do not play a part in the reading of the referent. As a result, it is not surprising that el/la does not appear before hombre, as el/la would contribute to a different message - that the referent had been sufficiently differentiated. On the other hand, el/la is needed in (21), since the message involves an individual who has been previously mentioned in the discourse.

Bolinger (1975) also offers examples of preverbal bare subjects (with modifying phrases) that have an essence interpretation:

- (23) Machos en tanto machos son en general más fuertes.

'Men who are real men are usually stronger.'

- (24) Alturas en tanto alturas son perturbadoras.

'Heights by their very nature are frightening.'

He further points out that when el/la is omitted before the preverbal subject, reference is to "any and all," to "any X that is really (in essence) X."

- (B) Thematic subjects with contrastive stress.

Preverbal bare subjects can also occur in traditional Spanish when the subject is contrastively stressed. Suñer (1982) mentions these cases:

- (25) Envidia los movía.

'Envy moved them.'

- (26) Hierro taladró la madera.

'Iron pierced the wood.'

- (27) Mujeres atendían a los enfermos.

'Women looked after the sick.'

All three preverbal bare subjects contribute to the message, "important information, something to be pointed out." Without contrastive stress, envidia, hierro and mujeres would be interpreted simply as thematic subjects; that is, they would be perceived as contributing to some

message that was already shared by speaker and hearer. This follows from the fact that in traditional Spanish, thematic information often appears in the noun phrase preceding the main verb phrase, and so when the subject is preverbal (though it need not always be in this position since traditional Spanish allows variable word order), it is most likely to be part of the theme. Non-contrastive thematic preverbal subjects are generally preceded by el/la, so contrastive stress on the preverbal subject and the absence of a preceding el/la indicate that the message being communicated deserves special attention.

(C) Thematic subjects that are non-topics. The third type of preverbal bare subject that exists in traditional Spanish is that which is thematic but clearly not the topic of discourse. In these cases the message to which such a subject contributes involves information previously shared by speaker and hearer (and is therefore a theme) but the main predication of the sentence or discourse does not strictly apply to the subject (which is therefore a non-topic). Often the shared information involves real-world knowledge as well as information provided by the context of the discourse. Furthermore, the kind of preverbal bare subject that we speak of here seems to be the opposite of the information point; we have observed that not only does it not contribute to the greatest concentration of information in the sentence, but

in fact it contributes the least. Instances of thematic, non-topic preverbal bare subjects can be found fairly often in some traditional Spanish newspapers. (28) through (31) come from three traditional Spanish sources - El País, Listín Diario and El Mundo, published in Spain, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, respectively:

(28) Fuentes oficiales no han informado sobre qué tipo de documentos llevaba el exiliado en el maletín, pero se precisó que portaba un cuarto millón de pesetas. (El País, Madrid, December 16, 1985)

'Official sources have not given information regarding the type of documents that the exiled man was carrying in his briefcase, but they determined that he was carrying a quarter of a million pesetas.'

(29) Familiares de la fallecida informaron a la Policía que la joven en otras ocasiones había intentado quitarse la vida por motivos de celos. (Listín Diario, Santo Domingo, October 14, 1984)

'Relatives of the deceased informed the police that on other occasions, the young woman had tried to take her own life for reasons of jealousy.'

(30) Expertos en cosméticos opinan que la mujer de hoy día sabe más y está más consciente de la

belleza y cuidado de la piel que la de antes.

(El Mundo, San Juan, November 18, 1984)

'Cosmetics experts think that today's woman knows more and is more conscious of her beauty and more concerned about her skin than before.'

(31) Fuentes empresariales aseguran que el desconocimiento de la cifra global del déficit resulta incomprensible e impide juzgar la situación y las perspectivas de la política económica. (El País, Madrid, March 24, 1986)

'Management sources maintain that the disregarding of global statistics concerning the deficit is becoming incomprehensible and is preventing evaluation of the situation and of the prospects of the political economy.'

Each of the preverbal bare subjects in (28) through (31) appears in the thematic portion of the sentence. This means that the referents of these subjects should somehow be known to speaker and hearer (in this case, writer and reader), since information contained in the theme of a sentence is previously shared by speaker and hearer through the discourse context or through real-world knowledge. In this circumstance then, it is logical to infer that the referents of the preverbal subjects have been sufficiently differentiated and it is also expected that el/la should precede each preverbal subject.

However, contrary to what we would expect, el/la does not accompany these preverbal subjects. But it does not do so with good reason. With the absence of el/la, the hearer-reader's attention is not directed toward the subject; instead, his attention is directed elsewhere in the sentence where information is more highly concentrated. The fact that el/la directs attention toward something has been pointed out by Otheguy (1978) in his explanation of the deictic function of el/la. So when this signal is not present before the preverbal subject in the theme, the hearer-reader's attention can readily move to the rheme where information not previously shared by the speaker and hearer (or writer and reader) is located and where the information point of the sentence will be found.

In our investigation of preverbal bare subjects that are thematic non-topics we have found that every instance of _ [N] in traditional Spanish involves a noun plus a modifying word or phrase. Examples (28) - (31) provide evidence of this (we get fuentes oficiales and familiares de la fallecida but never just plain fuentes or familiares). The same can be observed in the following examples taken from the three traditional Spanish newspapers mentioned above: representantes del PDP, fuentes diplomáticas, funcionarios de la comisión (El País); residentes en diferentes sectores de Santo Domingo,

fuentes de cambistas (Listín Diario); descubrimientos científicos (El Mundo). This observation brings to light another distinction between traditional Spanish and English, namely the fact that in English, though not in traditional Spanish, preverbal bare subjects without modifying phrases occur widely. (We also note that while evidence of preverbal bare subjects that are mass nouns may exist in traditional Spanish newspapers, we have not found any. This too is contrary to the situation in English; preverbal bare subjects that are mass nouns are not very difficult to find in English newspapers.)

(D) Fronted rhematic objects. The fourth type of preverbal bare subject that exists in traditional Spanish is not a true subject. Although it appears in what is usually subject position, it is actually a rhematic object that has been fronted. This means that the message in which it is involved includes information that is not likely to be previously shared between speaker and hearer. We have said that rhematic information normally appears in the verb phrase (therefore, subjects that contribute rhematic information are generally postverbal in traditional Spanish). But if there is a need to establish an item in the rheme as a discourse topic, then it can be fronted and it will continue to contribute rhematic information. Furthermore, if the item to which we refer occurs in a sentence that contains the pro-agent se before

the verb, then it is se that serves as the syntactic subject, and the rhematic item is interpreted as an object (Contreras, 1980). Sentences that contain the pro-agent se + verb are considered to be impersonal-se sentences, and in traditional Spanish, the verb in an impersonal-se sentence most often agrees with the rhematic object. (32) through (35) contain impersonal-se sentences, alternately with a rhematic object in its usual postverbal position and then with a rhematic object in its fronted, preverbal position:

(32) Se venden zapatos.

'Shoes are sold.'

(33) Zapatos se venden.

'Shoes, they are sold.'

(34) Se han dado casos.

'There have been cases.'

(35) Casos se han dado. (Hatcher, 1957)

'There have been cases.'

(33) contains the form that is chosen when, for the purposes of the message, it is necessary to establish the fact that zapatos ('shoes') are what is sold, not that someone is responsible for the activity of selling shoes, or that the activity of selling is in itself central to the discourse message. The same can be said for (35), where casos is the discourse topic.

Once it is clear that zapatos in (33) and casos in (35) are actually fronted rhematic objects, it should not seem unusual that they are bare. Bare objects occur widely in traditional Spanish because rhematic postverbal objects often contribute information that is being newly introduced into a stretch of discourse, and often in this circumstance such objects are not involved in a message that a particular referent has been sufficiently differentiated. When the referent has not been sufficiently differentiated, it is usually the case that it lacks clear boundaries and so the appearance of el/la would not be appropriate.

The fact that zapatos is an object rather than a subject is additionally supported by evidence from some traditional Spanish dialects in which the verb agrees with the singular pro-agent that is interpreted syntactically as a subject (Contreras, 1980):

(34) Se vende zapatos.

'One sells shoes.'

(35) Zapatos se vende.

'Shoes, one sells.'

Suñer (1982) also claims that certain bare nouns which appear to be preverbal subjects are actually fronted rhematic objects. The examples that she cites are among those sentences in traditional Spanish that she describes as "presentational-type" sentences. According to Suñer,

presentational-type sentences are "those which introduce the referent of the noun phrase into the universe of discourse." The verb in a presentational sentence may either be an impersonal verb such as haber or an intransitive verb which precedes its subject. Suñer calls haber and other similar verbs "impersonal" because they lack a subject and because they always appear in the third person form. Our interest in presentational sentences specifically concerns impersonal sentences because of the fact that they are subjectless. And that is exactly how we would describe (36) and (37) -- as impersonal, subjectless, presentational sentences:

(36) Hay problemas en todas partes.

'There are problems everywhere.'

(37) Me sobra tiempo.

'I have more than enough time.'

In both cases, the verb announces the existence of the noun which follows. Using Chafe's (1976) interpretation of the notion of "subject" as being "the item [in a sentence] about which knowledge is being added," we can therefore conclude that the postverbal nouns in (36) and (37) are not subjects, but are objects contributing rhematic information. In addition, these objects appear without a preceding el/la for the same reason that zapatos in (32) and casos in (34) are bare. It also follows that the bare rhematic objects in (36) and (37) can be fronted

to produce sentences (38) and (39), just as the bare rhematic objects above have been fronted. (39) is taken from Hatcher (1957):

(38) Problemas hay en todas partes.

'Problems, [they] exist everywhere.'

(39) Tiempo me sobra.

'Time, I have more than enough of [it].'

By fronting problemas and tiempo, the rhematic objects become the topics. These objects are also bare because the messages to which they contribute are not meant to include the inference that a particular referent has been sufficiently differentiated. It can be assumed then, that as far as the objects in all the examples above are concerned, no indication of the existence of clear, well-delineated boundaries is given, and so the presence of el/la is not warranted. This means that preceding each fronted rhematic object, there is simply a blank carrying no grammatical information whatsoever. The same analysis applies to the three types of true preverbal bare subjects.

There is one final note that we wish to add. Any preverbal subject in traditional Spanish, whether or not it falls into one of the four categories described above, may occur without a preceding el/la if that preverbal subject is conjoined to another preverbal subject or if it is part of a series. Example (40), which is taken from

Hatcher (1957), and (41) and (42), which have been cited by Suñer (1982), illustrate both these circumstances:

(40) Vencidos y vencedores escapaban huyendo.

'Defeated ones and victors escaped fleeing.'

(41) Cielo y tierra te `contemplan.

'Heaven and earth watch you.'

(42) Cubiertos, platos y vasos aparecieron como por milagro.

'Flatware, plates and glasses appeared as if by miracle.'

As it is noted here, there is nothing but a blank before each of the preverbal subjects listed. And since a blank carries no meaning, contributions to the messages must come from the preverbal subjects themselves, from other linguistic elements in the sentences, and from real-world knowledge. For this reason, and as we shall see presently, it is clear that preverbal bare subjects in traditional Spanish are unlike preverbal bare subjects in English.

2.5 Preverbal Bare Subjects in English

As we have seen, preverbal bare subjects in English are not preceded by blanks lacking in grammatical information. Instead, a \emptyset signal appears before the English subject, and it carries consistent grammatical information, namely that "differentiation is not involved"

(in the singular) and that "differentiation is involved and is not complete" (in the plural). Because in English there is this \emptyset that appears before preverbal bare subjects, technically speaking, English preverbal bare subjects are never really bare.

In section 2.2 we stated that because \emptyset carries different meanings in the singular and in the plural, we can conclude that there are actually two \emptyset signals in English. But our claim is that contact Spanish has only borrowed the English signal \emptyset that appears with plural and mass nouns, and so we will restrict our discussion to the signal that carries the meaning "differentiation is involved and is not complete." All further references to \emptyset here will be to the signal that precedes plural and mass preverbal subjects.

Unlike what we have seen is the case in traditional Spanish, preverbal bare subjects occur quite freely in English. In English, subjects normally appear in preverbal position whether or not they contribute previously shared information, since word order is relatively restricted to SVO. It is also true that preverbal subjects in English generally contribute thematic information to the sentences or discourse in which they are contained. But these facts do not seem to affect the frequency with which \emptyset precedes preverbal subjects. According to our analysis, \emptyset may precede

subjects that refer either to classes of things or to actual individuals, and since English preverbal subjects usually double as sentence or discourse topics, it follows that \emptyset can precede topics of discourse. It is also worth noting that contrastive stress on the preverbal subject is never required in order for \emptyset to appear (although a preverbal bare subject could conceivably be contrastively stressed). Below, we list some sentences which contain preverbal subjects that have normal stress and that have a preceding \emptyset :

(43) \emptyset Generals usually get their way. (Bolinger, 1975)

(44) \emptyset Rabbits can destroy a garden.

(45) \emptyset Rabbits destroyed the garden.

(46) \emptyset Water was flowing over the edges of the sink.

Examples (43) and (44) refer to classes of things. The context of each sentence suggests that a general statement is being made about the preverbal subject; that is why such preverbal bare subjects are considered to be generic (Carlson, 1977). The point that we wish to make though, is that these generic preverbal subjects involve classes that are differentiated from other classes of preverbal subjects, yet differentiation is not complete. In the analysis we have adopted here, this observation accounts for the presence of \emptyset with its meaning "differentiation is involved and is not complete." In addition, as a result

of the interaction between the existing signals in each sentence and real-world knowledge, a message of indefinite totality is transmitted. In this instance, indefinite totality concerns the notion that the limits of the class of generals in (43) and the limits of the class of rabbits in (44) are vague, although there is absolutely no sense that these limits extend to the borders of the universe. In other words, the sense of a world-encompassing totality that exists in traditional Spanish is not at all part of the message in these English examples.

Examples (45) and (46) differ from (43) and (44) only in that reference is to actual individuals that have not been sufficiently differentiated in the context, rather than to classes of things. Once again, this has been determined by the contextual variables of each sentence. Furthermore, even though rabbits in (45) and water in (46) are thematic preverbal subjects that may also be discourse topics, the fact is that they are not completely differentiated; thus as our analysis shows, it is expected that \emptyset would precede these preverbal subjects just as it precedes generals and rabbits in (43) and (44).

Now that the workings of $\emptyset + [N]$ in English have been brought to light, we will be able to see that contact Spanish has adopted aspects of the English semantic system into its own system. While contact Spanish continues to make use of elements of the traditional Spanish semantic

system, it has also imported the English grammatical signal \emptyset together with its meaning "differentiation is involved and is not complete," and it has expanded to include the message of indefinite totality (and, as we will see in Chapter Three, the message that the referent of a preverbal subject has not been sufficiently differentiated). An important result of this is that unlike both traditional Spanish and English, contact Spanish can transmit the message of indefinite totality as well as the message of world-encompassing totality. Of course, to support the statements that we have just made substantial evidence is required. In the next chapter, we will begin to address this issue directly.

CHAPTER THREE

EL/LA PLUS SUBJECT AND PREVERBAL BARE SUBJECTS
IN CONTACT SPANISH

Below, we look at sentences in U.S. Spanish newspapers that do not show evidence of contact with English and we compare them to sentences in the same newspapers that do exhibit evidence of English contact. To give further support to our argument that contact with English has resulted in new messages and new signal-meaning pairs being deployed in Spanish, we also examine translated wire service articles in Latin American newspapers. Finally, we discuss the implications of our findings.

3.1 El/la Plus Preverbal Subjects in Contact Spanish

As we noted at the beginning of Chapter One, Spanish-speakers in the United States, especially those who are bilingual, can be usefully regarded as speakers of contact Spanish. The users of this variety utilize grammatical signals and meanings from traditional Spanish, and they use them to convey ranges of messages found in traditional Spanish; however, they also incorporate linguistic and non-linguistic elements that do not derive from traditional Spanish, but that derive from English. The typically traditional Spanish elements as well as the elements that derive from English appear in both the spoken and the written forms of the variety; in this chapter though, we will deal only with the written form. The evidence that we will present concerning preverbal subjects comes from two Spanish language newspapers

published in New York City -- El Diario-La Prensa and Noticias del Mundo. Both newspapers contain usages that reflect features of contact Spanish. Most preverbal subjects in these newspapers adhere to the norm of traditional Spanish and are preceded by el/la. As we have discussed, el/la plus the preverbal subject that follows can refer to actual individuals as in (4) through (6) below; in addition, el/la can contribute to a message of world-encompassing totality if it combines with [N] to refer to a class of things as in (7) and (8). All of the examples below are drawn from New York City newspapers, but they are in perfect match with the traditional norm.

- (4) Los organizadores del Desfile [de Newark],
esperan la presencia del congresista Peter
Rodino, el senador Bill Bradley y el Gobernador
del Estado-Jardín, Thomas Kean. (Noticias del
Mundo, September 29-30, 1984)
'The organizers of the [Newark] Parade are
expecting Congressman Peter Rodino, Senator Bill
Bradley, and the Governor of the Garden State,
Thomas Kean to appear.'
- (5) Las advertencias sobre la posible "agresión
imperialista" ha[n] sido motivo de propaganda
comunista desde 1961 . . . (Noticias del Mundo,
November 12, 1984)

'Ø Warnings of possible "imperialist aggression" have been the motive of communist propaganda since 1961...'

- (6) Los lectores del Daily News y el New York Post tuvieron que buscar en las páginas internas de dichos periódicos para informarse sobre la tragedia . . . (El Diario-La Prensa, April 4, 1986)

'Ø Readers of the Daily News and the New York Post had to turn many pages if they wanted to read about the tragedy . . . '

- (7) Los niños no juegan a estar enfermos . . . ("Saludos," an advertising supplement to Noticias del Mundo, March-April, 1986)

'Ø Children do not play at being sick . . . '

- (8) La medicina es algo así como un sacerdocio . . . ("Saludos," Noticias del Mundo, March-April, 1986)

'Ø Medicine is a full-time commitment . . . '

The English versions that we provide above are not our own translations. Sentences (6) through (8) come from editorials that have appeared in both Spanish and English. They were found alongside or directly underneath the Spanish versions. We can see that the distribution of el/la in (6) through (8) does not parallel the distribution of English the. Instead, we find that the

preverbal subjects that have el/la in Spanish have a \emptyset in the English versions. Furthermore, we can see that all in all, the messages that are transmitted in these sentences and the means used to get them across are similar to those of traditional Spanish. It is also true that the messages being relayed in (7) and (8) are like messages relayed in traditional Spanish, although el/la + [N] in the examples here refer to world-encompassing totalities rather than to some potentially calculable number of individuals. If we considered only sentences such as the ones listed above, it would appear that users of contact Spanish utilize exactly the same signals and meanings to convey the same messages as users of traditional Spanish. However, while this parallel between traditional and contact Spanish tends to be true in editorialized articles in New York City newspapers, it is not always the case in articles concerning metropolitan, national and international news.

Finally, it should be stressed that even though the presence of el/la before preverbal subjects appears to conform to the traditional norm in the items shown here, the situation changes in instances where el/la is absent before preverbal subjects. In such cases, the absence of el/la appears to follow a contact norm, to follow the usage of English \emptyset rather than that of traditional Spanish blanks.

3.2.1 The Presence of English \emptyset in Contact Spanish;
Arguments Based on Meanings and Messages

There are several cases in which preverbal bare subjects in contact Spanish do not match Bolinger's message categories for traditional Spanish but do match the categories for English. In other words, these preverbal bare subjects do not have an essence interpretation nor do they refer to a world-encompassing totality. Rather, they refer to actual individuals that are not sufficiently differentiated in the context or to an indefinite totality. Some examples are listed below:

- (9) Narcotraficantes balearon desde la tierra un helicóptero que realizaba labores de fumigación... (El Diario-La Prensa, August 6, 1986)
 ' \emptyset Drug smugglers on the ground shot at a helicopter that was doing a fumigation job...'
- (10) Se informó que testigos observaron cuando cuatro individuos salieron huyendo del establecimiento... (Noticias del Mundo, April 14, 1986)
 'It was stated that \emptyset witnesses had observed four individuals fleeing from the building ...'
- (11) Autoridades expresaron temores que se produzca una situación similar a fines de agosto . . .
 (El Diario-La Prensa, August 5, 1986)

'Ø Authorities expressed fear that [it] might bring about a situation similar to [the one] at the end of August . . . '

All of the preverbal subjects here refer to individuals in existence. In these contexts, the individuals are not sufficiently differentiated from one another and therefore, according to traditional norms, the preverbal subjects should not be preceded by el/la. Neither, however, should they be preceded by the blanks found in traditional Spanish when reference is made to essences, as in Bolinger's example, "Machos en tanto machos son en general más fuertes." Nor is there any sense of totality (and certainly not world-encompassing totality) in the reading of the referents. Furthermore, not only do the preverbal bare subjects here fail to conform to what Bolinger classifies as an "essence totality," but also narcotraficantes, testigos and autoridades do not fall within any of the three remaining categories of preverbal bare subjects that are found in traditional Spanish. That is, none of these preverbal bare subjects are to be contrastively stressed and so they cannot be regarded as thematic subjects with contrastive stress. It is true that testigos in (10) and autoridades in (11) could perhaps be interpreted as being thematic non-topics, a type of message that is in part transmitted by means of preverbal bare subjects in traditional Spanish. But as it

was noted earlier, all the thematic non-topics that we have observed in traditional Spanish have modifying phrases, whereas testigos and autoridades in these sentences are unmodified. The preverbal bare subjects listed are thus very unlikely to belong in the same thematic non-topic category as preverbal bare subjects in traditional Spanish. Finally, none of the preverbal bare subjects in (9) through (11) can be classified as fronted rhematic objects either.

The fact is that if we view (9) through (11) in terms of traditional Spanish, each of the preverbal bare subjects should be preceded by el/la. But (9) through (11) are contact Spanish sentences in which the analysis of semantic reality that is involved is somewhat different from the traditional one (additional examples of contact Spanish sentences with preverbal bare subjects are listed in Appendix A).

3.2.2 The Presence of English \emptyset in Contact Spanish; Arguments Based on Discourse Structure

On closer inspection, it becomes evident that narcotraficantes, testigos and autoridades in (9) through (11) share certain semantic and discourse characteristics. The referents of these preverbal bare subjects are viewed as having not been sufficiently differentiated. But if the absence of el/la before narcotraficantes, testigos and

autoridades were analyzed as blanks, there would be no message involving differentiation at all since, as we have explained, blanks preceding preverbal subjects in traditional Spanish (just like all other blanks) carry no grammatical information whatsoever. And since there is no explicit signal in traditional Spanish with the meaning "differentiation is involved and is not complete" but there is one in English, we maintain that like the English signal \emptyset , a \emptyset with the meaning "differentiation is involved and is not complete" is present before each of these preverbal bare subjects. Consequently, the referents of the preverbal subjects in (9) through (11) (and in Appendix A) are being regarded as individuals (not as indefinite totalities) and, furthermore, as individuals that have not been sufficiently differentiated; that is, the individuals to which the preverbal subjects refer have not been clearly distinguished from one another. To make our point more graphically, (9) through (11) (and the sentences in Appendix A) should be rendered not as they are shown, with the presence of \emptyset having not been registered. The preferred transcription appears in (12) through (14) (and in Appendix B):

- (12) \emptyset Narcotraficantes balearon desde la tierra un helicóptero que realizaba labores de fumigación ...

- (13) Se informó que Ø testigos observaron cuando cuatro individuos salieron huyendo del establecimiento ...
- (14) Ø Autoridades expresaron temores que se produzca una situación similar a fines de agosto . . .

Not only do these contact Spanish preverbal subjects look like English preverbal subjects with regard to both messages and accompanying signals and their meanings, but they also show additional similarities to English. The preverbal subjects in (12) through (14) transmit thematic information, just as preverbal bare subjects in English do, but unlike preverbal bare subjects in traditional Spanish. (Recall that the only thematic preverbal bare subjects in traditional Spanish are those with contrastive stress). We have observed many other instances of thematic preverbal bare subjects with what we analyze as a preceding Ø in these newspapers, and it seems clear from these observations that it is not exceptional to find thematic preverbal subjects without an accompanying el/la in contact Spanish, just as it is not unusual to find them without a preceding the in English. The occurrence of Ø + [N], with thematic information being transmitted, is common in both varieties.

The preverbal bare subject in (12) is also like English in another respect. Narcotraficantes is the topic of the sentence in which it is contained, a situation that

is found frequently in English but not in traditional Spanish. As we noted in Chapter Two, English preverbal subjects often serve as sentence or discourse topics and these topics often contribute thematic information. We have observed that not only do subject/topics that are thematic and that are preceded by \emptyset appear widely in English, but they seem to occur frequently in contact Spanish as well. In traditional Spanish, however, subjects that are sentence or discourse topics are often not preverbal and they do not almost exclusively contribute thematic information, as shown by grupos divididos and su fama in (15) and (16):

(15) Eran en Barcelona grupos divididos, primero por la lengua literaria utilizada -- el catalán o el castellano -- . . . (Cambio 16, August 6-13, 1984, No. 662, p.73)

'In Barcelona groups were divided, first, by the literary language used -- Catalán or Spanish -- '

(16) Debe su fama a la obesidad . . .

(Cambio 16, August 6-13, 1984, No. 662, p.84)

'Her fame is due to her obesity . . .'

The majority of the examples of \emptyset + [N] in contact Spanish that we have come across involve reference to individuals. This is most likely because news articles usually recount actual events that have taken place, and

individuals are generally responsible for making the events happen. Nevertheless, we have observed instances of \emptyset + [N] referring to classes of things. In (17), the preverbal subject refers to a whole class rather than to some individuals, and it includes a modifying phrase:

- (17) El fútbol nunca le haría mella al béisbol en ningún aspecto, porque son aficionados con formaciones culturales distintas, de procedencias diferentes de orígenes de nacimiento, en cuanto a países, totalmente distintos. Nada tiene que ver. Porque a un uruguayo que vive en Estados Unidos, tomando un solo ejemplo, preferiría ir siempre primero a un estadio de fútbol que a uno de béisbol y un cubano, o dominicano o puertorriqueño, por ejemplo estarían en el estadio de béisbol primero y antes que nada. Así ocurre con los norteamericanos, depende de su descendencia. Hay muchos ciudadanos nacionalizados que su origen deportivo es el fútbol y es el deporte que quisieran ver desarrollarse.

\emptyset Hombres como Samuels sabían estas cosas y estaban mirando el mundo deportivo de Estados Unidos con 50 años de proyección. (Noticias del Mundo, March 14, 1986)

'Football will never harm baseball in any way because the fans are of culturally distinct backgrounds, of different countries of birth, totally distinct. It doesn't matter though, because a Uruguayan who lives in the United States, for example, would always prefer first to go to a football stadium rather than to a baseball stadium and a Cuban or Dominican or Puerto Rican, for example, would be in a baseball stadium first before anything else. That's how it is with North Americans; it depends on their descent. There are many naturalized citizens whose sports background is football and that is the sport that they wish to see developed.

Ø Men like Samuels have always known these things and they are looking ahead at the world of sports in the United States fifty years in the future.'

Although instances of preverbal bare subjects with modifying phrases do appear in traditional Spanish newspapers, (17) differs from these in certain respects. First of all, the preverbal subject in (17) is the topic of the sentence/discourse. But in the traditional Spanish sentences that we have observed (for example, (28) through (31) in Chapter Two), the preverbal bare subjects are not

discourse topics. Secondly, while hombres como Samuels refers to a class of things, the traditional Spanish preverbal bare subjects that we have seen (in newspapers) all refer to existing individuals (and it has already been mentioned that when reference is to a class of things in traditional Spanish, the preverbal subject is preceded by el/la). Thirdly, the preverbal subject in (17) does not refer to an essence (as in "Hombre no es lo mismo que caballero . . ."); the sentence context, especially with the main verb in the imperfect tense, encourages the interpretation that a class comprised of "men who are like Samuels" has existed in the past and continues to exist in the present. Included in the interpretation is the notion that there are other classes of men who are not like Samuels; in other words, a message of indefinite totality is discerned. In traditional Spanish, however, preverbal bare subjects that do not refer to existing individuals refer to essences, and those that refer to essences have been observed only in sentence contexts with the main verb in the simple present tense. In addition, the interpretation of such sentences has involved a sense of timelessness. Finally, it is because we discern a message in (17) that is routinely communicated in English but not in traditional Spanish (specifically, the inference of indefinite totality) that we postulate the presence of a \emptyset with the meaning "differentiation is involved and is not

complete" before hombres. This means that the preverbal bare subject in (17), like other preverbal bare subjects in contact Spanish, is not truly bare since a grammatical signal with a consistent meaning precedes it. This also means that hombres como Samuels differs from (truly bare) traditional Spanish preverbal bare subjects, as traditional bare subjects are preceded by blanks that carry no grammatical information whatsoever.

3.3 Preverbal Bare Subjects in Wire Service Articles

Abroad

It should be pointed out that the contact features noted in U.S. Spanish newspapers also appear in wire service articles in Spanish newspapers published abroad. It seems that where news articles are translated from English into Spanish in these newspapers, translators are (unconsciously) falling into a pattern of retaining certain English messages in their attempt to translate information into Spanish. We have already mentioned Catford's argument that two different languages cannot be used to communicate identical messages; consequently, it should not be surprising to find English signals and meanings retained in Spanish translations if the goal is to communicate English messages. This is likely to happen because no combination of Spanish signals and meanings will produce exactly the same message as is produced in

English. As a result, in wire service translations abroad there exists evidence of the borrowed English signal \emptyset and its meaning "differentiation is involved and is not complete." Examples (1) through (3) illustrate this fact:

- (1) En las siguientes 48 horas, \emptyset falangistas masacraron a los refugiados palestinos . . .
(El Mundo, UPI, November 18, 1984)
'In the next 48 hours, \emptyset phalangists massacred the Palestinian refugees . . .'
- (2) \emptyset Boicots similares se llevan a cabo en la Universidad del Cabo Occidental . . . (El Mundo, UPI, August 8, 1985)
' \emptyset Similar boycotts were staged at the University of Western Cape Town . . .'
- (3) \emptyset Detectives investigaban una serie de asesinatos ocurridos anoche y esta mañana . . .
(Listin Diario, UPI, October 15, 1984)
' \emptyset Detectives were investigating a series of murders that occurred last night and this morning...''

It is often the case that the context of an English news article encourages a reading a preverbal bare subject as a reference to a group of existing individuals. What is also frequently indicated in the interpretation is that the referent is to be viewed as having not been sufficiently differentiated in the context; in other

words, the intention is for the individuals not to be clearly distinguished from one another. In this circumstance, the presence in English of a preceding \emptyset is expected as it signals that differentiation is involved and is not complete. In fact, it is this message that is also communicated in the Spanish translations in (1) through (3). And it is for this reason that we postulate the presence of the signal \emptyset in the Spanish sentences above. Furthermore, in an analysis of (1) through (3) that would not postulate a \emptyset , the bare subjects that remained would not belong to any of the traditional Spanish preverbal bare subject categories that we have already discussed. In addition, the preverbal bare subjects and the sentences that contain them would be interpreted as bizarre in traditional Spanish. The only plausible explanation for the Spanish translations in (1) through (3) then, is that like the preverbal subjects in the original English versions, differentiation of the preverbal subjects here is not complete, that \emptyset is indeed present to signal this information, and that as a result, a message that is derived from an English semantic analysis of reality, namely that the referent of the preverbal bare subject has not been sufficiently differentiated, is being transmitted. This interpretation involves postulating that an English grammatical signal and the meaning that it carries have been directly

imported into Spanish and that there has been an innovation as well at the level of Spanish messages. In other words, the Spanish translations (from English) that appear in wire service reports in traditional Spanish newspapers abroad cannot be viewed strictly in terms of traditional Spanish.

3.4 Implications of Our Findings

We began Chapter One by asking four questions regarding the importation of grammatical signals from English into contact Spanish, and we stated our intention to show that the answer to each of the questions was "yes." For the sake of convenience, we list the questions again here:

- (a) Is it possible for grammatical signals from English to be borrowed into contact Spanish?
- (b) Can grammatical signals unrelated to verbs, which are the forms that have received the most attention, be borrowed from English into contact Spanish?
- (c) If it is indeed possible, can these grammatical signals from English continue to carry English meanings once they have been imported into contact Spanish? In other words, can a process analagous to lexical borrowing be observed in a contact situation?

- (d) Can borrowed grammatical signals and their meanings contribute to messages that derive from an English semantic analysis of reality?

Regarding question (a), we have shown that despite Sapir's (1921, 1949) claim that language in general is resistant to morpho-syntactic borrowing, grammatical signals can be and are borrowed from one linguistic variety into another. In this respect we agree with Weinreich (1953:33), although contrary to Weinreich's argument that borrowed morphemes often replace a \emptyset morpheme, our findings show that \emptyset is the morpheme that has been borrowed. We have also shown that articles, which Haugen (1950) claims are among the grammatical features least likely to be borrowed (nouns are borrowed most frequently) can in fact be borrowed. Haugen (p.98) argues that structural features such as articles are habitually repeated in speech, and "the more habitual and subconscious a feature of language is, the harder it will be to change." Furthermore, he (p.98) notes that these habitually repeated structural features are established in early childhood, unlike vocabulary items which "are gradually added to in later years" (Maratsos, 1974 also says that articles are acquired early). Although we are reluctant to use the term "article" to refer to the grammatical signal \emptyset , it is the term that is most appropriate when we discuss Haugen's categorization of

grammatical features of language. And it is this article (grammatical signal) \emptyset , together with its meaning, that contrary to what Haugen claims, has been borrowed from English into contact Spanish. Finally, since \emptyset contributes to similar messages in English and in contact Spanish (including the message that the referent of the preverbal subject accompanying \emptyset has not been sufficiently differentiated and the inference of indefinite totality), it is questionable whether Haugen's (p.80) statement that "synchronically there are no mixed languages . . . speakers are always speaking one or the other but never both simultaneously" is completely accurate. We believe this statement to be speculative since we have found evidence that the messages to which \emptyset contributes in contact Spanish are actually derived from an English semantic analysis of reality.

Question (b) must also be answered affirmatively. Most other recent studies of grammatical forms that are similar in both English and contact Spanish have focused on verb tense and aspect. The major claim has been that under the influence of English, contact Spanish utilizes its Present Progressive and Simple Present tenses in circumstances that resemble those in which the Present Progressive and Simple Present are used in English more than those in which they are used in traditional Spanish, without, however, borrowing any grammatical forms or

meanings outright (Klein, 1980; Pousada and Poplack, 1979). De Granda (1968) has also pointed out the increase in use of the Periphrastic Passive over the Reflexive Passive in contact Spanish because of its similarity in form to the English Passive, but again without detecting any outright loan of grammatical signals or meanings. These studies then, have been characterized by not looking into the borrowing of grammatical signals and meanings and by not looking much beyond verb systems. In contrast, we have shown that not only can grammatical signals be borrowed from one variety into another in general, and from English into contact Spanish in particular, but that the borrowed grammatical signal that we have isolated comes from a grammatical category that, according to Haugen (1950), is not very susceptible to the borrowing process. In Haugen's view, while nouns are shown to be borrowed even more often (three times more often) than verbs, articles are rarely borrowed.

The answer to (c) is obviously "yes." \emptyset in the plural carries the meaning "differentiation is involved and is not complete" in both English and contact Spanish. However, while it has been established that \emptyset is part of the same semantic system as the in English, it has not yet been determined how \emptyset interacts with the system of weak deictics in contact Spanish. Further research in this area still needs to be done. Nevertheless, from what we

have observed, both the signal and the meaning from the English source have entered contact Spanish.

Finally, we have argued that the grammatical signal \emptyset and its meaning "differentiation is involved and is not complete" do indeed contribute to messages in contact Spanish that derive from the stock of message types that are routinely communicated in English. Specifically, these messages involve the inference of indefinite totality as well as that of a preverbal subject not having been sufficiently differentiated. The fact that these messages are now part of the semantic reality of contact Spanish offers support for our view that innovation in the message can occur when grammatical signals and meanings are borrowed, just as it can occur when calquing takes place (Otheguy and García, 1987).

What needs to be done next then, is to show that English has not just penetrated the grammar of journalistic contact Spanish, but that it has also influenced the grammar of spoken contact Spanish (the variety generally used by bilinguals in the United States). This aspect will be dealt with in Chapter Four, where we offer evidence that there is a tendency for bilinguals in the United States to accept sentences containing \emptyset + [N] with a following verb phrase, especially when these sentences appear within larger contexts.

CHAPTER FOUR
INFORMANTS' INTUITIONS REGARDING
PREVERBAL BARE SUBJECTS

This final chapter deals with the results of a study done on traditional and contact Spanish speakers to see whether contact speakers would accept items containing preverbal bare subjects at a greater rate than traditional speakers. In our discussion we explain the organization of our study, describe the questionnaires that were distributed and provide evidence to support our predictions.

4.1 Method of Study

To provide evidence that grammatical borrowing from English into Spanish has occurred in the speech of bilinguals in the United States and that, specifically, sentences with $\emptyset + [N]$ in preverbal position tend to be viewed as acceptable by speakers of contact Spanish, we distributed 242 questionnaires to bilingual and monolingual Spanish-speaking informants. Most of the informants came from the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and Argentina. Several were born in the United States but had spent at least several months at a time in Puerto Rico or in the Dominican Republic. A relatively small number of informants did not come from any of these three countries; they were from Central America or South America (other than Argentina), or from Cuba or Spain. All of the informants were at least eighteen years of age (see Table I).

Table I
Informants and Countries

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Number of Informants</u>
Dominican Republic	18 (1 born in US)
Puerto Rico	44 (10 born in US)
Argentina	67
Central America	10
South America	10
Cuba	5
Spain	1

From this pool of informants we created two groups, one labelled "traditional Spanish speakers" and the other called "contact Spanish speakers." Although it was often obvious that the bilinguals involved in this study were dominant in either Spanish or English, we did not want to use our subjective judgment in determining who should be labelled a traditional or a contact Spanish speaker. Therefore, we divided the informants according to their years of residence in the United States. Those who had spent less than five years in the country were categorized as traditional speakers, while those who had spent five or more years in the U.S. were categorized as contact speakers. By using length of residence in the United States as the criterion for grouping informants, we

States as the criterion for grouping informants, we avoided the problem of how to categorize informants who seemed to be Spanish dominant but who had lived in the United States for approximately twenty years and whose responses to the questionnaires contained features of contact Spanish. Of course, our categorization does not insure that informants who had spent less than five years in the U.S. had not been influenced by English at all, but we expected that grammatical changes in their Spanish as a result of contact with English would be less apparent. Finally, in cases where the informants had never resided in the United States (most of those from Argentina), the problem of categorization did not even arise. All of these informants were considered to be traditional speakers.

The questionnaires that we distributed both in the United States and in Argentina were of three types. Where possible, we attempted to have informants complete all three questionnaire types, but we were not always successful. Nevertheless, a significant number of informants did answer the three different questionnaires. The questionnaires appear in Appendix C.

4.2 Questionnaire I (Original)

The first questionnaire consisted of twenty isolated sentences and five paragraphs. Placed in random order among the twenty sentences were eight sentences that contained preverbal bare subjects. These were considered to be contact Spanish sentences. The other twelve were traditional Spanish sentences, some with a modified subject (or one subject conjoined to another) in preverbal position and others with postverbal subjects (which were often bare). By presenting the twenty sentences to informants and asking which sentences were acceptable and which ones were not acceptable, we expected that contact Spanish speakers would tend to accept the contact Spanish sentences at a greater rate than traditional Spanish speakers. (We also expected contact speakers to accept traditional sentences, of course.)

In regard to the paragraphs, four out of five contained one contact sentence each with a preverbal bare subject. (The purpose of having sentences with preverbal bare subjects both within paragraphs and out of context was to see whether the presence of discourse would have an effect on the informants' reactions to the contact Spanish sentences.)

Before filling out the questionnaire, informants were asked to provide information about their age, sex, nationality, length of residence in the United States, and

relative frequency of use of Spanish and English. While not all of this information was used, it did help us make sure that our informants were all over 18 years of age.

4.3 Questionnaire I (Revised)

The revised version of Questionnaire I had two versions, IA and IB, with sentences in a different order so that we could make sure that sentence order did not affect informants' reactions.

In regard to the twenty isolated sentences, the directions on how to indicate responses were different for the original and revised forms of Questionnaire I. On the original form, we simply asked the informants to mark whether or not each sentence was correct. While this strategy enabled us to determine which of the traditional and contact Spanish sentences were acceptable and which ones were not, it did not allow us to determine the reasons for informants' objections to certain sentences. In other words, if informants rejected a contact Spanish sentence, we could not be sure that what they objected to was the presence of a preverbal bare subject. Therefore, to eliminate this problem, we included directions in the revised questionnaires IA and IB that asked informants to make minimal corrections on the sentences that they found to be unacceptable. In this manner, it soon became clear that most of the sentences that were rejected were in fact

considered unacceptable because the preverbal subject lacked a preceding article (or a modifier). Of course, in cases where contact Spanish sentences were accepted by informants, we assumed that there was no objection to the presence of a preverbal bare subject.

The directions given to informants on how to respond to the five paragraphs were also different in the original and revised versions of Questionnaire I. This was done for the same reason that we found it necessary to change the directions regarding responses to sentences. On the original form of the questionnaire, informants were asked to underline any sentence in a paragraph that appeared incorrect; however, they were not asked to indicate what corrections were required in the sentence. Once again we remedied the situation on the revised forms by directing informants to make minimal corrections where necessary. We could then determine whether or not an informant objected to any of the preverbal bare subjects included in four of the five paragraphs. We ignored all other corrections on both the sentence and paragraph portions of the questionnaire since our interest in informant responses was limited to the number of acceptable sentences containing preverbal bare subjects; that is, we wished to see how many contact Spanish sentences would be rated acceptable by informants.

4.4 Questionnaire II

Questionnaire II also began with directions that were designed to elicit information on each informant's background. This time we limited the categories to "sex," "age," "birthplace," "parents' birthplace," and "length of residence in the United States." The information from these categories would be sufficient to allow us to separate informants into traditional and contact Spanish-speaking groups.

Questionnaire II contained nine pairs of sentences. In five of them, one member of the pair was a contact sentence with a preverbal bare subject. The other member contained a preverbal subject preceded by el/la. In the four remaining pairs, both sentences were traditional Spanish sentences, but the subject in one member of the pair was preceded by el/la while in the other it was bare (for example, (a) 'sale el agua,' (b) 'sale agua;' or (a) 'médicos y abogados ganan mucho dinero,' (b) 'los médicos y los abogados ganan mucho dinero'). Here the sentences with bare subjects were still considered to be traditional Spanish sentences, either because the subjects were postverbal or because they were conjoined or part of a series. (It has already been noted in Chapter Two that in traditional Spanish, preverbal subjects that are conjoined to another subject or that are contained in a series of

subjects can appear without an accompanying el/la [Suñer, 1982]).

Like Questionnaires IA and IB, Questionnaire II had A and B versions with sentence pairs in different orders. Informants were asked to consider whether each member of a pair of sentences was acceptable or unacceptable. It was possible for one or both sentences in a particular pair to be accepted or rejected. The reason for designing this task was to see whether informants would prefer subjects with a preceding el/la in all cases or whether they would sometimes prefer bare subjects. We were especially interested in how informants would respond to the sentence pairs in which one contained a preverbal bare subject (that is, one was a contact Spanish sentence) while the other did not (the other was a traditional Spanish sentence). (In a separate set of directions, we asked informants to decide whether the two members of a pair of sentences had the same or different meanings, but since many informants found it difficult to respond to this portion of the questionnaire, we disregarded these responses entirely.)

4.5 Questionnaire III

In addition to eliciting background information from informants, the directions for Questionnaire III instructed them to choose between two sentences, (a) and

(b), to complete a short discourse. Nine discourse samples were included in the questionnaire and in each case, the two possible responses differed from each other only in that one contained a preverbal bare subject while the other contained a preverbal subject with an accompanying el/la. In other words, if response (a) was a contact Spanish sentence, then response (b) would be a traditional Spanish sentence and vice versa (for example, (a) 'mujeres siempre hablan así,' (b) 'las mujeres siempre hablan así'). Here the objective was to note whether given a context, informants would complete the discourse with a contact or a traditional Spanish sentence.

Furthermore, the response choices that were offered were generally the same as or similar to many of the sentences included in Questionnaires IA and IB (which were also largely repeated in Questionnaires IIA and IIB) so that we might observe possible changes in informants' reactions to sentences with and without preverbal bare subjects as the surrounding conditions went from that of isolation to discourse context. Finally, we did not feel that it was necessary to vary the order of discourse samples as there was no relationship between the samples; therefore, only one version of Questionnaire III was created.

4.6 Results

In this section we report the results of our questionnaires. We first display the responses in terms of acceptances and rejections of both traditional and contact sentences. This allows us to check for significance and to control informants' responses with regard to the difference between traditional and contact sentences. In 4.7 we discuss the role of the responses in supporting our hypothesis.

The results of our questionnaires appear in Tables 2 through 7. Clearly, most of the chi square values that were calculated were significant at $p < 0.001$. In a few cases, however, the distributions reveal that the factors on which we based our calculations were not operative at all. This is reflected in the low X^2 values received for Table 3 Traditional, Table 3 Contact, and Table 5 Traditional. In other words, although these results were as expected, they appear to be due to chance. In regard to Table 3 Traditional and Table 5 Traditional, since the traditional responses were important to our study for control purposes only, we do not consider the low chi square values to be a serious problem.

Furthermore, Table 4 Contact, Table 6 Contact, and Table 7 Contact, which show significant distributions, may at first appear to work in a direction that is opposite to our predictions, since contact informants accept

traditional items as frequently, and sometimes even more frequently, than traditional informants. But there is no contradiction to our analysis here, since our prediction has to do with the informants' reactions to contact items, not to traditional ones. That is, what needs to be considered is whether or not the results of the questionnaires support our prediction that contact Spanish informants will accept contact sentences more frequently than traditional Spanish informants.

Table 2 Traditional

Questionnaire I (Original) Sentences:

Responses by traditional informants

	Trad sentences		Contact sentences	
Accepts sentences	60	56%	14	19%
Rejects sentences	48	44%	58	81%

 $\chi^2 = 23.27$ $p < 0.001$
Table 2 Contact

Questionnaire I (Original) Sentences

Responses by contact informants

	Trad sentences		Contact sentences	
Accepts sentences	132	69%	62	48%
Rejects sentences	60	31%	66	52%

 $\chi^2 = 13.27$ $p < 0.001$

Table 3 Traditional

Questionnaire I (Original) Paragraphs

Responses by traditional informants

	Trad paragraphs		Contact par	
Accepts paragraphs	7	78%	21	58%
Rejects paragraphs	2	22%	15	42%

X² = 1.16 p < 0.50Table 3 Contact

Questionnaire I (Original) Paragraphs

Responses by contact informants

	Trad paragraphs		Contact par	
Accepts paragraphs	13	81%	56	88%
Rejects paragraphs	3	19%	8	12%

X² = 0.42 p < 0.75

Table 4 Traditional

Questionnaire IA, IB (Revised) Sentences

Responses by traditional informants

	Trad sentences		Contact sent	
Accepts sentences	283	60%	23	7%
Rejects sentences	185	40%	289	93%

 $\chi^2 = 221.39$ $p < 0.001$
Table 4 Contact

Questionnaire IA, IB (Revised) Sentences

Responses by contact informants

	Trad sentences		Contact sent	
Accepts sentences	227	63%	51	21%
Rejects sentences	133	37%	189	79%

 $\chi^2 = 101.21$ $p < 0.001$

Table 5 Traditional

Questionnaire IA, IB (Revised) Paragraphs

Responses by traditional informants

	Trad paragraphs		Contact par	
Accepts paragraphs	21	54%	69	44%
Rejects paragraphs	18	46%	87	56%

 $X^2 = 1.16 \quad p < 0.50$
Table 5 Contact

Questionnaire IA, IB (Revised) Paragraphs

Responses by contact informants

	Trad paragraphs		Contact par	
Accepts paragraphs	23	77%	96	80%
Rejects paragraphs	7	23%	24	20%

 $X^2 = 341.25 \quad p < 0.001$

Table 6 Traditional

Questionnaire II Sentences

Responses by traditional informants

	Trad sentences		Contact sent	
Accepts sentences	432	79%	11	5%
Rejects sentences	114	21%	199	95%

$X^2 = 341.25 \quad p < 0.001$

Table 6 Contact

Questionnaire II Sentences

Responses by contact informants

	Trad sentences		Contact sent	
Accepts sentences	321	73%	22	13%
Rejects sentences	121	27%	148	87%

$X^2 = 177.53 \quad p < 0.001$

Table 7 Traditional

Questionnaire III Sentences

Responses by traditional informants

	Trad sentences		Contact sent	
Accepts sentences	335	73%	6	3%
Rejects sentences	121	27%	184	97%

$\chi^2 = 226.01 \quad p < 0.001$

Table 7 Contact

Questionnaire III Sentences

Responses by contact informants

	Trad sentences		Contact sent	
Accepts sentences	301	74%	8	5%
Rejects sentences	107	26%	162	95%

$\chi^2 = 230.08 \quad p < 0.001$

4.7 Support for Our Hypothesis

While Tables 2 through 7 arrange the data in such a way that we can test for significance, they are not designed to present the data in the most revealing way. A clearer presentation is provided in Tables 8 through 13, which leave out traditional items and present only the results of responses to contact items by different types of informants.

When responses to contact sentences and paragraphs are considered alone, our prediction that contact informants will accept contact items more frequently than traditional informants appears to be fully supported by the distribution of percentages in each table. (To be sure, the prediction is not supported with equal strength in all the tables; in particular, Tables 12 and 13 present problems that will be discussed below.) In other words, the acceptance rates of contact sentences and paragraphs are always greater for contact informants than they are for traditional informants (and the rejection rates for contact Spanish informants are always lower). That is, in accordance with our hypothesis, the evidence shows that contact speakers are more likely than traditional speakers to accept sentences containing preverbal bare subjects. This greater acceptance of contact items by contact informants is particularly marked in the case of sentences that appear either in isolation or within a paragraph (as

opposed to those that are presented as one of two alternatives).

We do not wish to speculate why the acceptance rates for contact Spanish informants are so low in Tables 12 and 13, which report the results of items that called for judgments on pairs of items. Perhaps the informants felt obliged to choose sentences with el/la before a preverbal subject when these sentences were paired with similar ones that did not contain el/la. The choice of el/la + [N] occurred most often when the alternative was a sentence with a preverbal bare subject (that is, 'las mujeres siempre hablan así' rather than 'mujeres siempre hablan así'), and least often when the alternative was a sentence with a postverbal subject that did not have an accompanying el/la ('sale agua' rather than 'sale el agua'). Since we did not investigate the reasons for informants' choices in Questionnaires II and III (Tables 12 and 13), we cannot offer any reliable explanations. Nevertheless, even with the low acceptance rates, contact Spanish informants still accepted the contact sentences at a greater rate than traditional Spanish informants did.

In summary, while earlier chapters of this dissertation contained data involving sentences with preverbal bare subjects that appear in newspapers, in this chapter we have shown that the acceptance of such contact sentences is not simply a journalistic phenomenon.

Rather, it is also characteristic of the behavior of contact speakers in their judgments of these items, and perhaps in their actual speech as well. We conclude that this tendency to accept preverbal bare subjects is symptomatic of the increasing influence of English on the Spanish of the bilingual population in the United States at large.

Although further studies are needed on $\emptyset + [N]$ and on the relationship between \emptyset and el/la, we believe there is sufficient evidence, both from the language of newspapers and from speaker judgments, to conclude that \emptyset has become part of the article system of contact Spanish. In future studies, it will also be necessary to look at the changes that el/la has undergone due to the influence of English so that the complete article system of contact Spanish can be revealed.

This dissertation has shown that despite the reluctance of students of Spanish-English contact to address the issue of grammatical innovations, grammatical borrowing in contact Spanish does indeed occur and therefore, deserves appropriate attention. While this fact goes in direct opposition to the claims of Sapir (1921, 1949), it is in concert with the views of Weinreich (1953) and other linguists (see Goodman, 1971; Gumperz and Wilson, 1971; Labov, 1971). We have documented one case of grammatical borrowing in the Spanish of U.S.

bilinguals, but we have no doubt that other such cases can also readily be observed.

Table 8

Questionnaire I (Original) Contact Sentences
 Responses by traditional and contact informants

	Trad informants		Contact infor	
Accepts sentences	14	19%	62	48%
Rejects sentences	58	81%	66	52%
Difference in rate of acceptance: 29%				

Table 9

Questionnaire I (Original) Contact Paragraphs
 Responses by traditional and contact informants

	Trad informants		Contact infor	
Accepts paragraphs	21	58%	56	88%
Rejects paragraphs	15	42%	8	12%
Difference in rate of acceptance: 30%				

Table 10

Questionnaire IA, IB (Revised) Contact Sentences
Responses by traditional and contact informants

	Trad informants		Contact infor	
Accepts sentences	23	7%	51	21%
Rejects sentences	289	93%	189	79%
Difference in rate of acceptance: 14%				

Table 11

Questionnaire IA, IB (Revised) Contact Paragraphs
Responses by traditional and contact informants

	Trad informants		Contact infor	
Accepts paragraphs	69	44%	96	80%
Rejects paragraphs	87	56%	24	20%
Difference in rate of acceptance: 36%				

Table 12

Questionnaire II Contact Sentences

Responses by traditional and contact informants

	Trad informants		Contact infor	
Accepts sentences	11	5%	22	13%
Rejects sentences	199	95%	148	87%
Difference in rate of acceptance: 8%				

Table 13

Questionnaire III Contact Sentences

Responses by traditional and contact informants

	Trad informants		Contact infor	
Accepts sentences	6	3%	8	5%
Rejects sentences	184	97%	162	95%
Difference in rate of acceptance: 2%				

Appendix A

Cases of Preverbal Bare Subjects in Contact Spanish

- (1) Testigos acusaron a los soldados de haber quemado a los dos jóvenes . . . (El Diario-La Prensa, August 5, 1986)

'∅ Witnesses accused the soldiers of having burned the two young people . . .'

- (2) Exámenes indican que una nueva droga puede tratar el envenamiento con plomo en los niños sin los efectos laterales que perjudican a las drogas usadas ahora en el tratamiento. (Noticias del Mundo, April 11, 1986)

'∅ Studies show that a new drug can be used to treat lead poisoning in children without causing the side effects that plague the drugs currently being used in treatments.'

- (3) Expertos informaron al congreso ayer que cerca de 100.000 ballenas y focas mueren anualmente debido a los productos plásticos que se desechan en el mar. (El Diario-La Prensa, August 13, 1986)

'∅ Experts told the Congress yesterday that close to 100,000 whales and seals die every year because of the plastic items that are thrown into the ocean.'

- (4) Detectives arrestaron a Mark Therezo, de 34 años y con domicilio en el 705 de la calle Bristol en Brooklyn, a las 6:00 a.m. en el alto Manhattan, informó un vocero de la policía. (El Diario-La Prensa, August 14, 1986)

'Ø Detectives arrested Mark Therezo, 34, living at 705 Bristol Street in Brooklyn, at 6:00 a.m. in upper Manhattan, said a police spokesman.'

- (5) Funcionarios dijeron que el caso de Lenore Mussenden, que recibió un balazo en el pecho . . . se ha reabierto a la insólita revelación. (El Diario-La Prensa, March 14, 1986)

'Ø Officials said that the case concerning Lenore Mussenden, who received a bullet wound in the chest, . . . was being reopened as a result of the unusual discovery.'

- (6) . . . funcionarios dijeron que se disipaban las esperanzas de encontrar con vida a los 319 pasajeros y tripulantes de la nave accidentada que han desaparecido. (El Diario-La Prensa, September 4, 1986)

' . . . Ø officials said that they were losing hope of finding alive the 319 passengers and crew of the missing ship.'

Appendix B

Preferred Transcription of Contact Spanish
Sentences with Preverbal Bare Subjects

- (1) Ø Testigos acusaron a los soldados de haber quemado a los dos jóvenes . . .
- (2) Ø Exámenes indican que una nueva droga puede tratar el envenamiento con plomo en los niños sin los efectos laterales que perjudican a las drogas usadas ahora en el tratamiento.
- (3) Ø Expertos informaron al congreso ayer que cerca de 100.000 ballenas y focas mueren anualmente debido a los productos plásticos que se desechan en el mar.
- (4) Ø Detectives arrestaron a Mark Therezo, de 34 años y con domicilio en el 705 de la calle Bristol en Brooklyn, a las 6:00 a.m. en el alto Manhattan, informó un vocero de la policía.
- (5) Ø Funcionarios dijeron que el caso de Lenore Mussenden, que recibió un balazo en el pecho . . . se ha reabierto a la insólita revelación.
- (6) . . . Ø funcionarios dijeron que se disipaban las esperanzas de encontrar con vida a los 319 pasajeros y tripulantes de la nave accidentada que han desaparecido.

Appendix C
Questionnaires

Questionnaire I (Original)

Este cuestionario forma parte de un estudio sobre el uso del español en los Estados Unidos. Por favor no ponga su nombre en el cuestionario. Indique la respuesta adecuada con una X.

1. Sexo

_____ Hombre

_____ Mujer

2. Edad

_____ 13 a 17 años

_____ 18 a 22 años

_____ 23 a 30 años

_____ 31 a 50 años

_____ más de 51 años

3. Lugar de nacimiento

_____ Estados Unidos

_____ Cuba

_____ México

_____ Puerto Rico

_____ República Dominicana

_____ Centro América

_____ Sur América

_____ Otro país

4. Lugar de nacimiento de sus padres (Puede marcar más de una respuesta.)

- Estados Unidos
- Cuba
- México
- República Dominicana
- Centro América
- Sur América
- Otro país

5. Años de residencia en los Estados Unidos

- Ningún tiempo
- 0 a 5 años
- 6 a 10 años
- más de 10 años

6. Nivel de escolaridad alcanzado

- No terminé escuela primaria
- Terminé escuela primaria
- Terminé escuela secundaria
- Terminé universidad

7. Profesión

- Ama de casa
- Agricultor(a)
- Desempleado(a)
- Estudiante
- Maestro(a)
- Obrero(a) o empleado(a) de servicio

_____ Propietario(a)

_____ Vendedor(a), artesano(a), trabajador(a), tecnico
u oficinista

8. Origen étnico de la mayoría de sus vecinos

_____ Norteamericanos, blancos

_____ Norteamericanos, negros

_____ Hispanos

_____ Otros

9. Origen étnico de la mayoría de sus amistades

_____ Norteamericanos, blancos

_____ Norteamericanos, negros

_____ Hispanos

_____ Otros

10. Facilidad y proficiencia en la comprensión y el habla de
inglés

_____ Muy buena o buena

_____ No buena

_____ Ninguna

11. Facilidad y proficiencia en la lectura y la escritura del
inglés

_____ Muy buena o buena

_____ No buena

_____ Ninguna

12. Facilidad y proficiencia en la comprensión y el habla del español

_____ Muy buena o buena

_____ No muy buena

_____ Ninguna

13. Facilidad y proficiencia en la lectura y la escritura del español

_____ Muy buena o buena

_____ No buena

_____ Ninguna

14. Uso del español en el hogar

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

15. Uso del español en el trabajo

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

16. Uso del español en actividades sociales

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

17. Uso del español a través de medios de difusión
- A. Frecuencia con que Ud. lee revistas, periódicos o libros en español
- _____ siempre o casi siempre
- _____ de vez en cuando
- _____ casi nunca o nunca
- B. Frecuencia con que Ud. escucha la radio en español
- _____ siempre o casi siempre
- _____ de vez en cuando
- _____ casi nunca o nunca
- C. Frecuencia con que Ud. mira televisión en español
- _____ siempre o casi siempre
- _____ de vez en cuando
- _____ casi nunca o nunca
18. Su opinión sobre la importancia de ser bilingüe en los Estados Unidos
- _____ Muy importante o importante
- _____ No es importante
19. Su opinión sobre la importancia de que se mantenga el uso del español entre los hispanos en los Estados Unidos
- _____ Muy importante o importante
- _____ No es importante
20. Su opinión sobre la importancia de que sus hijos reciban instrucción en español en el futuro
- _____ Muy importante o importante
- _____ No es importante

21. ¿Cómo se identifica Ud. en cuanto a nacionalidad?

_____ Como norteamericano(a)

_____ Como de mi país de origen

_____ En parte como norteamericano(a) y; en parte como
de mi país de origen

Por favor, lea Ud. las frases siguientes. Si cree que la frase es correcta en español, marque "sí" con un círculo después del ejemplo. Si cree que no es correcta, marque "no."

- | | | |
|---|----|----|
| 1. Muchas personas obtuvieron fincas. | Sí | No |
| 2. Enseñaron maestras el año pasado. | Sí | No |
| 3. Hombres no siempre hablan así. | Sí | No |
| 4. ¡Qué mujer tan elegante! | Sí | No |
| 5. Luego surgieron dificultades. | Sí | No |
| 6. Niños jugaban en el parque. | Sí | No |
| 7. Sale agua. | Sí | No |
| 8. Hierro taladró la madera. | Sí | No |
| 9. Allí vivía el abogado. | Sí | No |
| 10. De repente apareció carne en la mesa. | Sí | No |
| 11. Bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. | Sí | No |
| 12. Derramó sangre de las venas. | Sí | No |
| 13. Frío entra por las ventanas. | Sí | No |
| 14. Compañía tras compañía firmó con él. | Sí | No |
| 15. Tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. | Sí | No |
| 16. Galopaban caballos por la calle. | Sí | No |
| 17. Petróleo surgió. | Sí | No |
| 18. De la botella salió aceite. | Sí | No |
| 19. Casas fueron construidas. | Sí | No |
| 20. Despegan aviones cada dos minutos. | Sí | No |

Por favor, lea Ud. los párrafos siguientes. Si cree que hay algo incorrecto en alguna frase, subraye esa frase.

1. Los padres transmiten por herencia la diabetes a sus hijos cuatro veces más que las madres. Este dato puede conducir a descubrir cómo se hereda la enfermedad, pero no existen respuestas todavía y el origen de la diabetes sigue siendo un misterio. Investigadores creen que se hereda, aunque hay muchos pacientes que no tienen padres diabéticos, pero se supone que, a veces, el factor genético de transmisión permanece escondido o inactivo.

2. Entre todos tipos de vino existe una serie de características comunes que permiten calificarlos con el nombre general de vino. Vino no es una sustancia química con una composición definida de la que se puede dar la fórmula exacta, pero todos los tipos resultan de la fermentación de la uva fresca o del zumo de uvas frescas.

3. Alan Lake, viudo de la ex actriz británica Diana Dors, se suicidó en Londres el miércoles 10, 17^º aniversario del día en que se conocieron, porque no podía soportar la vida sin su compañera. Pocas horas antes, en el otro extremo de Gran Bretaña, en Gales, otro hombre se quitó la vida por idéntico motivo. "Por fin me reúno contigo," dejó escrito en un diario. "Los suicidios por amor no son tan extraños como

podieran parecer, y desde luego, no son exclusivos de la adolescencia," explica un psiquiatra. No es infrecuente encontrarnos con hombres que no quieren vivir cuando sus esposas o compañeras han muerto.

4. La Ruta del Descubrimiento, primera regata española transoceánica entre Benalmádena (Málaga) y Santo Domingo, puede verse seriamente devaluada e, incluso suspendida, si los organizadores no encuentran un patrocinador que aporte los 33 millones de pesetas necesarios para poder llevarla a cabo tal y como se programó. A menos de dos meses de su inicio, patronos podrían negarse a participar en una regata no puntuable para el Campeonato del Mundo de patronos oceánicos, lo que supondría un serio descalabro para la vela española.

5. Utilizar la energía nuclear para fines pacíficos no es tan fácil como se quiso presentar varias décadas atrás. El ciclo completo del combustible nuclear es muy complicado, y comprende el conjunto de operaciones que es preciso realizar, tanto para obtener el combustible que se introduce en las centrales nucleares de agua ligera, que son más utilizadas, como para tratar este uranio irradiado una vez que se ha utilizado en las centrales. Uranio es un elemento que se encuentra en muchas zonas de la superficie terrestre, pero en

la mayoría de los terrenos su concentración es tan baja que no permite su explotación.

Questionnaire IA (Revised)

Este cuestionario forma parte de un estudio sobre los usos del español en distintos países y por distintas personas. Por favor, no ponga su nombre en el cuestionario. Indique la respuesta adecuada.

1. Sexo

 Hombre Mujer

2. Edad

 Años

3. Lugar de nacimiento (país)

4. Lugar de nacimiento de sus padres (país)

 Madre Padre

5. Años de residencia en los Estados Unidos

6. Nivel de escolaridad alcanzado

_____ No terminé escuela primaria

_____ Terminé escuela primaria

_____ Terminé escuela secundaria

_____ Terminé universidad

7. Profesión

_____ Ama de casa

_____ Agricultor(a)

_____ Desempleado(a)

_____ Estudiante

_____ Maestro(a)

_____ Obrero(a) o empleado(a) de servicio

_____ Propietario(a)

_____ Vendedor(a), artesano(a), trabajador(a), tecnico
u oficinista

8. Origen étnico de la mayoría de sus vecinos

_____ Norteamericanos, blancos

_____ Norteamericanos, negros

_____ Hispanos

_____ Otros

9. Origen étnico de la mayoría de sus amistades

_____ Norteamericanos, blancos

_____ Norteamericanos, negros

_____ Hispanos

_____ Otros

10. Facilidad y proficiencia en la comprensión y el habla de inglés
- _____ Muy buena o buena
- _____ No buena
- _____ Ninguna
11. Facilidad y proficiencia en la lectura y la escritura del inglés
- _____ Muy buena o buena
- _____ No buena
- _____ Ninguna
12. Facilidad y proficiencia en la comprensión y el habla del español
- _____ Muy buena o buena
- _____ No muy buena
- _____ Ninguna
13. Facilidad y proficiencia en la lectura y la escritura del español
- _____ Muy buena o buena
- _____ No buena
- _____ Ninguna
14. Uso del español en el hogar
- _____ siempre o casi siempre
- _____ de vez en cuando
- _____ casi nunca o nunca

15. Uso del español en el trabajo

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

16. Uso del español en actividades sociales

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

17. Uso del español a través de medios de difusión

A. Frecuencia con que Ud. lee revistas, periódicos o libros en español

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

B. Frecuencia con que Ud. escucha la radio en español

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

C. Frecuencia con que Ud. mira televisión en español

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

18. Su opinión sobre la importancia de ser bilingüe en los Estados Unidos

_____ Muy importante o importante

_____ No es importante

19. Su opinión sobre la importancia de que se mantenga el uso del español entre los hispanos en los Estados Unidos

_____ Muy importante o importante

_____ No es importante

20. Su opinión sobre la importancia de que sus hijos reciban instrucción en español en el futuro

_____ Muy importante o importante

_____ No es importante

21. ¿Cómo se identifica Ud. en cuanto a nacionalidad?

_____ Como norteamericano(a)

_____ Como de mi país de origen

_____ En parte como norteamericano(a) y; en parte como de mi país de origen

Nos gustaría que nos diera su opinión sobre las siguientes oraciones. Digamos si la oración está en la forma que Ud. la usaría (imagínese que la oración se pronuncia con una entonación normal). Si Ud. no lo diría así, utilice el renglón debajo de cada oración para hacer un cambio. No cambie totalmente la oración -- haga sólo la alteración más mínima posible para corregirla si no está bien.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----|----|
| 1. Muchas personas obtuvieron fincas. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 2. Por fin llegaron soldados. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 3. Hombres no siempre hablan así. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 4. ¡Qué mujer tan elegante! | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 5. Luego surgieron dificultades. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 6. Niños jugaban en el parque. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 7. Sale agua. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 8. Hierro taladró la madera. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 9. Allí vivía el abogado. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |

- | | | |
|---|----|----|
| 10. De repente apareció carne en la mesa. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 11. Bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 12. Derramó sangre de las venas. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 13. Frio entra por las ventanas. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 14. Compañía tras compañía firmó con él. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 15. Tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 16. Galopaban caballos por la calle. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 17. Petróleo surgió. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 18. De la botella salió aceite. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 19. Casas fueron construídas. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 20. Despegan aviones cada dos minutos. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |

Por favor, lea Ud. los párrafos siguientes. Si hay algo que no le parece bien en alguna frase, subraye esa frase y corrijala. No cambie totalmente la oración -- haga sólo la alteración más mínima posible para corregirla si no está bien.

1. Los padres transmiten por herencia la diabetes a sus hijos cuatro veces más que las madres. Este dato puede conducir a descubrir cómo se hereda la enfermedad, pero no existen respuestas todavía y el origen de la diabetes sigue siendo un misterio. Investigadores creen que se hereda, aunque hay muchos pacientes que no tienen padres diabéticos, pero se supone que, a veces, el factor genético de transmisión permanece escondido o inactivo.

2. Entre todos tipos de vino existe una serie de características comunes que permiten calificarlos con el nombre general de vino. Vino no es una sustancia química con una composición definida de la que se puede dar la fórmula exacta, pero todos los tipos resultan de la fermentación de la uva fresca o del zumo de uvas frescas.

3. Alan Lake, viudo de la ex actriz británica Diana Dors, se suicidó en Londres el miércoles 10, 17 aniversario del día en que se conocieron, porque no podía soportar la vida sin su compañera. Pocas horas antes, en el otro extremo de Gran

Bretaña, en Gales, otro hombre se quitó la vida por idéntico motivo. "Por fin me reúno contigo," dejó escrito en un diario. "Los suicidios por amor no son tan extraños como pudieran parecer, y desde luego, no son exclusivos de la adolescencia," explica un psiquiatra. No es infrecuente encontrarnos con hombres que no quieren vivir cuando sus esposas o compañeras han muerto.

4. La Ruta del Descubrimiento, primera regata española transoceánica entre Benalmádena (Málaga) y Santo Domingo, puede verse seriamente devaluada e, incluso suspendida, si los organizadores no encuentran un patrocinador que aporte los 33 millones de pesetas necesarios para poder llevarla a cabo tal y como se programó. A menos de dos meses de su inicio, patronos podrían negarse a participar en una regata no puntuable para el Campeonato del Mundo de patronos oceánicos, lo que supondría un serio descalabro para la vela española.

5. Utilizar la energía nuclear para fines pacíficos no es tan fácil como se quiso presentar varias décadas atrás. El ciclo completo del combustible nuclear es muy complicado, y comprende el conjunto de operaciones que es preciso realizar, tanto para obtener el combustible que se introduce en las centrales nucleares de agua ligera, que son más utilizadas, como para tratar este uranio irradiado una vez que se ha

utilizado en las centrales. Uranio es un elemento que se encuentra en muchas zonas de la superficie terrestre, pero en la mayoría de los terrenos su concentración es tan baja que no permite su explotación.

Questionnaire IB (Revised)

Este cuestionario forma parte de un estudio sobre los usos del español en distintos países y por distintas personas.

Por favor, no ponga su nombre en el cuestionario. Indique la respuesta adecuada.

1. Sexo

_____ Hombre

_____ Mujer

2. Edad

_____ Años

3. Lugar de nacimiento (país)

4. Lugar de nacimiento de sus padres (país)

_____ Madre

_____ Padre

5. Años de residencia en los Estados Unidos

6. Nivel de escolaridad alcanzado

_____ No terminé escuela primaria

_____ Terminé escuela primaria

_____ Terminé escuela secundaria

_____ Terminé universidad

7. Profesión

_____ Ama de casa

_____ Agricultor(a)

_____ Desempleado(a)

_____ Estudiante

_____ Maestro(a)

_____ Obrero(a) o empleado(a) de servicio

_____ Propietario(a)

_____ Vendedor(a), artesano(a), trabajador(a), tecnico
u oficinista

8. Origen étnico de la mayoría de sus vecinos

_____ Norteamericanos, blancos

_____ Norteamericanos, negros

_____ Hispanos

_____ Otros

9. Origen étnico de la mayoría de sus amistades

_____ Norteamericanos, blancos

_____ Norteamericanos, negros

_____ Hispanos

_____ Otros

10. Facilidad y proficiencia en la comprensión y el habla de inglés
- _____ Muy buena o buena
- _____ No buena
- _____ Ninguna
11. Facilidad y proficiencia en la lectura y la escritura del inglés
- _____ Muy buena o buena
- _____ No buena
- _____ Ninguna
12. Facilidad y proficiencia en la comprensión y el habla del español
- _____ Muy buena o buena
- _____ .No muy buena
- _____ Ninguna
13. Facilidad y proficiencia en la lectura y la escritura del español
- _____ Muy buena o buena
- _____ No buena
- _____ Ninguna
14. Uso del español en el hogar
- _____ siempre o casi siempre
- _____ de vez en cuando
- _____ casi nunca o nunca

15. Uso del español en el trabajo

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

16. Uso del español en actividades sociales

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

17. Uso del español a través de medios de difusión

A. Frecuencia con que Ud. lee revistas, periódicos o libros en español

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

B. Frecuencia con que Ud. escucha la radio en español

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

C. Frecuencia con que Ud. mira televisión en español

_____ siempre o casi siempre

_____ de vez en cuando

_____ casi nunca o nunca

18. Su opinión sobre la importancia de ser bilingüe en los Estados Unidos

_____ Muy importante o importante

_____ No es importante

19. Su opinión sobre la importancia de que se mantenga el uso del español entre los hispanos en los Estados Unidos

_____ Muy importante o importante

_____ No es importante

20. Su opinión sobre la importancia de que sus hijos reciban instrucción en español en el futuro

_____ Muy importante o importante

_____ No es importante

21. ¿Cómo se identifica Ud. en cuanto a nacionalidad?

_____ Como norteamericano(a)

_____ Como de mi país de origen

_____ En parte como norteamericano(a) y; en parte como de mi país de origen

Nos gustaría que nos diera su opinión sobre las siguientes oraciones. Digamos si la oración está en la forma que Ud. la usaría (imagínese que la oración se pronuncia con una entonación normal). Si Ud. no lo diría así, utilice el renglón debajo de cada oración para hacer un cambio. No cambie totalmente la oración -- haga sólo la alteración más mínima posible para corregirla si no está bien.

- | | | |
|--|----|----|
| 1. Hombres no siempre hablan así. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 2. Allí vivía el abogado. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 3. Sale agua. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 4. Niños jugaban en el parque. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 5. Por fin llegaron soldados. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 6. ¡Qué mujer tan elegante! | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 7. Muchas personas obtuvieron fincas. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 8. De repente apareció carne en la mesa. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 9. Hierro taladró la madera. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |

- | | | |
|--|----|----|
| 10. Luego surgieron dificultades. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 11. Despegan aviones cada dos minutos. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 12. Tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 13. De la botella salió aceite. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 14. Derramó sangre de las venas. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 15. Bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 16. Compañía tras compañía firmó con él. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 17. Frío entra por las ventanas. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 18. Casas fueron construídas. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 19. Galopaban caballos por la calle. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |
| 20. Petróleo surgió. | Sí | No |
| _____ | | |

Por favor, lea Ud. los párrafos siguientes. Si hay algo que no le parece bien en alguna frase, subraye esa frase y corrijala. No cambie totalmente la oración -- haga sólo la alteración más mínima posible para corregirla si no está bien.

1. Los padres transmiten por herencia la diabetes a sus hijos cuatro veces más que las madres. Este dato puede conducir a descubrir cómo se hereda la enfermedad, pero no existen respuestas todavía y el origen de la diabetes sigue siendo un misterio. Investigadores creen que se hereda, aunque hay muchos pacientes que no tienen padres diabéticos, pero se supone que, a veces, el factor genético de transmisión permanece escondido o inactivo.

2. Entre todos tipos de vino existe una serie de características comunes que permiten calificarlos con el nombre general de vino. Vino no es una sustancia química con una composición definida de la que se puede dar la fórmula exacta, pero todos los tipos resultan de la fermentación de la uva fresca o del zumo de uvas frescas.

3. Alan Lake, viudo de la ex actriz británica Diana Dors, se suicidó en Londres el miércoles 10, 17^º aniversario del día en que se conocieron, porque no podía soportar la vida sin su compañera. Pocas horas antes, en el otro extremo de Gran

Bretaña, en Gales, otro hombre se quitó la vida por idéntico motivo. "Por fin me reúno contigo," dejó escrito en un diario. "Los suicidios por amor no son tan extraños como pudieran parecer, y desde luego, no son exclusivos de la adolescencia," explica un psiquiatra. No es infrecuente encontrarnos con hombres que no quieren vivir cuando sus esposas o compañeras han muerto.

4. La Ruta del Descubrimiento, primera regata española transoceánica entre Benalmádena (Málaga) y Santo Domingo, puede verse seriamente devaluada e, incluso suspendida, si los organizadores no encuentran un patrocinador que aporte los 33 millones de pesetas necesarios para poder llevarla a cabo tal y como se programó. A menos de dos meses de su inicio, patronos podrían negarse a participar en una regata no puntuable para el Campeonato del Mundo de patronos oceánicos, lo que supondría un serio descalabro para la vela española.

5. Utilizar la energía nuclear para fines pacíficos no es tan fácil como se quiso presentar varias décadas atrás. El ciclo completo del combustible nuclear es muy complicado, y comprende el conjunto de operaciones que es preciso realizar, tanto para obtener el combustible que se introduce en las centrales nucleares de agua ligera, que son más utilizadas, como para tratar este uranio irradiado una vez que se ha

utilizado en las centrales. Uranio es un elemento que se encuentra en muchas zonas de la superficie terrestre, pero en la mayoría de los terrenos su concentración es tan baja que no permite su explotación.

Questionnaire IIA

Este cuestionario forma parte de un estudio sobre los usos del español en distintos países y por distintas personas.

Por favor, no ponga su nombre en el cuestionario. Indique la respuesta adecuada.

1. Sexo

_____ Hombre

_____ Mujer

2. Edad

_____ Años

3. Lugar de nacimiento (país)

4. Lugar de nacimiento de sus padres (país)

_____ Madre

_____ Padre

5. Años de residencia en los Estados Unidos

Nos gustaría que nos diera su opinión sobre los siguientes pares de oraciones. Díganos cuál de las dos oraciones está bien, (a) o (b), o díganos si las dos están bien o hasta si las dos están mal. Indique la respuesta adecuada con un círculo.

- | | | |
|--|------|-----|
| 1. a) Mujeres siempre hablan así. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Las mujeres siempre hablan así. | Bien | Mal |
| 2. a) El tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. | Bien | Mal |
| 3. a) Las bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. | Bien | Mal |
| 4. a) Vino se hace de la uva. | Bien | Mal |
| b) El vino se hace de la uva. | Bien | Mal |
| 5. a) Niños asisten a la escuela. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Los niños asisten a la escuela. | Bien | Mal |
| 6. a) Médicos y abogados ganan much dinero. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Los médicos y los abogados ganan
mucho dinero. | Bien | Mal |

- | | | |
|--|------|-----|
| 7. a) Sale el agua. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Sale agua. | Bien | Mal |
| 8. a) Pantalones, camisas y zapatos no caben en una maleta muy pequeña. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Los pantalones, las camisas y los zapatos no caben en una maleta muy pequeña. | Bien | Mal |
| 9. a) Despegan aviones cada dos minutos. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Despegan los aviones cada dos minutos. | Bien | Mal |

Nos gustaría saber, en caso de que (a) y (b) estén bien las dos, si significan lo mismo, o si, de lo contrario, tienen dos significados diferentes. Indique la respuesta adecuada con un círculo.

1. a) Mujeres siempre hablan así. lo mismo/
b) Las mujeres siempre hablan así. diferente

2. a) El tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. lo mismo/
b) Tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. diferente

3. a) Las bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. lo mismo/
b) Bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. diferente

4. a) Vino se hace de la uva. lo mismo/
b) El vino se hace de la uva. diferente

5. a) Niños asisten a la escuela. lo mismo/
b) Los niños asisten a la escuela. diferente

6. a) Médicos y abogados ganan much dinero. lo mismo/
b) Los médicos y los abogados ganan diferente
mucho dinero.

7. a) Sale el agua. lo mismo/
b) Sale agua. diferente

8. a) Pantalones, camisas y zapatos no caben en una maleta muy pequeña. lo mismo/
diferente
- b) Los pantalones, las camisas y los zapatos no caben en una maleta muy pequeña.
9. a) Despegan aviones cada dos minutos. lo mismo/
diferente
- b) Despegan los aviones cada dos minutos. diferente

Questionnaire IIB

Este cuestionario forma parte de un estudio sobre los usos del español en distintos países y por distintas personas.

Por favor, no ponga su nombre en el cuestionario. Indique la respuesta adecuada.

1. Sexo

_____ Hombre

_____ Mujer

2. Edad

_____ Años

3. Lugar de nacimiento (país)

4. Lugar de nacimiento de sus padres (país)

_____ Madre

_____ Padre

5. Años de residencia en los Estados Unidos

Nos gustaría que nos diera su opinión sobre los siguientes pares de oraciones. Díganos cuál de las dos oraciones está bien, (a) o (b), o díganos si las dos están bien, o hasta si las dos están mal. Indique la respuesta adecuada con un círculo.

- | | | |
|---|------|-----|
| 1. a) Sale agua. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Sale el agua. | Bien | Mal |
| 2. a) Los niños asisten a la escuela. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Niños asisten a la escuela. | Bien | Mal |
| 3. a) El vino se hace de la uva. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Vino se hace de la uva. | Bien | Mal |
| 4. a) Tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. | Bien | Mal |
| b) El tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. | Bien | Mal |
| 5. a) Los médicos y los abogados ganan
mucho dinero. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Médicos y abogados ganan mucho
dinero. | Bien | Mal |
| 6. a) Bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Las bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. | Bien | Mal |

- | | | |
|---|------|-----|
| 7. a) Las mujeres siempre hablan así. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Mujeres siempre hablan así. | Bien | Mal |
| 8. a) Despegan los aviones cada dos minutos. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Despegan aviones cada dos minutos. | Bien | Mal |
| 9. a) Los pantalones, las camisas y los
zapatos no caben en una maleta muy
pequeña. | Bien | Mal |
| b) Pantalones, camisas y zapatos no
caben en una maleta muy pequeña. | Bien | Mal |

Nos gustaría saber, en caso de que (a) y (b) estén bien las dos, si significan lo mismo, o si, de lo contrario, tienen dos significados diferentes. Indique la respuesta adecuada con un círculo.

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. a) Sale agua. | lo mismo/ |
| b) Sale el agua. | diferente |
| 2. a) Los niños asisten a la escuela. | lo mismo/ |
| b) Niños asisten a la escuela. | diferente |
| 3. a) El vino se hace de la uva. | lo mismo/ |
| b) Vino se hace de la uva. | diferente |
| 4. a) Tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. | lo mismo/ |
| b) El tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día. | diferente |
| 5. a) Los médicos y los abogados ganan mucho dinero. | lo mismo/ |
| b) Médicos y abogados ganan mucho dinero. | diferente |
| 6. a) Bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. | lo mismo/ |
| b) Las bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios. | diferente |

7. a) Las mujeres siempre hablan así. lo mismo/
b) Mujeres siempre hablan así. diferente
8. a) Despegan los aviones cada dos minutos. lo mismo/
b) Despegan aviones cada dos minutos. diferente
9. a) Los pantalones, las camisas y los zapatos no caben en una maleta muy pequeña. lo mismo/
diferente
b) Pantalones, camisas y zapatos no caben en una maleta muy pequeña.

Questionnaire III

Este cuestionario forma parte de un estudio sobre los usos del español en distintos países y por distintas personas.

Por favor, no ponga su nombre en el cuestionario. Indique la respuesta adecuada.

1. Sexo

_____ Hombre

_____ Mujer

2. Edad

_____ Años

3. Lugar de nacimiento (país)

4. Lugar de nacimiento de sus padres (país)

_____ Madre

_____ Padre

5. Años de residencia en los Estados Unidos

Por favor, complete Ud. cada discurso con la frase preferida. Escoja la frase (a) o (b) e indique la respuesta con un círculo.

1. "No te preocupes por lo que te dijo María. _____
_____. Pero luego lo olvidan."
a) Mujeres siempre hablan así.
b) Las mujeres siempre hablan así.

2. "No se observa nungún descenso en el consumo de cigarros y cigarrillos. _____ y, sin embargo, entre los fumadores habituales se encuentran jóvenes - e incluso niños - que aún no ganan un salario."
a) El tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día.
b) Tabaco cuesta mucho hoy en día.

3. "Tú no podrías ser bailarina. _____,
y tú eres demasiado comodona."
a) Las bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios.
b) Bailarinas hacen ejercicios diarios.

4. "Este año la producción de vino disminuirá considerablemente: _____ y más de la mitad de la cosecha de uva se echó a perder."
- a) Vino se hace de la uva.
 - b) El vino se hace de la uva.
5. "Mientras padres, tíos, hermanos mayores, etc., están ocupados en las labores del campo, _____, y sus madres cuidan de todas las tareas domésticas."
- a) Niños asisten a la escuela.
 - b) Los niños asisten a la escuela.
6. "Este país es el paraíso de las profesiones liberales. _____ . De manera que si quieres hacerte rico, ya sabes qué carrera debes seguir."
- a) Médicos y abogados ganan mucho dinero.
 - b) Los médicos y los abogados ganan mucho dinero.
7. "Hay una pequeña grieta en la pared; _____, pero no demasiada."
- a) Sale el agua.
 - b) Sale agua.

8. "¿Por qué no compras una maleta grande? _____
_____. y viajar con dos maletas es más incómodo."
- a) Pantalones, camisas y zapatos no caben en una maleta muy pequeña.
 - b) Los pantalones, las camisas y los zapatos no caben en una maleta muy pequeña.
9. "Es un aeropuerto con mucho tráfico aéreo: _____
_____. Además hay continuas llegadas y salidas de helicópteros que llevan a los pasajeros al centro de la ciudad."
- a) Despegan aviones cada dos minutos.
 - b) Despegan los aviones cada dos minutos.

Newspapers and magazines used in this study:

El Mundo, San Juan, Puerto Rico

El País, Madrid, Spain

Listín Diario, Santo Domingo, The Dominican Republic

El Diario-La Prensa, New York City, New York, U.S.A.

Noticias del Mundo, New York City, New York, U.S.A.

"Saludos," Noticias del Mundo, New York City, U.S.A.

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Autobiographical Statement

Susan Jagendorf has taught courses in linguistics and English as a second language in the CUNY system since 1981. She is currently an adjunct lecturer at Lehman College.