

Subject Pronominal Expression In Uwa Spanish

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ABSTRACT

The issue of subject pronominal expression (SPE) in language contact situations, as illustrated in *Nosotros somos muy buenos estudiantes* [‘We are very good students’] vs. \emptyset *somos muy buenos estudiantes* [‘(we) are very good students’], has been the focus of decades of research in both variationist and generative studies (Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996; Chomsky, 1981, 1986; Huang, 1984; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Travis, 2005a, 2005b; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Rizzi, 1982; Morales, 1980; Silva-Corvalán, 1982, 1994, 1997; inter alios). While generative studies have shown that null subject languages (NSLs) can either be licensed by rich verbal paradigms or by discursive mechanisms, variationist studies have shown that there are predictors that condition SPE in NSLs. Furthermore, they have argued that the rates of SPE reflect uniformity across different varieties of Spanish (Orozco, 2015).

In spite of this significant body of evidence in monolingual varieties of Spanish, studies involving bilingual groups and indigenous languages are relatively sparse, as most studies have studied Spanish in contact with other Indo-European languages. This dissertation investigates the SPE in the Spanish of a group of highly proficient bilingual speakers of Uwa and Spanish in a language contact situation. The research reported in this dissertation also studies the nature of cross-linguistic influence between the two languages of the bilinguals. Specifically, the idiosyncratic morphosyntactic traces in SPE resulting from the contact between Uwa and Spanish and whether those traces evidence patterns of variation, and, if so, how they can be accounted for.

Spanish and Uwa are both NSLs and thus both allow for referential null subject pronouns (SPs). However, each language has specific syntactic and discursive predictors

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responsible for null subjects. For instance, Uwa relies heavily on discursive clues whereas Spanish is a sentence-oriented language. This means that while in Uwa the subject reference is understood from context and discursive clues governed by chains of topics, the rich verbal paradigm of Spanish is responsible for licensing null subjects. The fact that Spanish and Uwa are both NLs but still have dissimilar typological status provides a rich testing ground for the mechanisms involved in SPE as well as for investigating the effects of bilingualism.

This dissertation aims at enhancing our linguistic knowledge in relation to the principles and mechanisms involved in SPE in bilingual communities and at providing a better understanding of the nature of cross-linguistic influence in highly proficient bilinguals.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, we approach the issue of Subject Pronominal Expression (henceforth SPE) in Uwa Spanish (henceforth SUW). Specifically, we study linguistic variation and the extent to which bilingual speakers show similar or dissimilar linguistic behavior as compared to monolingual speakers. We investigate SUW in finite clauses with declarative function and in preverbal position as exemplified in *Él es muy bueno para las matemáticas* [‘He is very good at mathematics’] vs. *Ø es muy bueno para las matemáticas* [‘(He) is very good at Mathematics’]. While the overt/null subject optionality inherited from Latin has been widely investigated (Bentivoglio, 1987; Cacoullos & Travis, 2012, 2015, 2018; Cameron, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996; Corvalán & Arias 2017; Hochberg, 1986; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Shin, 2013; Shin & Otheguy, 2013; Travis, 2005a, 2005b; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Morales, 1980; Silva-Corvalán, 1982, 1994, 1997; inter alios), there remain questions with regard to what the underlying predictors on SPE are. Additionally, this dissertation fills a gap in the literature by giving an account of a variety of Spanish that has not been studied before.

1.1. Subject Pronominal Expression in The Generative Tradition

Generative and variationist studies both claim that language variation entails systematic patterns. Thus, variation is not viewed in either approach as a random phenomenon. However, each model differs in the interpretation of variation. While the generativist approach views variation as the instantiation of the parametric values specified for a given language (Lightfoot, 1991, 1998, 2002; Roberts, 1993; Roberts & Roussou, 2003), the variationist model attaches primacy to the inherent variation that is an intrinsic characteristic of all human spoken languages. This variation, which

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permeates all linguistic components, is not random, but rule-governed and structured. Both linguistic and extra-linguistic predictors (social predictors) condition rule-governed variation. The key analytical concept in sociolinguistics is the linguistic variable. Labov (1972) refers to it as “alternative ways of saying the same thing”. Regardless of theoretical and methodological differences, some studies have discussed how variationist and generative theories could reach common ground. In other words, how accounting for and explaining variation could make use of two valid and complementary tools (Adger & Smith, 2003, 2005; Cornips & Corrigan, 2005; Martínez Sanz, 2011). In this dissertation, we will continue building on this body of research. In the next paragraphs, we will give a general overview of each of these models.

Through the assumption that there are underlying principles that all natural languages share, the generative theory began to explain the issue of variation in SPE through the formulation of the principles and parameters theory and the government and binding framework (Chomsky, 1981, 1986). Based on a parametric classification, the null subject parameter (henceforth NSP) accounted for the variability between languages that allow null subjects and those that restrict them to very specific contexts (Chomsky, 1981; Rizzi, 1982).

It was initially believed that a rich verbal paradigm was necessary to license null subjects. Languages like Spanish and Italian served as examples of languages with rich inflection as opposed to languages like English with impoverished verbal inflection. However, as studies of new languages came to light, the binary division of languages was challenged as it could not account for languages with rich inflexion that did not allow null subjects, such as Russian (Wade, 1992), or languages with zero verbal inflection in

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which null subjects are licensed, such as Chinese. The explanation given in the case of Chinese is that this language does not rely on its verbal inflexion but rather uses a discourse operator to license null subjects (Huang, 1982). Later on, the minimalist program (MP) (Chomsky, 1995) explains the nuances and specificities that the government and binding parameters and the NSP could not account for. Instead of one parameter and two groups of languages, null subject languages (NSL) and non-null subject languages (NNSL), the MP formulated micro parameters which made possible a more detailed analysis of languages and dialectal variation (Chomsky, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004; Holmberg, 2005; Sheehan, 2006).

The study of Finnish and Hebrew brought about the idea of the so-called partial pro-drop languages. It was shown that these two languages present predictors for null subject alternation in the third person that do not apply to first or second person (Holmberg, 2005; Sheehan, 2006). Additionally, Camacho (2011) classifies languages based on the possibility of having overt and null thematic and expletive subjects. He presents four combinations of expletive and thematic subjects that can help determine the nature of partial NSLs.

These various studies showed that in order to understand the restrictions involved in null/overt subject expression, an in-depth analysis of each language was necessary in which their specificities, as well as their commonalities with other languages, were described. Kroch (1989, 1994) incorporates interlanguage variation formulating the competing grammars hypothesis. His idea of variation is that speakers essentially have access to two different grammars and these grammars are in constant competition. When

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the new grammar wins over the old one, it is interpreted as a new parameter value winning over an old parameter value.

1.2. Subject Pronominal Expression in The Variationist Paradigm

From the variationist model and following Labov (1972), variation in SPE is assumed to be probabilistic and governed by systematic patterns that determine the frequency of overt/null SPE. The frequency can be measured quantitatively through multivariate analysis (Sankoff, 1988). This allows us to determine the distribution of variable contexts. In monolingual varieties, studies suggest that patterns of SPE are consistent across geographical locations. For instance, while Caribbean Spanish is often claimed to have robust rates of overt pronouns, null subjects are significantly favored in mainland Latin American varieties (Cameron, 1992; Carvalho, Orozco & Lapidus-Shin, 2015; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Orozco, 2005; Otheguy, Zentella & Livert, 2007). Studies on Caribbean Spanish have traditionally involved the implications of the functional compensation hypothesis (Hochberg, 1986). For instance, Cameron (1992) found that overt pronoun rates in Caribbean Spanish were significantly higher to those found in peninsular Spanish. It was claimed that the audible loss of person and number marker /s/ of this variety was compensated by the expression of overt pronouns. In addition to overall rates of SPE, variationist studies also rely on a number of predictors¹, especially

¹ In initial variationist theory, factors were considered to be part of factor groups or (independent) variables (Labov 1966, 1972; Chambers 2009; Silva-Corvalán 2001; Tagliamonte 2006, among others). As variationist studies gained sophistication, the term constraint emerged in the late 2000s/early 2010s. More recently, with the advent of even more sophisticated research tools—and in an effort to concur with other social sciences—, variationist researchers started to use the term predictor. In order to be

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those that have been found to greatly condition SPE in different studies. Switch reference, ambiguity, and verb type are often included (Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996; Hochberg, 1986; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Travis, 2005a, 2005b; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Morales, 1980; Silva-Corvalán, 1982, 1994, 1997).

Results of studies in contact language situations have yielded different results. Sorace (2011) found that the subject system of a group of native speakers of Italian (a language with null subjects) and near-native competence in English (a language with non-null subjects) was not altered as a result of the interaction with English. In contrast, in a study of the acquisition of subject-verb inversion in matrix and embedded *wh*-questions in Spanish among Spanish heritage speakers, Cuza (2012) found heavy evidence of interlinguistic influence in embedded interrogatives.

1.3. Subject Pronominal Expression in Uwa Spanish

Studies in SPE involving mainland Latin American varieties of Spanish in contact with indigenous languages are less common (Michnowicz, 2015; Sánchez, 2003). To the best of our knowledge, the present dissertation is the first piece of research to address SUW. In order to describe the impact of bilingualism in this population, we study the SPE in the Spanish of a group of SUW speakers and a benchmark variety of Spanish monolinguals whose variety of Spanish is referred to as Boyacá Spanish (henceforth BYS) in a language contact situation. Due to the different discursive and morphosyntactic features of Uwa and Spanish, a contact situation between these two languages is ideal to test cross-linguistic influence in the SPE system of SUW bilinguals and to better

consistent, in this dissertation we chose to use the term predictor when referring to the constraints in a variable.

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understand the licensing principles of null subjects in parallel systems. Uwa and Spanish have very different origins and typological status as Uwa is a Chibcha indigenous language (Pachon & Correa, 1997) while Spanish is a Romance language. Spanish and Uwa present different syntactic and discursive conditions responsible for licensing null subjects. For example, regarding SPE expression, Uwa relies heavily on topics governed by the context of communication. We define the topic of a sentence as “what the sentence is about” (Li & Thompson, 1981). This means that in the case of Uwa, the subject reference is mostly understood from chains of topics embedded in the context of communication as there are no grammatical person markers within the sentence. In contrast, SPE in Spanish is tightly bound to verbal inflection.

Uwa and Spanish differ in a number of important ways. Unlike Spanish, Uwa is considered a synthetic pragmatic language² and the Uwa verbal system does not display grammatical person.

The nuances of the syntactic and discursive conditioners of Uwa suffixes and null subjects pose a challenge to grammarians as they are difficult to equate to those of other systems, including Spanish. However, as it has been observed, Spanish and Uwa are both considered NSLs.

1.4. Organization

In this dissertation, we analyze the variable pronominal expression of SPE in SUW bilinguals, taking as a point of departure the assumption that variationist and generative theories can reach a common ground by becoming complementary tools to

² In this study, the terms synthetic pragmatic language and discourse-oriented language will be used interchangeably.

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account for and explain variation in SPE. Additionally, it is assumed that languages are equipped with specific syntactic and discourse mechanisms which make them vary cross-linguistically. In chapter 2, we outline the nature of the contact language situation of this study and the core issues that are relevant to the languages involved. Chapter 3 presents a summary of null and overt subjects in formal linguistic theory. A background of key concepts associated with the variationist approach to null and overt subjects is presented in chapter 4. A detailed description of the methodology used in this dissertation is provided in chapter 5. The two studies based on the theoretical and sociolinguistic approaches are presented in chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 8 offers conclusions and also presents a discussion of the results from two data elicitation tasks, the limitations of the study, and final comments for further research.

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CHAPTER 2: BILINGUALS IN A LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATION

Language contact situations are fertile ground to test syntactic and discourse mechanisms that condition SPE. Since the SUW bilinguals and BYS monolinguals in this dissertation belong to the same dialectal variety of Spanish, we will be able to test if there is uniformity in SPE of both groups or if the bilingualism effect brings about changes that need to be accounted for.

This section presents a brief summary of indigenous languages in Latin America, paying special attention to the Chibcha language. This is followed by a general description of the Uwa language, one of the branches of the Chibchan language family. A background of the language contact situation in which Uwa and Spanish coexist is also outlined. Finally, previous linguistic research of Uwa language and a description of the participants are presented.

Latin America still has an important number of indigenous groups. However, factors such as lack of information or scholars delivering dissimilar data have created a sense of uncertainty when it comes to the study of indigenous languages. Most of the material available about indigenous groups is provided by scholars who have made great efforts to build the literature we have available. However, classification of indigenous languages has proved to be challenging as there is not enough information about the distinct languages families and some unclassified languages which do not resemble other systems. Additionally, the scarce data available makes it difficult to determine what might or might not be comparable between these languages.

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2.1. Indigenous People in Latin America

According to CEPAL, (2014) there are 44,791,456 million indigenous people in Latin America, which represent approximately 7% of the total population. Mexico (with more than 5,000,000 inhabitants) and Guatemala, Peru, and Bolivia (with between 6,000,000-15,000,000 inhabitants together) have the highest numbers of indigenous people.



Figure 2.1. Map of Central and South America.

Taken from the World Bank document “Los pueblos”.

These groups are located from northern Mexico to southern Argentina, as shown in figure 2.1. Although there is a growing awareness that many indigenous languages are disappearing and they must be preserved, the reality is that least 50% of these languages are in danger of extinction. In South America, the most widely spoken indigenous language is Quechua with an estimated 7 million speakers. Table 2.1 shows the

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indigenous populations of the countries in Central and South America (not including the mixing with other racial groups).

Table 2.1. *Number of Indigenous Populations in Central and South America*

Country	Indigenous population	Percentage of indigenous population
Argentina	955,032	2.4%
Bolivia	6,216,026	62.2%
Brazil	896,917	0.5%
Chile	1,805,243	11%
Colombia	1,559,852	3.4%
Costa Rica	104,143	2.4%
Ecuador	1,018,176	7%
El Salvador	14,408	0.2%
Guatemala	5,881,009	41%
Honduras	536,541	7%
Mexico	16,933,283	15.1%
Nicaragua	518,104	8.9%
Panama	417,559	12.3%
Paraguay	112,848	1.8%
Peru	7,021,271	24%
Uruguay	76,452	2.4%
Venezuela	724,592	2.7%
<i>Total Latin America</i>	<i>44,791,456</i>	<i>8.3%</i>

Data taken from CEPAL (2014).

The information on indigenous groups and languages shows that Bolivia (62.2%) and Guatemala (41.0%) are the countries with the highest percentages of indigenous groups and languages. In terms of population, countries like Mexico (16,933,283), Peru (7,021,271) and Bolivia (6,216,026) have the largest indigenous populations which together account for about 30 million people. Countries like Uruguay (76,452) or Salvador (14,408) have less significant indigenous populations.

According to Tovar and Larrucea (1984), a final classification of languages in South America is far from being achieved. In the light of the complexity of finding solid

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information about indigenous groups, drawing conclusions is not easy. However, some points arise from the positions taken in the material reviewed. Firstly, commonalities between languages and geographical location provide significant insight to trace origins of languages and therefore being able to study them. Scholars have then used geographical proximity and similarity between languages to expand existing research. Secondly, studies of indigenous languages in South America require dealing with the limited data available, and engender a lack of agreement between scholars on the origin and classification of these languages. Lastly, there are social, cultural, and geographical factors that posit special challenges for linguists when doing research with indigenous languages in South America. In this study, for example, special efforts and arrangements were made with ASOUWA³ to have access to our experimental consultants.

2.2. The Chibcha Family

The Chibcha language used to extend from present-day northern Ecuador to eastern Honduras. Chibcha was one of the dominant languages spoken in large areas of what today constitutes Colombia, Panama, Ecuador, and Honduras. In Colombia, according to the 2005 census, there are 1,378,884 indigenous people distributed in 87 groups. They represent 3.4 % of the Colombian population.

It has been argued that at one point in history the Chibcha language expanded and was in contact with other languages such as Maya and Azteca (Tovar and Larrucea, 1984). The Chibcha people have traditionally lived in extremely mountainous

³ ASOUWA is the organization that represents the Uwas for any national and international institutions and outsiders in general. In order to have access to the Uwa people, ASOUWA require outsiders to meet strict conditions.

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environments. The general inaccessibility of these regions has often made linguistic research a complex process.

The Spanish empire made contact with the Chibcha people in 1537. Figure 2.2 shows the territory of the Chibcha at that time.



Figure 2.2. Map of the Territory of the Chibchan Family in 1537.

Map taken from Wikipedia.

The Spaniards found that Chibcha people were very well organized in states, each with their own chief or cacique. Unlike the Incan or the Aztec empires, Chibcha's society was not built around a monarch or empire. Although there was a Chibcha army, Chibchan people did not show interest in conquering or dominating other ethnic groups. The army was only used as a defense mechanism against outsiders. At the time of the conquest, the three Chibcha leaders were Zaque, Zipa, and Iraca. They led the güeches, Chibcha warriors of lower status. Zaque and Zipa tried to join forces to fight Spanish conquistadors but the Spanish army proved to be stronger. After the Chibchas were defeated, around 1606, authorities required clergy to study Chibcha and educate Chibcha people in their own language. However, in 1770 King Charles III of Spain banned the use

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of indigenous languages, which led to a significant decline in the number of Chibcha speakers in 18th century.

Of the indigenous groups in Colombia, there are some groups that are referred to as being offspring of the Chibcha family. Tovar (1980) proposes that Muisca, Tunebo, Kogi, Arhuaco, Marocacero and Motilón are languages of Chibcha origin. However, Pachon and Correa (1997) disagree with Tovar's classification and instead claim that there are only three which are descendants of the Chibcha family: the Beto group, located in Tame; Arauca, with an estimated population of ~1000 people; and the Yaruro that reside in the northern side of the Apure River in Venezuela and has ~4000 speakers. Finally, there is the Tubeno or Uwa⁴ group — the subject group for this study — who are known by other indigenous groups as the *good thinkers*. Additionally, Rochereau (1959) claims that Chibcha is divided in four dialects: Paleo-Tegría Chibcha, Neo-Tegría Chibcha, Unkasia Chibcha, and Pedraza Chibcha.

2.3. The Uwa

This section provides an overview of previous studies in Uwa. The context and environment in which the Uwas live is also included.

2.3.1. Previous linguistic research

Clergy members were among the first ones in showing interest for the Uwa language. Rochereau, a Catholic priest, was among the first ones to collect Uwa writings. Although his primary interest was proselytization, he compiled a collection of what he called "Tegría texts" which became a reference paper for scholars of Uwa language. As a

⁴ The association of Uwa (ASOWA) considered the name Tunebo as being offensive as it was imposed by the colonizers. Thus, they agreed on using Uwa as their collective name.

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Catholic priest, the conversion of Uwas to Christianity was his priority. Nonetheless, contact with Uwas allowed him to study their culture and language. He compiled texts in which Uwa people refer to their relationship with God, the Old and the New Testament, the sacraments and daily life situations.

In later years, the Summer Institute of Linguistics also played a crucial role in increasing the knowledge of the Uwa language. Headland (1973, 1997), a scholar of this institution, provided a detailed overview of the Uwa language. Additionally, Márquez (1988) dealt with syntactic and phonetic issues of the language, as well as social and cultural issues of Uwa. Furthermore, Waller (1980) presented a lexical study of the Tunebo language and Longacre and Woods (1977) described other indigenous languages in geographical, socio-cultural, and linguistic terms respectively. Following a presidential decree on June 21st, 1941, Professor Paul Rivet arrived in Colombia to work on the classification of indigenous languages. His approach consisted in providing intensive training to new students so they could acquire the necessary qualifications to continue his work. He only stayed in Colombia for 2 years before the French government sent him to Mexico.

2.3.2. Uwa origin

The Uwa language, originated from the linguistic macro group Chibcha, constitutes a valuable linguistic legacy of an extinct language and a complex indigenous civilization whose current linguistic status is traced to the historical struggle of the Uwa people to preserve their existence alive. The Uwa population lives in the north eastern part of Colombia.

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According to the Uwa tradition, Uwas⁵ are encouraged to speak Uwa to their immediate family as this is the only way, according to them, they can keep their ancestral culture alive. Some Uwa participants mentioned that younger speakers are displaying words and expressions that differ from those used by older speakers.

According to the Uwa's mythological songs, the Uwa territory covered a vast area from the Sierra Nevada of Cocuy to Merida in Venezuela and it included what is now Chinacota, Malaga, Oiba, Chima, Bucaramanga, Chiscas, Chita, Salinas de Chita, Guican, the piedemontes llaneros of Tamara, among other towns. The Uwa culture is committed to maintaining a balance with nature, only using its resources to meet basic needs. Uwas share and preserve their culture through singing and rituals. High respect is paid to the ancestral knowledge of the Werjayà, spiritual leaders of the Uwas.

At present, the Uwa language and Uwa people are gaining recognition as a result of the conflict involving the Uwa and the Colombia government. Ongoing efforts of the Uwa population to preserve ancestral territory from exploration and oil drilling have made them visible around the world.

Uwas⁶ are found in regions of Boyacá, Santander, and Arauca in Colombia. This area is shown in figure 2.3.

⁵ In the Uwa language, Uwas mean intelligent people who are able to speak up.

⁶ Throughout this thesis, the indigenous group will be referred to as Uwa and the language as SUW.

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Figure 2.3. Map of Cubara, Boyacá, Colombia.

Taken from Headland (1997).

The Uwas are divided into four groups: Uwa Angostura, Uwa Barro Negro, Uwa Central, and Western Uwa. The population of this study is the Central Uwa group, which consists of 2500 people located in Boyacá, Colombia as shown in figure 2.3.

Within the Central Uwa community, there are Uwa families who co-exist in the same area but could also present some degree of dialect fluctuation. The largest families are Tegría, Cobaría, and Boncota. As we were informally advised of dialectal differences between these families, we chose to only work with members of the Cobaría family.

2.4. Language Contact Situation

The co-existence of Uwa and Spanish represents an interesting language situation as the syntax of two languages differs significantly, especially with respect to the conditioning of overt and null subject pronouns. Uwa and Spanish have been in contact

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in different areas of Colombia for many years, which makes this study an ideal testing ground for cross-linguistic influence.

2.5. Spanish of The Uwan People

2.5.1. First contact of Uwan people with Spanish missionaries

Despite differences in Uwas' personal experiences with Spanish missions, they found a common ground in that it was through these missions that most of Uwa learned Spanish. Our participants mentioned they were forced to enter missionary centers in which they were supposedly going to become civilized by the teachings of God and the adoption of a foreign language and culture. In the meantime, any expression of Uwa culture, traditions, or language was strictly banned. In 1774, Uwa chief Toroá and some other Uwa leaders produced a document⁷ to the Spanish viceroy in which they argued how Uwan spiritual and mythical beliefs could co-exist with Europeans' religion if respect of differences was the norm. The document compares Virgin Mary to Uwas' divine mother and God the father to Sira, the Uwas' eternal father. By the beginning of the XVIII century, Uwas were relocated to reserves and were forced to assimilate to the foreign culture. Many Uwa children entered missionary centers at age seven and stayed there until they finished school. There are opposing feelings among participants who lived in these centers; while some of them expressed gratitude to the missionaries for their care and teachings, others claimed their culture and identity were taken away. The former participants often praised the fact that missions in Uwa territory are currently

⁷ This document is available at the Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá, Caciques e Indios: 50: 224r-224v.

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forbidden and perceived Spanish as part of the colonizers' mechanism to control and impose their culture on them.

2.5.2. Spanish before and after missionaries

The lexical influence of Uwa on Colombian Spanish has existed since colonial times. Falcetti (2003) lists some words that are currently used, especially in rural areas, as seen below in table 2.2.

Table 2.2. *Words of Uwa Influence*

Spanish word with Uwa influence	Spanish word	English translation
Busté	Usted	You
Asina	Así	Thus
Agüelo	Abuelo	Grandfather

However, only after the indigenous movement gained recognition at the Colombian and international level, was the Colombian government forced to implement laws that guard and promote Uwa's language and culture. These initiatives allowed the creation of the organization *Resguardo Unido Uwa*⁸ [United Uwa Reservation] and academic projects such as *Kajkrasa Ruyina*⁹ [guardians of mother earth], which outlines the fundamental role the Uwa play in protecting and keeping a balance in which resources of mother nature are not wasted. In addition to the social role Uwas are called to play, the *Kajkrasa Ruyina* also refers to the acquisition of Uwa and Spanish by Uwa

⁸ Resguardo Unido Uwa was created based on resolution on August 6, 1999 of Incora, Colombia.

⁹ *Kajkrasa Ruyina* is the academic project Uwa's academic authorities created to be a common curriculum Framework for Uwa language and culture.

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children. It indicates that Uwa mothers are required to be the first teachers of Uwa language to their children. Once Uwa children have the basics of Uwa, they need to continue acquiring the language by engagement in community rituals and activities. A third step in this process is carried out in school by teachers trained in Uwa's culture and language who continue guiding Uwa children to embrace the Uwa's world. It is only after the age of seven that Uwa children have a first contact with Spanish. At this point, some classes are taught in Uwa and others in Spanish. The 2005 Colombian national census reported a total of 266 Uwa children, from Cubara and surroundings, enrolled in the Colombian-Uwan education system. Table 2.3. Shows this enrollment by grade.

Table 2.3. *Enrollment of Uwa Children in Primary School in the Colombian Education System in 2005*

Grade	Number of Children
1	150
2	61
3	36
4	8
5	11

As part of agreements between the Colombian government and the Uwa communities, an alternative model of education was established. This model incorporates the Uwa language and culture into other courses the Colombian system offers.

Ethnoeducators¹⁰ are required to consolidate the acquisition of the Uwa language and Uwa mothers and grandparents need to first introduce the Uwa language to Uwa children

¹⁰ This is the term the Uwa use to refer to Uwa teachers trained to teach Uwa language and culture to the students.

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by the use of storytelling. However, teaching written Uwa has only been possible in the past decades and the current Uwa educational system requires children to take courses in Uwa basic writing. Thus, the use of a Common Curriculum Framework for Uwa Language and Culture is intended to be a supporting document for Uwa schools to develop curricula and learning resources and strategies relating to the Uwa language and culture. It is a framework that reflects the cultural values and beliefs inherent in Uwa history. A summary of the stages of Uwa acquisition is presented next.

At age three, Uwa children are expected to hold a basic conversation. As such, Uwa mothers start discussing topics related to family, nature and Uwa myths with their children from a young age. Between the ages of four and seven, Uwa children become aware of the world they live in and exploration of this new reality encourages them to ask questions to their elders and community leaders. By answering these questions, these people become the primary source of language input for Uwa children. Up to this age, Uwa children do not normally have any input from Spanish as their acquisition of Uwa language and culture is the main focus. The consolidation period of Uwa language is reached between ages seven to 10. It is during this stage that Uwa people begin taking part in Uwa rituals and ceremonies in which they gain a more specialized knowledge of Uwa and therefore are able to discuss their mission on the planet earth in depth.

In addition to the acquisition of Uwa, Uwa children also study some classes in Spanish. According to Uwa academic authorities, Uwas are encouraged to learn subjects such as Spanish and mathematics as a way to successfully communicate to outsiders. After age 10, bilingual Uwa children receive input from both languages, although this input is often unbalanced. Each language is restricted to certain contexts. By studying the

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variety of Spanish spoken by the Uwa population in this region, we aim to shed light on how the expression of null and overt subjects in the Spanish of this community is constrained.

CHAPTER 3:

NULL AND OVERT SUBJECTS IN FORMAL LINGUISTIC THEORY

Due to the morphosyntactic features of Uwa and Spanish, a study based on the minimalist program allows us a better understanding of the licensing principles of null subjects in parallel systems. As mentioned, Uwa and Spanish have very different origins. Uwa is a Chibcha indigenous language (Pachon & Correa, 1997) while Spanish is a Romance language. Interestingly, based on the government and binding theory (Chomsky, 1981, 1986), Spanish and Uwa are both NSLs and thus both allow for referential null Subject Pronouns (SPs). Nevertheless, Spanish and Uwa present different syntactic and discursive predictors on null subjects. For example, as shown in (1) to (7), Spanish is tightly bound to verbal inflection.¹¹

¹¹ The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of the examples of the languages used in this study:

PRS present
 PST past
 FUT future
 1 first person
 2 second person
 3 third person
 ACC accusative
 CONTR contrastive
 CUA daily action
 DAT dative
 DECL declarative
 EMPH emphatic
 ERG ergative
 NEG negative
 IMP imperative
 INF infinitive
 INT Intention
 INTR intransitive
 PL plural

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- (1) Yo bail-o
dance-PRS.1SG
'I dance'
- (2) Tú¹² bail-a¹³-s
dance-VT-PRS.2SG
'you dance'
- (3) Usted bail-a- Ø
dance-VT-PRS.2SG
'you dance'
- (4) Él/Ella bail-a- Ø
dance-VT-PRS.3SG
'he/she dances'
- (5) Nosotros bail-a-**mos**
dance-VT-PRS.1PL
'we dance'
- (6) Vosotros¹⁴ bail-á-**is**
dance-VT-PRS.2PL
'you dance'
- (7) Ustedes bail-a-**n**
dance-VT-PRS.3PL or PRS.2PL
'they dance'

Spanish is often cited as a language with a rich verbal paradigm. As the above examples show, in standard Spanish the verb *bailar* [to dance] has five agreement morphemes, as does the verb *comer*¹⁵[to eat].

PRON pronoun

SG singular

TV Thematic vowel

TR transitive

¹² The Spanish pronoun *tú* [you] is a first person singular pronoun which is mostly used in familiar or informal contexts.

¹³ The *a* represents the thematic vowel of verb *bailar* [to dance].

¹⁴ Spanish pronoun *vosotros* [you] is almost always used for the informal plural of 'you' in Peninsular Spanish.

¹⁵ The *e* represents the thematic vowel of verb *comer* 'to eat':

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We intend to study whether these suffixes attached to the SPs and not present in Spanish can be a possible locus of influence. The nuances of the syntactic and discursive conditioners of Uwa suffixes and null subjects pose a challenge to grammarians, as they are difficult to equate to those of other null subject systems, including Spanish. Thus, the commonalities and dissimilarities in the personal pronoun and verbal systems create fertile ground to better understand the mechanisms involved in the expression of null subjects.

The omission patterns of Uwa and Spanish are analyzed in the present paper based on the following assumption: discourse and syntactic agreement features vary crosslinguistically, and therefore present different conditioning effects. Additionally, a significant portion of the crosslinguistic variation in null subject production can be derived from the inflectional system as well as from discourse-based notions of subject recoverability.

3.1. Principles and Parameters

Since the introduction of the government and binding theory (Chomsky, 1981; Rizzi, 1982), generative grammarians have debated the grammatical features that all human languages have in common. Thus, based on the theory of principles and parameters, it is understood that all languages have commonalities but are also divided depending on the features and the feature values which form their functional categories. Linguists aim to account for the commonalities and the variation across individual grammars; while principles reflected the commonalities among languages, parameters, on the other hand, accounted for the variability amongst them.

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As for the status of null/overt SPs, Chomsky (1981) formulated the extended projection principle (henceforth EPP) that stated that all sentences require a thematic subject, which could be phonetically realized (overt) or not (null). From his standpoint, whenever a language does not display an overt subject, a null argument must be present to receive a verb's theta role. Thus, Chomsky's theory argued that besides having referential *pro* where languages, such as English, require an overt pronoun as in (11a) versus (11b), languages such as Spanish have a *pro*¹⁶ expletive [+pronominal, -anaphoric] entity that fulfills the EPP like overt expletives in languages such as English, as illustrated in (12).

- (11) a. *pro* Estamos_(nosotros) hablando de lingüística (Spanish)
 'We are talking about linguistics'
- (12) a. *pro* (EXP) Lluev-e (Spanish)
 rain-3SG
 'It rains'
- b. It (EXP) rains

According to the EPP theory, in (11a) and (12a) *pro* receives the verb's theta role. In examples (11b) and (12b), the expletive is the recipient of the theta role. This means that either a *pro* or a *referential* or an *expletive* pronoun can be the recipients of a theta role. In this context, all verbs have theta roles¹⁷ to assign and at least one of these roles is fulfilled by a subject. The following verbs have two arguments, the first one being the

¹⁶ In this study, the terms *null subject languages* and *pro-drop languages* will be used interchangeably. Chomsky (1981) began referring to the pro-drop parameter, but as the idea of pronouns being first generated and subsequently deleted lost support and the phenomenon of empty categories received more attention, the term *null subject languages* became more relevant in subsequent studies.

¹⁷ *Theta role* is often used interchangeably with the term *thematic relations*.

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subject argument, and the second the object argument. In the case of sentences (13a) and (13b), the determiner phrase ‘*my father*’ and the personal pronoun ‘*Je*’ [I], for example, are the subject arguments of the predicates ‘*help*’, ‘*mange*’ [eat], and ‘*mother*’ and ‘*poulet*’ [chicken] the object arguments. In fact, all predicates have an argument structure and their arguments are assigned a theta role. The number of arguments of a given verb is determined by how the verb is semantically conceptualized. For instance, ‘*help*’ in (13), has two arguments, the entity that performs the action (in this case an agent, ‘*my father*’) and a recipient (a theme), the entity that is acted upon by the verb, ‘*my mother*’.

- (13) a. My father helped my mother
 b. Je mange poulet (French)
 ‘I eat chicken’

However, it is important to note that in the case of (14), the Spanish verb *llover* (to rain) does not assign a theta role, which implies that the expletives *pro* and *it* are not assigned a theta-role.

- (14) a. *pro* (EXP) Lluev-e (Spanish)
 rain-3SG
 ‘It rains’
 b. It (EXP) rains

Unlike languages English or French that are [-null subject] languages, in languages that allow null subjects, like Spanish, the null subject receives the theta role and fulfills the EPP. The null/overt alternation was viewed as a case of parametric choice, in which languages like Spanish or Italian that allow null subjects represent the [+null subject] option of the parameter while languages like English or French that don’t represent the [-null subject] option, as shown in the table below.

Table 3.1. *Null and Non-Null Subject Languages*

Null Subject Languages	Non-Null Subject Languages
Spanish	English
Italian	French

Nonetheless, the theory according to which *pro* receives the verb's theta role does not explain what the underlying mechanisms responsible for the presence of expletives among languages. Thus, a different approach to explain the EPP argues that null subject *pros* simply do not exist. Under this theory, the inflection on the finite verb encodes the interpretable nominal features. In other words, verbal suffixes like those in the Spanish examples in (1) to (7) fulfill the EPP like overt subjects in languages like English. This will be explained in detail in the section addressing the theory of rich inflectional morphology.

3.2. The Null Subject Parameter

The NSP was formulated to account for the variability between languages that allow null subjects and those that restrict them (Chomsky, 1981; Rizzi, 1982). Sentences (15) and (16) exemplify the presence of overt *yo*, *io* [I] and null pronouns (\emptyset) in Spanish and Italian respectively.

- (15) Yo teng-o hambre, pero $\{\emptyset\}$ no quier-o cocinar (Spanish)
 I have-PRS.1SG hunger but $\{\emptyset\}$ not want-PRS.1SG cook-INF
 'I am hungry, but I don't want to cook'
- (16) Io ho fame, ma $\{\emptyset\}$ non voglio cucinare (Italian)
 I have-PRS.1SG hunger but $\{\emptyset\}$ not want-PRS.1SG cook-INF
 'I am hungry, pero I don't want to cook'

As shown in these examples, overt pronouns are optional. Nonetheless, their appearance increases in certain contexts, such as cases of ambiguity or topic shift. On the

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other hand, as examples (17) and (18) show, languages like French or English are claimed to be NNSLs as they do not allow free overt and null subject alternation as NSLs do.

(17) J'ai faim, mais je ne veux pas cuisiner (French)
 I have-PRES.1SG hunger but I not want-PRS.1SG cook-INF
 'I am hungry, but I don't want to cook'

(18) I am hungry, but I don't want to cook

From the NSP framework, the lack of overt subjects constituted null versions of thematic and expletive subjects, which fulfilled the same function as their overt counterparts. Contrary to English and French, Spanish and Italian allow consistent alternation between overt and null subjects, which would not be licit in NNSLs such as English or French. For the NSP framework, inflectional richness was crucial for licensing null subjects. That is to say, rich inflectional paradigms were expected to favor null subjects. The main proposals on this issue are discussed next.

3.2.1. The rich agreement theory

Initial studies of SPE argued that null subject optionality exclusively relied on the richness of the verbal paradigms. This cut-off served to divide languages with rich verbal inflection like Spanish from languages with more restrictive inflection such as English. According to government and binding theory and the NSP framework, the availability of null subjects in a given language is supported by its morphological composition (Chomsky, 1981; Rizzi, 1982). A rich verbal paradigm is then a crucial component of all NSLs. Therefore, languages such as Spanish or Italian are frequently used as models of rich inflectional paradigms. From this perspective, in languages like Italian and Spanish, overt subjects can be omitted as the referent can be identified through verbal inflection.

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The indicative present morphology for the verb *to talk* in Italian and Spanish is shown in (19).

(19)	Italian	Spanish
	<i>parlo</i>	<i>hablo</i>
	<i>parli</i>	<i>hablas</i>
	<i>parla</i>	<i>habla</i>
	<i>parliamo</i>	<i>hablamos</i>
	<i>parlate</i>	<i>hablais</i>
	<i>parlano</i>	<i>hablan</i>

Since initial studies did not define what a rich verbal paradigm was, having five agreement morphemes or a complete set of person-number features was taken as a point of reference for the verbal inflection of an NSL. Along the same lines, it was argued that when a language loses a substantial part of its inflectional morphology, it also loses null subject properties. Roberts (1993) refers to the shift from NSP to non-NSL in French, which left Modern French with only three¹⁸ different phonetic forms: one for all singular forms of the verb as well as 3rd person plural (‘*fāt*’); one for 1st person plural (‘*fātō*’); and one for 2nd person plural (‘*fāte*’)¹⁹. This is shown in (20) with the verb *to sing* in Old French and Modern French

(20)	Old French	Modern French
	<i>chant</i>	<i>chante</i>
	<i>chantes</i>	<i>chantes</i>
	<i>chante(t)</i>	<i>chante</i>
	<i>chantons</i>	<i>chantons</i>
	<i>chantez</i>	<i>chantez</i>
	<i>chantent</i>	<i>chantent</i>

Taken from Roberts (1993).

¹⁸ It can be four as the “t” in the third person plural can be pronounced in formal contexts.

¹⁹ Note that the orthographic forms do not reflect the actual phonetic forms.

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Roberts claims that the shift of Old French from six agreement morphemes to three correlates with the loss of the null subject option in Modern French. Thus, as we have mentioned before, the government and binding theory and the NSP framework divide languages into two groups: those that allow null subjects due to the richness of their inflection, and those that do not (since their inflectional paradigms are not rich enough to identify the missing subject). Nonetheless, as typological differences among NSLs came to light, this parametric explanation could not account for the complexity of subject licensing based on morphology (Chomsky, 1981, 1986; Hyams, 1994; Rizzi, 1982). For example, the existence of NNSLs with rich inflectional paradigms like Russian significantly challenges this binary classification, as the indicative present morphology of Russian in (21) shows.

- (21) a. работа-ть
 Work-INF
 ‘To work’
- b. Я работа-ю
 I Work-PRS.1SG
 ‘I work’
- c. Ты работа-ешь
 You Work-PRS.2SG
 ‘You work’
- d. Он, Она, Оно работа-ет
 He, She, It work-PRS.3SG
 ‘He, She, It works’
- e. Мы работа-ем
 We work-PRS.1PL
 ‘We work’
- f. Вы работа-ете
 You work-PRS.2PL
 ‘You work’

- g. Они работа-ют
 They work-PRS.3PL
 ‘They work’

Taken from Wade (1992).

As we can see above, after the last two letters of the infinitive (ть) is dropped, there are six different morphemes (ю, ешь, ет, ем, ете, and ют) that are affixed to the verbs. Russian would then meet the rich agreement requirement for NSLs. Nevertheless, Russian does not allow null subjects, and thus goes against the rich agreement principles. Although Russian’s verbal paradigm resembles that of Spanish and Italian, Russian behaves as a NNSL, presenting grammarians with a different scenario that does not merely rely on the rich agreement feature to distinguish NSLs from NNSLs. The government and binding theory and the NSP heavily rely on specific groups of languages, however, this theory fails to account for these specific cases.

3.2.2. The discourse topic theory

In addition, the existence of languages with no verbal inflection, such as Chinese or Japanese, which on the basis of their lack of verbal inflection would be NNSLs but in reality are NSLs, also led to questioning the idea that morphology alone is responsible for licensing null subjects cross-linguistically. This conflict is addressed by Huang (1984), who argues that languages like Chinese or Japanese are zero topic languages that rely on discourse-pragmatic clues to recover a subject pronoun which is in not phonetically realized.

According to Huang (1984), zero topic languages have empty categories bound by an NP whose reference is understood from the context. He states that a rule of coindexation and discursive cues would make subject recovery possible in such

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languages and distinguish them from languages like English or French which have been classified as [-null subject] languages based on the foundational NSP framework (Chomsky, 1981; Rizzi, 1982). Thus, while Spanish or Italian represent the group of [+null subject] languages whose null subjects represent pronouns, in languages such as Chinese or Japanese, according to Huang (1984), zero topics are not null pronouns but empty categories and are possible under certain discourse conditions. An example from Chinese is shown below.

- (22) a. Ø kanjian ta le
 see he LE
 'He saw him'
- b. Ta kanjian ta le
 He see he LE
 'He saw him'

Adapted from Huang (1984, p. 533).

The explanation for these empty categories is that the subject's reference is understood in discourse, which is fixed outside of the sentence, and makes sentence (22a) a grammatical option in Chinese. In order to convey the message, speakers use discursive cues that are available in the context of the conversation as shown with the null object illustrated in (23).

- (23) Speaker A: Shei kanjian-le Zhangsan?
 who see-LE Zhangsan
 'Who saw Zhangsan?'
- Speaker B: Lisi kanjian-le Ø.
 Lisi see-LE Ø
 'Lisi saw him.'

Adapted from Huang (1984, p. 539).

According to Huang (1984), Speaker B may refer either to Zhangsan or to someone else whose reference is understood in discourse, though it is fixed outside the

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sentence. Hyams (1994), following Rizzi (1986), claims that languages can have null arguments as long as they can be both licensed and identified. However, while in some languages like Uwa or Chinese null subjects are licensed and identified by discourse topics or cues, in languages with rich verbal paradigms like Spanish, null subjects are licensed at the level of Spec-INFL and identified through the f-features in AGR, as proposed by Rizzi (1986). This is illustrated in example (24).

(24)

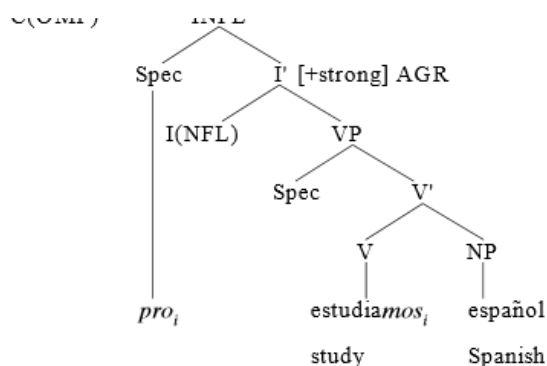


Figure 3.1. Syntactic Tree for Rich Verbal Paradigm Languages

From Liceras & Díaz (1999, p. 10).

Languages such as English, Spanish, and Italian are considered “syntactic languages” (or sentence-oriented) because they greatly rely on sentence structure. Jaeggli and Safir (1989), using Huang’s (1984) proposal, identify three types of languages: (i) those with rich agreement which have null subjects like Italian or Spanish; (ii) those like Chinese or Japanese with no agreement that allow zero topics; and (iii) those with partial agreement like English or French in which free omission of the subject is ungrammatical

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- (26) Nous-in junaan
step-PST.1SG train-into
'I boarded the train'

From Vainikka & Levy (1999, p.614)

According to Vainikka and Levy (1999), Hebrew imposes further restrictions on the use of overt subjects. Like Finnish, it requires an overt subject in the third person for the present, past, and future tenses, but also requires an overt subject for all the grammatical persons in present tense. Hebrew's verbal system does not have a third person grammatical marker in present tense. Examples (27) and (28) illustrate how the grammatical person affects null/overt subject variability.

- (27) * Ala al ha-rakevet (Hebrew)
stepped-PST/3SGM on the-train
'(He) boarded the train'

- (28) Aliti al ha-rakevet
step-PST/1SG on the-train
'I boarded the train'

From Vainikka & Levy (1999).

Thus, we observe that Finnish and Hebrew present variation in grammatical person. While Finnish requires overt subjects in the third person, Hebrew imposes the null subject restriction to all the grammatical persons in present tense.

Partial NSLs were also classified according to the nature of overt and null thematic and expletive subjects. Camacho (2011) presents four combinations of expletive and thematic subjects across languages:

1) *Null/overt thematic subjects/null expletive subjects*

In languages like Spanish or Uwa that have null/overt subject variability with thematic subjects, expletives are necessarily null.

Null/overt thematic subjects

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- (29) **Eyin** In ra- ro, Ø Besan abayro (Uwa)
 They Fast come-PRS.DECL steal much.
 ‘They come fast, they steal a lot’
- (30) **Él** ten-ía clase. Salió muy temprano de casa (Spanish)
 He have-PST.3SG class. Leave-PST.3SG very early from home
 ‘He had class. Ø left home very early’

Null expletive subjects

- (31) (*pro* / * EXPL) Séroan abáy yehnro. (Uwa)
 * (It) Be.PRS a lot wind
 ‘It is very windy’
- (32) (*pro* / * EXPL) Niev-a (Spanish)
 * (It) snow-PRT.3S [weather predicate]
 ‘It is snowing’

As examples (29) to (32) illustrate, while expletives need to be null in [+null subject] languages, thematic (referential) subjects can either be null or overt. This shows that Uwa and Spanish allow null/overt subject alternation. However, expletives cannot be overt in either of the two languages.

2) Overt thematic subjects/null expletive subjects.

While expletives need to be null, thematic subjects must be overt. An example from Cape Verdean Creole is shown in (33).

- (33) Sta faze kalor oji. (Cape Verdean Creole)
 Is make heat today
 ‘It’s hot today.’

From Baptista (2002).

3) Null thematic subjects/Overt expletives.

As examples (34) and (35) show, Finnish allows alternation of thematic subjects and expletives. Nevertheless, some expletives are obligatorily overt.

- (34) (**Minä**) puhun englantia. (Finnish)
 (I) speak English

‘I speak English.’

From Holmberg (2005, p.539).

- (35) **Sitä** Leikkii lapsia kadulla.
EXPL play children in-street
‘There are children playing in the street.’

From Holmberg (2002, p. 6.).

d) Overt thematic subjects/overt expletive subjects.

In languages like English both thematic and expletive are required to be overt subjects as shown in (36).

- (36) a. **He** went to the party.
b. **It** is raining cats and dogs

As the notion of partial NSLs became evident, the initial binary approach was expanded into a classification that included the specificities of a wider range of languages.

3.3. Interfaces in Subject Personal Expression

The role of interfaces in SPE, the idea that different modules of grammar (syntax, morphology, lexicon, semantics, phonology) interface with each other, has been given attention in the last decade or so (Sánchez, L., Camacho, J., & Ulloa, J, 2010). Liceras (1988) was one of the pioneers in addressing the relationship between discourse and the syntax of null subjects. She noticed that in contexts of dialogue, overt pronouns appeared to replace null pronouns more frequently than in other contexts. Later on, in describing the overt pronouns rates in Spanish by a group of bilingual Spanish-English twins, Liceras, Fernández Fuertes, and Alba de la Fuente (2012) found that bilingual and monolingual children produced comparable rates of overt pronouns. This study argues

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that although the production of overt subjects in Spanish is located at the pragmatic interface, the obligatory subject feature of English is not transferred.

The syntax/discourse interface seems particularly crucial for this study as the two languages of the bilinguals are [+null subject] languages but differ with respect to the discourse conditions which determine the distribution of null and overt subjects in each language. Spanish, as discussed above, is a syntactic-oriented language and Uwa is a discourse-oriented language. Thus, if Uwa influences the Spanish of SUW participants, we expect that bilinguals and monolinguals show dissimilarities as far as the syntax/discourse interface is concerned, particularly with respect to overt pronoun use.

3.4. Traditional Approach to Subject Pronominal Expression in Spanish

The body of literature on Spanish SPE has traditionally favored a syntactic approach. Textbooks often follow Fernandez Soriano's (1993) syntactic approach that claims that null subjects are the default option in Spanish. As mentioned in section 3.2.1, instances in which verbal conjugation makes clear who the subject is, or contexts when a pronoun or a noun has been introduced and there is a subject continuity, are scenarios in which a null subject is the default option. Contrariwise, overt pronouns are used when they fulfill a discourse task as in the examples in (37).

Switch of reference

- (37) a. **Ella** tiene vacaciones, pero **Yo** no tengo ninguna
[She has vacations, but I do not have any]

Change of reference is a common example in which an overt subject is required as a new subject is introduced.

Topicalization

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- b. ¿Quién va a la fiesta?
[Who goes to the party?]

Yo voy
[I go]

By adding a pronoun to the sentence, we place a strong emphasis on the Yo ‘I’.

The understood meaning of the sentence may be ‘I’, (not anybody else), am going to the party. The speaker is then using an overt pronoun to express emphasis.

Subject ambiguity

- c. Estaba tan feliz de hablar con ella. **Yo** pensaba todo el día en los dos
[(I) was very happy to talk to her, I thought all day about us]

- d. **Yo** veía cuando Ø salía de su casa (Lisbet, 20:34)
[I saw when (she) would leave her home]

From Moreno (2014).

In contexts in which the subject is not clear due to the context or due to the fact that given verb forms are ambiguous, an overt subject is often required, as is shown in (37d) where the subject may either refer to *her* or somebody else which is only understood by the context of the conversation.

3.5. Subject Omission Properties of Uwa and Spanish

In order to describe the predictors that are responsible for the use of null and overt subjects on Uwa and Spanish, we will first use the cluster of properties proposed within the foundational NSP framework (Chomsky, 1981; Rizzi, 1982), which, as we have indicated above, differentiate two typological groups of languages based on the fulfilment of a group of core properties or parametric options. However, an agreement on the universality of the association of the different properties to each parametric option has not yet been reached (Haider, 1994; Poll, 2015).

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In what follows, we discuss the link between a group of the aforementioned grammatical features and SP expression in the two languages of interest in this study, which happen to share common ground in having null/overt subject optionability but differ both in their origin (linguistic typology) and in the mechanisms that licence and identify null subjects.

NSLs and NNSLs.

(I) Possibility of thematic subject omission.

As shown in (38a-b), Spanish and Uwa both have null subjects.

- (38) a. \emptyset Mir-a-mos television
 Watch-VT-PRS.1PL television
 ‘We watch TV’
- b. \emptyset Cubará bi-jac-ro
 Cubará go-PST-DECL
 ‘We went to Cubará’

Adapted from Headland (1997, p.36).

(II) Possibility of ‘free’ inversion in simple clauses.

Rizzi (1982) argues that although NSLs like Spanish have a default word order SVO, they can also have an alternative VS word order. The two possibilities are illustrated in (39). According to Rizzi, this alternative word order is a defining property of NSLs.

- (39) a. **Leo** ha jugado
 Leo haber. AUX jug-PTCP
 ‘Leo has played’
- b. Ha jugado **Leo**
 ha AUX jug-PTCP Leo
 ‘Leo has played’

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However, this property is challenged by languages where free inversion is ungrammatical even though null subjects are not, as is the case of Uwa, whose default word order is SOV, as illustrated by the grammaticality of example (40) versus the ungrammaticality of example (41).

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|-----------|---------------------|-------|
| (40) | Asa | ruw | yá-ti-ro. | (Uwa) |
| | I | animals | eat-NEG-DECL | |
| | 'I | don't eat | animals' | |
| | | | | |
| (41) | * Ruw | Asa | yá-ti-ro | |
| | animals | I | don't eat -NEG-DECL | |

Adapted from Headland (1997, p.33).

(III) *Impossibility of overt expletive pronouns.*

According to Chomsky (1981) the impossibility of licensing overt expletives constitutes another property of NSLs.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-----------------------|----------|---------------------|
| (42) | a. | <i>(pro</i> / * EXPL) | Lluev-e | (Spanish) |
| | | * (It) | rain-3SG | [weather predicate] |
| | | 'It | rains' | |
| | | | | |
| | b. | <i>(pro</i> / * EXPL) | riwa | (Uwa) |
| | | * (It) | rains | |
| | | 'It rains' | | |

Adapted from Headland (1997, p.45).

As examples in (42) show, while NNSLs like English require an obligatory overt expletive subject in this sentence, languages like Spanish or Uwa do not allow this type of subject, which accounts for the ungrammaticality of (43) in both.

- | | | |
|------|--------|------------------|
| (43) | * ello | llueve (Spanish) |
| | * eya | riwa (Uwa) |
| | 'it | rains' |

As for the following three properties which differentiate NSLs from NNSLs, they are not available in Uwa. The Spanish examples are adapted from Martínez-Sanz (2011).

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Null empty resumptive.

According to Chomsky (1981), NSLs allow null resumptive pronouns in embedded clauses.

- (44) Este es el estudiante_i que *pro* me pregunto qué clase t_i quiere tomar.
 This be-PRS.3SG the student that (I) wonder-PST what class \emptyset want-3PS
 to take
 ‘This is the student that I wonder what class he wants to take’

In the above example, the subject *estudiante* ‘student’ is the subject of *quiere* ‘want’, as the empty category ‘*t*’ (trace) indicates. The possibility of crossing the wh-island delimited by *qué* (‘what’) constitutes a property of NSLs.

The that-trace effect.

In NSLs, even when the complementizer is realized, subject extraction is possible. In other words, as shown in (45a) the subject of the embedded clause can undergo wh-movement over an overt complementizer. This movement is illustrated in (45) by the coindexation of the trace *t* and the question word *quién* [who]. The trace represents the position from which the question word has moved.

- (45) a. ¿**Quién**_i piens-a-s *pro* que t_i está estudiando para el examen?
 Who think-VT-2SG that is studying for the exam
 ‘Who do you think (*that) is studying for the exam’
 b. Who do you think (*that) is studying for the exam?

In contrast, NNSLs do not allow extraction of a subject across a *that*-type complementizer as shown in (45b).

‘Long wh-movement’ of subjects.

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Martínez-Sanz (2011) returns to the idea originally posited by Rizzi (1982) according to which languages like Spanish allow ‘long movement’ of the subject in interrogative constructions, as it is the case with *la mujer* [the woman] in (46).

- (46) **La Mujer_i** que me pregunto a quién *t_i* había llamado
 The woman that to-me wonder-1SG.PRES to who call-3SG.PTCP
 ‘The woman (*that) I wonder who she has called.’

While linguists did not agree on whether all the listed properties above are related to the NSP, they became a point of reference in subsequent studies of the NSP. However, as new studies of languages with dissimilar morphological properties became available, a new leading explanation was needed to account for variation among those languages.

3.6. An Idiosyncratic Approach to Null Subject Licensing

While we take into consideration the available views of the null subject parameter, variations and the minimalist program (Adger & Smith, 2005; Cornips & Corrigan, 2005; Frascarelli, 2007; Jenkins, 2004; Sciullo & Boeckx, 2011; Uriagereka, 1998), we pursue an approach according to which we identify syntactic and discourse mechanisms that contribute to null/overt subject variability in each language. However, we claim that in the absence of an overt subject, NSLs are equipped with specific and unique linguistic resources that allow them to recover the missing subject. From this standpoint, each language has a unique degree of dependency on verbal inflection and discursive markers. For example, Uwa can be mostly classified as a discourse language like Chinese but also, to some degree, as a sentence-oriented language like Spanish or Italian.

As discussed, studies make a distinction between languages with rich systems of verb-subject agreement like Spanish and Italian, in which the verbal inflection is rich

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enough to recover the content of a missing subject (sentence-oriented languages), and languages like Uwa or Chinese, where there is no verb-subject or verb-object agreement (discourse-oriented languages). Given this situation, the approach of this study involves coming up with a proposal in which it is claimed that rather than classifying NSLs as either discourse-oriented (with rich verbal inflection) or sentence-oriented languages (with null or scarce verbal inflection), it is more precise to describe the discursive and morphological patterns in a given language. In other words, in our view, classifying languages as either being radically sentence-oriented or radically discourse-oriented languages does not allow us to account for languages like Uwa which display patterns of both discourse- and sentence-oriented languages. Moreover, studies have shown that variability exists between dialects. An example is the SP expression of Portuguese and Spanish. Poll (2015) discusses how speakers of Caribbean Spanish—more specifically, Dominican Spanish—and Brazilian Portuguese tend to produce overt subjects in contexts where their European counterparts would favor null subjects. Martínez-Sanz's (2011) study mentions the usage of the neutral pronoun *ello* [this] by Dominican speakers in a way that contradicts the impossibility of other Spanish dialects to license overt expletives.

3.6.1. Discourse-oriented patterns of Uwa

Huang (1984) returns to the idea originally posited by Tsao (1977), according to which discourse-oriented languages like Chinese present a clustering of distinctive properties that sentence-oriented languages do not have. Some of the properties that distinguish discourse-oriented from sentence-oriented languages are illustrated in the next section.

3.6.1.1. *Subject omission*

According to Huang (1984), discourse-oriented languages more freely omit subjects than sentence-oriented languages. Additionally, he indicates that discourse-oriented languages not only allow null subjects, but also zero topics that are bound to an initial topic in a topic chain. The same situation has been observed in Uwa, in which a zero topic may be bound by some NP whose reference is fixed in discourse.

- (47) a. Asa quin wa-ca-ro-ra. Rey roc-áta-ro (Uwa)
 To me-Esau- tell-pres-decl-contr Baha-bring-obl-decl
 ‘Esau told me you must bring [him]’

The reference in (47) for [him] is a discourse topic, in this case someone the discourse is about. In other words, the empty category [him] is not bound to the subject Essau. Based on Huang’s theory, in the previous example, instead of having a null subject, what we could have is a zero topic as there is no previous pronoun or noun in the current clause to identify the null subject.

Furthermore, these discursive clues would also allow languages like Uwa to have sentences with a relatively low number of words. For instance, Headland (1976) found that close to 80% of the sentences produced by Uwa speakers had fewer than six words. From this point of view, these languages could more freely omit elements of the sentence, as compared to languages that are more structure-oriented. The subsequent examples illustrate this point.

3.6.1.2. *Object pronoun omission*

- (48) a. Asa yau-ti uscará (Uwa)
 I kill-NEG anteater
 ‘I do not kill the anteater.’
- b. Asa yau-ti (uscará)

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I kill-NEG
 'I do not kill the anteater.'

Adapted from Headland (1997, p.45).

The relevant point is that the empty direct object in 48 (b) has a discourse dependency in languages like Uwa, which allows it to be realized as an empty category. In contrast, in similar contexts, languages like Spanish would require an object pronoun, as is shown in the example below.

- (49) a. Yo no mat-o al oso hormiguero
 I do not kill-PRS.1SG the anteater
 'I do not kill the anteater.'
- b. *Yo no mat-o
 I no kill-PRS.1SG
 'I do not kill.'

When we compare (40a) and (49b), we notice that the restriction on the absence of the direct object that holds for Spanish does not hold for Uwa. In other words, the distribution of a null object is more limited in Spanish than it is in Uwa. The following example in (50) shows that Spanish requires an object pronoun for the sentence to be grammatical unless the statement *yo no mato* [I do not kill] is said in general terms, meaning the participant does not kill any animal. This is not the case in example (49), as he specifically refers to not killing the anteater.

- (50) Yo no lo mat-o
 I no him kill-PRS.1SG
 'I do not kill it.'

Thus, contrary to Spanish, discourse oriented languages like Uwa allow direct object omission. It is claimed that discursive elements such as inference, context, and knowledge of the world help to determine the missing subject and/or object. Conversely, Spanish requires either an NP or a pronoun to fill this position, as illustrated in (49a).

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Since sentence (49b) does not fulfill this requirement, the omission makes the sentence ungrammatical.

3.6.1.3. Noun and adjunct omission

Noun and adjunct omission are also licensed in discourse oriented languages as illustrated next.

- (51) a. Is-ay-an Ø bar ri-jac-cua-no.
 Our-GEN-EMPH (corn) already grow-PST-DAILYACTION-DECL
 ‘Our corn is already grown.’
 Adapted from Headland (1997, p.33).

b. * Nuestro Ø ya crece
 ‘Our (corn) is already grown.’

c. Nuestro maíz ya crece
 ‘Our (corn) is already grown.’

- (52) a. Ruwa yau-jac-tara ey wahit-ay cu-ro Ø
 Animal kill-PST-COND that look-INF go-DECL (in the trap)
 ‘I went to see if I had killed an animal (in the trap).’

Adapted from Headland (1997, p.31).

b. * Fui a ver si había casado un animal Ø.
 *‘I went to see if I had killed an animal (in the trap)’.

c. Fui a ver si había cazado un animal en la trampa.
 ‘I went to see if I had killed an animal in the trap’.

As shown in (52a), given its discursive mechanisms, Uwa allows adjunct omission. In this case, these discursive clues make possible for the speakers to interpret the animal was killed ‘in the trap’. However, this is not always interpreted as ‘in the trap’ as it varies according to the discursive clues present in each context. In (51c), Spanish needs the noun for the sentence to be grammatical and the same is the case in (52b)

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unless the statement *Fui a ver si había cazado un animal* [I went to see if I had killed an animal] does not require the adjunct *en la trampa* [in the trap] in the sentence. The allowance of genuine noun and adjunct omission is characteristic of languages like Uwa.

3.6.1.4. *Verb omission*

Another property of discourse-oriented languages is the possibility of verb omission. Note the sharp contrast in acceptability between Uwa and Spanish with regard to this feature. Discourse oriented languages like Uwa often omit the verb, as is shown in the example (53). Contrariwise, Spanish has more restrictions in verb omission as (54) illustrates.

- (53) Is-an tet
 We-ENPH father
 ‘We have father.’

Adapted from Headland (1997, p.49).

- (54) * Nosotros papá
 We father
 ‘We have father.’

With regard to the above examples, one might plausibly assume that the discourse-oriented nature of such a language is what gives rise to the possibility of verbal deletion.

3.6.1.5. *Two argument omission*

Another asymmetry that can be observed is the number of arguments omitted in the sentence. Bearing this asymmetry in mind, however, we must first look at the following data:

- (55) a. Si yo no mat-o **Un Animal**, no pued-o regresar rápido

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- If I no kill-PRS.1SG an animal, (I) no can-PRS.1SG come back quickly
 ‘If I do not kill an animal, I cannot come back quickly.’
- b. Si no **Lo** mat-o, no pued-o regres-ar rápido
 If (I) no him kill-PRS.1SG, (I) no can-PRS.1SG come back-INF quickly
 ‘If I do not kill him, I cannot come back quickly.’
- c. *Si no \emptyset mat-o, no pued-o regres-ar rápido
 If (I) no (him) kill-PRS.1SG, (I) no can-PRS.1SG come back-INF quickly
 ‘If I do not kill him, I cannot come back quickly.’
- d. bira yau-ti réhc-yera in beca bár-i-ra
 then (I) kill-neg (an animal) aux- if (I) quickly come back no-NEGE-CONTR
 ‘then, If I do not kill an animal, I cannot come back quickly.’

Adapted from Headland (1997,

p.45).

In the above examples, the embedded object is a noun *un animal* [an animal] in sentence (a) and a pronoun *lo* [it] in sentence (b). While in both sentences it is possible to have a null subject, the omission of both arguments (the subject and the embedded object) will result in (c) being an ungrammatical sentence. In other words specific object omission is not possible in Spanish. Interestingly, the lack of two arguments (a subject and an object) is possible in languages like Uwa, as the reference is understood in discourse as sentence (d) illustrates. In this sentence, the embedded object may refer to something outside the entire sentence. A feasible explanation is that the total absence of agreement markers could facilitate the omission of the two arguments in languages like Uwa and Chinese. Huang (1984) claims that the lack of surface agreement triggers would

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be the necessary condition for omission of this type and adds that a discourse bond operator licenses the loss of these arguments.

3.7. Syntactic Patterns of Uwa and Spanish

Languages like Spanish, in which the inflectional paradigm in some contexts seems to make overt subjects unnecessary, differ from languages like Uwa, where the suffixes are more limited in their influence. Assumptions that the grammatical subject can be omitted if its referent can be otherwise identified, can be feasible answers for NSLs like Spanish or Italian. Discourse oriented languages also need to identify the subject, they simply do it in a different way, not relying on verbal agreement but in discourse clues available within the context.

Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) made the claim that the rich verbal morphology of languages like Spanish or Italian behaves like overt pronouns and therefore can fulfill the same function as shown in (56). However, this does not apply to NSLs like Uwa or Chinese, as will be shown in the next section.

- (56) Camin-a-r-**on** (Spanish)
 Walk-TV-PST.3PL
 ‘(They) walked’

3.7.1. Null subject pronoun availability

The examples below show that null/overt subject variability is possible in both Uwa and Spanish.

- (57) Sísira bi-jac-ro. Ø Isura bi-jac-ro (Uwa)
 Sísira go.PST. DECL. Ø (he) Cauca ir-PST-DECL
 ‘Sísira went. He went to Cauca’
 From Headland (1997, p. 23)
- (58) Leo fue a la universidad, dado que Ø tenía clase a las 9:00
 Leo go-PST to the university, since that Ø have-PST class at 9:00

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‘Leo went to the university, since he had class at 9:00’

Uwa, contrary to Spanish, has discourse resources that would allow null subjects. In other words, while the subject of example (57) is licensed by discursive clues, in (58) the null subject can only be referential and it is bound to the main clause subject.

3.7.2. Grammatical person verbal markers

3.6.2.1. First person

As we have seen in chapter 3ree, Spanish has suffixes that are grammatical person markers. For instance, in the verb *comer*, the suffix *-o* is the suffix for the singular, first-person form of the simple present tense. When the speaker is with at least one other person, suffix *-mos* is used.

(59) Yo com-**o**
 I eat-PRS.1SG
 ‘I eat’

(60) Nosotros com-e-**mos**
 We eat-VT-PRS.2PL
 ‘We eat’

Uwa, on the other hand, has some suffixes that are most commonly used with a specific grammatical person, even though they have another primary function. For instance, the suffix *-n* expresses that the speaker has a firm intention of doing something, in this case fixing their house. However, this suffix is mostly found in first person (singular and plural) sentences, as the example illustrates below.

(61) Bacat ubach tu.-**n**-ro.
 four house straw-INT-DECL
 ‘In four days, I’m going to fix the house with straw’

Adapted from Headland (1997, p.24).

3.6.2.2. Second person

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In normative varieties Spanish has three second-person suffix markers. For the singular forms in present tense, verbs ending in *-er* use suffixes – \emptyset , *-s* , *-s* for *usted* [you, formal], *tú* [you, informal] , and *vos* [you, informal] respectively, and *-is* and *-n* for the plural forms *vosotros* [you, informal] and *ustedes* [you, formal]. This wide selection in Spanish contrasts with Uwa as Uwa suffixes are less clear. For example, Uwa suffix – *ca* plays multiple roles in the sentence. Besides being an interrogative marker, it can also be identified as a second person maker for plural and singular forms.

(62) ¿bitat ben-**ca**?
when go-PRS.INT.PL
'When do you go?'

(63) bitat ben-**ca**
when go-PRS.2SG.PL
'When you go'

From Headland (1997, p.25).

Thus, while in example (62) the Uwa suffix **-ca** appears as an interrogative marker, in example (63) the suffix **-ca** represents a second person marker which shows its dual functions.

3.7.2.3. *Third person*

Spanish has one suffix to differentiate third person plural forms *-n*. Uwa, on the other hand, has the suffix –*cu* that not only refers to the involvement of the subject in the actions he/she describes, but is often used as a third person marker.

(64) bar cu-jac-**cu**-no.
already arrive-PST-3SG.PL.INV-DECL
'They (the parakeets) already arrived'

3.7.2.4. *Number*

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Some verbs in Uwa display their number by a vowel change in the verb's root as seen in (65) and (66).

(65) Ø Raj-**ac**-ro
 come-SG-PST
 ‘(He/she) came’

(66) Ø Raj-**oc**-ro
 come- PL-PST
 ‘(They) came’

3.7.3. Overt subject pronouns suffixes

Although Spanish does not have suffixes attached to overt subject pronouns, interestingly, Uwa has a set of suffixes that are used in combination with subject pronouns. These suffixes are used for marking emphasis and transitivity and are attached to the pronouns, as they cannot be displayed in isolation. They are shown in table 3.2.

Table 3.2. *Uwa suffixes -an and -at*

Suffix	Meaning
-an	Emphasis
-at	Transitivity

Examples of sentences that display the above suffixes appear in (67).

(67) a. Is-**an** cue-ro.
 We-ENF (very) sad-DECL
 ‘We live very sad’

From Headland (1997).

b. Asa-**at** eb yá-ca-ro.
 I-TR corn eat- PRS-DECL
 ‘I eat corn’

From Headland (1997, p.33).

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These two examples show that Uwa suffixes fulfill specific functions in the sentence. The suffix *-an* in (67a) is used to indicate that the speaker has a strong personal conviction in the veracity of the statement expressed. Suffix *-at* in (67b), on the other hand, indicates transitivity of the verb. Thus, we have shown that even though Spanish and Uwa allow null/overt subject alternation, they are equipped with different syntactic and discursive mechanisms that crucially influence null/overt subject expression.

3.8. Conclusions

The aim of this chapter has been to shed light on core NSP theories. The first part of the chapter focused on the complexity of initial NSP formulations that has characterized traditional attempts to determine whether or not null/overt alternation is only possible in languages that display a rich morphological agreement system. Besides the incontestable effect rich verbal paradigms have in NSLs like Spanish and Italian, it has also been mentioned that there are languages with zero inflection in which discourse mechanisms fulfill the same function a rich agreement system does. This study supports the view that inflectional paradigms and discursive clues are crucial for explaining the phenomenon of subject omission among languages, as they are both valid mechanisms to fulfill the condition of recoverability. A rich inflectional paradigm turns out to be a defining characteristic of languages like Spanish or Italian but is not as relevant in languages like Chinese or Uwa, as they do not have agreement affixes and have a higher reliance on discursive clues. Thus, in the remainder of the dissertation, we propose an analysis involving Uwa and Spanish based on their discourse and syntactic mechanisms. The comparison of Uwa and Spanish examples supports the view that parallel systems that allow null subject omission depict specificities that differentiate the two systems. We

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have argued that the null/overt subject alternation displayed by Uwa and Spanish is inextricably linked to the role that syntactic and discursive factors play in these languages. In fact, we have taken the position that some languages are equipped with discourse operators that allow them to licence null subjects as rich verbal paradigms allow subject omission in sentence oriented languages.

CHAPTER 4: VARIATIONIST THEORY OF SUBJECT PRONOMINAL EXPRESSION

Variationist studies claim that language is governed by a number of predictors. The purpose of this chapter is to review variationist approaches in relation to those predictors that have appeared to influence the optionality between overt and null subjects in different varieties of Spanish. This parametric option, inherited from Latin, has been widely debated among variationist researchers (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Alfaraz, Gabriela, 2015; Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996; Carvalho & Bessett, 2015; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Orozco, 2015, 2016, 2018a, 2018b; Travis, 2005a, 2005b; Carvalho and Child, 2011; Cameron and Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Michnowicz, 2015; Morales, 1980; Silva-Corvalán, 1982, 1994, 1997; Torres Cacoullos, 2012; Travis, 2007; inter alios). These studies have focused on contexts in which either an overt or null subject are grammatical options as illustrated in (1), where pronoun *yo* [I] is omitted in the embedded clause as it has already been introduced in the main clause.

- (1) Yo no hablo bien español, pero (yo) hablo muy bien el uwa.
[I do not speak well Spanish but (I) speak very well Uwa]

From Moreno (2014).

From the variationist approach, SPE is probabilistic in nature as opposed to being categorical. It is also claimed that SPE is governed by predictors that determine the degree of frequency of the overt/null alternation. Thus, speakers' choices in SPE are linked to these predictors and they can be measured quantitatively through multivariate analysis (D. Sankoff, 1988). Through this analysis, it is possible to compare the

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distribution of variable contexts, in this case the expression of null/overt subjects. While the literature in SPE is robust, most of the research has been carried out in monolingual settings. Barrenechea, & Alonso (1977), Silva-Corvalán (1982), and Bentivoglio (1987) were among the first studies that focused on a group of predictors that appeared to condition SPE. *Ambiguity*, *verb type*, or *grammatical person and number* were among them (Carvalho, 2011; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Zentella, 2007). These predictors have been rigorously studied and have consistently appeared significant in studies of SPE. Moreover, overall rates of SPE and the predictors and individual factor tendencies have reflected uniformity across different varieties of Spanish (Orozco, 2015). For instance, the Caribbean and mainland Latin American varieties have been described as having opposing patterns; Caribbean Spanish appears to favor overt subject whereas mainland Latin American varieties appear to have robust rates of null subjects (Méndez, 2013; Michnowicz, 2015; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007). The functional compensational theory (Hochberg, 1984) was used to explain this variation and it was argued that the loss of person and number marker /s/ of the Caribbean variety was compensated by the expression of overt pronouns (Cameron, 1982).

The overt/null subject variability that characterizes Spanish is also present in other languages and their varieties. The variable is greatly influenced by the way in which features are assembled in each language. For instance, in contrast to Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese from Portugal, American English and Brazilian Portuguese are less resilient to null subjects as shown in figure 4.1.

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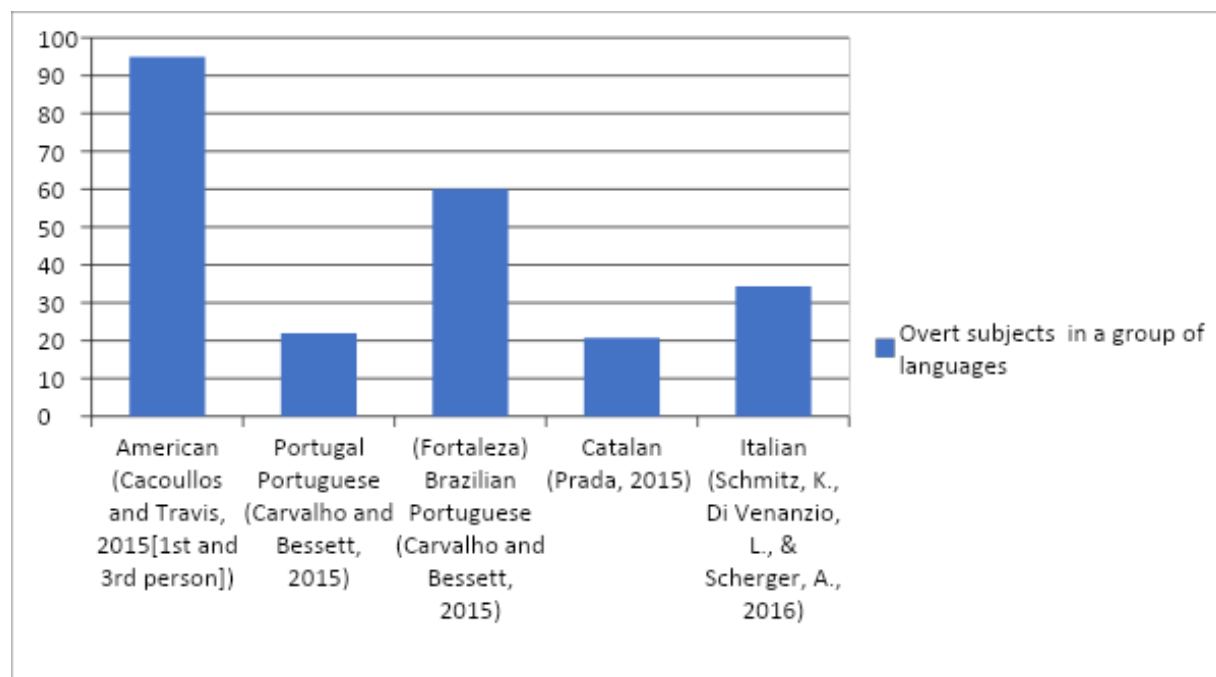


Figure 4.1. Rates of Overt Pronouns Production Among Various Languages

Figure 4.1 shows that although English allows null subjects in very limited contexts, overall speaking, the expression of overt subjects in English is about 95% of the time (Cacoullos & Travis, 2015). Conversely, Portuguese from Portugal and Catalan greatly favor null subject expression. The rates of overt subjects for both groups average 20%. As we see, the patterns of SPE of the languages in contact vary cross-linguistically.

Brazilian Portuguese and Portuguese from Portugal represent an interesting situation and rates for overt subjects for the two varieties greatly differ by about 40% (20% vs 60%). In alignment with Duarte's research (1993, 2000), Brazilian Portuguese is losing its null subject properties as table 4.2 depicts.

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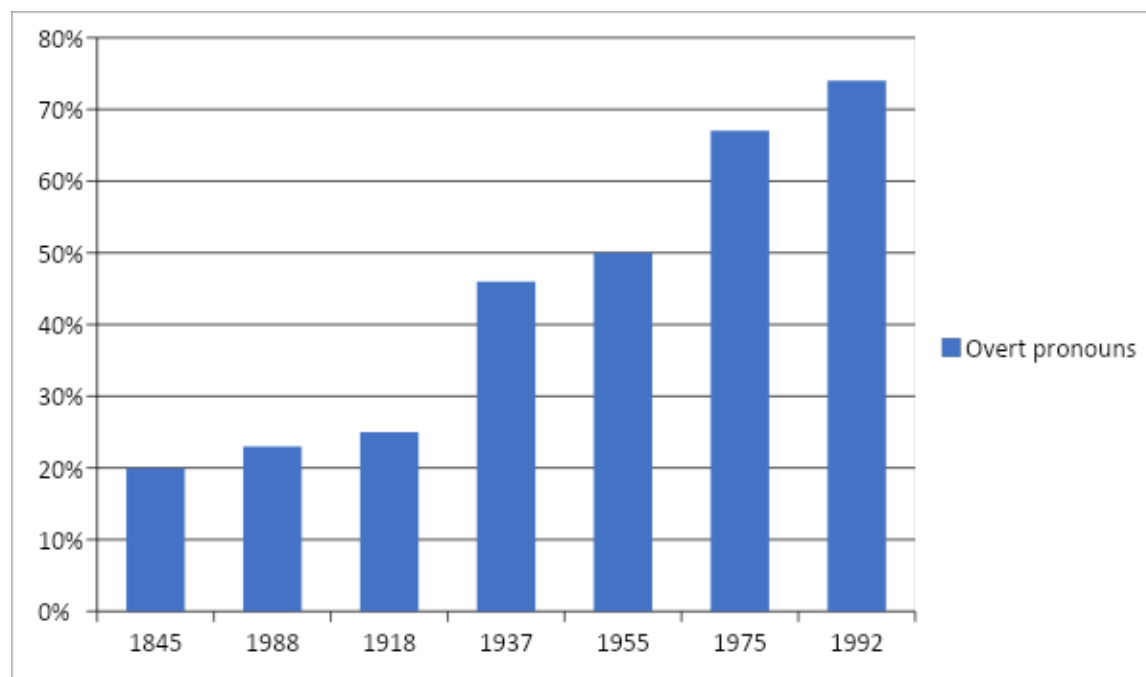


Figure 4.2. Overt Pronoun Expression in Brazilian Portuguese

From Duarte (1993, 2000)

Figure 4.2 shows that over the period of 147 years, the expression of overt subjects in Brazilian Portuguese has drastically increased over 50%. There was a slight rise of 5% from 1845 to 1918. However, from 1918 to 1937, this variety of Portuguese began to have more robust rates of overt pronouns. This longitudinal study presents evidence of how a language can lose the optionality between overt and null subjects over a given period of time.

In bilingual studies, the bilingualism effect has been found to be shaped by the grammar composition of the languages (Méndez, 2013; Michnowicz, 2015). Thus, SPE varies according to the nature of the two languages involved. These studies have been less frequent. We next discuss some of the studies in which Spanish is in contact with other languages.

4.2. Subject Pronominal Expression in Bilingual Settings

The effect of bilingualism has played a major role in SPE. Numerous studies on Spanish and other languages have argued that when Spanish is in contact with NNSLs, the SPE system of bilinguals show dissimilar patterns when compared to that of the monolinguals' (Silva-Corvalán, 1982; Flores Ferrán, 2004; Torres-Cacoulllos & Travis, 2010; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; De Prada, 2009, Michnowicz, 2015). However, it also depends on which monolingual system they are compared to. These studies tried to determine whether SPE in bilinguals is processed individually based on the language of use or if the licensing mechanisms of the two languages are in permanent interaction. For instance, De Prada (2009, p.189) found that the contact between Spanish and a NNSL like English increased the rates of overt subject pronouns in the Spanish of the bilinguals. By contrast, rates for bilinguals Spanish-Catalan speakers and monolingual Spanish speakers did not differ from each other. Results suggest that similar rates of overt pronouns are possible due to the similarities between the SPE system of Spanish and Catalan. This is not the case between English and Spanish as English is a NNSL and Spanish is a NSL. It is expected that English-Spanish bilinguals produce more overt pronouns than monolingual Spanish, as English favors overt pronouns more than Spanish.

As for language contact between Spanish and indigenous languages, research is more limited. Sánchez (2003) has extensively investigated the bilingualism effect between Spanish and Quechua, an indigenous language in Peru, and found evidence of cross-linguistic influence between Quechua and Spanish. In her words, "the activation of the functional features in one language triggered by the input in the other language

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generates syntactic changes in the bilingual grammar”. She noticed a significant frequency of SVO word order in the Quechua of the Lama Quechua bilinguals. She claims that the influence of the canonical word order of Spanish is responsible for this occurrence.

In the case of our study, we have very limited information about SUW. Spanish and Uwa are NSLs, however, as explained in chapter 3, they have different mechanisms for licensing null subjects. Thus, as in the case of previous studies, we expect that the licensing mechanisms of both Uwa and Spanish influence the SPE in the Spanish of the bilingual group. Before we investigate SUW, we present the results of SPE in bilingual studies including Spanish.

As seen in figure 4.3, Michnowicz (2015) found that when speaking Spanish, Maya-Spanish bilinguals produced overt subjects 23.5%, while monolinguals reached 16%. According to Michnowicz (2015), Maya and Spanish are both NSL, however, patterns of SPE vary across languages.

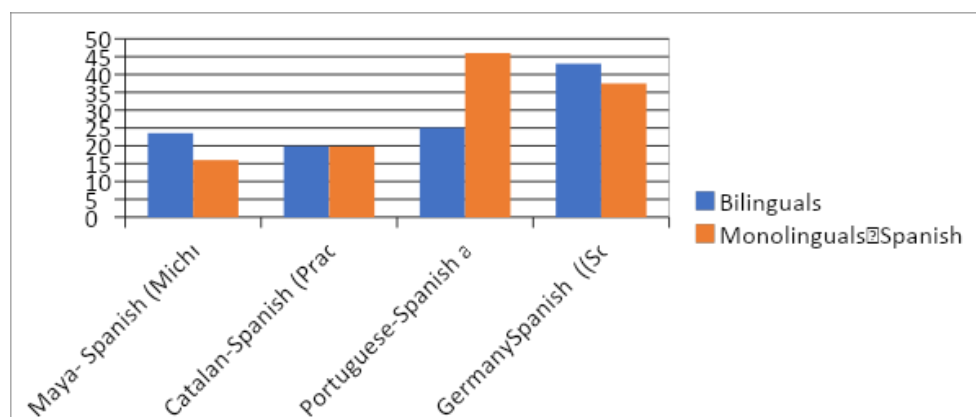


Figure 4.3. Studies Addressing SPE in the Speech of Bilinguals

Similarly, Schmitz, Venanzio & Scherger (2016) found that a group of German-Spanish bilinguals had 43% of overt subject pronouns, 5.5% more than their monolingual

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counterparts. The results of these two studies seem to support Sorace's hypothesis (2011) which claims that bilinguals tend to favor overt subjects more than monolinguals.

Nevertheless, other studies have also shown similarities in the rates of SPE between bilingual and monolingual groups. For instance, in studying the Spanish of the Rivera people (Portuguese-Spanish bilinguals living along the Uruguay and Brazil border), Carvalho and Bessett (2015) reported that they expressed overt subjects 25% in Spanish. However, this study does not mention a monolingual group. Instead, it compares the rates of SPE to the Portuguese of the same population. Furthermore, Prada (2015) tested the bilingualism effect in Spanish and Catalan. Results of this study showed that bilinguals and monolinguals behaved very similar.

In addition to the variability found in bilingual studies in which Spanish is in contact with other languages, research has also been centered on Spanish varieties as reviewed in the ensuing section.

4.3. Subject Pronominal Expression Across Spanish Varieties

Numerous studies have been conducted to determine the frequency in which null and overt pronouns are expressed in different Spanish varieties (Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1992; Hochberg, 1986; Orozco, 2015; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Martínez-Sanz, 2011; Méndez, 2013; Travis, 2007; Silva-Corvalán, 1982; *inter alios*). Table 4.1 shows some of the studies conducted in Caribbean and mainland varieties in Latin America. Results show that the Caribbean varieties report stronger rates of overt pronouns than their mainland Latin American counterparts, which suggests that despite the differences in overt and null expression rates, SPE in Spanish reflects uniformity across different varieties (Orozco, 2015).

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As far as the underlying reasoning for the variation in the rates in the above studies goes, it could be suggested that they may be linked to dialectal differences in Spanish and genre-based differences. For instance, while participants from Michnowicz (2015) were from mainland Latin America, Orozco & Guy's (2008) were from the coast. Results show a difference of over 15% between the two groups.

Table 4.1. *Overall Rates of SPE in Different Varieties of Spanish*

Study	Country	Pronominal Rate
Cameron (1992)	Madrid, Spain	21%
Silva-Corvalán (1982)	Los Angeles, USA	35%
Martínez-Sanz (2011)	Dominican Republic	51.4%
Méndez (2013)	Guajira, Colombia	50.8%
Michnowicz (2015)	Yucatan, Mexico	20.0%
Cameron (1996)	San Juan, Puerto Rico	60%
Orozco & Guy (2008)	Barranquilla, Colombia	35.7%
Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert (2007)	New York, USA	19%
Orozco (2015)	Barranquilla, Colombia	34.2%

Orozco & Guy claim that the frequency of overt SPs found in Barranquilla places this community within the Caribbean dialect region. It has been claimed that Caribbean Spanish has high rates of overt pronouns as compared to this geographical explanation. The studies presented above seem to be in agreement with this theory. For example, Spanish from Madrid only favors overt pronouns by 21%. Contrariwise, studies in Barranquilla (35.7%, 34.2%) and Guajira (50.8%), Colombia show more significant rates of overt pronouns. The same pattern has been reported for studies in Dominican Republic (51.4%) and Puerto Rico (60%). It is clear, then, that Caribbean Spanish favors overt SPs

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more than Peninsular Spanish. However, pronominal rates of Caribbean Spanish fluctuate between 34.2% and 60%. The functional hypothesis was used to account for nominal variation between varieties of Spanish. One proponent of this theory, Hochberg (1986), argued that the need to make up for the loss of person and number marker /s/ in the verbal paradigm of Caribbean Spanish encourages speakers of this variety to produce high rates of overt pronouns as compared to the Spanish in Madrid. According to her, there is a functional need that triggers and boosts overt subjects. However, Cameron (1993) reported opposing results to Hochberg. Cameron's study involved 10 speakers from Puerto Rico and 10 from Madrid. Results showed similar ranking of predictors and patterns of pronominal expression between the Puerto Rican and Madrid participants, which disagrees with the principles of the functional hypothesis. Additionally, Cameron suggested that there is a relation between the expression of non-specific and specific *tú* [you, informal] and rates of expression. According to him, varieties with less than 35% of overt *tú* favor *tú* specific, and varieties with more than 35% encourage *tú* non-specific. However, more research needs to be conducted in order to better understand why the expression of specific and non-specific *tú* varies among Spanish varieties and if these findings are replicated in other studies under similar conditions.

Méndez (2013), for his part, indicates that additional causes for the divergences found could be explained by virtue of the data elicitation methodology selected. He argues that conversation and narratives could raise the overt SPs as participants are asked to narrate events related to other people, which could increase the overt SP expression by requiring frequent use of third person singular and plural.

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Rates of null and overt SPs are claimed to be a significant indicator of SP expression. Early variationist studies, however, also found that other factors such as grammatical person, number, and type of verb and tense that seemed to also play a role in subject expression (Bentivoglio, 1987; Silva Corvalán, 1982). These factors constitute independent variables.

In summary, variationist studies have found variation in bilingual studies and also in dialects. In our study, what has yet to be discovered, is whether the SPE patterns of the Boyacá Spanish monolinguals are similar to those of the Uwa-Boyacá Spanish bilinguals, especially since both languages significantly favor null subjects. Thus, we aim to determine whether the contact variety is influenced by Uwa-specific properties as salient differences in expression rates between the bilinguals and the monolinguals can be an indicator of a bilingualism effect.

We will now refer to the most relevant factors and set of factors studied from the variationist approach and their significance in SP expression. As variationist studies take as their point of departure the dependent variable, independent variables (factor groups) and set of factors (predictors) will be discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.

4.4. Dependent Variable in Subject Pronominal Expression

A dependent variable constitutes the primary source of study. It refers to the optionality a speaker has to convey a given utterance. In these cases, the speaker can either produce an overt or a null subject and both choices are accepted as grammatical. These sentences are inside the envelope of variation (Labov, 1972, cited by Tagliamonte 2006:86). However, there are also contexts that do not allow variation, called categorical contexts as opposed to variable contexts. Categorical contexts are shown below.

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(I) Change of reference

Yo voy a trabajar, pero él va a la escuela
 [I go to work, but he goes to school]

From Moreno (2014).

This is a common example in which a change of reference requires the expression of an overt SP.

(II) Topicalization

The element that is questioned constitutes an instance of topicalization:

¿Quién vino a clase ayer?
 [Who came to class yesterday?]

Yo vine
 [I came]

From Moreno (2014).

(III) Subject ambiguity

Estaba tan feliz de hablar con ella. Yo pensaba todo el día en los dos.
 [(I) was very happy to talk to her, I thought all day about us]

Yo la veía cuando ella salía de su casa.
 [I saw her when she would leave her house]

From Moreno (2014).

In this last example, it is necessary to indicate the subject to avoid possible ambiguity between 1st and 3rd person singular options.

According to Fernández Soriano (1993), an overt subject is always avoided and it is only used when a clause forces it. Thus, in these cases, the expression of an overt SP is due to a change of subject, a case of topicalization, or a context that is ambiguous enough to demand an overt SP. The idea of using overt SPs only in contexts where an overt SP has a specific function to fulfill appears to be a suitable explanation for the overt/null SP

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variability in Spanish. However, besides the cases just mentioned, scholars have found factor groups that appear to greatly condition pronominal expression in Spanish. This will be discussed in the following section.

4.5. Independent Variable

Grammatical person, number, and type of verb, tense are examples of factor groups. Additionally, every factor group can be decomposed into a number of individual factors. For instance, if *grammatical person* is one of the factor groups, then the set of factors would include *first person, second person, and third person*; and if *number* is another factor group, the *singular and plural* forms for all grammatical persons need to be included as a set of factors. Barrechenea & Alonso (1973), Silva-Corvalán (1982), and Bentivoglio (1987) were among the pioneers using factor groups in subject expression. For example, Silva-Corvalán (1982) concluded that factors such as the *ambiguity of the verb* and *number* influence subject expression. Following Silva-Corvalán (1982), Bentivoglio (1987) studied the expression of first person singular and plural and concluded that the expression of overt singular pronouns is more likely than overt pronouns as shown below.

Table 4.2. Overt/Null Subject Rates For First Person Singular and Plural

	Total		1st person singular		1st person plural	
Overt (<i>pro</i>)	357/892	40%	329/721	46%	28/171	16%
Null	535/892	60%	392/721	54%	143/171	84%

Adapted from Bentivoglio (1987).

Bentivoglio (1987) also found that while a *change of reference* greatly favors overt subjects, *same reference* discourages them. Additionally, *type of verb, emphasis,*

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change of turn, ambiguity also were found to be significant factors for subject expression in her study.

Table 4.3. *Variable Hierarchies Of Linguistic Factors In Overt Pronoun Expression*

Ranking	Linguistic Factors	Percentage of Overt Subjects		Percentage of Null Subjects		Difference
1	Number	Sg.	46	Pl.	16	30
2	Reference change	[+RC]	52	[+CR]	25	27
3	Verbs	CPDV	56	Other	33	22
4	Emphasis	[+EM]	56	[-EM]	39	17
5	Turn change	[+TC]	49	[+TC]	37	12
6	Ambiguity	[+AM]	54	[+AM]	44	10

Adapted from Bentivoglio (1987).

In summary, variationist studies initially began analyzing the influence that factors such as *ambiguity of verb, number, change of reference, type of verb, emphasis,* and *turn change* had on the expression of subjects in Spanish.

The list of predictors has grown and has been enriched ever since variationist studies have shown consistency in the predictors that condition SPE in NSLs. Table 4.4 was adapted from Carvalho, A., Shin, A., Orozco, & Rafael (2015). Table 4.4 was created to show that there are specific patterns that systematically appear to condition SPE. The rates of overt pronouns found in these studies have reflected uniformity across different varieties of Spanish.

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Table 4.4. *Conditioners Of Subject Pronominal Expression In Spanish In Monolingual And Bilingual Settings Found In Previous Studies*

Conditioning variable	General trend of variable	Monolingual settings	Bilingual settings
Grammatical person/number	Varies which pronoun is expressed most often. Broadest generalization is that singular pronouns (<i>yo, tú, él/ella, usted, uno</i>) are expressed at higher rates than plural pronouns (<i>nosotros, ellos/ellas, ustedes</i>).	Abreu, 2009, 2012; Bentivoglio, 1987:36, 60; Claes, 2011; Posio, 2011; Ortiz López 2011; Prada Pérez, 2009	Abreu, 2009, 2012; Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997; Carvalho & Child 2011; Erker & Guy 2012; Flores Ferrán 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007
Switch-reference/co-reference, Distance from previous mention of reference.	Pronouns are expressed when reference is switched more often than when reference is maintained across two consecutive grammatical subjects. Also, the further back in the discourse the previous mention of the referent is, the greater the likelihood a pronoun will be expressed.	Bentivoglio 1987:60; Cameron 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995; Claes 2011; Enríquez 1984; Orozco & Guy 2008; Ortiz López 2011; Prada Pérez 2009; Travis 2007	Abreu 2009, 2012; Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997; Carvalho & Child 2011; Erker & Guy 2012; Flores Ferrán 2002, 2004; Hurtado 2005; Ortiz López 2011; Otheguy & Zentella 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007; Shin & Otheguy 2009; Silva-Corvalán 1994; Torres Cacoullós & Travis 2010, 2011; Travis 2007
Priming	Expression of pronoun triggers further expression of pronoun.	Travis 2007	Abreu 2009, 2012; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán 2004; Carvalho & Child 2011; Torres Cacoullós & Travis 2010, 2011; Travis 2007
TMA morphology	Ambiguous verb morphology (e.g., imperfect forms) promotes more pronoun use than unambiguous forms.	Abreu 2009, 2012; Almeida & Castellano 2001; Claes 2011; Bentivoglio 1987:45; Cameron 1994; Prada Pérez 2009; Travis 2007	Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997; Erker & Guy 2012; Flores Ferrán 2002, 2004, 2009; Hochberg 1986; Hurtado 2005; Otheguy & Zentella 2007, 2012; Otheguy,

Lexical semantics of verbs	Cognitive-psych verbs promote use of pronouns more than other types.	Abreu 2009, 2012; Bentivoglio 1987:52, 60; Enríquez 1984; Posio 2011; Miyajima 2000; Orozco & Guy 2008; Travis 2007	Zentella, & Livert 2007; Shin 2014; Shin & Montes-Alcalá 2014 Carvalho & Child 2011; Erker & Guy 2012; Flores-Ferrán 2002, 2004, 2009; Hurtado 2005; Otheguy & Zentella 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007; Silva-Corvalán 1994; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2010, 2011; Travis 2007
Clause type	Pronouns are most likely to be expressed in main clauses, less likely in dependent clauses, and least likely in coordinate clauses.	Abreu 2009:125; Enríquez 1984:256-258, Orozco & Guy 2008:77	Otheguy & Zentella 2012, Flores-Ferrán 2009, Shin & MontesAlcalá 2014. Others find no effect for clause type: Carvalho & Child 2011; Prada Pérez 2009:97; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2011:254, 258
Reflexive	Verbs that occur with a reflexive pronoun are more likely to promote pronoun omission than verbs that occur without a reflexive pronoun.		Abreu 2009, 2012; Bayley & Pease-Álvarez 1996, 1997; Carvalho & Child 2011; Otheguy & Zentella 2012
Conflict	Conflict narratives promote pronoun expression more than non-conflict parts of narratives.		Flores-Ferrán 2010

The above compilation of studies in table 4.4 in monolingual and bilingual settings gives us a more solid understanding of SPE as it allows us to make comparisons with and make connections between studies that are conducted on different varieties of

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Spanish as Dominican Republic, Colombia, Mexico, and Spain are among the countries in which data were collected.

4.6. Conclusions

This concise literature review suggests that some factors seem to greatly influence overt/null subject expression. We argue that regardless of a moderate degree of variation, SP expression reflects significant uniformity across different varieties of Spanish. For example, while high rates of overt pronouns are expected in Caribbean varieties, Peninsular varieties are more likely to show robust rates of null subjects, especially in Madrid.

Going beyond rates of overt/null SP expression, there are external and internal factors that are evident predictors of pronominal usage as they consistently appear significant in numerous investigations of SPE, regardless of the overall rates which differentiates varieties. For example, it has been found that subordinate clauses, stative, copulative, speech, and cognition verbs and imperfect indicative tense tend to favor overt SPs. Conversely, external activity and reflexive verbs, subjunctives and futures disfavor pronominal subjects. Additionally, overt SPs are expected to be favored by a complete change in subject and be disfavored by subjects that are coreferent with those of the previous clause. A tendency to maintain parallel structures has also been discussed. For example, it was found that one overt SP leads to another overt SP and a null subject favors the occurrence of another null subject.

As far as external factors are concerned, gender and age were found to be predictors. Regardless of the variation, women tend to display more overt SPs than men and younger speakers are expected to favor more null SPs than adults.

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More data is required to further account for the role of other factors. There is also an ongoing debate about the reaches of the functional hypothesis as it has been argued that high overt SP rates in Caribbean Spanish are due to the necessity to compensate the /s/ elision (Hochberg, 1986), however counter findings have also been presented (Cameron, 1993). Future research is required to determine if the trends found are consistent with other studies on SPE.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

Formal approaches and variationist approaches have both explained the issue of pronominal expression. While research conducted within a formal framework has first relied on the principles and parameters of the government and binding theory and specifically the properties linked to the NSP (Camacho, 2008; Chomsky, 1981; Huang, 1984; Rizzi, 1982; Robert, 1993), it has evolved into the minimalist approach focusing on language-specific mechanisms that highly influence the expression of null/overt subjects (Chomsky, 1995, 2000). Variationist investigation describes variable patterns associated to those mechanisms (Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996; Hochberg, 1986; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Travis, 2005a, 2005b; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Morales, 1980; Silva-Corvalán, 1982, 1994, 1997; *inter alios*).

Despite the differences in the methodological approaches, it is proposed in this dissertation that together, both frameworks can give a valuable account and a more complete picture of pronominal expression. Thus, we intend to study the morpho-syntactic features of SUW and BYS and to provide a detailed description of the most significant predictors of overt/ null subject expression. Furthermore, we also relate our findings to those of studies of the same nature that deal with other varieties of Spanish. Thus, the three broad aims that our study will address are:

(I) Investigate how we can describe the licensing mechanisms of SPE in SUW.

As stated, initial theoretical studies on null/overt SP expression rely on the government and binding theory. The overt/null alternation was viewed as an instance of parametric choice (Chomsky, 1981; Rizzi, 1982). As more languages were studied and it was shown that this binary approach could not account for the variability found in some

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languages, the minimalist framework was proposed as a more suitable approach to account for the idiosyncratic feature assembly that each language presented. As the minimalist approach showed that alternability between overt and null subjects is influenced by the way in which features are assembled in each language, new factors influencing SP expression came to light. In order to accommodate languages that do not relate with either the Spanish or the English type, Camacho (2011) divides languages in four groups: (i) null/overt thematic subjects/null expletive subjects; (ii) overt thematic subjects/null expletive subjects; (iii) null thematic subjects/overt expletives; (iv) overt thematic subjects/overt expletive subjects. Holmberg and Sheehan (2009) propose that there are partial NSLs, as there are certain languages that allow null subjects under more specific circumstances as compared to consistent null-subject languages.

Taking these views as a point of departure, the second aim that our study addresses is:

(II) Investigate the reaches of the functional hypothesis in explaining the issue of null/overt SSP expression in SUW.

Hochberg's (1986) proposes that high rates of overt subjects in the Caribbean varieties show underlying principles of the functional hypothesis. From this standpoint, the *elision* of the final [s] might trigger an increase of overt pronouns. As the lack of the suffix [s] prevails, overt pronouns would be called to compensate for the loss and avoid ambiguity in the sentence context. Fernandez Soriano (1993) claims that speakers always use null subjects as the default option and therefore only specific situations require overt subjects. Examples of these contexts include a change of subject, a case of topicalization,

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or a context that is ambiguous enough to demand an overt SP. In this study, we will show whether these proposals can account for subject expression in SUW.

Finally, the third broad issue we address is:

(III) Whether cross-linguistic influence can account for dialectal variation in the case of SUW.

There is an ongoing debate on interdependence versus autonomy of the two syntactic systems of the bilingual. Sanchez (2003) claims that “activation of the functional features in one language triggered by the input in the other language generates syntactic changes in the bilingual grammar”. Conversely, Costa, and Santesteban (2004) argue that highly proficient bilinguals possess an inhibitory control system that allows them to perform in either language without the transfer of syntactic properties. Evidence of cross-linguistic influence was found by Cuza (2012) in his study of embedded interrogatives. A more extreme case of cross-linguistic influence is known as *media lengua*, a language that has a mixed linguistic composition. It is comprised by Quechua morphology and Spanish syntax and lexicon (Muysken, 2000). Thus, the evidence of cross-linguistic influence is very robust in this specific case. In this study, we want to account for the cross-linguistic influence in SUW and to account for possible changes that this linguistic phenomenon creates in this specific contact-induced situation.

The three broad general issues previously mentioned guided the methodology of this study. Through the theoretical and variationist frameworks, we expect to answer the following research questions.

5.1. Research Questions

The following six research questions are from the formal (generative) approach (questions 1 to 3), and from the variationist approach (questions 4 to 6).

Research Question 1:

What is the distribution of overt/null SPE in SUW and how can formal theory account for it?

Hypothesis 1:

Within the field of generative linguistics, variation is seen as a difference in parametric values (Lightfoot, 1991, 1998, 2002; Roberts, 1993; Roberts & Roussou, 2003). Both Spanish and Uwa are NSLs and share some of the properties identified within government and binding theory. However, they are equipped with different licensing mechanisms for determining SPE, since Spanish mostly relies on syntactic mechanisms, while Uwa is mostly governed by discursive mechanisms. Thus, although the same data collection method was applied to the bilingual and monolingual group, we expect significant variation between them, given their distinctive mechanisms. According to Huang (1984), as sentence and discourse-oriented languages have different mechanisms involved in overt/null SP expression, they can be better studied if we assume there are two different parameters involved. Due to this parametric difference, the specific-languages mechanisms of both Spanish and Uwa, and the possible influence from Uwa into SUW, we expect that SUW will show an idiosyncratic SPE system with specific patterns that differentiate the SUW speakers from the control group, the BYS speakers and the speakers of other varieties. Furthermore, as Soriano's (1993) theory following Jaeggli, O., & Safir, K. (1989) claims that null subjects are the default option in

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Spanish, we expect BYS participants to limit usage of overt subjects to mostly instances of topicalization, a change of reference, or subject ambiguity. In addition to the previously mentioned contexts, and due to possible influence from Uwa, SUW participants are expected to produce instances of overt subjects that do not correspond to the canonical norm of Spanish.

Research Question 2:

What is the specific role of verbal agreement in subject licensing in SUW? What are the contexts in which SUW and BYS show systematic dissimilar patterns and how can this variation be formally explained?

Hypothesis 2:

It has been proposed that rich agreement plays a crucial role in sentence oriented languages like Spanish. We follow Rizzi's (1986) line of reasoning according to which in [+pro-drop] languages like Spanish with rich verbal paradigms, null languages are licensed via [+strong] INFL features and identified through rich agreement specification via f-features (as described in chapter 3). Also, following Huang (1984), Uwa, like Chinese, is bound by discourse operators and identified by null topics. Therefore, based on the assumption that the bilingual group has two attained grammars and that the Uwa one lacks verbal grammatical person markers, we expect the bilinguals to display higher frequency of overt SPs. The fact that Uwa is heavily bound to discourse operators would require SUW speakers to develop linguistic awareness of the Spanish verbal affixes. This may create linguistic insecurity which would favor overt SPs. Additionally (as discussed in chapter 3), Uwa has affixes that are attached to the pronouns of the first person singular and plural to express emphasis and transitivity. We assume that these affixes

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could also boost the expression of overt SPs in these grammatical persons as they receive emphasis and transitivity functions.

Research Question 3:

What is the role of discourse-pragmatic mechanisms in the overt and null SP expression in SUW?

Hypothesis 3:

This study has shown that discourse-pragmatic mechanisms license overt/null expression in topic oriented languages like Uwa as rich agreement does in sentence oriented languages like Spanish. We expect that discourse operators influence the SPE system of SUW by producing changes in its morphosyntax. For example, if we notice frequent omission patterns of arguments (clitics, direct objects, copulas) or contexts of SOV word order. These instances suggest evidence of convergence in the bilingual Spanish grammar as these patterns are found in Uwa grammar as discussed in chapter 3.

Sociolinguist interviews which are heavily focused on conversations and narratives are used as the data elicitation methodology. This methodology may contribute to a raise on overt SPs, especially in first and third person singular and plural, as participants are asked to narrate events related to themselves and other people (Mendez, 2013).

Research Question 4:

What are the rates of pronominal expression in SUW and BYS and how do they relate to other variationist studies in which similar methodology was used?

Hypothesis 4:

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If there is no bilingualism effect, Uwa will not transfer any syntactic properties to Spanish, and therefore SUW and BYS would display similar rates of SPE. However, it is expected that SUW and BYS present dissimilar rates of SPE. We expect that SUW will display higher rates of overt pronouns as the Uwa verbal suffix system does not convey grammatical person, which would require the overt pronouns and nouns to carry the grammatical person marker. Additionally, due to the Uwa affixes that attach to first person, we expect first person singular and plural to favor overt SP the most in SUW. In BYS, following patterns found in other studies (Cameron, 1992; Travis, 2005, 2007), we expect lower frequency of overt subjects with plural verbal forms than with singular forms. Despite the overt/null SPE variation between SUW and BYS, we expect overall overt SPE rates to reflect uniformity across different varieties of Spanish (Carvalho & Child, 2011; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Travis, 2007).

Research Question 5:

What are the internal predictors that condition the expression of the subject personal pronoun in SUW? Do they differ from the predictors found significant in other studies?

Hypothesis 5:

Some internal predictors are expected to play a crucial role in the SPE of SUW. Consistent with previous studies, we expect subordinate clauses; stative, copulative, speech and cognition verbs; and the imperfect indicative to favor overt SPs (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Almeida & Castellano, 2001; Claes, 2011; Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1994; Prada Pérez, 2009; Travis, 2007, inter alios). In contrast, we expect external activity and reflexive verbs, subjunctives and futures to disfavour pronominal subjects. Furthermore, overt SPs are expected to be expressed more often by a complete change in subject and

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be disfavoured by subjects that are coreferent with those of the previous clause (Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1992; Claes, 2011; Enríquez, 1984; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Ortiz López, 2011; Prada Pérez, 2009; Travis, 2007). A tendency to maintain parallel structures is also anticipated.

Research Question 6:

What are the external predictors that condition the expression of the subject personal pronoun in SUW? Do they differ from the predictors found significant in other studies?

Hypothesis 6:

We do not anticipate a great influence of external predictors; we only expect gender and age to be significant predictors of overt/null SP expression. Specifically, we expect women to favor more overt SPs than men and younger speakers to show higher rates of null SPs than adults (see chapter 4 for more detailed information).

5.2. Participants and Data Collection

5.2.1. Bilingual participants (Uwa Spanish)

According to the 2005 Colombian Census, there were 7,581 Uwa people living on the slopes of the Cucuy National Park and in the surrounding towns. In terms of its sociolinguist composition, 35.5 % of the community is bilingual.

Table 5.1. *Uwa Population Based On the 2005 Colombia National Census*

	Total	Men	Women	Bilingual
Uwa population	7581	3866	3715	2274

The participants interviewed for this study reside in Cubara, a frontier town of Colombia and Venezuela, with the largest concentration of Uwas. The data was collected

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in areas where the ASOUWA has control. Most of our SUW bilinguals come from rural areas and settled in Cubara due to different reasons such as being members of the ASOUWA, wanting to send their children to school, or wanting to find better job opportunities.

Cubara is located in the geographical region of Boyacá, Colombia. It is relatively close to the towns of Sarabena, Chiscas, and Güicán. It is also one of the most modern areas in which non- indigenous and indigenous people co-exist. One of the two groups of Uwa people live in the mountains and are isolated from modernity. As the physical environment in which rural Uwas live is extremely mountainous, they do not live in villages, but rather in scattered huts, with neighboring houses often being 2 or 3 kilometers apart. Most of these individuals only speak Uwa. By contrast, the other group of Uwa people who live in Cubará are used to the Colono's²¹ way of life and live accordingly to both the Colono and Uwa values and customs. Some of the participants from this group declared that they identify more with the Colonos' system with regards to things like diet, education, or their vision of the world. However, they claim their children should learn Uwa first and then Spanish.

The linguistic input our participants received varied according to their degree of education. Participants who went to school received instruction in Spanish, whereas participants who did not receive formal education learned Spanish in a more naturalistic setting.

²¹ Colono is the term used by Uwa people to refer to anyone non-indigenous or mixed raced.

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Our bilingual participants indicated that Spanish is promoted by the media and speaking it is a way to communicate with non-indigenous people. Uwa often feel there is an increase in positive linguistic attitude among the community to learn Spanish. Good education, job opportunities, and leaving the community seem to be key factors to encourage Uwas to learn Spanish.

Uwa perceive the Uwa language as being part of their identity. There is a great degree of pride in their ancient traditions and they use the Uwa language as a vehicle to pass on these traditions to the next generations. As Spanish is the dominant language in the towns the Uwa live in, they tend to spend months of the year up in the mountains¹⁰ where only Uwa people live. During these months, Uwas celebrate rituals which are perceived as the cornerstone of Uwa culture. Some Uwa participants mentioned a language shift that differentiates old generations from new generations. The ASOUWA association has made great efforts to preserve cultural identity and consider bilingual education programs as the fundamental factor for the future of the Uwa communities.

Our participants were born and raised in the Chuzcal or Cubara, rural areas in the Boyacá department. They were recruited in Cubara because this is the area where most SUW bilinguals reside. Participants formed a homogeneous group as far as social status is concerned. With respect to education, there was one participant who had an extensive academic background, three participants were illiterate, and the rest finished either elementary school or high school, as shown in table 5.2.

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Table 5.2. *Uwa Spanish Participants*

No.	Code	Age	Gender	Dominant Language	Education	Nickname
1	UW1	35	Female	Uwa, Spanish	High School	Carolina
2	UW2	18	Female	Uwa, Spanish	High School Student	Gaby
3	UW3	20	Male	Spanish, Uwa	Elementary School	Daniel
4	UW4	40	Female	Uwa, Spanish	Elementary School	Marina
5	UW5	41	Male	Spanish, Uwa	None	Agua
6	UW6	48	Male	Spanish, Uwa	University	Jorge
7	UW7	32	Male	Spanish, Uwa	University	Enrique
8	UW8	37	Male	Uwa, Spanish	None	Saul
9	UW9	23	Male	Spanish, Uwa	Elementary School	Yuber
10	UW10	22	Female	Uwa, Spanish	University	Lisbet
11	UW11	60	Male	Spanish, Uwa	None	Jose
12	UW12	27	Male	Spanish, Uwa	High School	Dayana
13	UW13	40	Female	Spanish, Uwa	Elementary School	Rosa
14	UW14	22	Female	Uwa, Spanish	Elementary School	Aida
15	UW15	90	Female	Uwa, Spanish	None	Enriqueta

There was a consensus among the ASOUWA²² members that the participants selected for this study were balanced bilinguals, however questionnaire was conducted to test the participants' proficiency in Uwa and Spanish as balanced bilingualism was a crucial factor in selecting the participants.

5.2.2. Monolingual participants (Boyacá Spanish)

The monolingual participants were recruited in the city of Tunja where Spanish is the only language spoken. We selected these participants for the control group as the Spanish spoken in Tunja is often referred as the most standard in the region. As Cubará, the town where we recruited the bilingual participants, is in the Boyacá Department, we

²² ASOUWA is the organization that represents Uwa people before private and public institutions.

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considered that the control group needed to be from the capital of Boyacá. In order to avoid any influence from a different language, we ensured that our participants indicated in the language background questionnaire that they either spoke Uwa and Spanish (the bilingual group) or only BYS (the control group). Thus, based on the information provided in the questionnaires, we ensured that the BYS participants did not have any influence from any second language or any other Spanish dialect. We also required that all the BYS participants lived, and had always lived, in Tunja or in neighboring towns.

Subjects had to answer general questions about their careers and family life. As they did not have a time limit during the interviews, they could extend their answers for as long as they wanted. Table 5.3. outlines other relevant information concerning the participants of the control group.

Table 5.3. *Spanish Participants*

No.	Code	Age	Gender	Language	Education	Nickname
1	TU1	23	Female	Spanish	University Student	Cathe
2	TU2	55	Female	Spanish	University	Ana
3	TU3	34	Male	Spanish	University	Albeiro
4	TU4	21	Male	Spanish	University Student	Beto
5	TU5	31	Male	Spanish	University	Juan
6	TU6	36	Male	Spanish	University	Gustavo
7	TU7	31	Male	Spanish	University Student	Henry
8	TU8	23	Male	Spanish	University	Luis
9	TU9	38	Female	Spanish	University	Laura
10	TU10	50	Female	Spanish	University	Marien
11	TU11	23	Male	Spanish	High School	Pablo
12	TU12	26	Male	Spanish	High School	Pedro
13	TU13	62	Female	Spanish	University	Amanda
14	TU14	39	Female	Spanish	University	Catherin

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15	TU15	50	Male	Spanish	High School	Mauricio
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As shown, the ages of our control group participants ranged from 23 to 50 and they all received formal instruction in Spanish. Most of them were university students, and only one participant was a high school student. Participants of this group did not have any knowledge of the Uwa language or any other language.

5.3. Data Collection

In order to provide an account of the potential differences between this contact variety of Spanish and standard varieties of Spanish, we used two tasks: guided interviews and a picture elicitation task. We carried out two on-site visits to collect data from a group of 20 bilingual SUW speakers (the experimental group) and a group of 20 monolingual BYS speakers (the control group). Due to our recruiting protocol, five interviews in each group were not included.

Task 1

We carried out what are usually known as ‘sociolinguistic interviews’. These guided interviews aim to reproduce an informal conversation between the participant and the interviewer. It has been shown that it is in informal conversations where the speakers of a language produce their most natural speech, or the type of speech that is closest to the ‘vernacular’ use of their own language (Labov, 1972). In order to encourage the most natural use of language, it was essential that the interviewee felt comfortable at all times with the topics that were discussed and with the way the interviewer developed this guided conversation. It was also essential that the interviewee did not perceive the interviewer as imposing any value-judgment on them.

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The main objective of the sociolinguistic interview was to record approximately one hour of speech from the interviewee in which they produced narratives and to obtain the demographic data necessary to carry out the analysis of the data collected. The sociolinguistic interviews in this study were an adaptation of Tagliamonte's interview module (2006) and Martínez-Sanz's questionnaire (2011). The interview consisted of a hierarchically-structured set of questions that formed conversational modules.

The interview began with questions related to demographics and the community/neighbourhood and progressed into conversational modules that aimed to elicit narratives of personal experience. Specifically, eight conversational modules were designed for this study:

1. Demographics
2. Neighborhood/Community and Social Practices
3. Parents and family
4. Work life
5. Traditions in the Family/Community and Folk Remedies
6. Travel
7. Uncommon Experiences
8. Language

Within each module, the questions were hierarchically organized as well. They began with exploratory queries, designed to assess whether the interviewee was interested in or willing to talk about that particular subject. If the interviewee showed an interest in the topic, the interviewer asked more detailed questions. If not, the interviewer moved to the next module until they found something that the interviewee enjoyed discussing.

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The modules and questions for this research project were selected taking into account the specific characteristics and way of life in the communities under investigation. For instance, the module on neighborhood/community and social practices included questions about the way people in the community relate to each other. These questions were designed taking into account the fact that in these communities, especially in the rural areas, there are strong bonds not only among families, but also among neighbors and the larger community. The module on travel was designed bearing in mind that it is fairly common for the people in these communities to immigrate or go to work outside Boyacá for different periods of their lives. Also, the module on traditions in the family/community and folk remedies focuses on specific practices and celebrations that take place in these communities. The interviews were transcribed using the Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts (CHAT) system (McWhinney, 2012).

Task 2

We then conducted a semi-structured elicitation task using the story-telling task “Frog, where are you?”¹² (Mayer 1969), telling the story¹³ using a standard script, as examples (1) and (2) illustrate.

(1) *Había un niño quien tenía un perro y una rana. Él tenía la rana en su cuarto en un jarro grande.*

[There once was a boy who had a dog and a pet frog. He kept the frog in a large jar in his bedroom.]

(2) *Una noche cuando el niño y su perro estaban durmiendo, la rana se escapó del jarro. La rana se salió por una ventana abierta.*

[One night while the boy and his dog were sleeping, the frog climbed out of the jar. He jumped out of an open window.]

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After the participant looked at the images, they were asked to tell the same story using their own words. There were a total of 25 pictures aimed to elicit specific tokens of SPE which could show evidence of an idiosyncratic SPE system.

For the structured elicitation task (SPSS), we used the Computerized Language Analysis (CLAN) to extract and code all instances in both the experimental and control group data in order to identify such instances of SPE. Statistical analyses were ran on the sociolinguistic interviews through the statistical program GoldVarb.

5.4. The Envelope of Variation

The envelope of variation refers to those contexts in which variation is not allowed. This set of contexts are called categorical contexts as opposed to variable contexts in which there is optionality in the realization of the examined dependent variable. In this study we did not include clauses with limited variability on SP. Namely, we did not include sentences where either null or overt subjects are obligatory. However, making a distinction between categorical and variable contexts is not an easy task as there is not a definite cut off line between them. Below are some contexts in which the overt/null optionality cannot occur.

(I) Noun phrases

As these clauses have a determiner phrase, in this case *el tiempo* [the weather] as shown in (3), they do not contain overt or null subject pronouns. Therefore, they are not relevant for this study.

- (3) *El tiempo está cambiando.*
[The weather is changing]

II. Impersonal verbs

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Impersonal verbs do not have a determinate subject in Spanish. Unlike English or French, Spanish does not have expletives. Three groups are included in this category: (a) meteorological verbs, (b) *hacer* [to do], *ser* [to be], and *haber* [auxiliary to have/to be] verbs and (c) impersonal verbs with *se* [one, they, people].

a) Meteorological verbs

These verbs refer to weather conditions:

- (4) *llueve.*
[(It) rains]

As it was stated in the introduction, NSLs do not allow overt expletive pronouns, which is the case for Spanish.

b) *Hacer, ser, and haber* verbs

- (5) *Hay colonos en las fincas*
[(There) are colonos in the farms]

- (6) *Hace calor*
[(It) is hot]

- (7) *Es muy temprano*
[(It) is very early]

These verbs can not have an expletive subject in Spanish. The possibility of null non-referential subjects is one property attributed to NSLs (Chomsky, 1981).

c) Impersonal verbs with *se*

- (8) *Se vendía arroz.*
[(It) was sold rice]
[Rice was sold]

These types of clauses require a null subject in Spanish.

III. Clauses where the subject is not determined

Use of *uno* as a subject. In these constructions, the subject is not determined.

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- (9) *Uno tiene quiere vivir en paz*
[One wants to live in peace]

Undetermined subject in third person plural

- (10) *Dicen que recuperaremos las tierras*
[(They) say we will recover the land]²³

IV. Reflective passive voice

In these types of clauses, the subject occupies the post verbal position and the Ø-role of theme, as it is the case in the active equivalent of the sentence.

- (11) *Se compraron los regalos*
[(There) were brought all the gifts]

V. Clauses with a pronoun + mismo [himself, herself] / misma [herself]

In these clauses the subject is followed by the reflexive *mismo/misma*. Since they specifically require an overt subject, they are not included.

- (12) *Él mismo construyó su casa*
[He, himself, built his house]

VI. Other sentences not included

As for sentence function, namely, reference to a speaker's purpose in uttering a specific sentence, only sentences with declarative function were included. Interrogative, exclamatory, and imperative sentences will be excluded. Examples of sentences not included in the analysis appear in (13) to (15).

- (13) *¿Trabajas en Guican?*
[Do (you) work in Guican?] *Interrogative*

- (14) *¡Cómo baila de bien!*
[How nice he dances!] *Exclamative*

²³ An undetermined subject cannot perform as the plural third- person. In other words, it does not refer to referential SPs but to one or many undermined entities.

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- (15) *Salga a la calle*
[Leave to the street] *Imperative*

VII. Sentences included

Clauses where either an overt or a null subject can be acceptable were. These variable contexts are included in the envelope of variation (Labov, 1972, cited by Tagliamonte, 2006:86). Some examples are illustrated below:

- (16) *Nosotros miramos la televisión, pero {Ø} no pensamos en las consecuencias.*
[We watch TV, but Ø (we) do not think about the consequences]
- (17) *Ellos se casan con los clanes suyos y yo me caso con los clanes míos.*
[They marry their clans and I marry mine]
- (18) *{Ø} Me estaba pidiendo que {Ø} me fuera de su casa.*
[*{Ø}* (She) was asking me that *{Ø}* (I) would leave his house]

5.5. Predictors Examined

To answer the above research questions and test our hypotheses, we explored the effects of 15 predictors (12 internal, 3 external). The internal predictors include the following: *discourse style, clause type, lexical content of verb, verb regularity, verb class, TMA form of the verb, preceding TM, person and number, switch reference, prior subject's person and number, realization of prior subject, and distance from previous coreferential subject.* The external predictors included in this study were *gender, age, education.* For comparison and relevance purposes, we based the choice of internal and external predictors Orozco & Guy (2008). The primary goal of this study was to analyze possible differences in SPE among monolingual and bilingual speakers of Uwa Spanish. We aimed to compare the significant predictors in this study with those found in other monolingual and bilingual studies under similar circumstances. Thus, under the principle

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of accountability (Labov, 1972:72), we isolated every finite sentence with declarative function where there was the possibility to express either a null or an overt SPE.

5.6. Statistical Analysis

The statistical program GoldVarb was used for three purposes: (i) to determine the significance of each variable; (ii) to determine the strength of the significance of each predictor within each variable; and (iii) to determine the ordering of the predictor hierarchy from higher to lower. The hierarchy is produced by each predictor weight. The closer each factor is to one, the more significant it is to the application value and the closer it is zero, the less significant it is to the application value (Tagliamonte, 2006).

In order to run a multivariable program, we checked the condition file to ensure that the marginal results did not have rates of 100% or 0%. Any found were discarded. For instance, there were no tokens of pronoun *tú* [you, informal] in as in this variety it is almost non-existent (Lipsky, 1996).

We ran a step-up/step-down regression analysis²⁴ to find the best stepping-up run and the best stepping-down run and checked that both had identical information. As the multivariable analysis progressed, special attention was paid to the fluctuation between the factor weights of each factor group as it is supposed to be minimal. In less than 20 interactions²⁵, the variable rule analysis was completed. In order to avoid the analysis being compromised, we made sure the factor groups were not overlapping or that there were not diverging or empty cells.

²⁴ We concur with Tagliamonte (2006) in that one-step analysis is not sufficient to evaluate the relative strength of the factor groups.

²⁵ Twenty interactions is the maximum set by the program.

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The most relevant patterns in SPE along with the predictors tested in this study are outlined next. Singular pronouns favor overt pronouns at a higher rate than plural pronouns. The likelihood for overt pronouns is greater when there is a reference switch or there is a significant distance between a subject and its reference. Similarly, morphologically ambiguous verbs and cognitive-psych verbs promote overt subjects more than non-ambiguous verbs or other types of verbs. As far as clause-related patterns are concerned, while overt pronouns are less likely in dependent, coordinate clauses and with reflexive verbs, the likelihood dramatically increases in main clauses and with non-reflexive verbs. Furthermore, we aim to give an account on the variability found in the set of factors of each variable. This will be discussed next.

5.7. Set of Factors

The independent variables (predictors) are comprised of sets of factors. For instance, Silva-Corvalán (1982) and Bentivoglio, (1987) found *number* to be a significant factor, and the set of factors for this factor were overt/null subject pronouns in *singular* and *plural* form. The set of factors are based on the specificities of the study and the nature of the language. It would be tempting to assume that the feature number is binary, and therefore it can only have two values (singular and plural), however there are languages in which dual represents another value Corbett (2012, p. 16).

Before we present our study, we consider the independent variables that are often found to play a significant role constraining variable SP expression in Spanish.

5.8. External and Internal Predictors and Subject Personal Pronoun Expression

In the early 2010s, a consensus was reached with regard to internal predictors that condition null/overt SPE. Studies have shown that (i) *internal (linguistic) predictors* such

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as priming (cf. Carvalho & Child, 2011; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Travis, 2007), verb class (Travis, 2007), grammatical person and number (Carvalho, 2011; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007); and (ii) *external (social) predictors* such as social class (Martínez, 2011) and age (Orozco & Guy, 2008) have revealed significant effects. Along the following lines, we provide examples of each of them and add others that have been relevant in other studies.

5.8.1. Internal (Linguistic) Factors

The selection of internal variables in this dissertation is based on the predictors that have been found significant in most variationist studies. In terms of clause variables, we give an account of the influence that the clause type (main, single, relative clauses, noun, conditional, coordinate) has on SPE. With regard to variables associated with the verb, we include lexical content of verb, verb regularity, verb class, T(ense) M(modality) A(spect), form of the verb, and preceding TMA. Subject variables comprise SP person and number, the person/number of the preceding subject, switch reference, the realization of prior subject, and distance from the previous co-referential subject. Chapter 5 gives a more detailed description of the predictors investigated in this dissertation.

5.8.2. Clause Variables

Previous studies have shown that clauses have different effects according to type. For instance, Otheguy & Zentella (2012) found that subordinate clauses tend to favor overt pronominal subjects, independent clauses tend to have a neutral effect and

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coordinate clauses tend to favor null subjects as the example illustrates.²⁶ Taken from the data for the present study.

- (5)y {Ø} no permiten que se casen con otro linaje.
[..... and {Ø} (they) don't allow to marry other clans.]

From Moreno (2014).

These trends are congruent with those of Orozco (2015) as we see in the following table.

Table 5.4. *Clauses in Overt Pronoun Expression*

Factor	Probability	%	N	% Data
Subordinate	.54	38.3%	274/715	23.8%
Independent	.50	34.5%	503/145	48.5%
Coordinate	.47	30.0%	250/834	27.7%
Range	7			

Taken from Orozco (2015, p. 22).

Through our elicitation tasks, we expect to better understand the role of the clause in SP expression. We will compare our results from those found in other studies.

5.8.3. Verb Variables

Lexical Content of Verb

Based on the classification used in other studies (Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; Enríquez, 1984), this category comprises mental activity, estimative, external activity and stative verbs. It has been found that there are systematic patterns of SPE production that are based on the lexical content of the verb. For instance, external activity verbs tend to favor null subjects (Enríquez, 1984) as in (6a) and the remaining verbs disfavor them (Orozco (2015), as would be the case for stative verbs (example 6b).

- 6) a) Ø *Aprendieron los cantos Uwa desde pequeños.* (line 50, Jorge)
[Ø (they) learned the Uwa song since they were a child.]

²⁶ Most of the examples are taken from the data from the present study.

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- b) *Ellos prefieren un lenguaje muy técnico.* (line 222, Carolina)
[They prefer a very technical language.]

Ambiguous verbs

This factor allows us to determine if morphologically ambiguous verbs are a conditioning factor in SPE. Silva-Corvalán (1982) argued that morphologically ambiguous verbal forms favor overt subjects. Similarly, Hochberg (1986) found that morphologically ambiguous verbs were more likely to use overt subjects²⁷. One possible explanation is that when ambiguity arises, overt pronouns appear to be the most suitable choice to avoid it. More recently Abreu (2009, 2012), Almeida and Castellano (2001), and Claes (2011) confirm that ambiguous verb morphology encourages more overt pronouns than unambiguous forms. However, in some studies the conditioning effect of this predictor is not very clear. An example with verb *caminar* [to walk] is presented.

Example:

- (7) *Entonces cuando ella caminaba por el Chuzcal, ella caminaba con los ojos abiertos. Ella miraba las señales.* (line 53, Agua)

[So when she walked to the Chuzcal, she walked with her eyes opened. She looked at the signs.]

Verb class

Verb class is another linguistic constraint that has also been proved to affect SP expression. Bentivoglio (1987), Enríquez (1984), Silva-Corvalán (1994), and Torres

²⁷ In this study, we include as morphologically ambiguous verbs undifferentiated verbal forms from first and third person singular in all the tenses of the subjunctive mood, the conditional and in the imperfect of the indicative.

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Cacoullos and Travis (2011) found that overt subjects are favored by psychological verbs. Following Travis (2007) and Torres Cacoullos and Travis (2011), it is the pronoun *Yo* [I] and specific constructions namely, *yo pienso* [I think], *yo creo* [I believe] that particularly encourages overt pronouns and accounts for the largest share of overt subjects. For instance, in Torres Cacoullos and Travis (2011), pronoun *yo* [I] accompanied by psychological verbs had a weight of (.70) and other classes of verbs (.46). Nonetheless, in 49% of the cases pronoun *yo* was used, as in *yo (no) sé* [I (don't) know] and *yo creo* [I think].

From a more general perspective and involving all the subject pronouns, Orozco (2015), found copulative, speech, and cognition verbs to favor overt subjects. Travis (2007) noticed that reflexive verbs appear to dramatically disfavor overt pronouns. We may infer that the referential information given by the reflexive pronoun could make use of the subject personal pronoun seem unnecessary. Interestingly, verbs that deal with motion appeared to disfavor SPs in Travis' study but they don't seem to strongly disfavor them in Carvalho (2011). An example of reflexive use is given below.

(8) (Ø) *me baño a las 6:00 cada día* (line 97, Agua)

[(Ø) (I) bathe every day at 6:00]

TMA Form of the Verb

This factor has been shown to be a significant predictor of SPE in numerous monolingual studies (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Almeida & Castellano, 2001; Claes, 2011; Bentivoglio, 1987; Hochberg, 1986; Michnowicz, 2015; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Orozco, 2015, inter alia) and bilingual settings (Erker & Guy, 2012; Hochberg, 1986; Hurtado, 2005a; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007). Erker and

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Guy (2012), Orozco and Guy (2008), and Otheguy and Zentella (2012) have divided TMA into 10 forms: (1) present indicative, (2) imperfect indicative, (3) preterite indicative, (4) perfect paradigms, (5) conditional, (6) morphological future, (7) periphrastic future, (8) subjunctive paradigms, (9) imperatives, and (10) other paradigms. Results show that subjunctives, futures and the imperfect indicative tend to favor null subjects more than other forms as illustrated in (9a) and (9b).

(9) a) *Viajaré al pueblo cuando tenga dinero* (line 131, Rosa)

[I will travel to the town when I have money]

b) *Tenía camisa blanca y pantalón negro* (line 87, Agua)

[I had white shirt and black pants]

Preceding TMA

Some studies have suggested that an imperfect indicative form exerts a favorable pressure on overt pronouns (Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1993; Orozco, 2015; Prada Pérez, 2009; Travis, 2005b, 2007; among others). Following the functional hypothesis theory, ambiguous contexts trigger overt pronouns as a functional mechanism. The idea behind this is that in these contexts, overt pronouns are more likely to be expressed. It has been claimed that overt pronouns are more likely in preceding forms of imperfect indicative. Other tenses like subjunctives, futures and the imperative tend to favor null subjects (Orozco, 2015). This is illustrated as follows.

(10) *Ellos tomarán la ruta de Guican, Ø caminarán por casi dos días.* (line 47, Rosa)

[They will take the Guican route, they will walk for almost two days.]

5.8.4. Subject variables

A total of four subject variables are tested in this group: (1) priming, (2) SP person and number, (3) switch reference, and (4) distance from previous co-referential subject.

Priming

As far as internal (linguistic) predictors are concerned, *parallelism or priming* is one of the most studied features in SP expression. It appears to be a significant constraint in previous studies of SP expression (Carvalho & Child, 2011; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Travis, 2007). Priming is defined as the tendency to maintain parallel structures. For example, it is known that subjects are more likely to be unexpressed when they are also the subject of the preceding clause, and are more likely to be expressed when there is a switch in subject from that of the preceding clause. A null subject can also condition a second null subject making the second null subject more likely to be expressed. These patterns occur regardless of number and persons, as in the example below.

- (11) *Mientras nosotros cuidamos la naturaleza, ellos la destruyen* (line 89, Agua)

[While we take care of nature, they destroy it]

SP Person and Number

As far as which pronouns have the greatest propensity to surface as overt pronouns (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996, 1997; Bentivoglio, 1987; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Claes, 2011; Erker & Guy, 2012; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007), generally speaking, variationist studies show that the singular *yo, tú, él, ella, usted, uno* tend to surface more frequently as overt forms than the

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plural pronouns *nosotros, ellos/ellas, ustedes*. For instance, Carvalho (2011), Orozco (2015) found third person plural *ellos/ellas* [they] to be the grammatical person with the smallest probability of occurring with an explicit pronoun. By contrast, singular first person is the grammatical person favoring the an explicit pronoun as in table 5.5.

Table 5.5. *Overt/Null Rates For Person and Number*

Grammatical Person	Pronominal Rate	Overt SPEs	Null Subjects	% Data
1 st singular	44.5%	565	705	42.2%
2 nd singular	32.5%	76	158	7.8%
3 rd singular	39.6%	300	458	25.2%
1 st singular	12.8%	43	293	11.2%
2 nd plural	38.9%	7	11	0.6%
3 rd plural	9.9%	39	354	13.1%
All pronouns	34.2%	1030	1979	100.0%

Taken from Orozco (2015, p. 21).

The third person singular is ranked second based on its likelihood to be realized with an explicit pronoun. Following Holmberg (2009), Martínez (2011) suggests that the absence of overt SP may be due to linguistic economy, as verbal suffixes would carry enough referential information as in (12).

(12) *Tenían casas misionales en todo el territorio.* (line 150, Yuber)

[They had missionary houses in all the territory.]

Switch Reference

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Overt SPs are expected to be favored by a complete change in subject and be disfavored by subjects that are coreferent with those of the previous clause. The reason for this could be to avoid ambiguity as the following example shows:

(13) *Él me invitó a comer y yo estaba feliz.* (line 37, Carolina).

[He invited me to eat and I was happy.]

As the above example shows, a change of subject requires expression of an overt subject. Previous studies agree on these findings. Orozco and Guy (2008, 74) and Orozco (2015) found that change of subject triggers an overt SP, whereas null subjects are not likely to occur if there is coreference with the previous clause.

Distance from Previous Co-referential Subject

As a result of the priming effect, the main idea is that the strongest parallelism between two co-referential subjects when there are less than six words. The greater the distance, the weaker effect we expect from the subject expression of the antecedent. As in the example (14), the distance between the subjects is less than six words, thus a parallel structure is more likely to occur.

(14) *Vivo es para el hoy, Ø no sé si Ø vaya a amanecer vivo o muerto mañana*

(line 369, Jorge).

[(I) live for today, (I) do not know if (I) will be alive or dead tomorrow]

5.8.5. External (Social) Factors

There is a debate on the role played by external factors in constraining SPE. While these predictors have not been found to play a major role in some studies (Bentivoglio, 1987; Silva-Corvalán, 2001; Martínez-Sanz, 2011; Orozco & Guy, 2008), other studies report mixed results. For instance, in Prada Pérez (2015) age and gender

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were significant; however, language group was discarded. The middle age group had higher rates of explicit pronouns as compared to the youngest and oldest group. We will continue this discussion in the ensuing paragraphs.

Social class and gender

Some initial studies dismissed the role of external factors in subject expression. For instance, Bentivoglio (1987) found that social class and gender were significant conditioners of subject expression. Results of this study are illustrated in 4.6. chart.

Table 5.6. *Overt SPs For Gender*

Overt subjects	Rates	Percentages
Males	178/439	40%
Females	179/453	40%

Taken from Bentivoglio (1987).

As table 5.6 shows, the rates for gender are very comparable. Regarding gender, we often find diversified results. In Bentivoglio (1987), gender has a neutral effect as men (40%) and women (40%) reported the same percentage of overt pronouns. Following Carvalho and Child (2011: 22), “males disfavor overt SPEs whereas females tend to favor expressed subjects”. In Prada Pérez (2015), females (25.6%) reported higher percentages than men (16.4%). Conversely, Michnowicz (2015) reported that males (22%) had more robust rates of overt pronouns than females (18%). Martínez (2011) studied SPE in Dominican Republic Spanish and found that women (53.3%), as compared to men (49.6%), showed higher rates of overt SPs. Similarly, Carvalho (2011), reported higher rates of null SPs for males whereas females slightly favored overt SPs. Men used overt subjects 41.2% of the time, whereas women did so at a rate of 29.7%. As

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a consensus has not been reached in this matter, the study of this predictor presents fertile ground for further research.

In regard to age differences, Orozco & Guy (2008) also found that younger speakers tend to use more null SPs than adults. According to Orozco and Guy's study, speakers continue to increase the occurrence of overt SPs until they age 50. In accordance with Orozco and Guy's (2008), Orozco (2015) there is a crucial role of age on nominal expression as shown in table 5.7.

Table 5.7. *Intersection of Speaker's Gender and Age*

Age	Prob.	%	N	% Data
Women Born before 1960	.55	40.3%	329/816	27.1%
Women Born after 1960	.50	33.2%	226/680	22.6%
Men Born before 1960	.49	30.6%	244/797	26.5%
Men Born after 1960	.45	32.3%	231/716	23.8%
<i>Range</i>	<i>10</i>			

Taken from Orozco (2015).

Based on table 5.7, women are more likely to produce overt SPs, especially those born before 1960. The same pattern applies to men. Those born before 1960 have a stronger tendency than the ones after 1960. This means that younger generations seem to favor SP expression.

This study is needed to ascertain the underlying effects of external factors and determine if the patterns found in previous studies are also applicable to our study.

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CHAPTER 6: AN ANALYSIS OF THE SUBJECT PRONOMINAL EXPRESSION OF
UWA SPANISH FROM THE GENERATIVE FRAMEWORK

Traditional generative theory assumes that although the availability of null and overt subjects in [+null subject] occurs in many languages, the mechanisms involved in licensing SPE present significant variation (Chomsky, 1981; Huang, 1984; Holmberg, Nayudu & Sheehan, 2009; Rizzi, 1982; Vainikka & Levy, 1999). The debate has been centered on how these mechanisms recover or identify the content of a null subject. Research has shown that the role of these mechanisms vary within language varieties. For instance, Duarte (2000) shows that Brazilian Portuguese favors overt pronouns in instances where European Portuguese prefers null subjects. A possible language change situation was mentioned as a feasible explanation for the quantitative difference between the two Portuguese varieties. It was claimed that this language change was motivated by the contact with other languages, especially those of African origin. It was equally argued that this language change may be leading Brazilian Portuguese to become a non-NSL. In the case of Spanish, it has been claimed that Caribbean Spanish tends to show robust rates of overt pronouns as compared to other varieties (Lipski, 1996; Martínez-Sanz, 2011; Cameron, 1992; Orozco, 2015; Silva-Corvalán, 1982; *inter alios*). Toribio (2000) concurs with Duarte (2000) by claiming that the high rates of overt pronouns in Dominican Spanish are triggered by a state of language change in which a new grammar with the non-null subject setting is in competition with the old null subject setting grammar.

This chapter will provide further evidence for the crucial role of discourse operators in the identification of null subjects. As discussed by Rizzi (1986) following

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Chomsky (1981, 1982) and Rizzi (1982), for a null subject (*pro*) to be present, two conditions must be met. The null category (for instance by the features of INFL) and the content of *pro* must be identified by AGR, the person-number-gender features. However, Jaeggli and Safir (1989), building on Huang's (1984) proposal, referred to a third group of languages: those like Chinese or Japanese with no agreement that are bound by topics whose reference is understood from context

We will argue that SUW has mixed mechanisms to license null subjects. Null subjects in SUW can be identified by inflection (INFL), given the rich-inflection verbal paradigm of Spanish. However, null subjects in SUW can also be identified by discourse topics²⁸, given the possible influence from Uwa.

The main objectives of this chapter are: (i) to provide a formal description of the nature and extent of the mechanisms involved in licensing null subjects in SUW and to give an account on some of the results found in our variationist study; (ii) to give an account on contexts in which null subjects are identified by INFL and by topics in SUW; and (iii) to determine whether our SPE of SUW data provides evidence that SUW bilinguals are equipped with dual mechanisms to identify null subjects and, therefore, inflection identification and discourse topics co-exist in SUW. For this, a description of the SPE of SUW as compared to the monolingual BYS group will be provided.

In the first section we present an account on SPE of SUW based on the parametric theory and the EPP feature. In the second section, we discuss the characteristics attributed to discourse oriented languages. The second section is dedicated to the description of SPE

²⁸ In Thompson's (1981) words a discourse topic refers to "what the sentence is about".

expression in SUW and to the possible influence of Uwa and we specifically discuss factors such as subject-verb mismatches, SUW behavior towards the [+topic shift] feature and imperfect tense, and the role of Uwa suffixes *-an* and *-at*. Finally, in the fourth section, some conclusions are outlined.

6.1. The Null Subject Parameter and The Extended Projection Principle Feature

Under the NSP framework, there are languages that allow null subjects under special conditions, as was indicated in chapter 3. Chomsky (1981) and Rizzi (1982, 1986) argue that language features such as rich verbal inflexion and agreement are decisive factors to license and identify null subjects. According to Chomsky's (1981) government and binding theory, all sentences are required to meet the EPP to license null subjects. The obligatory presence of overt expletives in languages like English supports this principle. The basis of this formulation is that the function of expletives is to fulfill the requirement that each sentence needs to have the Spec, IP position filled. As canonical Spanish²⁹ does not allow overt expletives to fill the Spec, IP position, this requirement is filled by the empty category *pro*. According to Rizzi's (1982, 1986) proposal, Spanish is a [+*pro-drop*] language whose null subjects are licensed by INFL and identified through the rich agreement (f-features). Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) and Holmberg (2005) reformulated the EPP under two main assumptions.

²⁹ Dominican Spanish represents an exception to canonical Spanish and it has been claimed that this variety allows expletives in some contexts (Martínez-Sanz, 2007; Martínez-Sanz & Toribio, 2008).

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6.1.1. Assumption A

Based on Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's (1998) account, *pro* does not exist in null subject constructions. Instead, verbal morphology is itself interpretable. Agreement is not only referential but it receives the theta-role. From this standing, the category *pro* does not exist as agreement bears nominative case. However, while this can be a suitable explanation for languages with rich verbal paradigms, it does not apply to languages with scarce or null morphology. The operation to validate the EPP in languages with rich inflectional paradigms, as in the case of Spanish, is through verb movement as illustrated in figure 6.1.

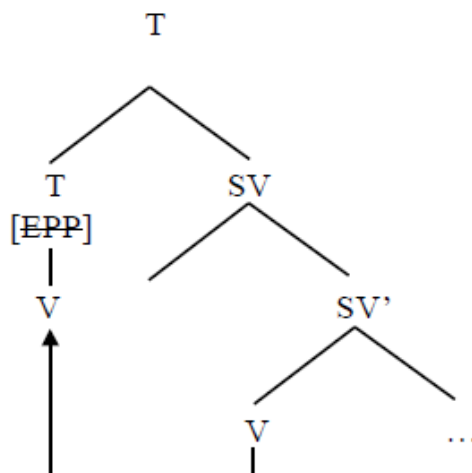


Figure 6.1. Verb Movement

Adapted from Martínez-Sanz (2011, p .422).

6.1.2. Assumption B

As opposed to assumption A, in assumption B, *pro* plays a crucial role in bearing the interpretable phi-features³⁰. It is *pro* that values the uninterpretable features of agreement. Instead, verbal morphology is uninterpretable. According to Holmberg's (2005) theory, null subjects are unpronounced pronouns with bundles of interpretable phi-features that are employed to validate the uninterpretable verbal agreement phi-features. As figure 6.2 shows, the null subject rises to Spec, TP and it carries phi-features. It does not, however, have the referential feature.

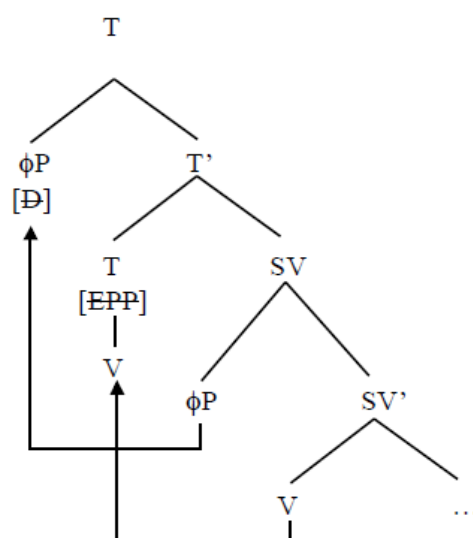


Figure 6.2. Null Subject Raising

Adapted from Martínez-Sanz (2011, p. 422).

From assumption B, and in spite of not being phonetically spelled out, null subjects essentially behave as their explicit counterparts as they both value the uninterpretable features in T.

³⁰ By phi-features we refer to the semantic features of *person*, *number*, and *gender* encoded in the pronouns.

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From Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (1998) proposal, the EPP is satisfied by referential agreement, and from Holmberg's (2005) theory, the EPP is validated by the bundles of interpretable phi-features that are employed to validate the EPP. While we do not intend to choose between the previously mentioned assumptions, we aim to focus on how the null subject licensing mechanisms identify the missing antecedent and explain the variation found between the rates of SPE in SUW and the BYS control group as shown below.

Following Huang (1984), Licerias and Díaz (1999) state that all languages can have null subjects. However, there are languages that can license and identify them through the rich agreement (Spanish), those that do so by discourse topics (like Chinese), and additionally, as shown in chapter 3, there are languages in which identification can take place both through topics and via agreement (such as Uwa). In this dissertation, we aim to describe whether or not the Spanish of our bilinguals is also equipped with this dual mechanism influenced by the contact with Uwa. We know that a scarce verbal inflexion discourages null subjects as is the case in English and French, and a rich verbal inflexion favors them as in Spanish and Italian (Chomsky, 1981; Rizzi, 1982). From the generative framework, every language would reset the NSP based on the licensing mechanisms available depending on the parametric option of the language. However, in bilinguals it is not clear whether the mechanisms from each language interact with each other or if the bilingual develops two systems independently. Our research shows that SUW bilinguals might be experiencing a process of restructuring of the SPE system in their variety of Spanish by adding the discourse topic mechanisms as an additional resource to license and identify null subjects.

Following Li and Thompson (1981), we assume that the reference in topic oriented languages is a topic of a previous sentence and these topics determine the sequence of the subsequent topics building what has been defined as a topic chain (Huang, 1984). Thus, it is the topic and not the subject that controls the coreferential constituent as shown in (1).

- (1) *Nosotros aprendemos cómo convivir con la madre tierra. [Los Werjayás] Enseñan con historias como es la cosmovisión Uwa del mundo.*
 [We learn how to live with our mother earth. (They) teach with stories how the Uwa understanding of the world is.]

From Moreno (2014).

In example (1), the EC (they) is not coreferential with the previous clause, instead it refers to the topic *los Werjayás*³¹, which is understood by the chain of topics within the context of the conversation. If SUW is equipped with discourse topics, it may be more resilient to bear the [+topic shift] feature more consistently than BYS. The canonical norm in Spanish is that null subjects are not supposed to bear a [+topic shift] feature as overt subjects are to fulfill the [+topic shift] feature.

It has been claimed that there are idiosyncratic characteristics often attributed to discourse oriented languages. we will briefly refer to these characteristics in the ensuing paragraphs.

6.2. Characteristics Attributed to Discourse Oriented Languages

6.2.1. Sensitivity to the [+topic shift] feature

The canonical norm in Spanish is that null subjects are not supposed to bear a [+topic shift] feature as overt subjects are to fulfill the [+topic shift] feature as in (2).

- (2) *Nosotros vamos a Cubara, pero él va a Guican.* (Daniel, 10:04)

³¹ The *Werjayá* is the name given to Uwa leaders known by their wisdom.

[We go to Cubara, but he goes to Güicá.]

From Moreno (2014).

In example (2), the change of subject from *nosotros* [we] to *él* [he] triggers the presence of an overt subject.

Although some studies have also shown that in certain cases null subjects can carry the [+topic shift] feature in native grammars (Liceras, Alba & Martínez-Sanz, 2010), it is expected that overt subjects, most of the time, bear the [+topic shift] feature in languages like Spanish. However, in topic oriented languages null subjects can carry the [+topic shift] feature as shown below.

- (3) *Mis hermanos iban al parque cada día, la pasaban muy bien. En cambio, (yo) tenía que quedarme en casa haciendo tareas.* (Uwa 3, 1:241-257)
[My brother used to go to the park every day. (I), instead, had to stay home doing homework.]

From Moreno (2014).

In example (3), the change of subject from *mis hermanos* [my brothers] to *yo* [I] should trigger the presence of an overt subject. However, instead there is an EC which in this case represents a null subject whose reference is pronoun *yo* [I] as the context indicates.

6.2.2. Restriction on the reference of the Empty Category

Following Huang (1984), ECs are governed by some restrictions on the type of reference possible based on their function in the clause. In examples (4a)-(4d), the EC functions as a subject, a direct object and as the subject of the embedded clause.

- (4) a. Subject

(\emptyset) *Vive en el Cubará* (Jose, L85)
[(he/she) lives in Cubara]

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b. Direct object

Yo quería conocer (Ø) más, pero su genio era muy malo (Rosa, L128)

[I wanted to know (him/her) better but his character was very bad]

c. Subject of the embedded clause

El paisano decía que (Ø) no tenía trabajo. (Dayana, L76)

[The neighbour said that (he/she) did not have work]

d. Direct object

Él no quiso acompañar (Ø) al viaje. (Daniel, 187)

[He did not want to accompany (him/her) in the trip]

From Moreno (2014).

Following the theory of topic oriented languages like Chinese or Uwa, while the EC can alternatively be referential to a subject or a topic when the EC is an embedded subject, the EC can only be referential to a topic when it is the subject of the main clause. If SUW is influenced by the patterns of Uwa, then in (4a)³², (4b), and (4d) what we have is an EC whose reference is a topic. Therefore, there is not a referential subject marked in the sentence. Contrariwise, the EC in (4c) offers two possibilities: it can either be a null subject and refer to the *paisano*, or it can also be an EC whose reference is a topic that is understood in context.

In addition to the sensitivity to the [+topic shift] feature, it has also been claimed that discourse topic languages omit arguments more freely than sentence oriented languages (Huang, 1984) as the examples in the next section show.

³² Example (4a) can be attested in pro-drop languages. However, what we claim in this study is that example (4a) can either be a null subject or a discourse topic. Instead, in BYS, it can only be a null subject.

6.2.3. Omission of clitics

It has been claimed that topic oriented languages omit clitics frequently, especially the non-tonic pronouns SE and ME as the subsequent examples show.

- (5) Bueno, el español todavía (se) me dificulta. (Agua, L356)
[Well, Spanish is still difficult for me]
- (6) *Quiero levantar(me) a las cinco de la mañana* (Jorge, L72)
[I want to get up at five in the morning]

From Moreno (2014).

In the above examples, the omission of the pronouns SE and ME will result in (5) and (6) being ungrammatical sentences in Standard Spanish and in the Spanish variety from Boyacá.

In example (7), the direct object is freely omitted.

- (7) *Yo mato las pavas. Yo (las) mato en la mañana cuando están reunidas*
(Saul, L129)
[I kill the turkeys. I kill (them) when (they) are together]

From Moreno (2014).

This example illustrates a case in which a SUW speaker says that he kills turkeys but he fails to include the direct object, which would result in an ungrammatical sentence in Spanish but not in Uwa.

A feasible explanation for the above examples is that some discursive operators could facilitate the absence of these pronouns which is a tendency attributed to languages like Chinese or Uwa. In addition, topic oriented languages show contexts of word clipping in which syllables of words are omitted as shown in the next section.

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We have seen usage tendencies attributed to topic oriented languages and will now discuss our results in order to determine whether those tendencies alter the SPE expression of SUW.

6.3. Results

We aim to establish whether the expression of overt subjects can shed light on the possible influence of Uwa into SUW. In order to determine whether there is a dissimilar distribution of overt subjects, we used semi-spontaneous interviews as the data elicitation methodology. These guided interviews focus on conversations and narratives and aim to reproduce an informal conversation between the participant and the interviewer encouraging the most natural use of language. After running a multivariable analysis with GOLDBAR, results in table 6.1 confirm that the rates of SPE of SUW differ from those of BYS.

Table 6.1. *Distribution of Overt and Null SPE in SUW and BYS*

Bilinguals SUW			Monolinguals		
Form	N	%	Form	N	%
Null subjects	693	69%	Null subjects	707	77%
Overt Subjects	315	31%	Overt Subjects	274	23%
Total	100	100%	Total	982	100%

The rates of overt SPEs show a tendency towards null SPEs which is a characteristic attributed to Spanish. Although both groups speak the same variety of Spanish, the above table depicts variation between the rates of overt SPE of SUW and BYS. SUW displays overt subject rates of 31% while BYS displays rates of 23%. This rate of the bilinguals is 8% higher compared to the monolinguals.

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As we have discussed in chapter 3, languages use different mechanisms such as INF or discourse topics to identify null subject. Spanish greatly relies on INF for subject recovery while Uwa heavily depends on its discursive clues. However, in bilinguals, the role of these mechanisms may be more difficult to determine as the interaction between the languages might bring about changes to the licensing mechanisms used by the bilingual speakers not present in the monolingual speech.

As SUW displayed robust rates of overt SPEs, we analyzed factors that could contribute to such variation. One of the factors analyzed was subject-verb mismatches.

6.3.1. Subject-verb mismatches in Uwa Spanish

Table 6.2. *Distribution Of Subject-Verb Mismatches in Overt and Null SPE in SUW*

Subject-Verb Mismatches with Overt Subjects			Verb Mismatches with Null Subjects		
	N	%		N	%
Overt Subjects	280	88.8%	Null subjects	665	96%
Subject-verb Mismatches	35	11.1%	Verb Mismatches	28	3.9%
Total	315	100%	Total	693	100%

Although we do not intend to make a categorical assumption as to what the contributing factors boosting the rates of overt pronouns in SUW are, given the 11.1% of subject-verb mismatches and 3.9% of verb mismatches, results may suggest there are licensing mechanisms of Uwa origin helping recover the antecedent. Instead, in the monolingual group INF or overt SPEs would play a more crucial role. Through the CHILDES system and the program CLAN, we identified contexts of subject-verb mismatches in three interviews and the overt pronoun they were followed by as table 6.3 and the examples below illustrate.

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Table 6.3. *Distribution By Pronoun of Subject-Verb Mismatches in Overt and Null SPE in SUW*

	1 st singular	1 st plural	3 rd singular	3 rd plural	Total
Rates	15	7	12	2	35
Percentage	43%	20%	34%	5.7%	100%

- (11) *En los años pasados nosotros caminaba [caminábamos] por dos semanas de Cubará a Guican* (Yuber, L241)
[In the last years we walked for two weeks from Cubará to Guican]
- (12) *Él trabajar [trabaja] aquí en Cubará (trabaja)* (Uwa 5, l:131)
[He works here in Cubará]
- (13) *INT: *¿Cuánto tiempo llevan de casados?* (Uwa 11, l:37)
[How long have you been married?]
*UW11: *Nosotros no sabe [sabemos].*
[We do not know]

From Moreno (2014).

In this fragment, we see evidence of subject-verb mismatches. In example (11), the SUW participant misses the first person plural agreement marker *-mos*. In example (12), the SUW speaker uses the infinitive instead of the verbal ending of third person singular *-a* and in example (13) he misses the first person plural marker *-mos*, as in (11). We see that in (11), (12), and (13), an overt subject is expressed.

The above examples in which an overt pronoun is accompanied by subject-verb contexts mostly involves 1st person singular, 1st person plural and 3rd person singular. In order to further study this issue, in the ensuing section we will refer to the SPE expression of SUW and BYS based on the grammatical person.

6.3.2. Subject pronominal expression by grammatical person in Uwa Spanish and Boyacá Spanish

It has been claimed throughout this dissertation that the grammatical person factor may shed some light on some of the idiosyncratic features found in SUW. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 show results of the distribution of SPE expression in SUW and BYS.

Table 6.4. *Person and Number Factor in SUW*

Person/Number	Pronominal Rate	Overt SPEs	Null Subject	% Data
1 st singular	47%	114	134	24.2%
2 nd singular	29%	89	217	30.3%
3 rd singular	37.7%	29	48	7.3%
1 st plural	31.3%	26	57	8.2%
2 nd plural	20%	9	46	5.5%
3 rd plural	11%	26	213	23.7%

Table 6.5. *Person and Number Factor in BYS*

Person/Number	Pronominal Rate	Overt SPEs	Null Subject	% Data
1 st singular	29%	65	159	22.82%
2 nd singular	26%	82	233	32.1%
3 rd singular	25%	25	75	10.1%
1 st plural	11%	23	184	21.1%
2 nd plural	22%	15	53	6.9%
3 rd plural	28%	19	49	6.9%

We used CLAN to report the pronouns with the highest frequency and to analyze the contexts in which they were produced. We use the command `FREQ` to count the frequencies of words used in three semi-spontaneous interviews. Throughout the alphabetical list of words generated, we paid special attention to the pronouns with the highest frequency.

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Results seem to unveil systematic patterns. First, second, and third person singular are ranked in the same order in both groups. Second and third person plural, on the other hand, present slight variation. The pronoun *yo* [I] reported the largest percentage of the data with 47% for SUW, only accounted for 29% for BYS. The pronoun *nosotros* [we] had 31.3% for SUW and 28% for BYS. In general terms, and as expected, the singular grammatical persons appear to be expressed more often than their plural counterparts. In SUW, more overt pronouns are produced than in BYS. However, as seen before, SUW presents contexts of subject-verb mismatches not present in BYS. The ranking for first, second, and third grammatical persons is the same for SUW and BYS, there is slight variation of 3% for second person plural. However, there is a strong variation of 18% for first person singular and 12.7% for third person singular. SUW rates for overt subject pronouns are significantly higher.

Similar claims have been found in Dominican Spanish (Toribio, 2000) and Brazilian Portuguese (Duarte, 1993, 1995). These studies found robust overall rates of overt SPEs in these two varieties. It was claimed that the high rates of overt pronouns found in Brazilian Portuguese and Dominican Spanish were the result of an incoming grammar with the nonnull subject setting making its way into a grammar with the null subject setting. In Brazilian Portuguese the incoming grammar is changing Brazilian Portuguese from being NSL to being Non-NSL.

We suggest that discursive mechanisms of Uwa origin may compensate any communication gap that may exist in SUW when such mismatches occur. From this point of view, BYS would be equipped with two grammars, the BYS grammar which will be

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influenced by the SUW grammar in situations such as in contexts of subject-verb mismatches.

6.3.3. Use of the adverb *sí* and Uwa Suffixes *-an* and *-at*

The high rates of first person singular, first person plural and third person singular pronouns stand out by their frequency in the SUW grammar. After running the `FREQ` command and in the process of data analysis, it was noted that the word *sí* [yes] appeared significantly in the bilingual speech and often after a pronoun as the following example shows it.

- (14) *Igualmente el hombre blanco, como siempre habíamos dicho, él también pertenece a la naturaleza, él sí tiene su madre y su padre como nosotros.* (W8,48)

[Likewise the white man, as we have always said it, he also belongs to nature, he **yes** has his mother and father like us]

From Moreno (2014).

The results from `FREQ` command are shown below.

Table 6.6. *Distribution of Adverb Sí in SUW and BYS*

SUW			BYS		
	N	%		N	%
Adverb <i>sí</i> after a pronoun	24	38%	Adverb <i>sí</i> after a pronoun	1	2.7%
Adverb <i>sí</i> not after a pronoun	39	61.9%	Adverb <i>sí</i> not after a pronoun	41	33%
Total	63	100%	Total	42	100%

The frequency of *sí* “yes” in selected files exhibited patterns in SUW not found in BYS. The adverb *sí* appears consistently after pronouns in the SUW grammar as the following examples show:

- (15)

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- a. *A mi mamá ya tenía siete meses de estar fallecida, yo la extrañaba yo Sí era un huérfano sin nadie para vivir (W8, 123)*
[My mother had been deceased for seven months, I missed her, I **Yes** was an orphan with nobody to live]
- b. *Y le dije, no pues, tía, la verdad, la verdad, vine pa cá. Ella dijo, bien, pero mijo, yo entiendo la situación, yo Sí quiero recibirlo en mi casa (W8, 214)*
[And I said, aunt, the truth, the truth, I came here. She said, but son I understand the situation, I **Yes** want to have you over in my house]
- c. *Lo que yo tengo no es de nadie. yo Sí he dicho siempre: todo tiene dueño (W4,35)*
[What I have does not belong to anybody. I **Yes** have always said it. Everything has an owner]

From Moreno (2014).

In example (15a), referring to his mother, the speaker uses an overt pronoun when he changes the subject from his mother to himself. Then, he continues talking about himself. When he mentions that he is an orphan, a null subject could be displayed. Instead, an overt pronoun is expressed followed by adverb *sí*.

In example (15b), the speaker mentions how he shows up unannounced to his aunt's house. Then, his aunt said she understood the situation and she expressed her desire to help. However, the use of the adverb *sí* seems to provide more than one interpretation to the sentence. It could be a main sentence which would be followed by a subordinate sentence in which the aunt possibly excuses herself for not being able to have her nephew in her house. However, as there is no subordinate clause in this case, the adverb *sí* seems to be used as an emphasizing marker.

Similarly, in example (15c), after the speaker says that what he has does not belong to anyone, he seems to imply that he but not others said that everything has an owner. However, a closer look creates the impression that by using the adverb *sí*, the speaker was putting emphasis in his statement.

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Indirect instances of transfer such as the one represented by the adverb *sí* have also been said to occur in:

1. Evidentiality in Quechua-Spanish

Sanchez (2003; 2004) argues that the higher frequency of imperfective morphology in the Spanish of bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers when compared to monolingual Spanish speakers is due to the fact that Quechua marks evidentiality rather than aspect. The evidentiality conveyed by affixes such as *-sqa* (attached to verbs) or *-si* and *-s* (attached to nominals) is ‘transferred’ to bilingual Spanish via the overuse of imperfect morphology (past imperfective and pluperfect forms).

2. Fillers, catch-alls or monosyllabic placeholders in L2 acquisition

We should like to refer to other language contact situations where cases of monosyllabic lexical items have been reported. For instance, Fleta (1999), Lazaro Ibarrola (2002) or Perales (2004), among others) have shown that learners of English as a second language whose L1 is a null subject language, realize a [+lexical inflection] (the verbal personal affixes of Spanish) using “fillers” or “catch-alls” such as those listed in (16) and (17).

- (16) The mother IS er ring ring
 The teddy IS do
 The boy and the frog # IS look
 The dog IS jump
 The dog IS run
 The dog and the reindeer IS run
 The boy and the dog IS sit down
 Mummy IS go to the tree
 The dog IS run

Taken from Lazaro Ibarrola (2002, p. 190-191, 234-237).

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The fact that this free morpheme appears before the bare form of the verb could lead to an interpretation of these examples as cases of gerunds with a missing *-ing*. However, this account has been systematically discarded because the *-ing* morpheme is acquired before these sentences are produced and because these speakers also use personal pronouns as fillers, as examples in (17) show.

- (17) The boy HE write
 The dog HE play
 The boy HE look
 The reindeer eh HE carried
 Wallace and Groomit eh HE catch them
 The boy HE go to the mountain
 The reindeer HE come

Taken from Lázaro-Ibarrola (2000, ch. 3).

Based on the presence of these “fillers” in the non-native (contact) grammar of Spanish children learning English these authors have argued that these children use a morpheme that can be attached to the verb ‘is’ or a personal pronoun, mirroring the bound personal morphemes that are attached to the Spanish verb.

Even though both the fillers in (16) and (17) and the contact situation is different from the Uwa Spanish one, we would like to suggest that the adverb *sí* is used by UWA speakers to realize evidentiality.

As discussed in chapter 3, overt pronouns in Uwa can also be attached to suffixes such as *-an* and *-at* in which case they are used to indicate that the speaker wants to emphasize a statement and express a strong personal conviction of the veracity of a statement as illustrated in (18).

- (18) Asa-**an** cue-ro (Uwa)
 I-EMPH sad-DECL
 ‘I live very sad’

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Adapted from Headland (1997, p. 252).

Uwa pronouns *Is* [we] and *Asa* [I] can also indicate transitivity of the verb when they are accompanied by suffix *-at* as in (19).

- (19) a) *Is-at* *boni-ta* *yá-ca-ro* (Uwa)
 We-TR corn-ACC.SG eat-PRS-DECL
 ‘we eat corn’

Adapted from Headland (1997, p. 25).

- b) *Asa-at* *boni-ta* *yá-ca-ro* (Uwa)
 I-TR corn-ACC.SG eat-PRS-DECL
 ‘I eat corn’

Adapted from Headland (1997, p. 251).

When Uwa pronouns *Is* [we] and *Asa* [I] are not accompanied by suffixes *-an* and *-at*, they fulfill the canonical function of recovering the missing reference of a previous subject or discourse topic.

The frequency and idiosyncratic usage of the adverb *sí*, suggests the possibility of Uwa influencing the Spanish of SUW through its use, which could be interpreted as a representation of Uwa suffixes *-an* and *-at*. These suffixes may have become part of the bilingual grammar through Spanish pronouns such as *yo* [I], *él/ella* [he/she], *nosotros* [we] and an indication of this influence would be an increase in the expression of these pronouns in SUW.

The statistical analysis in which we coded the number of tokens and percentages on the grammatical person and number for SUW and BYS showed dissimilar behavior when it comes to SPEs. If our hypothesis is accurate, the higher rates of overt pronouns in

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SUW might be a manifestation of Uwa influencing the Spanish of the Uwa bilinguals, and adverb *sí* could be one contributing factor.

6.3.4. Subject pronominal expression with imperfect tense and topic/null optionality in Uwa Spanish

In the previous section we have discussed how there may be some underlying factors influencing the overt SPE expression in SUW. In this section, we will refer to the mechanisms SUW is equipped with to license null subjects. Based on the functional hypothesis, while null subjects are the default option for NSLs, overt subjects are exclusively used when they fulfill a specific function within the sentence. As discussed in chapter 3, while most of the world's languages have null subjects of some sort, each language has its own conditioning mechanisms. For instance, the study of Finnish and Hebrew showed us that there are languages which display partial verbal paradigms whereby null subjects are only allowed with certain persons. In such cases, these two languages present predictors for null subject alternation in the third person that do not apply to first or second person. Our study suggests that the interaction of Uwa with Spanish may have altered the mechanisms to license null subjects in SUW. A possible indication of this phenomenon can be found in expression of the imperfect tense. This will be discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.

In monolingual and bilingual varieties, ambiguous contexts have been found to promote more overt pronouns than non-ambiguous contexts (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996, 1997; Erker and Guy, 2012; Flores Ferrán, 2002, 2004, 2009; Hochberg, 1986; Hurtado, 2005; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007; Shin, 2014; Shin & Montes-Alcalá, 2014). In order to test if SUW and BYS exhibit

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different linguistic behavior in imperfect tense which displays ambiguity between first and third person (ie. *yo comía* [I ate], *él/ella/usted comía* [he/she/you ate] or *yo cantaba* [I sang], *él/ella/usted cantaba* [he/she/you sang], we compared production of overt subjects between SUW and BYS in this tense. The statistical program determined that TMA of the verb shows significance in both SUW and BYS and the imperfect tense was ranked as the most significant contributor for SPE. Results are shown in tables 6.7 and 6.8.

Table 6.7. *TMA Form of the Verb Factor in SUW*

Tense	Weight	%	N	% Data
Imperfect Indicative	0.65	36%	119/329	32.6

Table 6.8. *TMA Form of the Verb Factor in BYS*

Tense	Weight	%	N	% Data
Imperfect Indicative	0.62	26%	80/303	30.8

Spanish verbs in the imperfect tense don't change their stem in first, second, or third person³³ singular. Results show that in imperfect tense SUW participants are more likely to produce overt pronouns (36%) than BYS (26%). Overt subjects in Spanish are a valid disambiguating tool for contexts in which the reference is hard to recover. However,

³³ In the BSY variety, the use of the use pronoun *tú*, is almost non-existent (Lipski, 1996). Thus, first, second and third person singular have the same endings. For example: *usted comía* [you ate] has the same ending as *él comía* [he ate].

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based on the results, it appears as if bilinguals are less tolerant of the ambiguity in the imperfect tense. However, our bilinguals could also compensate the difficulties with the imperfect by acquiring mechanisms that allow them to license null subjects in situations in which BYS normally don't do it as it happens with the [+topic shift] feature. SUW seems to exhibit tendencies for allowing null subjects to carry the [+topic shift] feature as examples (20ab) suggest.

- (20)a. *Mi primo vive en el pueblo. Ø (Yo) fui y trabajé dos semanas allá. Y después, Ø (él) me presentó a su patrón. Ø (Yo) No tenía un peso* (Uwa 3, 1:241-257)
 [My cousin lives in the town. (I) went and worked two weeks there. And later, (he) introduced me to his boss. (I) did not have any money]
- b. *Cuando nosotros vamos a los ritos, Ø (they) cantan toda la noche. Eso es como una fiesta pa los Uwas.* (Uwa 3, 1:241-257)
 [When we go to the ritual, (they) sing all night. It is like a party for Uwas]

From Moreno (2014).

In (20a) and (20b)³⁴, although the EC can either be referential to a topic or a subject, in these cases it is referential to the subject pronouns *yo* [I] and *ellos* [they] respectively. Considering that overt pronouns are supposed to be expressed in contexts of topic change, there is an implication that chains of topics recover the antecedent as overt subjects do it in standard Spanish. In (21), we also see evidence of this phenomenon.

- (21) *Pero muchas veces nosotros, los humanos no los vemos, que porque ellos son animales, ellos no pertenecen a nadie, y si **pro/topic** [usted] viene para acá, lo importante es comer y listo, pero resulta que cuando llega la consecuencia, **pro** [ellos] lo verán.* (Uwa 8, 1:67)
 [But many times, we, the humans, do not see it, since they are animals, they do not belong to anybody, and if **pro/topic** [you] come here, what it is

³⁴ Regarding example (18b), it represents a very common case of the indeterminate person in Spanish. Furthermore, the expression of the overt pronoun *ellos* 'they' will make the antecedent 'the Uwa people' a determinate pronoun.

important is to eat and that is, but when the consequence comes, *topic*
(they) will see.]

From Moreno (2014).

In this example, the antecedent of the first EC can either be a topic or a previous subject as the EC is in the embedded clause. An analysis of the context of the dialogue shows that the first EC is a null subject which bears the [+topic shift] feature and refers to the indeterminate subject *usted* (you). However, it could have also been a topic of a chain of topics as in the case of the second EC. The second EC is a topic that refers to the non-indigenous people which is the population the SUW participant has been talking about and represents the topic. Examples (20a) to (20c) and (21) imply that SUW allows null subjects or topics to carry the [+topic shift] feature. This agrees with our hypothesis that SUW might allow null subjects to bear the [+topic shift] feature given its discursive mechanisms of Uwa origin. The implication of this would be that the topic can control coreferential ECs in the embedded clause of SUW, without excluding the possibility that null subjects can also be the controllers. In other words, as opposed to standard Spanish in which the null subject of an embedded clause can only be licensed by a null or an overt subject, in SUW, null, overt, or topic subjects are all valid options.

6.4. Conclusions

In this chapter, we have unveiled the nature of the SPE in SUW. We have described the licensing mechanisms of SPE in SUW in comparison with those of BYS. With regard to the licensing mechanism of SPE, we have discussed some characteristics found in SUW that seem to contribute to its idiosyncratic SPE expression.

- (i) Cases of subject-verb mismatches in SUW
- (ii) Sensitivity towards the [+topic shift] feature and imperfect tense

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(iii) Possible influence of Uwa suffixes in SUW

With respect to (i), we have found that SUW exhibits cases of subject-mismatches that are not found in BYS. For instance, we found that SUW participants had most of their mismatches in first person singular, first person plural, and third person singular. We argue that these mismatches might be a contributor factor to increase overt SPEs in SUW.

The (ii) issue studied refers to the claim that null subjects in SUW are more resilient to bear the [+topic shift] feature than null subjects in BYS. We have identified some of the excerpts from the bilingual data which show contexts of topic-switch involving null subjects. However, in the context of imperfect tense, our data show that SUW participants (31%) are more likely to produce overt pronouns than BYS (23%). Overt subjects in Spanish are a valid disambiguating tool for contexts in which the reference is hard to recover. We interpret this as showing a need on the part of the SUW bilinguals to use pronouns to eliminate or avoid ambiguity.

Regarding the (iii) issue, we found possible influence from Uwa into SUW. After running the `FREQ` command from `CLAN`, we found an idiosyncratic use of Spanish adverb *sí* [yes] in which SUW participants used it after a pronoun 38% and only 2.7% in BYS. It seemed this adverb was used as an emphasizing marker. In Uwa when pronouns are followed by suffixes *-an* and *-at*, they are used to emphasize a statement or to express a strong personal conviction of the veracity of a statement.

To this point, we have seen that SUW has shown an idiosyncratic behaviour, which may be partially attributed to influence from Uwa, and that differentiates SUW from the monolingual variety.

CHAPTER 7: RESULTS

In what follows, we present and compare the overall rates and underlying mechanisms conditioning SPE in SUW. This chapter is organized as follows. The overall results of the statistical analysis for the distribution of overt pronouns in SUW and a cross-dialectal comparison of subject pronoun expression (SPE) in Spanish will be presented in section one. The significant predictors conditioning SPE in SUW and the effect that GoldVarb ranking has in SPE are analyzed through logistic regression and described in section two. This section also compares the predictors selection and hierarchy of this study with other investigations. A description of each significant predictor of this study in relation with other studies will be discussed in section three. This analysis will allow us to explore the effect that linguistic and social predictors have in SUW SPE. Section four focuses on the possible bilingualism effect found in the distribution of overt and null subjects in SUW. This section also shows the overall rates of overt subject production conducted with our bilingual group. A comparison between the significant predictors of SUW and the BYS control group will be presented and discussed in this section.

The distribution of overt and null subjects is presented in table 6.1. After re-coding to remove invariant cases in which there is not overt/null variability, 1990 tokens were extracted from the transcriptions of the interviews. The total of tokens was analyzed using the statistical program GoldVarb X. The overall pronominal rate is 31% for SUW. It is 8% higher than the 23% of the BYS monolinguals.

7.1. Distribution Of Overt and Null SPE in Uwa Spanish

We aim to find out whether the increase in overt pronouns for bilinguals might be due to the influence from one language to another or whether it is a simplification strategy on the part of bilinguals. Thus, we aim to shed light on the underlying factors that influence SPE in SUW and compare them to those of the control group and other variationist studies. The SPE in SUW is offered in the table 7.1.

Table 7.1. *Distribution of Overt and Null SPE in SUW*

Form	N	%
Null subjects	693	69%
Overt Subjects	315	31%
Total	1008	100%

The rates of SUW reflect the dominance of null SPEs and confirm the pro-drop characteristic of Spanish as a whole. The overall 31% of pronominal use places SUW in line with other mainland Latin American varieties. The following table depicts the rates of SPE of SUW with BYS and Investigations of other varieties of Spanish that are geographically close by, using a similar methodological framework.

Table 7.2. *Cross-Dialectal Comparison of Subject Pronoun Expression in Spanish*

Dialect	Overt Subject Rates
Dominican Republic (Martínez-Sanz, 2011)	51.4%
Guajira, Colombia (Méndez, 2013)	50.8 %
Barranquilla, Colombia (Orozco & Guy, 2008)	35.7%
Colombian Costeño Spanish (Orozco, 2015)	34.2%
Cubará, Boyac, Colombia (SUW) (this study)	31%
Yucatan (Michnowicz, 2015)	20.0%
Colombians in NYC (Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007)	24%
Tunja, Boyacá, Colombia (BYS) (this study)	23%
Mexicans in NYC (Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007)	19%

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As seen in table 7.2, the varieties of Spanish exhibit different overall rates of SPE. SUW reports overt subject rates of 31%. This rate is slightly higher as compared to the 23% of BYS, the 20% of Yucatan Spanish, 24% of Colombians in New York City, and the 19% of Mexicans in New York City. GoldVarb results do not show a significant variation between SUW and other mainland Latin American varieties and dialects. However, SUW rates greatly differ from the Caribbean varieties. For instance, Dominican Spanish with 51%, Barranquilla Spanish with 35.7%, and Wayuu-Spanish with 50.8% are three Caribbean varieties that report strong rates of overt pronouns (Martínez-Sanz, 2011; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Méndez, 2013).

The marked frequency of expressed pronouns in SUW as compared to BYS has been seen as evidence that SUW represents an idiosyncratic system that differentiates itself from BYS and other varieties. Although comparison of overall rates of SUW and other Spanish dialects may shed light on basic questions about SPE, our main objective is to find predictors that trigger patterns of variability and provide interpretation for them. It is also necessary to recognize that methodological differences in the protocol of data collection might make comparison of overall rates between studies less conclusive and that variant rates can fluctuate for all kinds of non-linguistic reasons, as pointed out in Poplack and Torres Cacoullos (2015).

Thus, in addition to overall rates of occurrence, we will also focus on the existing patterns of variability. For this, we analyze and describe the effects that specific dependent predictors may have in SPE expression. In order to do so, and under the principle of accountability (Labov, 1972), we have isolated every finite sentence with a declarative function where there is the possibility to express either a null or an overt

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subject pronoun. For comparison and relevance purposes, we based the choice of internal and external predictors on the study of Orozco & Guy (2008). We also aim to describe the significant predictors of SPE in SUW and their GoldVarb ranking. Tagliamonte (2012) and Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001) argue that the constraint hierarchy and its underlying implications have crucial implications for SPE. We explored a total of 15 factor groups with their associated predictors (12 internal, three external). The internal predictors, as discussed in chapter 4, were the following: *discourse style, clause type, lexical content of verb, verb regularity, verb class, TMA form of the verb, preceding TM, person and number, switch reference, prior subject's person & number, realization of prior subject, and distance from previous coreferential subject*. The external predictors included in this study are *gender, age, and education*. These factor groups were analysed to operationalize the hypotheses put forward in this study and the selection was based on previous results on variationist studies on SPE. The multivariate analysis reveals the existence of a group of significant forces made up by five predictors (four internal and one external) that condition SPE in SUW as presented in table 7.3.

Table 7.3. *The Present Study: Selected Factor Groups and Associated Predictors*

<i>Dependent variable</i>	Null Overt subject DP subject
<i>Independent variables</i>	
1. Person and Number	1st psg (yo)
	2nd psg (tú)
	3rd psg (él, ella)
	1st ppl (nosotros/nosotras)
	2nd ppl (ustedes)

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	3rd ppl (ellos/ellas)
2. Prior Subject	Same person, same number
	Same person, different number
	Same number, different person
	Different person, different number
	Different person, same number
3. Verb Class	Cognition
	Speech
	Perception
	Motion
	Copulative
	Other
4. TMA of the Verb	Present indicative
	Preterit indicative
	Imperfect indicative
	Periphrastic future
	Future indicative
	Perfect forms
	Conditional
	Subjunctive (all tenses)
5. Gender	Masculine
	Feminine

Regarding the coding protocol, a token like the one underlined in (1b) was coded as *overt subject, third person singular, same person and number, motion verb, present indicative, and masculine*.

- (1) Sample token
 a. Él tenía un perro y una rana.

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[He had a dog and a pet frog.]

b. Ø busca la rana en su cuarto.

[(He) looks for the frog in his bedroom.]

Theoretical implications of the significant predictors found will be discussed in this chapter. This research supports other bilingual studies that have found an effect for the following predictors:

(i) With regard to the *person and number* predictor, in general terms singular pronouns *yo, tú, él, ella, usted* [I, you, he/she/they/you] favor overt subjects and plural pronouns *nosotros, ellos/ellas, ustedes* [we, you, they/you] disfavor them (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996, 1997; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Erker and Guy, 2012; Flores- Ferrán, 2002, 2004,2007, 2009; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007).

(ii) For the *prior subject* predictor, a broadest generalization is that a previous overt subject makes more likely the expression of a subsequent null subject and a subject switch favors the expression of an overt subject (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Torres Cacoullós & Travis, 2010, 2011; Travis, 2007).

(iii) As far as the *verb class* predictor is concerned, cognitive verbs tend to encourage overt pronouns more than other types (Carvalho & Child, 2011; Erker & Guy, 2012; Flores-Ferrán, 2002, 2004, 2009; Hurtado, 2005; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Torres Cacoullós & Travis, 2010, 2011; Travis, 2007).

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(iv) For the *TMA of the verb* predictor, research shows that overt pronouns were more likely to be displayed with morphologically ambiguous verb forms (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996, 1997; Erker & Guy, 2012; Flores-Ferrán, 2002, 2004, 2009; Hochberg, 1986; Hurtado, 2005; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007; Shin, 2014; Shin & Montes-Alcalá, 2014).

(v) With regard to the *gender predictor*, males tend to disfavor overt pronouns whereas females tend to favor expressed subjects. However, opposing results have also been found (Carvalho & Child, 2011; Martínez, 2011; Michnowicz, 2015).

7.2. Significant Factors in Subject Pronominal Expression Across Studies

In order to discuss the implications found in the data, we compare the hierarchy and the independent variables that have been found to be significant in this study with the results of other studies based on monolingual and bilingual populations. This is shown in table 7.4.

Table 7.4. *List of Significant Factors Across Studies of Subject Pronominal Expression*

Barranquilla, Colombia (Orozco, 2015)	BYS ranking (present study)	Mainland speakers in NYC (Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007)	Barranquilla, Colombia & Guy, 2008)	SUW ranking (present study)	Yucatan speakers (Michnowicz, 2015)	Wayuunaiki Spanish (Méndez, 2014)	Uruguay Border Spanish (Carvalho & Blessett, 2015) ³⁵
TMA	Person and Number	Person and Number	Person and number	Person and Number	Person and Number	Person and Number	Person and Number

³⁵ As for the bilingualism influence, Carvalho and Blessett (2015) do not provide data that informs us whether or not bilinguals (Spanish/ Portuguese) from Rivera and monolinguals (Spanish) from the same region show similar patterns of SPE.

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Prior subject (co-reference ³⁶⁾)	Prior Subject (Co-reference)	Co-reference	Co-reference	Co-reference	TMA	Verb class	TMA
Person/Number	Verb Class TMA	TMA	TMA	TMA	Co-reference Language	Co-reference	Co-reference Clause type

7.3. Significant Factors On Subject Pronominal Expression Of Uwa Spanish

As outlined above, the significant factor groups selected for this study are consistent with previous results in the variationist literature. In the ensuing paragraphs, each of these factor groups will be considered.

7.3.1. Grammatical person and number

The *grammatical person and number* was designed to determine the conditioning role of the different persons of the paradigm on SPE. As in other studies (Carvalho, 2011; Orozco, 2015; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007), this factor was ranked as the most significant conditioner in SPE of SUW as table 7.5 shows.

Table 7.5. *Distribution of Overt and Null SPEs by Grammatical Person in SUW Bilinguals*

Person/Number	Pronominal Rate	Overt SPEs	Null Subject	% Data
1 st singular	46%	114	134	24.60%
2 nd singular	29%	89	217	30.30%
3 rd singular	38.00%	29	48	7.60%
1 st plural	31.30%	26	57	8.20%
2 nd plural	16%	9	46	5.50%
3 rd plural	10%	26	213	23.70%
<i>All pronouns</i>	29	293	715	100%

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The marginal results show that overt subject pronouns were only expressed 10% with third person plural. This correlates with Carvalho (2011), who found third person plural as the grammatical person with the smallest probability of occurring with an explicit pronoun. The second person that is less likely to be realized with an explicit pronoun is second person plural, with 16%. First person plural departs from the rest of the plural paradigms as it displays a high percentage of overt expression (31.3%). The results above also indicate that first person singular is the grammatical person with the highest probability of an overt subject pronoun for SUW with 46%. Third person singular was ranked second. Third person singular shows a high probability of an overt subject pronoun in SUW with 38%.

In this study, the expression of pronoun *tú* [you, informal] was not included as the BYS variety spoken by the bilinguals and monolinguals use the pronouns *usted* [you, formal] and *sumercé* [you, formal] almost exclusively. In this variety, the *usted* [you, formal] form can be used in familiar contexts such as between spouses, close friends or parents and children as the example shows (Lipski, 1996).

- (2) *Mi amor, ¿a usted le parece si vamos a Güicán con los primos?* [(Uwa 12, 1:23)
‘My love, do you think we can go to Güicán with our cousins?’

The pronoun *sumercé* [you, formal] is mostly used in contexts of politeness and it is used to emphasize respect or social status as illustrated next:

- (3) *¿Sumercé tiene el libro de español?* [(Uwa 8, 1:33)
[Do you have the Spanish book?]
(4) *¿Sumercé quiere ir de paseo?* [(Uwa 6, 1:87)
Do you want to go for a walk?

From Moreno (2014).

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The existing variability in pronominal usage found in Boyacá, home of the experimental and control groups calls for further scrutiny, specifically, in the use of the second person singular and its underlying social and linguistic predictors. In general terms, results in this factor group are significantly consistent with other bilingual studies in that singular pronouns *yo, tú, él, ella, usted* [I, you, he/she/they/you formal] create a positive effect for overt subjects and plural verbs favor null subjects *nosotros, ellos/ellas, ustedes* [we, they, you] (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996, 1997; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Erker & Guy, 2012; Flores-Ferrán, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007).

7.3.2. The subject of the previous person and number (co-reference)

Prior subject's person and number refer to the conditioning effect in repeating the subject and number of the previous subject. For instance, a previous *overt subject* makes more likely the expression of a subsequent *null subject* if there is not a subject switch. There is a positive effect for subject continuity. Alternatively, overt subjects have a greater possibility of occurrence when there is a different previous subject.

A priming effect has been a crucial factor since the first studies in SPE appeared (Silva-Corbalán, 1982) as well as being attested in (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Torres Cacoullós & Travis, 2010, 2011; Travis, 2007). In the discussion of a priming effect in the expression of first person singular in conversational Colombian Spanish (CCS), Cacoullós and Travis (2015) found that the strength of the co-referential subject priming effect was greatly shaped by subject continuity and co-referential subject priming. This tendency to follow specific patterns based on previous linguistic forms has been found to be consistent with other variationist

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studies (Abreu 2009, 2012; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Torres Cacoullós & Travis, 2010, 2011; Travis, 2007). The table below shows the GoldVarb results for the *prior subject's person and number* factor.

Table 7.6 *The Subject Of The Previous Person and Number Factor in SUW*

Prior Subject's Person and Number	Prob.	%	Overt SPEs	% Data
Different Person and Number	0.61	39.5%	165/417	41.3%
Same Person, Different Number	0.51	27%	45/165	16.3%
Same Person and Number	0.36	19.4%	83/426	42.2%
<i>Range</i> 25				

The results reveal two main patterns. The first one is that prior subjects of a different grammatical person and number have a positive effect in overt subjects with a probability of (.61). Conversely, a prior subject of the same person promotes null subjects. Specifically, null subjects are favored by prior subjects of the same person and Number by (.36). Same person and different subjects have a neutral effect in SPE.

As expected, the results show that a prior subject displaying different person and number produces the greatest effect for an overt subject realization. Conversely, the lowest probability for an overt SPE is created when the subject referent of the sentence is the same as that of the preceding sentence. This predictor follows the pattern of other studies. A subject from a different grammatical person creates a favorable effect for overt pronouns and a subject of the same person and number encourages null subjects as the following examples show.

- (5)a. *Nosotros pertenecemos a la asociación ASOUWA.*
[We belong to the association ASOUWA]
- b. *Ø Nos reunimos una vez al mes, Ø tenemos una estructura.*
[We meet once a month. We have a structure.]
- c. *Ellos por otra parte no defienden la tierra ancestral....*

[They, on the other hand, don't defend the ancestral land]

From Moreno (2014).

According to the priming effect theory, the overt pronoun *nosotros* [we] that is expressed in example (5a) would facilitate the subsequent two null subjects illustrated in examples (5b). However, since there is a referential switch in (5c) with pronoun *ellos*³⁷ [they], an overt pronoun is required. In this case, the overt pronoun acts as an introductory presentation device. We agree with Orozco (2015) in the existence of a snowball effect in which the presence of a structure correlates with subsequently higher frequencies of the same structure. A switch in subject favors overt pronouns while continuity of reference discourages them. Priming effect in SUW shows strong evidence that the occurrence of one subject is highly influenced by an existing previous form. These results further support the body of research that argues about the effect that continuity of reference and a referential switch have in SPE.

7.3.3. Verb class

Verb class has been shown to condition SPE (Bentivoglio, 1987; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Erker & Guy, 2012; Flores-Ferrán, 2002, 2004, 2009; Hurtado, 2005; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Torres Cacoullos & Travis, 2010, 2011; Travis, 2007). For instance, Bentivoglio found that overt pronoun *yo* [I] was highly triggered by cognition verbs. Torres Cacoullos (2012) added that cognition verbs, mostly *creer* [to think/believe], *saber* [to know], and

³⁷ In the context of the interview, the SUW participant uses *ellos* [they] to refer to non-Uwa people.

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pensar [to think] are affected by special linguistic conditioning. In this study, multivariate analyses revealed high token frequency of sentences like *yo creo* [I think].

To explore this predictor and for comparison purposes, we adapted the classification used by Bentivoglio (1987, p. 50).

Table 7.7 *Verb Class Factor in SUW*

Verbal class	Weight	%	N	% Data
Cognition	0.65	44%	49/111	11.0%
Perception	0.65	42%	37/89	8.8%
Copulative	0.56	41%	62/151	14.9%
Speech	0.54	31%	49/154	15.2%
Motion	0.37	16%	40/250	24.8%
Others	0.43	22%	56/253	25.0%
<i>Range</i>	28			

Consistent with previous studies (Bentivoglio, 1987; Orozco, 2015; Travis, 2007; Torres Cacoullós, 2012), in this study, cognition verbs are the greatest triggers for overt pronouns, with a percentage of 44%. High frequency of constructions as *yo pienso* [I think] in (6a), *ellos creen* [they believe] in (6b), or *él es* [he is] (6f) are strong evidence of this pattern.

(6)

- a. *Yo pienso que tenemos que seguir luchando*
[I think we need to keep fighting]
- b. *el balance no se logra de la noche a la mañana*
[The balance is not achieved overnight]
- c. *Ellos creen que tienen el derecho de acabar con todo*
[They believe that they have the right to destroy everything]
- d. *todo está conectado*
[everything is connected]
- e. *el árbol, los animales, la tierra*
[the tree, the animals, the earth]

- f. *Él es el dueño de todo*
[he is the owner of everything]

From Moreno (2014).

As shown in the three cases illustrated in examples (6a), (6c), and (6f), the overt pronoun is accompanied with verbs *pensar* [to think], *creer* [to believe], and *ser* [to be]. This pattern has been relevant given the robust frequency of these constructions. Results show that there are high rates of overt pronouns with cognition, perception, copulative, and speech verbs. Conversely, motion and other verbs show low rates.

In an effort to provide more specific information as to the effect of verb class on SPE, we present another table in which an account of verb regularity is given.

Table 7.8. *Verb Regularity in SUW*

Verb regularity	Weight	%	N	% Data
Irregular	0.56	48%	94/196	19.4%
Regular	0.44	36%	267/743	74.0%
Periphrasis	0.55	41%	28 /69	6.8%
<i>Range</i>		<i>12</i>		

Consistent with previous studies, in this study irregular verbs favor higher rates of overt subjects than regular forms (.56 to .44). Periphrasis forms condition SPE more strongly than regular forms (.55 to .44). We observed that morphologically ambiguous verbs and contexts play a role in SPE by increasing the rates of overt pronouns. As our participants are bilinguals, there may be more instances of linguistic insecurity and when they arise, overt pronouns may be their default choice as illustrated in (7), (8), and (9).

- (7) *Yo pienso en las nuevas generaciones*
[I think about the new generations]

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- (8) *Tú comienzas a trabajar muy temprano.*
[You start working very early]
- (9) *Ellos encuentran la sabiduría de la naturaleza*
[They find the wisdom from nature]

In examples, (7), (8), and (9), the overt pronouns *yo* [I], *tú* [you], and *ellos* [they] are displayed with irregular verbs *pensar* [to think], *comenzar* [to start], and *encontrar* [to find] which illustrates the point that irregular verbs appear to favor overt subjects more than regular verbs.

7.3.4. TMA of the verb

From early studies on SPE, Bentivoglio (1987) pointed out that overt pronouns were more likely to be displayed with morphologically ambiguous verb forms. This TMA factor has remained as a significant predictor in other studies of SPE (Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996, 1997; Carvalho & Bessett, 2015; Erker & Guy, 2012; Flores-Ferrán, 2002, 2004, 2009; Hochberg, 1986; Hurtado, 2005; Michnowicz, 2015; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Orozco, 2015; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007; Shin, 2014; Shin & Montes-Alcalá, 2014). It has been claimed that in ambiguous contexts, overt pronouns can either fulfill a function of disambiguating the subject reference or compensating for the loss of a verbal suffix. For instance, according to the functional compensation hypothesis (Cameron 1993, 1996), the loss of the final -s of the verbal paradigm in Caribbean varieties would boost the occurrence of overt subjects, especially in the second and third person singular forms. This is viewed as a compensation mechanism for the /s/ deletion in this variety.

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The present study seems to be consistent with the variationist literature regarding the strength of morphological ambiguity, In the ensuing paragraphs, we want to confirm if TMA played a crucial role in the SPE of SUW.

The following TMA forms were significant in our study: (I) imperfect, (P) present indicative, (R) preterit indicative, (R) periphrastic future, and (M) future indicative as shown in table 7.9.

Table 7.9. *TMA Form of The Verb in SUW*

Tense	Weight	%	N	% Data
Imperfect Indicative	0.65	36%	119/329	32.6
Present Indicative	0.55	27%	94/348	34.5
Preterit Indicative	0.52	27%	68/252	24.0
Periphrastic future	0.50	16%	5/32	2.6
Future Indicative	0.43	15%	7/47	4.2
<i>Range</i>	22			

The results show that the imperfect indicative, a three-way ambiguous tense, is the verbal form that favors the most overt pronouns with a weight of .65. This is followed by present indicative, a two-way ambiguous tense, with a weight of .55, slightly higher than preterite indicative .52.

The future, in contrast, lies at the other end of the pronominal spectrum. The strength of the weight is .43. Results in this study confirm that the usage of morphological future is scarce. This study reports a percentage of 15%. Consistent with the factor of verb regularity, my results confirm that in morphologically ambiguous verbal forms, overt pronouns fulfill the function of disambiguating the subject reference as exemplified in (10), (11), and (12).

(10) *Todos los días, Yo iba a trabajar*

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[Everyday I went to work]
porque Yo tenía que conseguir la plata para los chinos.
 [because I had to get money for the kids]

- (11) *Ella iba a la escuela, ella era estudiante*
 [She went to school, she was a student]
y yo Me ponía a trabajar para llevar el mercado pa' la casa.
 [and I would get to work so I could bring food home]

- (12) *Ella se pasaba el día trabajando*
 [She used to spend the day working]

From Moreno (2014).

As the above except shows, the imperfect tense greatly favors overt subjects. Further scrutiny reveals that a significant number of occurrences of the imperfect are morphologically ambiguous. As this is a three-way morphologically ambiguous tense, these ambiguous contexts would greatly promote overt subjects. In imperfect indicative, the verbs have the same verbal inflection *yo, él, ella, usted* [I, he, she, you]. Therefore, the disambiguating function would need to be fulfilled by an overt pronoun.

As it has become clear based on the results presented, ambiguous contexts favor overt pronouns more than unambiguous forms in SUW. This seems to confirm Hochberg's (1986) theory that overt subject pronouns compensate the ambiguity in verbal conjugations.

7.3.5. Gender

From a variationist approach, external factors unveil systematic patterns in speech production. According to Tagliamonte (2006) "most linguistic variables will have external conditioning, either by gender, education, style, socioeconomic class or other social factors".

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In this study, we coded three sociolinguistic factors: *gender, age, and education*. Variable rule analysis shows that gender is a significant factor and education and age were discarded.

Table 7.10. *Factor Group Gender for SUW*

Gender	Weight	%	N	% Data
Female	0.57	33%	195/587	58.2
Male	0.43	23%	98/421	41.8
<i>Range</i>	<i>14</i>			

The results above indicate that SUW females favored overt SPE with a probability of .57 and men with .43. The findings of this study are in accordance with Carvalho and Child, who found that “males disfavor overt pronouns whereas females tend to favor expressed subjects” (2011, p. 22). Similarly, Lapidus Shin, and Erker (2015) studied the SPE of three groups of children aged six, seven, and eight. Results showed that in all three groups, girls favored overt pronouns more than boys. A tendency found was that girls steadily increase the occurrences of overt pronouns making them exhibit a more adult-like linguistic behavior with age. Conversely, boys’ occurrences of overt pronouns fluctuated with age but never matched the frequency displayed by girls.

Orozco and Guy (2008) studied the Spanish in Barranquilla, a Colombian Caribbean city. In their study, they did not find gender to be one of the predictors on SPE in this variety. Similarly, Martínez-Sanz (2011) reported gender as not significant in her results. With regard to bilingual studies, Otheguy and Zentella’s (2012) study of the Spanish of Latinos in New York City revealed that the first-generation females had robust rates of overt subjects. Their results suggested that the participants’ contact with

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second-generation bilingual speakers was boosting the expression of overt subjects by these participants. Michnowicz (2015), on the other hand, reported that in the Spanish of Maya-Spanish bilinguals, males had more robust rates of overt pronouns than females.

In summary, based on the variationist literature, the data have supported three different scenarios: A female effect, a male effect, and no effect. The conflicting results of SPE raises more questions with regard to the effect of gender on SPE. This study presented evidence of a female effect. However, as the findings in previous studies have presented dissimilar results, more in depth research is necessary to unveil what the underlying mechanisms conditioning the use by the genders are.

7.4. The Effect of Bilingualism

There is an ongoing debate as far as what the effect of bilingualism in SPE is. Previous studies, in which Spanish is in contact with English, have shown bilinguals and monolinguals showing very similar patterns of SPE (Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Travis, 2007). However, there has been counter evidence in which bilinguals increase the expression of overt subjects as a result of the bilingualism effect (Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert 2007). It is not clear what the underlying mechanisms conditioning bilinguals are as more than one scenario is possible. Under scenario one, transfer from the contact language to Spanish can be responsible for the increase of overt pronouns in the bilingual group (Otheguy & Zentella 2012). In support of an increase of overt pronouns in bilinguals, Sorace's hypothesis (2011) claims that bilinguals experience a simplification process which boosts overt pronouns as it makes overt pronouns the default option in linguistically ambiguous and uncertain contexts. In the second scenario, the two languages of the bilingual converge and a frequency of SPE is reached based on

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the SPE systems of the two languages. Under this scenario, the combination of the two languages will determine the new joint idiosyncratic system of SPE. In third scenario, bilinguals differentiate between the two subject pronoun systems of the two contact languages and develop independent systems. Support for this is found when the rates and patterns of SPE between the monolingual and bilingual are very comparable. For instance, by analyzing the effect of the Portuguese SP system in the Spanish SPE of Spanish-Portuguese bilinguals, Carvalho and Child (2011) found that Spanish seemed to be immune to Portuguese influence.

In summary, there are three scenarios are possible in situations of languages in contact: in scenario (i) an increase of overt pronouns is expected; in scenario (ii) a middle point between the two languages of the bilingual is predicted, and in scenario (iii) no bilingualism effect if similar rates and patterns of SPE between monolinguals and bilinguals are found.

The results of this study are in alignment with the first scenario as it shows evidence that the bilingualism factor conditions SPE in SUW by boosting rates of overt subjects in SUW bilinguals. However, overall rates in the two varieties under study show dominance of null subjects which confirms the pro-drop characteristic of the Spanish as a whole, regardless of the 8% variation between the two groups. It is important to keep in mind that Cubara (home of SUW group) and Tunja (home of the BYS group) belong to the same dialectal region (see participants and data section in chapter 2 for details). The distribution of SPE in SUW and BYS is illustrated in table 7.11.

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Table 7.11. *Distribution of Overt and Null SPE in SUW and BYS*

SUW Bilinguals			BYS Monolinguals		
Form	N	%	Form	N	%
Null subjects	693	69%	Null subjects	707	77%
Overt subjects	315	31%	Overt subjects	274	23%
Total	100	100%	Total	982	100%

Range 8

SUW participants produced overt pronouns 31% of the times and BYS 23%. The overall 31% pronominal rate places SUW in line with other studies of mainland Latin American varieties that report similar rates of SPE. Results also support Sorace's hypothesis (2011) that bilinguals would display higher rates of overt pronouns. In order to attest this hypothesis, we compare the results of this study with other studies carried out with bilingual populations.

7.4.1. Subject pronominal expression in bilingual studies

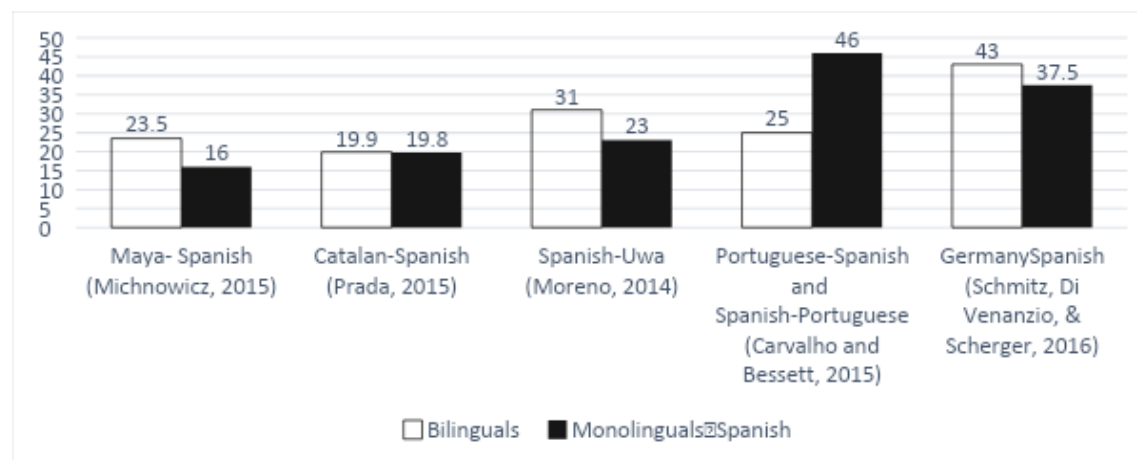


Figure 7.1. Overall rates of overt pronouns in bilingual groups

We see that overall rates of overt pronouns suggest that bilingualism plays a crucial role in determining SPE. There was a bilingualism effect with SUW bilinguals,

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Maya-Spanish bilinguals, and German-Spanish bilinguals. In these cases, bilinguals produce more overt pronouns than Spanish monolinguals. This trend is consistent with Sorace's (2011) hypothesis in that bilinguals favor overt pronouns more than monolinguals. The Catalan-Spanish participants showed similar rates to their monolingual counterparts. However, given the language composition and proximity of Catalan and Spanish, there could be convergence between both languages. In the case of Portuguese-Spanish bilinguals, there was no group of Spanish monolinguals and the Portuguese-Spanish subjects were instead compared to a group of Brazilian Portuguese participants. Nevertheless, the bilinguals showed a higher overall frequency of overt subjects than monolinguals.

The overall rates cannot represent the only point of reference in SPE. Overall rates of overt pronouns are taken in this dissertation as a first indicator of SPE in SUW. Methodological factors can also play a crucial role. As discussed before, Mendez (2013) suggested that data collection methods such as sociolinguistic interviews increase the occurrences of overt pronouns and the processes in which data is managed can potentially affect the results. Due to the existence of these factors and the variability found between SUW and BYS in the overall rates of SPE, it is necessary to conduct separate analysis to examine the factor ranking of each group and the significance of each predictor that can provide a complementary view of SPE.

7.4.2. Constraint ranking hierarchy in Uwa Spanish and Boyacá Spanish

The bilingualism effect has also been tested in the constraint rankings between monolinguals and bilinguals. Prada Pérez (2009) found that Spanish-Catalan bilinguals and their monolingual counterparts had dissimilar predictor rankings. Contrariwise,

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Michnowicz (2015) noticed that there were no significant differences between the predictor rankings of Maya-Spanish bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals. He claimed the subtle variation was the result of a simplification strategy of the bilinguals.

In our study, in an effort to reduce the influence of methodological factors, the data were coded in the same way for the bilingual and monolingual group. Additionally, the same sociolinguistic interview protocol was used for both groups. Table 7.12 shows that the order of GoldVarb ranking for SUW is very comparable to the one found for BYS.

Table 7.12. *VARBRUL Ranking of Significant Predictors Between SUW and BYS*

SUW ranking (present study)	BYS ranking (present study)
1. Person and number	1. Person and number
2. Prior Subject ³⁸	2. Co-reference
3. Verb Class	3. Prior Subject
4. TMA of the verb	4. TMA of the verb
5. Gender	5. Verb Class
	6. Gender

We see a total of five significant factors for SUW and six for BYS. Five of these factors are common to both groups: *person and number*, *prior subject*, *verb class*, *TMA*, and *gender*. However, *co-reference* is only significant in BYS. The order of GoldVarb ranking for SUW is very comparable to the one found for BYS. Regarding internal predictors, in both (SUW, BYS) *person and number* is the strongest predictor. These results support other studies where this constraint is ranked first (Orozco & Guy, 2008; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007). SUW and BYS coincide in having *prior subject* as a

³⁸ For comparison with other studies, the factors *prior subject's person and number* and *priming effect* will emerge as the co-reference factor.

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significant conditioner. However, it is the second conditioner for SUW but the third for SUW. *Prior subject* shows the effect of preceding subject in the reference. In Travis' words "the grammar of discourse is developed on-line, as a response to and deriving from what precedes" (2007). Variable rule analysis ranked *verb class* third for SUW and fifth for BYS.

Although analyses show similar order of factor groups, an analysis of set of factors reveals additional differences as shown in tables 7.13 and 7.14.

Table 7.13. *Person and Number Factor in SUW*

Person and Number	Pronominal Rate	Overt SPEs	Null Subject	% Data
1 st singular	46%	114	134	24.2 %
2 nd singular	29%	89	217	30.3 %
3 rd singular	38%	29	48	7.3 %
1 st plural	31.3%	26	57	8.2 %
2 nd plural	16%	9	46	5.5 %
3 rd plural	10%	26	213	23.7 %
<i>All pronouns</i>	29	293	715	100 %

Table 7.14. *Person and number factor in BYS*

Person/Number	Pronominal Rate	Overt SPEs	Null Subject	% Data
1 st singular	29%	65	159	22.82%
2 nd singular	26%	82	233	32.1 %
3 rd singular	25%	25	75	10.1%
1 st plural	11%	23	184	21.1%
2 nd plural	22%	15	53	6.9%
3 rd plural	28%	19	49	6.9%
<i>All pronouns</i>	23	229	753	100%

7.4.2.1. Person and number in Uwa Spanish and Boyacá Spanish

Results show that both groups greatly favor overt subject in first person singular, the monolingual group 29% and the bilingual 47%. Similarly, second person singular has a positive effect on overt subjects with 26% and 29%. In both sets of factors, SUW shows more robust rates. Interestingly, both groups concur in disfavoring overt subjects with second person plural with 22% and 20% respectively. With third person plural, BYS favors explicit pronouns 28% while for SUW only shows 11% which is ranked at the bottom of the ranking.

7.4.2.2. Prior subject and number

As expected, the results in tables 7.15 and 7.16 show that a prior subject displaying different person and number produces the greatest effect for an overt subject realization in the immediate following clause with 41.3% and 39.4% respectively. An examination of the factor group *prior subject and number* shows similar behavior for both groups.

Table 7.15. *The subject of the previous person and number factor in SUW*

Prior Subject	Prob.	%	Overt SPEs	% Data
Different Person and Number	0.61	39.5%	165/417	41.3 %
Same Person, Different Number	0.51	27%	45/165	16.3 %
Same Person and Number	0.36	19.4%	83/426	42.2 %
<i>Range</i>		25		

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Table 7.16. *Prior subject's person and number factor in BYS*

Prior Subject	Prob.	%	Overt SPEs	% Data
Different Person and Number	0.60	29.1%	128/439	44.7 %
Same Person, Different Number	0.48	17.5%	23/131	13.3 %
Same Person and Number	0.37	18.9%	78/412	41.9 %
<i>Range</i>	23			

There are differences between the control and experimental groups that are found in the *verb class* factor as tables 7.17 and 7.18 show.

Table 7.17. *Verb class factor in SUW.*

Verbal class	Weight	%	N	% Data
Cognition	0.65	44%	49/111	11.0%
Perception	0.65	42%	37/89	8.8%
Copulative	0.56	41%	62/151	14.9%
Speech	0.54	31%	49/154	15.2%
Others	0.43	22%	56/253	25.0%
Motion	0.37	16%	40/250	24.8%
<i>Range</i>	28			

Table 7.18. *Verb class factor in BYS.*

Verbal class	Weight	%	N	% Data
Perception	0.63	43%	36/83	8.5%
Copulative	0.61	38%	25/65	6.6%
Cognition	0.60	37%	36/98	9.9%
Motion	0.59	34%	38/112	11.4%
Speech	0.35	30%	43/143	14.5%
Others	0.29	20%	51/252	25.6%
<i>Range</i>	34			

For both languages, the results show that *cognition* verbs greatly favor explicit subjects. They rank first with 44% for SUW and third with 37% for BYS. Both groups also agree on having *perception verbs* on the top of the ranking. The percentage is very similar, with 42% and 43% respectively. However, they appear in second place for SUW and third for BYS. The two groups differ with *motion verbs*. While this group of verbs

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disfavors the most explicit pronouns in SUW with 16%, in BYS they promote overt subjects 34%. Additionally, ranking differences are also reflected for the group of verbs *others* with 22% and 20% respectively.

7.4.2.3. TMA form of the verb

As for TMA form of the verb, both groups show similar behavior as soon in tables 7.19 and 7.20.

Table 7.19. *TMA form of the verb factor in SUW.*

Tense	Weight	%	N	% Data
Imperfect Indicative	0.65	36%	119/329	32.6%
Present Indicative	0.55	27%	94/348	34.5%
Preterit Indicative	0.52	27%	68/252	24.0%
Periphrastic Future	0.50	16%	5/32	2.6%
Future Indicative	0.43	15%	7/47	4.2%
<i>Range</i>	22			

Table 7.20. *TMA form of the verb factor BYS.*

Tense	Weight	%	N	% Data
Imperfect Indicative	0.62	26%	80/303	30.8%
Preterit Indicative	0.57	25%	88/352	35.8%
Present Indicative	0.56	19%	48/249	25.3%
Future Indicative	0.23	17%	5/29	2.9%
Periphrastic	0.21	16%	8/49	4.9%
<i>Range</i>	41			

The GoldVarb results above indicate that imperfect, present, and preterit have the same ranking order and are the tenses with the greatest probability of displaying overt pronouns for SUW and BYS. As expected, the imperfect tense was ranked first for favoring the most explicit subjects for both groups. Conversely, future indicative was ranked last for SUW and fourth in BYS. Periphrastic was ranked last for BYS.

7.4.3. External factors

7.4.3.1. Gender

From a variationist approach, external factors unveil systematic patterns in speech production. GoldVarb found gender to be a significant factor for SUW and BYS as tables 7.21 and 7.22 show.

Table 7.21. *Gender Factor Group for SUW.*

Gender	Weight	%	N	% Data
Feminine	0.57	33%	195/587	58.2%
Masculine	0.43	23%	98/421	41.8%
<i>Range</i>	<i>14</i>			

Table 7.22. *Gender Factor Group for BYS.*

Gender	Weight	%	N	% Data
Feminine	0.55	25%	137/546	55.6%
Masculine	0.45	21%	92/436	44.3%
<i>Range</i>	<i>10</i>			

The results above indicate that females favored overt SPEs for both groups, 33% for SUW and 25% for BYS. These findings are in accordance with Carvalho and Child (2011, p. 22), who found that “males disfavored overt pronouns whereas females slightly favored expressed subjects”. However, previous studies have also shown revealing opposite results (Michnowicz, 2015) or non-gender effect (Martínez-Sanz, 2011). Therefore, the results of this study are not conclusive and more research needs to be conducted in this matter.

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The major difference between the bilingual and monolingual groups is found in the constraint ranking for co-reference. While it appears significant for BYS, it is disregarded for SUW. This is illustrated in table 7.23.

7.4.3.2 Co-referentiality

Table 7.23. *Co-referentiality factor BYS.*

	Weight	%	N	% Data
Complete switch	0.63	38%	29/76	7.8%
Switch with subject, core with object	0.58	32%	116/364	37.0%
Co-reference with previous subject	0.35	15%	84/542	55.1%
<i>Range</i>	28			

For BYS a *complete switch* is the key determinant of explicit subjects with 38%. It refers to contexts where the token did not refer to either the subject or object of the previous verb. Conversely, contexts where tokens refer to the same subject as the last sentence favor explicit pronouns with only 15%. The present results corroborate studies that have found an effect for bilingualism on SPE. However, this effect is subject to the morphological composition of the languages involved.

In summary, the ranking of significant predictors contributes to an accurate description of SPE in SUW as the same predictors have also been found significant in other variationist studies *number* (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Bayley & Pease-Álvarez, 1996, 1997; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Erker and Guy, 2012; Flores- Ferrán, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2009; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007), *prior subject* (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Torres Cacoullos & Travis, 2010, 2011; Travis 2007; inter alios). Specifically, we found that

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SUW and BYS treat *person and number* as the same. However, while *prior subject* and *verb class* are significant predictors for both groups, it is attributed more weight by the bilingual group. Bilingual speakers demonstrate higher sensitivity to these two predictors. It seems reasonable, therefore, to propose that the SUW speakers in the present study might have acquired some of the pragmatic mechanisms regarding *prior subject* and *verb class* from Uwa (as discussed in chapter 7). With regard to the patterns for *person and number* and *TMA* of the verb our ranking hierarchy shows that both SUW and BYS speakers essentially treat them in a similar way.

7.5. Discussion

The results of this study contribute information about SPE in a variety of Spanish that has not been previously studied and to the data baseline of SPE. With respect to the issue we set up to address in this dissertation, we can now state the following:

(1) *Rates of SPE in SUW.* Our results show that SUW can be placed within mainland Latin American varieties, specifically the Boyacá variety.

(2) *Internal predictors.* Internal predictors such as *person and number*, *co-reference* and *TMA* that are found to be largely consistent across studies of SPE with both monolingual and bilingual participants. Results suggest that overt subjects fulfill specific tasks in SUW. Their presence is greatly observed in contexts such as where there is a change of topic, there is an ambiguous context, or it is a case of topicalization.

(3) *External factors.* We found that gender is a significant predictor of SPE in SUW and BYS. This study concurs with others in which external predictors have appeared to be significant (Orozco, 2015; Mendez, 2014, Martínez-Sanz, 2011).

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The answer to the four research questions of how the predictors hierarchy of SUW compares to that of BYS and other Spanish varieties indicates that underlying factors conditioning SPE are consistent to those within the Hispanic world. This study shows that the bilingualism effect does play a significant role in determining SPE, with Uwa Spanish bilinguals producing significantly more overt pronouns than Spanish monolinguals. The high rates of overt pronouns in SUW (31%) is supported in Sorace's (2011) study, which refers to the processing bilinguals experience and how this processing effort could be a major player in boosting explicit pronouns in bilinguals. The results presented here indicate that the effect of bilingualism might have been a contributor for the 8% increase of overt pronouns in the experimental group as compared to the control group. With regard to the constraint hierarchy between the two groups, the examination showed that both groups have five significant factors in common and concur in ranking the predictor *person and number* as the first conditioner of SPE. However, there are also differences with the order of the other factors and the set of factors within a factor group as it has been previously indicated.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we discuss the theoretical implications and results of the research questions and hypotheses presented in chapter 5 regarding SPE in SUW.

Before presenting the conclusions, we would like to address an issue that differentiates the formal approach and the variationist approach, and that pertains to the null/overt subject dichotomy. Within the variationist approach, this dichotomy differentiates null subjects and pronominal subjects. In other words, when both are compared, it is only pronouns that are included as overt subjects. On the other hand, in the formal approach, overt subjects include both pronouns and nominal phrases, which implies that this latter approach deals with a larger language sample than the variationist approach. It also implies that the two approaches are not totally compatible. However, sorting out this theoretical and methodological distinction lies beyond the scope of this dissertation.

In the ensuing paragraphs we explore the three broad issues that guided this study:

- I. How can we describe the licensing mechanisms of SPE in SUW?
- II. What are the reaches of the functional hypothesis in explaining the issue of null/overt SSP expression in SUW?
- III. How can cross-linguistic influence account for cross-dialectal variation?

In response to the first issue, this study showed that the formal grammar framework has allowed us to provide a dual detailed account of the licensing mechanisms of SPE in SUW. This discussion stems from a notion that SUW might be equipped with an idiosyncratic system that involves the sentence-oriented properties of Spanish and the discursive oriented properties of Uwa. Therefore, SUW speakers might have access to the

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syntactic mechanisms that pertain to rich verbal paradigm (like in sentence-oriented languages), but also have access to discourse oriented mechanisms attributed to discursive oriented languages like Uwa.

Concerning the second research question which discusses the reaches of the functional hypothesis in explaining the issue of null/overt SSP expression in SUW, results of this study are in alignment with the principles of this hypothesis. This is to say the SPE in SUW is governed by well-defined functions. For instance, certain morpho-syntactic factor groups, such as *person and number*, have shown that morphologically ambiguous forms tend to favor overt subjects more strongly than non-ambiguous forms. Differences and correlations between plural and singular verbal forms and SPE have also been found. Singular pronouns *yo, tú, él, ella, usted* [I, you, he, she, you] create a positive effect for overt subjects and plural verbs favor null subjects *nosotros, ellos/ellas, ustedes* [we, they, you]. Following the principles of the functional hypothesis, we claim that higher rates of overt pronouns *yo* [I] and *él/ella* [he/she] in SUW as opposed to *BYS* suggests that these pronouns have become part of the SUW bilingual grammar by conveying the function of Uwa suffixes (as discussed in chapter 3).

The answer to the third broad question reveals morphosyntactic and pragmatic implications that can be drawn from the SPE systems of both Spanish and Uwa. The findings suggest that the SPE system of SUW might have been influenced by the Uwa system. This means that SPE patterns of Uwa were found in SUW.

In the ensuing paragraphs, we will be discussing the research questions and hypotheses of this dissertation from both the generative and variationist framework.

8.1. Discussion on the Research Questions From The Formal (Generative) Approach

Research Question 1:

What is the distribution of overt/null SPE in SUW and how can formal theory account for it?

Hypothesis 1:

Within the field of generative linguistics, variation is seen as a change of parametric values (Lightfoot, 1991, 1998, 2002; Roberts, 1993; Roberts & Roussou, 2003). Both Spanish and Uwa are NSLs and share some of the properties identified within the government and binding theory, however, they are equipped with different licensing mechanisms of SPE. While Spanish mostly relies on syntactic mechanisms, Uwa is mostly governed by discursive mechanisms. Thus, although the same data collection method was used to elicit data from the bilingual and monolingual group, we expected significant variation between them, given the distinctive mechanisms that account for SPE in Spanish and in SUW. According to Huang (1984), as sentence and discourse-oriented languages have different mechanisms involved in overt/null SP expression, they can be better studied if we assume there are two parameters involved. Due to the parametric difference, the specific-languages mechanisms of both Spanish and Uwa, and the possible influence from Uwa into SUW, we expected SUW to show an idiosyncratic SPE system that would display specific patterns that differentiate SUW from the control group of BYS speakers and other varieties. Furthermore, and following Jaeggli and Safir's (1989) theory which claims that null subjects are the default option in Spanish, we expected BYS participants to limit usage of overt subjects to mostly instances of topicalization, a change of reference, or subject ambiguity. In addition to the

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previously mentioned contexts and due to possible influence from Uwa, SUW participants were expected to produce instances of overt subjects that do not correspond to the canonical norm of standard Spanish.

The so-called principles and parameters model has allowed us to show that SUW is a language which may be equipped with a dual idiosyncratic system for licensing null subjects. This dual mechanism consists of the realization that involves two different parameters: the [+*pro-drop*] parameter and the [+*topic-drop*] parameter whose properties are both present in the grammar of SUW bilinguals.

Due to the existence of languages with zero inflexion (Huang, 1984), and the assumption that the separation between NSLs and NNSLs was based on their verbal paradigms, there have been attempts to reconcile the parametric approach. A great body of literature claimed that mechanisms other than rich agreement are available cross-linguistically for the licensing of null subjects. For instance, Jaeggli and Safir's (1989) uniformity of the paradigm hypothesis was formulated as a suitable venue to deal with languages with zero inflexion. Holmberg, Nayudu, and Sheehan (2009) and Camacho (2011) have also added a third type of languages, the so-called partial NSLs, to describe languages with limited mechanisms to license null subjects.

In this study, the possibility of cross-linguistic influence adds a crucial component to the SPE of SUW. The result of setting two distinct parameters in the bilingual grammar would derive in SUW having mixed NSP patterns as these speakers have access to the options of the two different parameters. Based on the results, we have argued that the differences between languages stem from these language-specific mechanisms.

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In the case of the language-specific mechanism of SUW and BYS, this study has shown that they share common ground in that their null subjects are licensed by INFL and identified through the rich agreement which corresponds to the [+ *pro-drop*] language patterns of Spanish. However, they also differ in that null subjects in SUW, as opposed to BYS, can also be licensed and identified by discourse topics. The language-specific mechanisms of SUW will be further discussed in the context of research questions 2 and 3.

Research Question 2:

What is the specific role of verbal agreement in subject licensing in SUW? What are the contexts in which SUW and BYS show systematic dissimilar patterns and how can this variation be formally explained?

Hypothesis 2:

We have assumed, on the one hand, that rich agreement plays a crucial role in the distribution of null subjects in sentence-oriented languages like Spanish. We have followed Rizzi's (1986) line of reasoning according to which [+*pro-drop*] languages like Spanish with rich verbal paradigms are licensed via [+*strong*] INFL features and identified through rich agreement specification via *f*-features (as described in chapter 3). On the other hand, following Huang (1984), we have assumed that in Uwa, like in Chinese, null subjects are bound by discourse operators and identified by null topics. Therefore, based on the assumption that the bilingual group has two attained grammars, one of which lacks verbal grammatical person markers, we expected the bilinguals to display higher frequency of overt SPs. The fact that Uwa is heavily bound to discourse operators would require SUW speakers to develop linguistic awareness of the Spanish

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verbal affixes. This may create moments of linguistic insecurity that will favor overt SPs. Additionally (as discussed in chapter 3), Uwa has affixes that are attached to the pronouns of the first person and third person singular and plural to express emphasis and transitivity. We assumed these affixes could also boost the expression of overt SPs in these grammatical persons as they receive emphasis and transitivity functions.

Hypothesis 2 is borne out by the rates found in the data. We found that first person singular is 18% higher in SUW than in BYS (47% / 29%). First person plural is slightly higher in SUW than in BYS (31% / 28%). We claim that the inflectional paradigms of both Spanish and Uwa may be a contributor factor for these differences. The verbal paradigm of Uwa is not equipped with a grammatical person marker. Thus, the subject reference cannot be identified through verbal inflection that would force overt pronouns, specifically first person and third person singular and plural, to play this role. This study supports that a rich verbal paradigm is a pivotal factor for licensing and identification. However, the verbal paradigm of a language can be restructured over time (as seen with Old French when it became a NNSL after losing its phonological distinctions) or in situations of language contact (such as SUW which we claim restructured its SPE due to influence from Uwa). Additionally, we argue that SUW speakers also exhibit discourse mechanisms that are present in Uwa as stated in hypothesis number three.

Research Question 3:

What is the role of discourse-pragmatic mechanisms in the expression of the overt and null SP in SUW?

Hypothesis 3:

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This study has shown that discourse-pragmatic mechanisms license overt/null expression in topic-oriented languages like Uwa as rich agreement does in sentence-oriented languages like Spanish. We expected that discourse operators influence SUW pronominal usage, thus producing changes in the morphosyntax of Uwa Spanish.

For example, if first person pronouns were used to express commitment to the veracity of a statement, this would suggest evidence of convergence in the bilingual Spanish grammar as Uwa pronouns can be used to convey such meaning.

Hypothesis 3 was confirmed in this study. It supports Huang's (1982) theory that refers to the existence of specific patterns attributed to discourse-oriented languages which were visible in SUW. We found that similar discursive mechanisms allow Uwa to license null subjects in SUW. We claim that some of these discursive mechanisms from Uwa were transferred into the Spanish of the SUW participants. A large oral corpus of SUW spontaneous speech has allowed us to observe dissimilar linguistic behavior between SUW speakers and the BYS control group in three key characteristics attributed to topic-oriented languages: (i) restriction on the reference of empty category (EC); (ii) sensitivity to the [+topic shift] feature; and (iii) free omission and misuse of clitics. Thus, SUW bilinguals might experience competition in their minds between mechanisms of Spanish and Uwa origin.

8.2. Discussion on the Research Questions From The Formal (Variationist)

Approach

Research Question 4:

What are the rates of pronominal expression in SUW and BYS and how do they relate to other variationist studies in which similar methodology was used?

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Hypothesis 4:

If there is no bilingualism effect, Uwa will not transfer any syntactic properties to Spanish, and therefore SUW and BYS would display similar rates of SPE. However, it was expected that SUW and BYS would present dissimilar rates of SPE. We expected that SUW will display higher rates of overt pronouns as the Uwa verbal suffix system does not convey grammatical person, which would require the overt pronouns and nouns to carry the grammatical person marker. Additionally, due to the Uwa affixes (as discussed in chapter 3) attached to first person, we expected the most first person singular and plural favoring overt SPEs in SUW. In BYS, following patterns found in other studies (Cameron, 1992; Travis, 2005, 2007), we expected a lower frequency of overt subjects with plural verbal forms than with singular forms. Despite the overt/null SPE variation between SUW and BYS, we expected overall overt SPE rates to reflect uniformity across different varieties of Spanish (Carvalho & Child, 2011; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Travis, 2007).

Results confirmed hypothesis 4 as the overall rates of SPE between SUW and BYS presented variation. Overall pronominal rate is 31% in SUW and 23% in BYS. We claim that bilingualism effect is a contributor factor for the 8% variation between the two groups. When comparing the overt subject rates of this study to other studies with Colombian participants, we found that rates on overt subjects of BYS are very similar to Colombians in NYC (24%) (Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007). Orozco & Guy (2008) reported 35.7% but this data was collected in Barranquilla, one of the largest Colombian cities of the Caribbean Coast. The data for this study, on the other hand, was collected in Tunja and Cubara, Boyacá. Boyacá is a region located on the Eastern Ranges of the

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Colombian Andes. Although both studies collected data in Colombia, Boyacá Spanish belongs to the highland variety whereas Barranquilla Spanish belongs to the coastal variety. Following Cameron (1992), we found in this study that overt pronoun rates in Caribbean Spanish were significantly higher in comparison to highland varieties (Orozco & Guy, 2008; Orozco, 2015; Martínez-Sanz, 2011; Méndez, 2013; Michnowicz, 2015).

Research Question 5:

What are the internal predictors that condition the expression of the subject personal pronoun in SUW? Do they differ from the variables found significant in other studies?

Hypothesis 5:

Some internal predictors are expected to play a crucial role in the SPE of SUW. Consistent with previous studies, we expected subordinate clauses, stative, copulative, speech and cognition verbs, and the imperfect indicative to favor overt SPs (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Almeida & Castellano, 2001; Claes, 2011; Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1994; Prada Pérez, 2009; Travis, 2007, inter alia). In contrast, we expected external activity, reflexive verbs, subjunctives, and futures to disfavour pronominal subjects. Furthermore, overt SPEs were expected to be expressed more often by a complete change in subject and be disfavoured by subjects that are coreferent with those of the previous clause (Bentivoglio, 1987; Cameron, 1992; Claes, 2011; Enríquez, 1984; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Ortiz López, 2011; Prada Pérez, 2009; Travis, 2007). A tendency to maintain parallel structures was also anticipated.

The findings of this study are in alignment with hypothesis 5 and they confirm that regardless of the Spanish variety, very similar discourse-related variables constrain overt and null subject insertion. In this study, the multivariate analysis reveals the

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existence of a group of significant forces made up by four internal predictors that condition SPE in SUW: *person and number*, *prior subject*, *verb class*, *TMA of the verb*. As for the *person and number* factor, results show that while first person singular has the greatest effect for an overt subject, third person plural is the grammatical person with the smallest probability of occurring with an explicit pronoun. This pattern was also observed in Carvalho (2011). *Prior subject* was also found to be a significant factor in SUW. We found that the expression of a previous form creates a positive effect for subject continuity. For instance, the expression of a previous *yo* [I] makes it more likely for there to be an expression of a subsequent *yo* [I]. Thus, there is a positive effect for subject continuity. Similarly, overt subjects have a greater possibility of occurrence when there is a different previous subject. As for *verb class*, we found that cognition verbs were the greatest triggers for overt pronouns, with a percentage of 44%. These patterns are consistent with the patterns found in other variationist studies (Bentivoglio, 1987; Orozco, 2015; Travis, 2007; Torres Cacoullós, 2012). *TMA of the verb* was the last significant factor conditioning SPE in SUW. As expected, morphologically ambiguous verbs tend to favor overt subjects more than non-ambiguous.

Research Question 6:

What are the external predictors that condition the expression of the subject personal pronoun in SUW? Do they differ from the variables found significant in other studies?

Hypothesis 6:

We did not anticipate a great influence of external predictors and only expected gender and age to be significant predictors of overt/null SP expression. Specifically, we

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expected women to favor more overt SPs than men and younger speakers to show higher rates of null SPs than adults.

Hypothesis 6 was partially confirmed. We expected both gender and age to be conditioners. However, the multivariable analysis only identified gender as a significant conditioner. Results show that females favored overt subject pronouns 14% more than males with a probability of .57. Men reported .43. The findings of this study are in accordance with Carvalho and Child (2011, p. 22) in that women tend to have more robust rates of overt subject pronouns. Nevertheless, other studies have not found gender to be a conditioning force (Martínez-Sanz, 2011; Orozco & Guy, 2008) or have offered opposing results. Michnowicz (2015) reported that males had more robust rates of overt pronouns than females. This study aimed to have similar numbers of males and females as to have a balanced representation. However, conditions in the field work limited our ability to recruit more participants. Thus, given the limited data for this factor, results in this study are not conclusive and gender in SUW remains a fertile ground for future research in variationist work.

8.3. Contributions

This thesis studied the SPE of SUW, a Spanish variety from which we have very scarce information. In addition to contributing to a better understanding of the nature of interlinguistic influence in highly proficient bilinguals, this research enhances our linguistic knowledge in relation to the principles and mechanisms involved in SPE. Additionally, it has contributed data of a variety of Spanish that had not been previously studied and of an indigenous language that is listed by the Ethnologue as an endangered language.

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Similarly, we found that Uwa has shaped the SPE system of SUW by creating an idiosyncratic SPE system that clearly differentiates this variety of Spanish from the Spanish of the monolinguals BYS. Through this thesis, we have claimed that the generative and variationist approaches can help us to better describe and explain the nuances of SPE.

Although the production of overt/null subjects has occupied a central place in both generative and variationist research, there have been few studies that present an integrated approach using both the variationist and generative theories. This study aimed to fill this gap by bringing together both frameworks.

8.3.1. Subject Personal Expression in Uwa Spanish From The Variationist Approach

Results from the variationist study in SUW have been consistent with previous studies. Along the lines of other Caribbean varieties, both SUW and BYS reflect the dominance of null subjects. The overall overt/null rates for the SUW are comparable to those of Colombians in NYC (Otheguy, Zentella, & Livert, 2007). As far as external and internal factors are concerned, this study has coincided with other studies in that there are specific discourse-related and morpho-syntactic predictors that appear to condition SPE. Furthermore, these factors have been found to be highly consistent across different Spanish varieties. In this study, five factors were found to be significant in both groups: *person and number of the null or overt SPE, prior subject, TMA of the verb, verb class, and gender*. Co-reference is only significant in BYS.

Person and number appear to be the strongest factor on SPE in SUW. The importance of this factor has also been validated in other studies in which it appeared as

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the most significant (Carvalho & Bessett, 2015; Méndez, 2014; Michnowicz, 2015; Orozco & Guy, 2008; Otheguy Zentella & Livert, 2007). The patterns found in previous studies suggest that while plural verbs favor null subjects, singular verbs discourage them (Orozco & Guy, 2008; Otheguy & Zentella, 2007). Likewise, the results of this study support that plural forms favor more null SPEs than singular forms. Specifically, this study found that first person singular has the strongest likelihood for an overt pronoun with almost 50% of the total share. Contrariwise, third person plural has the lowest possibility of having an overt pronoun with only 11%. The predictor *subject of the previous person and number* also showed to have a strong conditioning effect. For instance, a previous overt subject makes more likely the expression of a subsequent null subject if there is not a subject switch. This priming effect is highly influenced by subject continuity and co-referential subject priming (Abreu, 2009, 2012; Cameron & Flores-Ferrán, 2004; Carvalho & Child, 2011; Torres Cacoullos & Travis, 2010, 2011; Travis, 2007). For instance, a switch in subject favors overt pronouns while continuity of reference discourages them.

Similarly, results also depict the predictor *verb class* as being a significant conditioner of SPE. Three factors were found to influence SPE in SUW: *verb class*, *regularity of the verb*, and *TMA of the verb*. In previous studies, it had been suggested that *verb class* strongly determines null and overt subject patterns in SPE (Bentivoglio, 1987; Travis, 2007). In alignment with previous literature, this study found that cognition verbs tend to favor expression of overt subjects (Bentivoglio, 1987; Travis, 2007). There was a high frequency for sentences like *yo pienso que* [I think that] or *yo creo que* [I believe that], which seem to have grammaticalized as fixed expressions in Uwa. On the

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contrary, only 16% of motion verbs were expressed with an overt pronoun. Additionally, this study found that *verb regularity* also played a crucial role in conditioning SPE in SUW. Results of this study are in accordance with Bentivoglio (1987) who reported that ambiguous verbal forms favor more overt pronouns than regular forms. Proficiency in the use of irregular verbs appears to have influenced SPE in SUW. The idea is that linguistic insecurity triggers overt subjects and makes them the default choice. This pattern corresponds to what has been previously found in the variationist literature (Torres Cacoullos, 2012). It also follows Sorace's hypothesis (2011) in that bilinguals experience a simplification process that boosts overt pronouns as it makes overt pronouns the default option in linguistically ambiguous and uncertain contexts. Consistent with previous literature, the *TMA predictor* confirms that in morphologically ambiguous verbal tenses, overt pronouns fulfill the function of disambiguating the subject reference. The study shows that in the *TMA predictor*, the imperfect indicative is the verbal form that favors the most overt pronouns. In summary, these results reinforce previous studies in which the influence of above mentioned verb related predictors have been found significant.

Language external factors, on the other hand, have not shown strong conditioning effect. From the three language external predictors studied, only gender appeared as significant as GoldVard discarded education and age. As for gender, females favored 14% more overt SPE than their male counterparts. However, previous literature suggests opposing findings. For instance, while in this study and in Carvalho and Child (2011) females tended to favor expressed subjects and males to disfavor them, Michnowicz (2015) reported that males had more robust rates of overt pronouns than females. Orozco and Guy (2008) and Martínez-Sanz (2011), on the other hand, did not find gender to be

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one of the conditioning forces of SPE. Finally, this study shows a strong bilingualism effect in the SPE of SUW. This study claims that the bilingualism effect dramatically increases overt subjects in SUW by 8% as compared to the BYS control group.

8.3.2. Subject Personal Expression in Uwa Spanish From The Generative Approach

The principles of the minimalist program (Chomsky, 1995) have guided our research when it came to both the description and the analysis of SPE in SUW. As the licensing mechanisms of SPE in SUW differed from those of canonical Spanish and the monolingual group BYS, we aimed to explain whether the differences were due to the bilingualism effect or if there were other underlying reasons that needed to be taken into consideration. We have also taken the functional hypothesis as a framework that states that null subjects are the default choice in Spanish and overt subjects are only expressed when they are called to play a specific task, as it is the case in Caribbean Spanish (Hochberg, 1986; Fernandez Soriano, 1993). Although in standard Spanish overt SPs are required when there is a change of subject, a case of topicalization or in ambiguous contexts, in this study we claim that overt SPs in SUW are present due to more mechanisms. In addition to the mechanisms identified for standard Spanish, SUW also uses discourse mechanisms available in Uwa to display subjects that are not allowed in standard Spanish. For instance, with regard to the high rates of overt pronouns in first person singular and plural in SUW, we argue that they show evidence of Uwa influence. They do not only behave as standard Spanish pronouns, but also have the possibility to convey the meaning of Uwa suffixes *-an* and *-at*. In other words, we claim that since these two suffixes are necessarily attached to the pronouns of the first person singular and

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the plural in Uwa, the SUW participants are transferring this usage into the Spanish pronouns *yo* [I] and *nosotros* [we] (for more information, see chapter 3). Thus, if *yo* [I] and *nosotros* [we] convey the same meaning as the Uwa suffixes *-an* and *-at*, SUW speakers would then be giving *yo* [I] the function of emphasizing a statement, and *nosotros* [we] the function of expressing a strong personal conviction, which are the canonical functions for these suffixes in SUW.

In addition to the influence of the Uwa suffixes in SUW, there is also evidence of Uwa omission patterns in SUW. As we know, Uwa has discursive mechanisms to license null subjects. Thus, this study suggests that nulls subjects in SUW are licensed by the syntactic antecedents as in Spanish, but also by discursive operators as in Uwa. These discursive mechanisms can enable contexts that seem too ambiguous in canonical Spanish and that would require an overt subject or noun. Precisely, the excerpts that we analyzed showed the presence of a significant number of ambiguous contexts in SUW that show a clear difference from our monolingual group.

BYS and SUW exhibit quantitative differences. Throughout this thesis, we described contexts in which SUW allows SPEs that would be ungrammatical in BYS and most other varieties of Spanish. We argue that SUW speakers are equipped with two grammars, the BYS grammar and the Uwa grammar, each one with specific null subject settings. The incoming grammar produces changes in the SPE system, which would account for the quantitative difference between the two groups.

In conclusion, we argue that SUW and BYS are grammars that share features in common such as the existence of referential null subjects or having a similar core set of verbs used. However, our research also claims the existence of fortuitous relations

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between the grammars. We claim that the differences between the null/overt patterns in bilingual Spanish versus monolingual Spanish is evidence that interlinguistic influence from Uwa plays a crucial role in facilitating the expression of overt subjects in SUW.

We have argued that Uwa is boosting the rates of overt subjects in SUW; the bilingualism effect from Uwa into Spanish lies in the fact that SUW represents the positive [+] option of the two parameters, the [+*pro-drop*] parameter from Uwa, and thus it displays a dual positive parametric option.

This study also reported that lexical content of the verbs does not contribute to the interlinguistic influence from Uwa into Spanish because bilinguals and monolinguals showed similar patterns of verb usage.

With respect to the omission patterns produced by SUW participants, it has been shown that they are more frequent than those of monolingual Spanish participants. Furthermore, and also with respect to the reaches of the functional hypothesis in explaining the SPE variability in the production and omission of SUW subjects, our proposal is that SPE in SUW is an idiosyncratic system in which both null and overt subjects fulfill functions that differ from standard Spanish. For instance, SUW null subjects are more resilient in bearing the change of topic feature, and the first person singular and plural pronouns are also used to express strong personal conviction of a statement. We claim that ambiguous contexts are more frequent in SUW as the transferring of topic drop and discursive features from Uwa into SUW facilitates the recuperation of the antecedent more freely than in monolingual Spanish.

8.4. Limitations of This Study

Although multivariate analysis offers the possibility of analyzing the relative role of factors all at once, in this study, a number of predictors had to be recoded or excluded. A case in point is the pronoun *tú* [you] since very scarce tokens of expression of this pronoun were found. Consistent with our study, Lipsky (1996) claimed that Colombian speakers from the central region of Colombia don't use *tú* [you] but rather extensively use *surmercé* [you], which originated from the ancient pronoun *vuestra merced* [your majesty]. However, as *surmercé* [you] does not offer overt/null subject optionability, it was not coded. Interestingly, the pronoun *usted* [you], which is formal in other Spanish dialects, is used between family members and in informal settings. Therefore, although pronouns *usted* [you] and *tú* [you] are both learned in school, the pronoun *usted* is almost exclusively used in daily life. We leave the fine-grained analysis of the usage of pronouns *usted* and *surmercé* for further research.

With respect to the language-external factor groups *gender* and *education*, our findings relate to other studies in which these factors have not emerged as significant. The body of literature shows conflicting results of SPE expression when it comes to external factors. This study only shows *gender* as a significant factor and presents evidence that women favor overt pronouns more than men (although results from previous studies are far from consistent).

In summation, this dissertation has effectively described the idiosyncratic system of SPE in SUW and specifically offered an accurate analysis of the mechanisms used by SUW to license null subjects. Cross-linguistic influence was manifested by the transferring of discursive mechanisms of Uwa into SUW and we found evidence that in

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addition to using the licensing mechanisms found in canonical Spanish, SUW speakers also use topic operators available in Uwa. We use the variationist approach to account for variation and test if patterns found in this study are consistent with previous studies.

Additionally, the generative theory helped us to explain the idiosyncratic system of SPE in SUW.

8.5. Final Comments on Subject Pronominal Expression in Uwa Spanish

We took as a point of departure a cohesive view of variation in which variationist and generative theories can reach a common ground by becoming complementary tools to account for and explain variation in SPE. It is well-known that generative and variationist theories have traditionally studied variation from different perspectives. While generative studies view variation from a parametric point of view, the variationist framework sees variation from the dependent variables model system. We claim that by the integration of both frameworks, we were able to provide a more comprehensive analysis of SPE in SUW. On the one hand, and based on the generative approach, we were able to relate the foundational theory of the NSP, the government and binding theory, the EPP, the idea of micro parameters, partial null languages, and idiosyncratic systems with the languages involved in this study. Additionally, we used these theories to provide an account for the discursive and syntactic mechanisms influencing SPE in SUW. Thus, the quantitative data obtained through the variationist methodology has proven to be reliable as it was highly comparable to previous studies. Results of this study support Orozco's (2015) findings in that rates of SPE and the internal and external factors conditioning SPE reflect uniformity across different varieties of Spanish.

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APPENDIX A. Letter For Participants.

SUBJECT PRONOMINAL EXPRESSION IN UWA SPANISH

Investigador estudiante:	Directora de tesis:
Saúl Leonardo Moreno M.	Dr. Juana M. Licerias
Estudiante de doctorado	Profesora
Departamento de Lenguas y Literaturas Modernas	Departamento de Lenguas y Literaturas Modernas
Universidad de Ottawa	Universidad de Ottawa
Fecha: _____	

Estimado/a señor/a,

Soy estudiante de doctorado en la Universidad de Ottawa y trabajo bajo la supervisión de la profesora Juana M. Licerias. Estoy desarrollando un estudio para mi examen comprensivo de doctorado sobre “el español hablado por los uwas”. El objetivo de este proyecto es explorar y caracterizar algunos aspectos del español usado por la comunidad uwa de Cubará, Departamento de Boyacá.

Por tanto, estoy entrevistando a personas de la etnia uwa como usted, y hablando con ellos sobre sus experiencias, recuerdos e historias relacionadas con la vida aquí en Boyacá y particularmente en Cubará. También me gustaría averiguar que piensan los Uwas sobre el uso y aprendizaje del Uwa y del español en la comunidad de Cobaría y en general entre los miembros de esa etnia. Igualmente quisiera investigar cómo han aprendido el español y cómo lo hablan. Espero que este proyecto ayude a informar a la comunidad científica y a las personas interesadas en estos temas que viven fuera de la Boyacá sobre la lengua y la vida diaria en esta región.

Lo que hago es simplemente sentarme con usted y hablar durante aproximadamente una hora, o durante el tiempo en que usted se sienta cómodo/a de estar hablando conmigo. La conversación tendrá lugar en el sitio que a usted más le convenga, ya sea una cafetería o restaurante, en la plaza, en la calle, en su casa o en su lugar de trabajo. Hablaremos de temas como su comunidad, su barrio, las tradiciones y cultura uwa, su trabajo y experiencias personales generales sobre lo que supone crecer y vivir en Boyacá.

Debido a que no podré recordar con precisión todo lo que digan las personas entrevistadas y cómo lo digan, le pido su consentimiento para grabar nuestra conversación en audio. Si usted está de acuerdo en realizar la entrevista, le agradecería que coloque esta grabadora digital junto a usted. Todo lo que se diga durante esta entrevista será estrictamente confidencial y su participación es anónima. Si yo citara fragmentos de su entrevista en mi examen comprensivo, me aseguraría de dejar fuera de estas citas toda su información personal, de manera que nadie pueda adivinar quién dijo esas palabras. Usted podrá escuchar su entrevista después de que la realicemos, y tendrá la oportunidad de revisar las transcripciones de su entrevista y las citas sacadas de la misma que yo incluya en mi examen doctoral. Si usted quiere revisar las transcripciones y citas, por favor déjeme su dirección postal o su dirección de correo electrónico, y yo me aseguraré de enviarle una copia de estos materiales. Tanto las entrevistas grabadas como los formularios de consentimiento informado se conservarán durante cinco años, bajo llave, en una oficina de la Universidad de Ottawa, y después serán destruidos. Nadie, excepto la profesora Juana M. Licerias y quien suscribe tendrá acceso a los datos obtenidos en esta entrevista.

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La participación en este proyecto es totalmente voluntaria y no habrá compensación monetaria. Sin embargo, si el interesado así lo requiere, el investigador le puede dar una clase privada sobre el tema de estudio de esta investigación. Del mismo modo, es altamente improbable que su participación resulte en riesgos o daños físicos o emocionales para usted. En cualquier caso, si usted siente que su participación le está causando alguna inconveniencia o malestar ya sea físico o emocional o está interrumpiendo o dificultando alguna de sus labores cotidianas, o simplemente se aburre o se arrepiente de haber dado alguna información en el curso de la entrevista, tiene el derecho de abandonar este proyecto en cualquier momento. Usted puede pedirme que no grabe parte de lo que usted diga, o que borre parte de esta entrevista. Depende totalmente de su voluntad.

Con su participación en este estudio, además de ayudarme mucho en mi preparación para el examen de doctorado, usted tendrá la oportunidad de reflexionar sobre su propio uso de la lengua, su comunidad y grupo étnico. También estará contribuyendo a nuestro conocimiento de las lenguas en contacto en las distintas variedades del español, y a nuestro conocimiento sobre cómo es el español hablado en Boyacá.

Por favor, devuelva esta hoja al investigador si desea participar.

APPENDIX B. Consent Form.

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Formulario de consentimiento.

Copia para el investigador estudiante

Yo, _____ por la presente hago constar que estoy de acuerdo en formar parte de un estudio sobre el español de los uwas.

Comprendo que para formar parte de en este proyecto participaré en una conversación grabada en la que se hablará de temas como los siguientes:

- Mi barrio / comunidad
- Mi familia y sus tradiciones
- La vida en Boyacá
- Mi trabajo
- Opiniones sobre el conocimiento y uso del español entre la etnia uwa.
- Tradiciones, cultura y hábitos uwa.

Comprendo que la entrevista durará aproximadamente una hora, o el tiempo que yo desee. Comprendo que la entrevista tendrá lugar en el momento y en el sitio que a mí más me convenga.

Comprendo que no tengo ninguna obligación de participar en este proyecto y que puedo negarme a contestar cualquier pregunta, que puedo interrumpir la entrevista o dejar de participar en este proyecto en cualquier momento. Comprendo que mi participación es voluntaria y que no hay ninguna compensación monetaria. Sin embargo, Si lo quisiera, le podré pedir al investigador que me dé una clase privada sobre el tema de su estudio Comprendo que puedo beneficiarme de este estudio reflexionando sobre mi uso de la lengua española. También comprendo que los resultados de este proyecto de investigación pueden ayudar a informar a otras personas fuera de Boyacá sobre el español de la región, y que puede ayudar a los investigadores a comprender cómo funciona el contacto entre las lenguas.

Comprendo que podré escuchar mi entrevista una vez que esté terminada, y que tengo la opción de tener acceso a las transcripciones de mi entrevista y a las citas que tome de ella el estudiante investigador para su examen doctoral.

Comprendo que también puedo contactar a la profesora Juana M. Liceras (jliceras@uottawa.ca) si tengo cualquier otra pregunta sobre este proyecto de investigación.

Si tengo cualquier pregunta sobre los fundamentos éticos de este estudio, puedo contactar al Responsable de Protocolo Ético en Investigación, Universidad de Ottawa, 550 Cumberland Avenue, Room 154, Ottawa, ON, K1N 6N5.

Tel.: (613) 562-5387.

Correo Electrónico: ethics@uottawa.ca

Comprendo lo que la participación en este estudio conlleva. He recibido una copia de este formulario de consentimiento.

Firma del participante:

Nombre completo del participante:

Dirección postal /dirección de correo electrónico del participante (opcional):

Firma del investigador estudiante:

Fecha:

APPENDIX C. Posted Ad.

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Se buscan voluntarios para un proyecto de investigación

¿quiere participar en un proyecto de investigación sobre el español hablado por indígenas uwas?

¿eres bilingüe en uwa y español?

¿tiene usted más de 18 años?

¿es usted un indígena uwa?

¡entonces puede participar!

Leonardo moreno, estudiante de doctorado de la universidad de ottawa, canadá, está realizando un trabajo de investigación sobre el habla de los uwas bajo la supervisión de la profesora juana m. liceras.

los participantes realizarán una entrevista de aproximadamente una hora con leonardo moreno, en la que hablarán sobre sus experiencias, su trabajo y su vida diaria aquí en Boyacá.

Por razones de confidencialidad, a cada voluntario se le asignará un código y no podrá ser identificado por sus respuestas. toda la información personal (nombre, edad, etc.) será destruida al final del estudio. además, este estudio no implica ningún riesgo personal. si está interesado/a en participar, por favor llame a uno de los siguientes números de teléfono:

si tiene alguna pregunta sobre este proyecto, no dude en ponerse en contacto con leonardo moreno al teléfono o a la dirección de correo electrónico indicados arriba, o escriba un e-mail a juana m. liceras:

jliceras@uottawa.ca

¡gracias por su colaboración!

APPENDIX D. Interview Guidelines.

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El español hablado por los indígenas Uwa de Cobaría, Boyacá, Colombia. Un caso de influencia lingüística.

Protocolo para la entrevista

Guía de preguntas

(adaptado de Tagliamonte 2006 y Martínez Sanz 2007)

El investigador estudiante llevará a cabo lo que se conoce normalmente como ‘entrevistas sociolingüísticas’. Estas entrevistas guiadas tienen como objetivo reproducir una conversación informal entre el participante y el entrevistador. Ha sido demostrado (Labov 1984) que las conversaciones informales son en las que los hablantes de una lengua producen su discurso más natural, es decir, el más cercano a la versión ‘vernácula’ de su lengua. Para que esto sea posible, es esencial que la persona entrevistada se sienta cómoda en todo momento con los temas de los que se habla, así como con la manera en la que el entrevistador desarrolla la conversación guiada. Del mismo modo, es también esencial que la persona entrevistada no perciba al entrevistador como alguien que está haciendo juicios de valor sobre él/ella.

El objetivo fundamental de una entrevista sociolingüística es grabar aproximadamente una hora de discurso de la persona entrevistada, en la que ésta produce un discurso narrativo, y obtener los datos demográficos necesarios para después poder realizar el análisis de los datos recogidos. La entrevista consiste en una serie de preguntas organizadas jerárquicamente que constituyen módulos conversacionales. La entrevista comienza con las preguntas relacionadas con los datos demográficos del participante y con su barrio/comunidad, y va progresando hacia los módulos conversacionales que pueden elicitar un discurso narrativo sobre experiencias personales por parte de la persona entrevistada. Para este estudio se han diseñado ocho módulos conversacionales:

1. Datos demográficos
2. Barrio/Comunidad y prácticas sociales
3. Padres y familia
4. Vida laboral
5. Tradiciones en la familia/comunidad y remedios tradicionales
6. Viajes
7. Experiencias fuera de lo común
8. Lengua

Dentro de cada uno de los módulos, las preguntas están también organizadas jerárquicamente. Cada módulo comienza con preguntas generales, diseñadas para evaluar si la persona entrevistada está interesada o tiene intención de hablar de ese tema en concreto. Si la persona entrevistada muestra interés en ese tema, la entrevistadora continuará haciendo las preguntas más concretas de ese módulo. Si este no es el caso, la entrevistadora pasará a las preguntas del módulo siguiente, hasta que encuentre un tema que sea del agrado de la persona entrevistada.

Los módulos y preguntas para este proyecto de investigación han sido escogidos teniendo en cuenta las características específicas y la forma de vida de las personas que componen los colectivos que se están investigando. Por ejemplo, en el módulo sobre Barrio/comunidad y prácticas sociales hay preguntas sobre la manera en que las personas se relacionan unas con otras en estos colectivos. Estas preguntas han sido diseñadas teniendo en cuenta el hecho de que en estas comunidades, especialmente en las áreas

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rurales, normalmente existen lazos muy fuertes no sólo entre los miembros de una familia, sino también entre los vecinos y otros miembros de la comunidad. El módulo sobre viajes ha sido diseñado teniendo en mente que los miembros de la comunidad a veces han inmigrado o trabajado fuera de Boyacá por períodos cortos o largos de sus vidas. Así mismo, el módulo sobre tradiciones en la familia/comunidad y remedios tradicionales está basado en las prácticas específicas y las celebraciones que tienen lugar en estas comunidades.

El entrevistador será cuidadoso en todo momento con la manera de formular las preguntas. Evitará hacer preguntas totalmente directas en la medida de lo posible, hará las preguntas proporcionando primero un ejemplo de su propia experiencia personal cuando sea posible, y neutralizará las preguntas que puedan ser percibidas por los entrevistados/as como un juicio de valor por su parte. Por ejemplo, cuando pregunte a los entrevistados/as por preferencias de lenguaje, en vez de preguntar directamente ‘¿Qué lenguaje prefiere, el uwa o el español?’, se preguntará ‘¿En cuáles situaciones se siente más cómodo hablando uwa y en cuáles español? Si durante la entrevista surge algún tema delicado, como por ejemplo al hablar de grandes sucesos en la comunidad como desplazamientos o desastres naturales, el entrevistador cambiará el tema a aspectos positivos en la comunidad, como la manera en que las personas tradicionalmente se han ayudado las unas a las otras. Esto se hará de esta manera para evitar que el entrevistado/a piense en recuerdos o sucesos desagradables.

La estructura de las entrevistas será la siguiente: primero, el investigador estudiante repasará la carta de información con la persona entrevistada, reiterando los aspectos relacionados con la participación de esta persona en este proyecto de investigación. Estos aspectos son el anonimato del participante y la confidencialidad de la entrevista, la participación voluntaria en el proyecto, el derecho del participante a no contestar cualquiera de las preguntas que se le hagan y/o el derecho a abandonar el proyecto en cualquier momento, y finalmente, el derecho del participante a escuchar su propia entrevista, así como a revisar las transcripciones de su entrevista y las citas de la misma que la estudiante investigadora incluirá en su tesis doctoral. Si no se obtiene el permiso para grabar la entrevista, ésta tendrá lugar pero los datos de este participante no serán analizados. Después de que el participante firme o grabe su consentimiento para proceder con la entrevista, se dará comienzo a la misma. El estudiante investigador guiará la conversación haciendo uso de los módulos conversacionales que han sido preparados para este proyecto de investigación y que han sido mencionados más arriba.

1. Datos Demográficos

Nota: Aunque este módulo aparece primero en la guía de preguntas para la entrevista, algunas de estas preguntas probablemente se intercalen a lo largo de la entrevista, en vez de hacerlas todas al principio. Esto dependerá de lo cómodo/a que se sienta la persona entrevistada dando información personal al entrevistador durante su conversación. El entrevistado/a tendrá la opción de dar sólo la cantidad de información personal que se sienta cómodo/a compartiendo con el entrevistador.

1. ¿Cuál es su nombre?
2. ¿Edad?
3. ¿Y su dirección?
4. ¿Dónde nació?

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5. ¿Dónde más ha vivido usted?
6. ¿Dónde nacieron y se criaron sus padres?
7. ¿Y sus abuelos?
8. ¿Y su esposo/a?
9. ¿Está usted trabajando? ¿Dónde?
10. ¿A qué se dedicaban/ se dedican sus padres?
11. ¿Y su esposo/a?

Si la entrevista no tiene lugar en casa del participante:

12. ¿Puede hablarme de su casa? ¿Qué tipo de casa es?
13. ¿cuántas personas viven allí y a qué se dedican?
14. ¿Hay una relación cercana entre las familias que viven en la comunidad?

2. Barrio/ Comunidad Y Prácticas Sociales

1. ¡Este pueblo/es tan lindo/interesante! ¿Hace mucho que vive usted aquí?
2. ¿Por qué vive/ se mudó usted aquí? ¿Por trabajo?
¿Porque aquí estaban sus raíces?
3. ¿Cree usted que su pueblo es ahora igual de seguro que era cuando usted era niño/a/joven?, ¿Por qué si o por qué no?
4. ¿Viene familia o amigos o gente de por aquí a visitarlo/a?
5. ¿Qué hacen, juegan toman café, hablan?
6. ¿Quiénes y cómo son sus vecinos?
7. ¿Se reúne aquí la gente fuera de sus casas?
8. ¿Qué hacen? ¿Beben algo frío o a toman un café por las tardes? ¿Y por las noches?
9. ¿En qué momento u ocasiones se toma la chicha?
10. ¿Hay gente por aquí que no sean de su familia con los que usted pasa mucho tiempo?
11. ¿Usted ha bailado?
12. ¿A qué lugar fue?
13. ¿Qué tipo de baile bailó?
14. ¿Qué se ponía la gente para ir a bailar?
15. ¿Qué es lo que le gusta más de su comunidad?
16. ¿Cuáles son las cosas de su comunidad que le hacen sentir bien/orgullosa/a?
17. ¿Alguna vez pasó algo muy importante por aquí que usted recuerde?
Ej. ¿Grandes aguaceros o sequías? ¿Cada cuánto llueve por esta zona?
18. ¿Se juntó la gente del barrio para ayudar? ¿Con comida, ropa, lugares donde quedarse?
19. Hay alguien por aquí a quien usted puede acudir para que le ayude! ¿Qué hace usted?
20. ¿Alguna vez le dan sus vecinos frutas o vegetales? ¿Da usted frutas o vegetales a sus vecinos?
21. ¿Intercambia usted otros productos alimenticios como arroz, leche o carne con sus amigos o familiares?
22. Si usted está enfermo/a, ¿a quién puede pedir ayuda para que cuide de su familia?
23. ¿Tiene usted que preguntar o la gente se ofrece a ayudarlo/a?
24. ¿Cómo es la medicina uwa? ¿A base de qué plantas curan ustedes?

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25. ¿Cómo se forman los médicos o la persona que hace de médico entre los uwas?
26. ¿Son importantes los sueños para sanar o para el destino de la persona que lo sueña?
27. ¿Qué tipo de remedios usa?
28. ¿Quiénes son los médicos o curanderos en la comunidad?
29. Si usted necesita que alguien le lleve a algún sitio si tiene una urgencia, ¿a quién se lo pide?

3. Padres Y Familia

1. ¿Sabe usted desde cuándo vive su familia en esta comunidad?
2. ¿Recuerda usted cómo vino a esta comunidad? Hábleme de ello.
3. ¿En qué querían sus padres que trabajara?
4. ¿Tuvo usted la oportunidad de ir a la escuela?
5. ¿Tiene usted hermanos y hermanas?
6. ¿Se llevaba bien con sus hermanos/as durante su infancia o se peleaban mucho?
7. ¿Y ahora?
8. ¿Solía pasar/Pasa mucho tiempo con sus tios, abuelos?
9. ¿Cómo conoció usted a su esposo/a/novio/a?
10. ¿Por qué decidieron casarse?
11. ¿Cómo ocurrió la propuesta de matrimonio? ¿Recuerda lo que dijo usted?
12. ¿Recuerda cómo reaccionó su esposo/a?
13. ¿Cómo fue el arreglo entre las familias para el matrimonio?
14. ¿Cómo fue su boda?
15. ¿Pasó algo divertido/interesante?
16. ¿Vivió usted con sus suegros después de casarse?
17. Cuénteme cómo era la primera casa o lugar donde vivieron juntos.
18. ¿Quién la eligió? ¿Dónde estaba?
19. ¿Estaba usted contento/a?
20. ¿Durante cuánto tiempo vivió usted allí?

4. Vida Laboral

1. ¿Cuál fue su primer trabajo?
2. ¿Cuántos años tenía usted cuando empezó a trabajar?
3. ¿Recuerda cuánto ganaba?
4. ¿Recuerda en que le gustaba gastarse el dinero que ganaba?
5. ¿Qué hacían sus padres para ganarse la vida?
6. ¿La gente joven de hoy en día, piensa lo mismo del trabajo que pensaba usted cuando era más joven?
7. ¿Qué hace usted para ganarse la vida?
8. ¿Qué le gustaría hacer?

5. Tradiciones En La Familia/Comunidad Y Remedios Tradicionales

1. ¿Qué tipo de tradiciones puede usted recordar de su infancia en su familia/comunidad?
2. ¿Mantiene/Piensa mantener usted las mismas tradiciones en su propia familia?
3. ¿Iba la gente al médico antiguamente?
4. ¿Va usted al médico cuando está enfermo/a?

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5. He oído decir que antiguamente, la gente tomaba medicinas y remedios tradicionales, ¿recuerda usted eso?
6. ¿Qué tipo de remedios recuerda usted?
7. ¿Cómo se previene usted de la gripe?
8. ¿En navidad hay fiestas típicas en la comunidad uwa?
9. ¿Qué tipos de eventos hacen?
10. ¿Hay alguna bebida típica?
11. ¿Qué hace usted normalmente la noche de Año Nuevo?
12. ¿Bailan algún baile típico?

6. Viajes

1. ¿Ha tenido usted la oportunidad de viajar?
2. ¿Dónde fue?
3. ¿Por cuánto tiempo?
4. ¿Le ocurrió algo interesante?
5. ¿Qué otros lugares de Boyacá conoce usted?
6. ¿Le ha ocurrido algo divertido en sus viajes debido a la barrera del idioma?
7. ¿Alguna vez perdió sus maletas o el bus?
8. ¿Dónde no ha estado nunca y le gustaría ir? ¿Por qué?
9. ¿Cuál es la cosa más divertida que le ha pasado en un viaje?
10. ¿Me puede decir cuáles son las diferencias entre los grupos uwa?

7. Experiencias Fuera De Lo Común

1. Cuando la gente piensa en su vida, siempre recuerdan algo que les llamó la atención por ser inusual... ¿alguna vez le pasó algo así?
2. A veces en las familias hay alguien que presiente que algo va a pasar, y después pasa.
¿Hay alguien así en su familia?
3. ¿Recuerda usted que algo que alguien presintió ocurriera después?
4. ¿Se le ha revelado algo por medio de un sueño? ¿Qué sueño y que sucedió luego?
5. ¿Ha tenido problemas con otros paisanos?
6. ¿Qué pasó y cómo se solucionó?
7. ¿Alguna vez ha llegado a algún lugar y ha tenido la sensación de que ya había estado allí?

8. Lengua

1. ¿En cuáles situaciones prefiere hablar en español y en cuáles situaciones prefiere uwa?
2. ¿Usted que prefiere enseñarle a sus hijos, español o uwa?
3. ¿Aquí en su comunidad que piensa la gente o usted del español?
4. ¿Aquí en su comunidad que piensa la gente o usted del uwa?
5. ¿Los mestizos aprenden uwa? ¿Y lo hablan bien?
6. ¿Hay diferencias entre jóvenes y los mayores en el habla uwa?
7. ¿Habla usted igual que sus padres? ¿Hablan sus padres igual que usted?
8. ¿Y sus hijos?
9. ¿Hay diferencias entre el Uwa hablado en los pueblos de Boyacá?
10. ¿Hay escuela en uwa?

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11. ¿Se le dificulta hablar español?
 12. ¿Dónde y cómo aprendió a hablar español?
- Gracias Por Su Colaboración.

APPENDIX E. Language Assessment.

University Of Ottawa • Department Of Modern Languages And Literatures

**CUESTIONARIO DE EVALUACIÓN DE COMPETENCIA
DE BILINGÜES Y POLÍGLOTAS**

*Sección 1: Información general***Nombre y apellidos:****Sexo:** H [] M []**Edad:** 18-30 []; 31-40 []; 41-50 []; 51+ []
[Por favor, señale el intervalo que corresponda]**Lugar de nacimiento:****Cuando proceda, indique a qué edad empezó a:**

	En español	En uwa	En otras lenguas (especificar):
Hablar			
Leer			
Escribir			

¿Cuál es su lengua primera?**¿En qué lengua se siente más cómodo en la actualidad?****Por favor, indique, nivel por nivel, cuáles fueron las lenguas en que fue educado cuando realizó sus estudios de primaria y secundaria.**

	Preescolar	Primaria	Secundaria	Universitarios
Español				
Uwa				
Otra (especificar):				

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Sección 2: Uso del español, el uwa y otras lenguas

Le pedimos ahora que indique, por medio de porcentajes, el tiempo que pasa utilizando el español, el uwa u otras lenguas en distintas situaciones. Por favor, asegúrese de que la suma de los porcentajes que indica es de 100%.

Cuando habla con su pareja

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Español											
Uwa											
Otra:											

Cuando habla con sus hijos

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Español											
Uwa											
Otra:											

Cuando habla con su madre

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Español											
Uwa											
Otra:											

Cuando habla con su padre

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Español											
Uwa											
Otra:											

Cuando habla con compañeros de trabajo

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	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Español											
Uwa											
Otra:											

Cuando habla con amigos

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Español											
Uwa											
Otra:											

Sección 3: Esfuerzo Que Le Supone El Llevar A Cabo Distintas Actividades En Español O En Uwa

Vamos a pedirle ahora que evalúe, usando una escala de 9 puntos, el nivel de dificultad que encuentra a la hora de llevar a cabo una serie de actividades en español o en uwa. En esta escala el **1** significa que usar una de esas lenguas para realizar una actividad concreta le resulta MUY FÁCIL. En el otro extremo de la escala el **9** significa que el uso de una de la lengua en cuestión le resulta MUY DIFÍCIL. Los valores del 2 al 8 representan niveles intermedios de dificultad.

Las investigaciones que se han llevado a cabo en torno al bilingüismo han demostrado que existen muy pocas personas que tengan exactamente el mismo nivel de competencia en dos o más lenguas, ya que lo normal es que haya una lengua que es la dominante. Es más, la lengua dominante puede variar según las actividades concretas. Por favor, utilice la escala de 9 puntos con cuidado para que refleje, de la forma más precisa posible, el nivel de dificultad que le supone llevar a cabo, en español, en uwa y en otras lenguas que utilice, las actividades que figuran a continuación. Expresé su opinión poniendo las cifras que considere apropiadas en los espacios que se asignan para cada actividad.

Muy fácil	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Muy difícil
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Actividad	En español	En uwa	Otra:
Comprensión Oral			

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1. Transmitir una información que ha escuchado por la radio o televisión			
2. Identificar el tema de conversación de dos personas que están charlando en una tienda			
3. Seguir perfectamente una conversación informal entre dos personas que están en una tienda o en la casa.			
4. Enterarse de las instrucciones orales que le den sobre cómo llegar a un lugar.			
5. Ser capaz de comprender las noticias que se dan por la radio			
6. Entender los chistes			
Producción Oral			
7. Contar rápidamente del 1 al 20			
8. Presentarse a alguien			
9. Decirle a alguien la hora.			
10. Pedir un favor a un vecino.			
11. Pedir información a alguien.			
12. Contarle a alguien lo que hizo la semana pasada.			
13. Entablar una conversación con alguien en la tienda			
14. Participar activamente en una conversación mientras come o en la cafetería			
15. Dar su opinión sobre temas de actualidad			
16. Decir chistes o bromas			
17. Hacer una presentación oral de 20 minutos ante la comunidad			
18. Informar detalladamente a las autoridades de la comunidad sobre un problema.			
	En español	En Uwa	Otra:
Comprensión Escrita			
19. Seguir una receta de cocina cuando prepara un plato			
20. Enterarse de lo que dice un anuncio de un periódico			
Escritura			
21. Escribir una carta a un amigo			

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22. Escribir un ensayo sobre su pasatiempo favorito			
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APPENDIX F. Participant Profile.

Perfil EntrevistadoresPerfil de los entrevistadores

Fecha de inicio de las grabaciones:

1. Nombre y apellidos:
2. Nacionalidad:
3. Lugar de nacimiento:.
4. Lengua dominante del padre:
5. Lengua dominante de la madre:
6. Lugar de residencia permanente:
7. Otros lugares de residencia:
8. Contexto lingüístico:
9. Idiomas que habla:

APPENDIX G. Data Elicitation Story.

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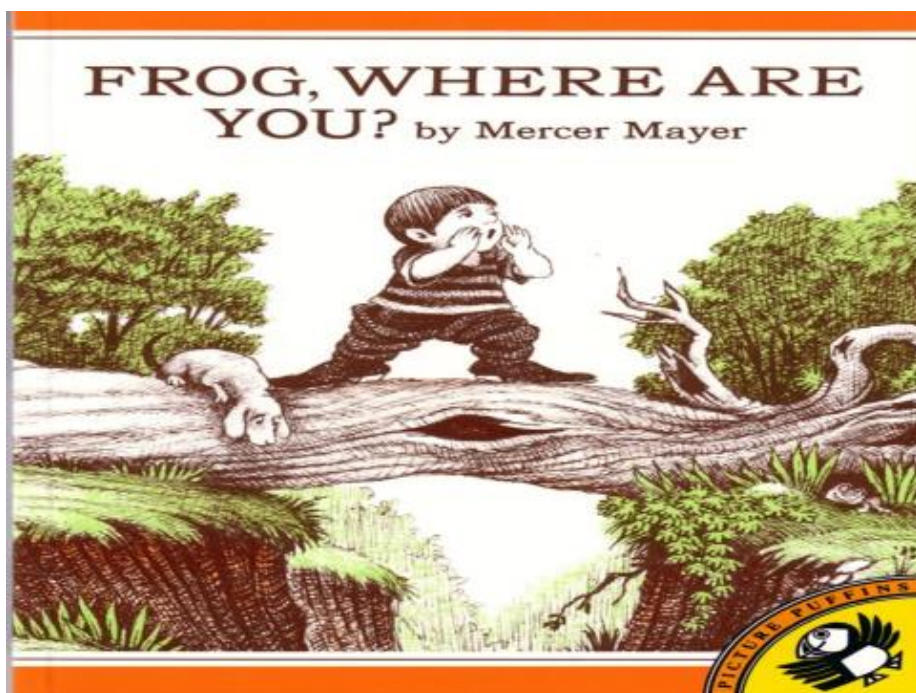
Rana, ¿Dónde estás? [Frog where are you?] by Mercer Mayer

Página	Papel
1	Había un niño quien tenía un perro y una rana. El tenía la rana en su cuarto en un jarro grande a su rana.
2	Una noche cuando el niño y su perro estaban durmiendo, la rana se escapó del jarro. La rana se salió por una ventana abierta.
3	Cuando el niño y el perro se despertaron la siguiente mañana, vieron que el jarro estaba vacío.
4	El niño buscó en todas partes a la rana. Aún adentro de sus botas. El perro también buscó a la rana. Cuando el perro trató de mirar adentro del jarro y no podía sacar la cabeza.
5	El niño empezó a llamar desde la ventana abierta: “Rana, ¿Dónde estás?”. El perro se asomó a la ventana con el jarro todavía en la cabeza.
6	¡El jarro estaba tan pesado que hizo que el perro se cayera de cabeza por la ventana!
7	El niño fue a ver como estaba el perro. El perro no estaba herido, pero el jarro se rompió.
8 – 9	El niño y el perro buscaron a la rana afuera de la casa. El niño llamó a la rana.
10	El niño llamaba a la rana en un hueco que estaba en un árbol, mientras que el perro le ladraba a unas abejas en su panal.
11	Una ardilla salió de su hueco y mordió la nariz del niño por molestarla. Mientras tanto, el perro seguía molestando a las abejas, brincaba hacia el árbol y les ladraba.
12	El panal de abejas se cayó y las abejas salieron volando. Las abejas estaban persiguiendo al perro.
13	El niño no prestó ninguna atención al perro. El vió un hueco grande en un árbol

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	y quería ver si su rana se escondía allí. Así que trepó el árbol y llamó a la rana en el hueco para ver si estaba.
14	De repente un buho salió del hueco y lanzó al niño al suelo. El buho lo vio fijamente y le dijo que se fuera.
15	El perro pasó al niño corriendo tan rápido como pudo porque las abejas lo perseguían.
16	El buho persiguió al niño hasta una piedra grande.
17	El niño se encaramó en la piedra y llamó otra vez a la rana. Se agarró a unas ramas para no caerse de la piedra.
18	¡Pero las ramas no eran ramas reales! Eran los cuernos de un venado. El venado levantó al niño con su cabeza.
19	Y el venado empezó a correr con el niño que estaba todavía en su cabeza. El perro también corrió al lado del venado. Se acercaron a un precipicio.
20 – 21	El venado se paró de pronto y el niño y el perro se cayeron por el precipicio.
22	Había un estanque debajo del precipicio. Aterrizaron en el estanque uno encima del otro.
23	Oyeron un sonido que conocían.

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