Estar Extension in Arizona:

A Language Contact Study

by

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ABSTRACT

Past research has isolated an extension of the copular verb *estar* into the domain previously sanctioned for its counterpart, ser. This extension has been found in areas of contact between American English and Spanish speaking Mexican immigrants. A similar situation of contact is in occurrence in Arizona, and this study endeavored to evaluate if this same extension was present, and to what degree. This study also explores the framework of linguistic hegemony in order to relate language attitudes in Arizona to language change in Arizona. The findings revealed minimal extension. This may be due to language maintenance in response to hegemony.

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PREFACE

"True stability results when presumed order and presumed disorder are balanced. A truly stable system expects the unexpected, is prepared to be disrupted, waits to be transformed."

-Tom Robbins

The stability of a language is a nebulous concept, often motivating purist notions of prescriptivism and intolerance of social diversity. It is this impossible idea of a language being stable that drives curiosity from the linguistic community regarding intersections of languages. The term language contact describes a situation of regular interaction between speakers of two different languages. This contact occurs commonly in the United States, with Spanish speakers a large minority within many American cities. The communicative differences between speakers in these situations can come to represent deeper divisions. The prestige of a language speaking community may take a social, economic or political form, and the dominance of a language with higher status may present a disadvantage for the speakers in the less prestigious group. This contact may also provide a disadvantage for the language itself, as speakers would conceivably choose to use the more esteemed language more often.

Spanish in the Southwestern United States is a prevalent minority language. In 2009, the foreign born from Mexico accounted for over half of the immigrant population in New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Idaho, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. In stark contrast, Mexican natives accounted for less than three percent of the foreign born population in Vermont, Rhode Island, Hawaii, Maine, and Massachusetts (Batalova & Terrazas 2010). These numbers show that, despite the

diaspora of Mexican immigrants throughout the United States, the U.S. Southwest is the epicenter of Spanish-English language contact.

An interesting intersection of language contact is found within bilingual communities, where dominant and subdominant languages undergo a deeper interaction. Research into the outcomes of this kind of interaction in Spanish and English speaking bilinguals has been endeavored by numerous researchers. Silva-Corvalan's 1986 work in Los Angeles revealed an extension of the verb *estar*. This extension distributes the use of *estar* + adjective constructions into the domain previously sanctioned to *ser* usage alone. Similar studies were conducted in New Mexico and Southern Colorado that revealed the same innovation. As the language contact situation in Phoenix, Arizona is similar in many ways to much of this past research, I thought perhaps a comparable situation of language change might also be in occurrence.

With the sociolinguistic framework of linguistic hegemony in mind, I considered the subordinate standard of Spanish in Phoenix to be a possible accelerant of the change in question. The attitudes toward a language strongly influence the choice bilingual speakers make each time they choose to express themselves. Furthermore, the recent passage of SB1070, an immigration enforcement bill that set new precedents in severity, has impacted the social landscape of the state in such a way that I expected the negative attitudes toward immigrants, and consequently the Mexican identity, to affect the usage of the language within Mexican-American bilinguals.

I will begin this research by briefly examining the paradigm of linguistic hegemony and relating it to the social landscape of Arizona in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 will approach bilingualism from the perspective of a resistance to linguistic hegemony, summarizing research on bilingual language maintenance and acquisition. Chapter 3 will investigate the competing perspectives on the theoretical distribution of *estar* and its counterpart, *ser*, and Chapter 4 will review literature on the actual contexts of usage for the two verbs. In Chapter 5, I investigate if the extension of *estar* documented by other researchers is also occurring in the Spanish of Arizona. I also examine how recent immigration legislation in Arizona has affected the way Spanish speakers feel about their language identity, and if this could this be related to the *estar* extension. In Chapter 6, I will discuss my results and draw conclusions.

CHAPTER 1: LINGUISTIC HEGEMONY

1.1 Introduction:

The Spanish language in the United States has received negative publicity from both English and Spanish speakers alike (Pountain 2000, 5). Spanish, though a global language in an international context, is currently a minority language within the United States. As a result, the language undergoes much of the pressures that minority languages experience in such a situation. For instance, Spanish use has been discouraged in the promotion of a standard language in many manners. A highly public example of this was the message of the former United States President George W. Bush Jr, who to reporters reprimanded Hispanics for their Spanish-language version of the national anthem, stating "people who want to be citizens of the United States should learn English ...[and]...ought to learn to sing the national anthem in English" (Vandehei 2006 cited in Wolford and Carter 2010, 111).

In the larger sense of nationalistic discourse, the notion of a standard language is often put within a "common sense" argument about easier communication, the breakdown of borders, and facilitating common education (Paffey, 2007 315). This discourse is based on the ideology that unity – political, cultural, and linguistic – is the substructure for a stable country (Paffey, 2007, 315). It then follows that to speak a "standard" language is to bear a greater power and prestige as a member of the language speaking community (Paffey, 2007 315).

Language ideologies have been considered to bridge the gap between the "microculture" of a language – the way it is viewed and used in discourse – with "macroculture" - the shape of the community which speaks the language (Paffey, 2007 314 citing Kroskrity 2000). "Discourse about language is more than just descriptive: as ideology takes root, either in habitual practice or in evaluative discourse, its reciprocal nature means that the former affects the latter, and vice versa" (Paffey, 2007 315). In this way, language ideologies are part of a broad vision regarding the current and historical position, capacity, worth, and condition of a particular language (Paffey, 2007 314).

Forces at work within the paradigm of linguistic hegemony are numerous. Linguistic hegemony is active when dominant language groups attempt to persuade other less dominant language groups to accept their language as the standard. The dominant language, in this case English, is treated as more than just a communicative tool, but as a source of power to be used as an advantage by those who can acquire it.

Successful hegemony, however, requires the support of these minority groups, and so its forces are subtle, with "useful markers that may illuminate the process by which the dominant ideas in a society are internalized and thus substantiate political legitimization" (Suarez 2002, 514). For example, publications within the international science realm have been dominated by English (Kaplan 1993). Additionally, certain media and other institutions assign the linguistic minority with a lower status, and simultaneously present positive associations with the dominant language and culture (Suarez 2002, 514).

Hegemony may, as a result, inspire feelings of "inadequacy of their own language" in subordinate language groups (Suarez 2002 513). Factors which have been related to language choice are: the "ethnolinguistic vitality" of a language group (Yagmur, et al 1999), language as a symbol of a stigmatized group (Brankston and Henry 1998), modernization, occupational and educational mobility (Priestly 1994), establishment of ethnic identity (Koenig 1980), political and social attitudes (Frank 1993, Galindo 95), socially situated group members (Miller 2000), network-situated strategies of social reproduction (O Riagáin 1994) and native language use to resist linguistic hegemony (Shannon 1995, Woolard 1985).

Giles, Bournis, and Taylor (1977) present a combination of three factors considered to influence language maintenance (Appel and Muysken 33). These factors are **status**, **demographics**, and **institutional support**. The quality or force behind these variables determines the overall "ethnolinguistic vitality" of the group (Appel and Muysken 33). In order to illustrate the current ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish speakers of Mexican descent in Arizona, I will discuss these three factors as they relate to the state.

1.2 Status:

The status of a language may have a major influence on its usage. For example, low economic status may prompt a shift toward the majority language. A study by Li (1982) showed that Chinese-Americans of lower economic status were easier assimilated than those with higher status (Appel and Muysken 33). Social status and its relation to esteem have been shown, in diminished states, to

promote assimilation as well. An example of this may been seen in the Quechua in countries where Spanish is dominant, like Peru and Bolivia, as the speakers shift their language use entirely toward Spanish usage (Appel and Muysken 34). Language status must play an important factor in bilingual communities then, if first language speakers of a subordinate language choose instead to use the dominant language as their primary method of communication.

It is interesting to note that many speakers in the Southwest United States are reported to have negative attitudes toward their language (Appel and Muysken 34), as Spanish is considered to be a Heritage Language in the United States (Suarez 2002, 515). A heritage learner is defined as one who has been exposed to a language other than the dominant language of the area within the home setting (Suarez 2002, 515 citing Van Deusen Scholl 2000).

Latinos are the largest minority group in the United States, and are expected to eventually comprise 25% of the national population by 2050 (Romero/Lar 106 citing 2004 US Census). With this increase, more and more heritage learners are born in the country, and the Latino population becomes a more integral fiber within the national thread. The Latino population as well as the Spanish language has had significant histories within the Southwestern United States - considered to be Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, and Utah (Beaudrie 324).

Many complexities are at work in the Spanish of the Southwest, and this complicates the maintenance and loss patterns of the region's language. Some of these complexities are the heterogeneity of the population, the tendency to marry

outside of the community, the distance or proximity of the language from the border, and the revival of the language by younger heritage learners (Beaudrie 324 citing Rivera-Mills and Villa 2009).

Additionally, the border between the United States and Mexico is the "world's longest contiguous international divide between a super power and a developing nation," (Romero/Lar 42). The proximity of this border to Southwestern states provides access to Mexican Spanish, while also inciting a number of other developments. The contrast of economy and standards of living between the nations in conjunction with their physical proximity has provided the makings for a border which is marked by "unique levels of hyperactivity" (Romero/Lar 42).

Some researchers have hypothesized that Spanish would disappear from American culture "just as quickly as minority languages generally do" if the US borders were closed (Beaudrie 324 citing Bills 2005 and MacGregor-Mendoza 2005). Research that supports that hypothesis also suggests that language maintenance may occur largely because of new rounds of Spanish speaking immigrants to an area (Silva Corvalan 2004). Mora, Villa, and Davila (2005, 2006) concluded that Spanish speakers – notably those in Border States – show a heightened rate of language maintenance than other minority groups (Beaudrie 324).

While this propensity for maintenance strengthens the status of the language, it is introduced through exposure to new immigrants. The overall status of Spanish is somewhat low, being spoken primarily at home rather than in

professional settings. While it is spoken by a large segment of the overall population in Arizona, it is also representative of an immigrant social group with lower economic status and thus the status of the language may suffer.

1.3 Demographics:

Demographic factors like the geographic distribution, as well as the amount of speakers within an area, greatly affect the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language group (Appel and Muysken 35). Areas with large immigrant populations may better sustain ethnolinguistic vitality, where areas with few speakers may reflect a diminished vitality. As established, Latinos have an especially strong presence in border states along the Southwest – namely, Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas – where Latinos have had a long history, residing in the region since the 16th century, the time of the earliest Spanish expeditions of the area (Beaudrie 324 citing Silva Corvalan 2004).

In the year 2000, almost 60% of the Latino population of the United States dwelled within these Border States (Beaudrie 324). In the same year, Arizona alone was home to 1,295,617 Latinos - 3.67% of the nation's Latinos population, trumped only by California, with 31% of the population (Beaudrie 325). Of the 48.4 million people in 2009 who identified themselves as having Hispanic or Latino ancestry, over 60 percent (30.3 million) were native-born US citizens. The remaining 37.4 percent of Hispanics (or 18.1 million) were immigrants. Around two in five (43.7 percent) immigrants in the United States in 2009 were naturalized. The remaining immigrants were comprised of legal permanent residents, temporary legal residents, and unauthorized immigrants.

The demographics of the Latino population comprise almost a third of Arizona's population - a staggering figure shadowed only by projections for growth of the group in the future. The Hispanic presence is strong in the state, and this relates directly to the stability of its ethnolinguistic vitality.

1.4 Institutional "Support":

Finally, institutional support is significant in language choice. For example, the language in which mass media is available, or the language in which one may receive government or administrative services may necessitate in which language communication can be productive. Additionally, the language in which one is educated also reflects similar measures of value as to what is preferable.

The idea of institutional support also relates to legislation that reflects these measures of value. Thus, it is important to examine a brief history of the way the United States has received this influx of immigrants. The 1965 Immigration Act raised national awareness of language issues, and was adopted with "minimal public debate" (Ovando 18). The bill challenged ideas about the long-standing hegemony of English. Around the same time, the *Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española* was founded in the 1970s, providing opportunity for the standardization of Mexican Spanish, and the "awakening of the Chicano identity" (Pountain 2000 215). In the 1980s, when the US Census confirmed the population's "purchasing power," and thus the Hispanic market emerged (Romero/Lar 108). A surge in advertising directed at Latinos followed. This also led to the incorporation of Latino individuals into authoritative positions, as well as sources of information, within the industry. According to Arlene Davila, author

of Latinos Inc., by framing individuals as consumers, and likewise the community as a market, a societal attention is raised. In this way, marketing to this population validated their presence and made room for them in the public mentality (Romero/Lar 109).

In the early nineties, strong efforts were made to naturalize the immigrants in the country. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act gave over 2 million unauthorized immigrants status as lawful permanent residents. This directly enlarged the community of those eligible for naturalization. Three more laws passed a decade later furthered incentives for naturalization. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act all made access to public benefits and legal protections far more restrictive for noncitizens. (Batalova 2009).

With economic stability and regional development in mind, NAFTA went into effect on January 1, 1994. The bill established a free trade bloc between the United States, Canada, and Mexico (Romero/Lar 42). Since the introduction of NAFTA, there has been an increase in migration from Mexico. This can be related to the drop in real wages in Mexico since the inception of the bill. Furthermore, between 1994 and 2003, 9.3 million Mexicans entered the job market, with only 3 million jobs being created in the same window of time.

Farmworkers were especially affected by the trade bill, as exports from the United States saturated the Mexican market. The exportation of wheat from the United States, for example, comprises 75% of the Mexican market – a 56%

increase since NAFTA's implementation (Romero/Lar 42). Farmers and other Mexicans who migrate with the aim of economic opportunity have contributed greatly to the urbanization of the border. Since NAFTA, border cities have become the end of the line for many rural-urban migrants in need of employment. This pattern has created expansive slums (Romero/Lar 44). Simultaneously, the US-Mexico border became a sort of breeding ground for illegal activities (Romero/Lar 44).

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, politicians and policy makers in the United States "rallied around" national security and immigration reform (Romero/Lar 73). The 2001 Patriot Act gave authority to the Attorney General to detain "aliens" without having to show any proof of a posed threat. According to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), this has resulted in the deportation or detention of over 1,000 immigrants – often without due process (Romero/Lar 73). The Change of Address Requirement of 2001 also had a significant impact on the migrant community. The enforcement of Sect 265a of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 was renewed by the Department of Justice, requiring non-citizens to submit forms registering a change of address within 10 days of moving. The penalty for violating this law can be as severe as deportation, even if the non-citizen is Legal Permanent Resident (LPR).

The 2002 Homeland Security Act is an anti-terrorism bill that further defined and strengthened the citizen surveillance abilities of the federal government. The bill also created the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). DHS replaced the Immigration and Nationalization Service (INS), whose

responsibilities were transferred to the US Citizen and Immigration Services, a bureau of the DHS (Romero/Lar 73). In light of this change, the US-Mexico border, immigration, and migrants themselves are now viewed as national security issues (Romero/Lar 74).

In 2004, Proposition 200 was passed in Arizona by 56% of the voters. The bill requires employees of the local and state government to verify the immigration status of those seeking government benefits, and to report violations to federal officials. Failure to report is considered a criminal offense. This affects police officers, health workers, and public school teachers. This also explicitly infringes on the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states no individual may be denied health services or basic education (Romero/Lar 74).

As the national mood shifts, resources decline within schools for language maintenance (Suarez 2002, 516). The dichotomy of choosing English or a home language is thematic in the debate on bilingual education (Campbell). Because bilingual education is “much more than a pedagogical tool, it has become a societal irritant involving complex issues of cultural identity, social class status, and language politics” (Ovando 2003, 14).

Over 150,000 of Arizona's 1.2 million public school students are classified as Limited English Proficient Students (Jordan 2010). Despite this, in January of 2002, title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Bilingual Education Act) was allowed to expire. The US Department of Education's Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs was renamed The Office

of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students (Campbell).

With the expiration of the Bilingual Education act, the Arizona Department of Education mandated that school districts with teachers who spoke with heavy accents must be removed from classrooms with students learning English (Jordan 2010). At the same time, about half of the teachers at Creighton Elementary - a K through 8 school in a Latino neighborhood, were native Spanish speakers (Jordan 2010). The impact on the teaching staff was serious, as many risked job-loss or were transferred to other grade levels.

The institutional support granted to the Hispanic population was strong in the last three decades of the twenty first century, and since has drastically waned with the crumbling state of law and order along the border. The result is a relatively stringent anti-immigrant attitude, which often walks a fine line with an anti-Mexican attitude.

1.4 i. SB1070 - Focus on Arizona

In early 2010, Arizona governor Jan Brewer signed the "Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act." The Act, also called SB1070, was considered to be one of the strictest immigration enforcement measures in recent US history (Archibold). Under the Act, police are obligated to determine the immigration status of anyone stopped, arrested, or put into detention if there is "reasonable suspicion" that the person is an illegal alien. (Arizona SB 1070, §3.) Those arrested may not be released without confirmation from the Federal government of the person's legal immigration status (Arizona SB 1070, §2.)

Interrogation of immigration status has not been mandated before in Arizona, nor in any other state. In fact, it has been advised against as it could potentially prevent legal cooperation from immigrants during investigations (Cooper). The quickly growing Latino population, the increasing violence along the Mexican/Arizona border and the recession collectively bred restless anxieties in the state. These factors appear to have motivated the bill and its passage (Nowicki, Archibold).

In Arizona, support for the bill was met with a response of outrage. Thousands of protestors gathered in the state - many from other areas of the country (Riccardi 2010). Similarly, the economic impact has also been extreme as many individuals and corporations protested the state financially. After numerous conventions were cancelled over the controversial law, the state estimated a potential loss of $90 billion dollars over the next five years (Berry 2010).

The effects of the bill may be numerous. The way it has impacted families, schools, and the economy is hard to clearly define as the passage is so recent, however some research has been done to study both what ramifications can be traced, and expected. The November 2010 issue of the Migration Outlook Mexico by the BBVA Bancomer Foundation and BBVA Research performed an economic analysis of the impact of the recession on immigrants, as well as the economic link between migrations from Mexico to the United States. More significantly, the research group also investigated the effects of the new law.

The study reports the bill has incited a massive withdrawal of immigrants from the state. Of nearly 1.3 million people of Mexican descent in the state, 45%

were born in Mexico. Compared to the previous year, an estimated 100,000 fewer Hispanics resided in the state in the beginning of 2010. The report also states that, in the revenue of the construction sector alone, a 15% reduction in the total immigrant workers would result in a loss of 7 billion dollars (Mexican Migration Outlook 2010, 3).

It has been argued that the institutional support or lack thereof has an effect on language choice. The United States has been shown to have provided reduced support over the last decade, with Arizona most recently acting as a proponent of the harshest immigration law the country has seen.

1.5 Conclusion:

In a qualitative study of Spanish/English bilinguals in the US, it was concluded that immigrants from Mexico wish a better life, education, and economic and social opportunity for their children, and that they believe that language plays a role in this. These individuals perceive English as a tool for advancement in education and employment. The result of this is twofold – some speakers shift entirely to English, viewing Spanish as blocking this achievement. Others maintain their Spanish while developing and encouraging the development of their children's English, in an effort to access the dominant language while retaining their identity (Suarez 2002, 528). The study concludes that, ultimately, "resistance to linguistic hegemony is not through monolingualism in the minoritylanguage, but rather through bilingualism" (Suarez 2002, 515).

CHAPTER 2: RESISTANCE TO HEGEMONY: BILINGUALISM

2.1 Introduction:

Bilingualism presents a unique opportunity to examine the close interaction between two languages. In Phoenix currently, bilinguals make up a large portion of those of Mexican descent. Within this population, language changes have been documented.

Many studies have documented variation in United States Spanish (Silva-Corvalán 1986, Geeslin 2003, Salazar 2007), Mexican Spanish (Gutierrez 1992, Cortes-Torres 2004), and Venezuelan Spanish (De Jonge 1993). Labov (1972) asserted that language change can be observed as it is occurring (Sans-Gonzalez 5). Interference may occur at any level of a language system when two languages come into contact, according to Silva-Corvalán (1986, p 587) and the results may be stable or only temporary. Sustained contact, on the other hand, has a greater chance of affecting the subordinate language as it is likely to be exercised in a more limited capacity (587).

It is in this situation of sustained contact that Spanish-English bilinguals in Arizona find themselves. With two languages to choose from, the differences in the stigma of each are highlighted. Thus, it is of distinct relevance to investigate what factors are motivating agents in language choice.

2.2 Bilingualism and Language Maintenance

It is recognized that different variables of social context play significant roles in deciding the results of cases of language contact. These variables may take the form of the size and characteristics of the bilingual group, the attitudes

toward the language spoken, and the intensity and duration of contact with each language (Klee 381). Weinreich (1953, p. 25) states that foreign influence, or exposure to another language, can have a "trigger effect" in that it may accelerate potentially independent developments (Klee 381).

Thomas and Kaufman (1988) provide evidence in their research to support their hypothesis that it is not the structure of the language but the sociolinguistic history of the speakers that most significantly drives the result of language contact. Silva-Corvalán (1990) modified this hypothesis, adding that the structure of the languages involved determines the involvement of innovative facets of the language system (164). She explains that this resolves changes in maintenance and/or a language shift across generations (164).

Silva-Corvalán (1989) asserts that it is difficult to predict language maintenance because of the array of variables involved, such as attitudes toward the language, motives for maintaining it, educational policies, demographic movements, and the degree of contact with formal varieties (64). It was observed in 1979 Chicago that the stabilized use of Spanish within the Mexican-American community was reinforced by circulatory migration patterns, and by increasing need to interact with more recent immigrants (Elias-Olivares 1979, cited in Silva-Corvalán 1989 p 64). Appel and Muysken assert that after a period of shift toward the majority language, it is often the tendency of bilinguals to reverse this process (32).

Gutierrez (1, 1994) cites social factors such as the size of the immigrant group, the birth rate, the duration of language contact, the language attitudes, as

well as the setting and purpose of the language use as all related to language shifts. Government policy too is noted (Gutierrez 1, 1994). Finally, Gutierrez provides support for the idea that change may be accelerated by contact, demonstrated by cases where the frequency of *estar* extension is greater in bilinguals than monolinguals (Gutierrez 1994, 2).

Preston (1996) states that variation is affected by linguistic context, discourse style, social identity of speaker, historical position of speakers and discourse (Geeslin 2002, p. 421) Factors which affect the current US Spanish speaking population were discussed by Silva-Corvalán (1990, p 165). Factors discussed include the steadily decreasing use of Spanish, its restriction to the realm of conversation with family and close friends, the subjective attitudes toward Spanish and Hispanics, as well as any motivation for maintaining Spanish (for example, as a symbol of ethnic identity all affect the direction in which language change occurs.) All of these factors can result in exposure and use of one language being greatly reduced (168).

While language shifts may be inspired at this level of interacting social factors, the initial acquisition of a bilingual's language system must also play a significant role in the manner in which each language is used. In the next section, the unique ways in which bilinguals learn languages will be explored.

2.3 Bilingual Language Acquisition

Bilinguals face both benefits and detriments as a result of their interacting lingual systems. Ovando and Collier (1998) found that young children may never reach full proficiency in their second language if development of their primary

language is halted (Ovando 2003 15). Other research has also illuminated deficits or differences in the way bilinguals acquire both target languages (Montrul, Yip and Matthews).

It has been argued that the internal grammar of a bilingual is different from that of a monolingual, in that their lexicon includes "union entries" in addition to entries appropriate to each respective language (Elerick 1997, 5). A union entry is defined as an "abstract representation that simultaneously underlies coordinate items in both languages of the bilingual which are phonologically and otherwise similar to such an extent that the bilingual could not fail to notice that the two language specific manifestations were the 'the same word'" (Elerick 1997, 5). These lexical entries include a single underlying phonological representation, and principles of economy drive the motivation (Elerick 1997, 5). Thus, an increase in the complication of a grammar yields a simplification in the language (Elerick 1997, 18).

Gutierrez (2003) also argues that the environment for a bilingual creates linguistic stress, which in turn results in simplification (169). It is this simplification that, to Gutierrez, is at the root of the shifting semantic domain of *estar* into that which was previously the domain of *ser* (2003, 170).

Research on the effect of input on monolingual and bilingual children all maintain that the frequency of input, as well as the kind of input, are both integral to language development and production (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari 342). Müller and Hulk (2001) illustrated that "cross linguistic influence is manifested when the structures in question involve the interface between syntax and

pragmatics" (Silva-Corvalan and Montanari 342). The same conclusion is supported by Yip and Matthew's 2005 research. They propose that language dominance plays a key role in the direction of transfer between languages (Silva-Corvalan and Montanari 342).

Gathercole and Thomas (2005) had shown that the amount of exposure to a language plays a significant role in the timing of acquisition. In sum, the greater the input, the earlier the signs of acquisition surface. However, the point at which a "critical mass of input data" is attained, the frequency of the effects of exposure dissipates (cited in Silva-Corvalan & Montanari 342). "Critical mass" in this case, goes undefined.

While it remains unclear how bilingual language development may be impeded by mutually developing systems, it is clear that a greater complexity of interaction is at hand in these individuals. This complexity leads to simplifications, according to some researchers, which streamline the overlaps of each language. Additionally, it is argued that frequency of exposure has a strong influence on which language is granted dominance within the bilingual language system.

2.4 Bilingual Acquisition and Use of *Ser* and *Estar*

While many studies on children's language have focused on the distribution of *ser* and *estar* with adjectival predicates (Sera 1992, Schmitt, Holtheuer, Miller 2004, Schmitt and Miller 2007), a valuable analysis of the distribution of verb+auxiliary usage displayed an analogous relationship between children and adult production (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari 341).

In a 2008 study Silva-Corvalán and Montanari endeavored to further illuminate the acquisition of *ser* and *estar* by Spanish/English bilingual children, called Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA). BFLA is defined as the simultaneous acquisition of two languages from birth (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari, 342). They hypothesized that if, during BFLA, each language system undergoes autonomous development, then the pattern of acquisition exhibited by bilinguals would match those of adult monolinguals. If there were interdependence during BFLA, the grammar of one language would influence that of the other (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari, 342).

They anticipated that "high frequency of copular constructions, coupled with autonomous systematic development, will inhibit the possible effect that English might have in promoting a one copula system in Spanish" (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari, 343). The source of their data was a longitudinal corpus analysis of three Spanish/English bilingual siblings. An analysis of the frequency of ser and *estar* in each syntactic frame revealed symmetry in the production of the children and the monolingual adults (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari, 344).

The study also found that, in the English-dominant bilinguals, there was a delay in the acquisition of *estar*. They also found that errors in the choice of verb typically appeared with adjectival predicates. Two errors surfaced with adverbial predicates.

Furthermore, the children's data revealed that *ser* was substituted for *estar* twice in contexts that "imply change" and that *estar* substituted for *ser* six times in discourse contexts that could not justify the interpretation of susceptibility to

change (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari, 354). When *estar* substitutes for *ser*, each adjective may be used with either copula, as appears in the data from the monolingual adults. Descriptive adjectives like size and color were treated with mutual flexibility (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari, 354).

Silva-Corvalán and Montanari conclude that these unexpected *estar* constructions are "calques of English routines that involve copying the pragmatics of an English construction onto a parallel structure in Spanish" (354). They continue, stating "it is...likely that the few copula selection error with predicate adjectives...may be facilitated by contact with a single copula language or by reduced exposure to Spanish in the bilingual situation. It may also account for the use of *ser* instead of *estar* with a prepositional phrase" (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari, 355).

In BFLA, the "mastery of copula selection emerges more slowly, varying between target and non-target forms with adjectives that frequently allow both...(The) distribution of verb+ adjective shows a lexical selection bias that results in few errors of copula choice " (356). Conversely, Schmitt and Miller (2007) found that monolingual acquisition is similar to BFLA (Silva-Corvalán and Montanari 357).

In a description/explanation task, children generally preferred the use of *ser* (Heyman and Diesendruck 2002 p. 413). Psychological characteristics described with *ser* were expected by children tested to be more stable characteristics than those described with *estar* (Heyman and Diesendruck 2002 p. 414). This builds on a similar observation of Sera (1992) regarding the use of *ser*

or *estar* in describing more static characteristics, such as shape and size (Heyman and Diesendruck 2002 p. 414).

In a study of first language acquisition of *ser* and *estar*, Sera (1992) ran a series of studies on children and adults. The fourth study, notably, showed that children, like adults, explicitly classify adjectives as having a *ser* or *estar* status (424). The children, unlike the adults, used *estar* to describe locations of events and objects. The fact that the children learned separately the rules for each verb in each context brings to light the possibility that there are in fact distinct meanings for *ser* and *estar* (424). The tendency for the children to overuse *estar* suggests that the dichotomy of the workload of *ser* and *estar* between adjectival and locative predicates may "eventually be lost, with *estar* assuming these functions" (Sera 1992, 425).

Sera (1992) looked at the asymmetrical acquisition of *ser* and *estar* in monolinguals. The research showed that *estar* usage decreased with age (88% in 3 year olds, 63% in adults) while *ser* usage increased with age. The fourth study in her research design tested children's awareness of the semantic contrast with adjectives and locations. Her results showed that the children performed better with adjectives.

Sera (1992) concluded that adults use the syntactic and semantic cues in choosing between the verbs, while children seem to only use the syntactic interface. Their correct patterning of *ser* and nominals and *estar* as an auxiliary evidences this. The research also suggested that children might consider more states to be temporary than adults do.

CHAPTER 3: SER/ESTAR DISTRIBUTION

3.1 Introduction:

"The reality of language use is such that native speakers are able to express their own reading of a situation through copula choice and, to date there are no exception-less rules" (Fuentes and Geeslin 2008, 273). Despite this variation inherent to copula choice in native speakers, the nature of the distribution of *ser* and *estar* has been debated for decades. In the 12th century, solely *ser* was used in Spanish in copulative constructions but in the 13th century, *estar* began its use (Roca & Batllori 2004 cited in Schmitt&Miller p.1909).

It is first important to describe the typically binary semantic characterization of the two verbs, in which *ser* is typified as that which is permanent and *estar* describes states which are temporary. Syntactically, it has been shown that while *ser* and *estar* have overlapping distributions, they are not identical (Schmitt&Miller 1909). For example, nominal phrases are restricted to use with *ser* only. Additionally, *ser* may take the form of a passive auxiliary, while progressives may only select *estar*. Regarding occurrence with prepositional phrases, either verb may be selected. However, in those constructions of locations, *ser* pertains to the location of events while *estar* speaks to the location of objects. Finally, *ser* has a very irregular inflection, while *estar* conjugates regularly (1909).

The distribution of the two verbs with adjectives is a different story. Up to 80% of the adjectives in Spanish allow both *ser* and *estar* in acceptable constructions (Vaño Cerdá 1982 as cited in Fuentes and Geeslin 2008, pg 273).

According to Fuentes and Geeslin (2008), the verb + adjective construction is one of the most challenging to acquire for second language learners of Spanish as the syntactic structure allows for the greatest frequency of *ser* and *estar* (273).

The distinction between the two verbs has been articulated in terms of selection: *ser* selects permanent qualities and *estar* selects temporary qualities. This variability would suggest that adjectives are inherently ambiguous, however this generalization does not hold. The adjectives *joven* (young) and *nueva* (new), are clearly properties without permanence, but tend to appear with *ser*. Similarly, *muerto* (dead) is a permanent state but must combine with *estar*. As for *transitorio* (transitory) it would also have to be assumed to be a permanent property because it combines with *ser*.

While adjectives like *embarazada* (pregnant) and *muerto* (dead) appear exclusively with *estar*, and other adjectives like *transitorio* (transitory) may only accompany *ser*, there is variation in some of this preference, as seen in example 16. Adjectival predicates that typically appear with *ser* may, in marked contexts, appear with *estar* (Schmitt & Miller 1909).

16. a. Maria *esta´/*es* embarazada /muerta.

‘Maria *ser*-PRES.3SG/**estar*-PRES.3.SG pregnant/dead

‘Maria is pregnant/dead.’

b. Maria *es/?esta´* muy joven.

‘Maria *ser*-PRES.3SG/?*estar*-PRES.3SG very young.

‘Maria is very young.’

‘Maria is very young.’

c. La casa *es/?esta´* nueva.

'The house *ser*-PRES.3SG/?*estar*-PRES.3SG new.

'The house is new.'

d. El problema *es/*esta´* transitorio.

'The problem *ser*-PRES.3SG/**estar*-PRES.3SG transitory

'The problem is transitory.'

All and all, there are particular communicative functions that are fulfilled by constructions with these verbs. For example, only *ser* may serve for characterization.

Ser may also serve for identification of an entity, a time, a possessor, an origin, or a goal, while *estar* serves to identify manner and location of objects. Conversely, *ser* serves to identify time and the location of events. Both of these verbs act as discourse fillers and bear their own fixed phrases (Silva-Corvalán and Montanari p 344).

These verbs, in their adjectival predicate form, have been analyzed from numerous perspectives in semantics, syntax, and pragmatics, and the most appealing models for their makeup will be discussed in the following chapter.

3.2 Semantics

"Few, if any states in the universe, can be considered permanent" (Roby pg 5). However, the typical distinctions of *ser* and *estar* use the notion of permanence like a backbone. The distinction between *ser* and *estar* as attributives, according to some researchers, is a matter to be differentiated semantically, with *estar* having semantic value and *ser* being devoid of it (de Mello 339). Other

researchers do interpret semantic information within *ser,* considering it to imply "to be, by nature, inwardly, absolutely" and *estar* to imply "to be, by condition, outwardly, relatively" (Roldán p. 68 citing Ramsey and Spaulding). This is also described behaviorally with the simple paradigm of change versus no change (Roldán 68).

In this approach, *estar* implies a deviation from the speaker's preconception of some thing, while *ser* indicates a normal state (Roldán 69, citing Bull). Susceptibility to change is a semantic feature which takes into account the relationship between the referent and the adjective. For example, the size of a room is not susceptible to change, while the size of a child is. Additionally, circumstantiality is a semantic feature of adjectives that are somewhat fleeting, as opposed to inherent. Geeslin (2003) points out these adjectives usually refer to an "unflattering" characteristic (724).

The distribution of these verbs within the Spanish language is a topic that has been widely debated as they occupy many similar domains. The typical textbook breakdown of the dichotomous relationship of the verbs is a partitioning of states of reality – *ser* is not temporally bound, and signifies a state which is lasting – while *estar* exists in a temporal realm, and signifies something which exists within a period of time (Roby 4). Bull (1965, as cited in Roby pg. 5) defined the difference between the two verbs as revolving around the potential for change. As Roby points out, this is a problematic distinction as "conceivably any state could be the result of a change."

These semantic features of permanence and mutability overlap in the English language, while they exist separately in Spanish. Thus, for an English speaker who regards "existence and permanence as if they were one and the same," these verbs are innately problematic (Roldán 70).

Ser and *estar* occupy the role in Spanish of the English equivalent of "be" - am, is, are, were, and so on. "Be" is a unique verb within the English language, as it may be omitted from a number of constructions without the loss of important semantic information (Roldán 1974, p. 68). Spanish two verbs – *ser* and *estar* - yet one of these two verbs may be deleted from an utterance far more freely, with no loss of semantic information.

1. Que bueno *es* el jefe.

   'What good *ser*-PRES3.SG is the boss'

   'What a good boss he is.'

2. Que bueno *está* el jefe.

   'What good *estar*-PRES3.SG is the boss'

   'The boss is doing well.'

Adjectives can occur with both verbs; however in a reduced clause, only the first interpretation is possible, as seen in Example 3.

3. Que bueno el jefe.

   'What a good boss.'

These reduced forms are always understood as if the deleted verb were *ser.* Conversely, *estar* can only be deleted when its predicate is an adjective or a past participle which cannot bear an existential reading, as in Example 4 below.

As the adjectives “full” and “content” are not traits that define their referents absolutely, the verb in the reduced clause is understood as *estar*.

4. Estómago (*está*) lleno, corazón (*está*) contento.

   ‘Stomach *estar*-PRES3.SG is full, heart *estar*-PRES3.SG is content’

   ‘Full stomach, content heart.’

   (Roldán 1974, p 68)

Ser and *estar* can also be classified according to their function as verbs – principal, auxiliary, and attributive (de Mello 1979, p. 338). Principal verbs have full semantic value. Thus, *ser* would mean “to exist” and *estar,* “to be located” (de Mello, p. 338). In their principal form, any word that may be interpreted to refer to either an object or a physical action may be used with either verb (de Mello p.338), as in Examples 5 and 6 below.

5. ¿Donde *es* la entrada?

   ‘Where *ser*-PRES3.SG is the entry?’

   ‘Where does the entry occur?’

6. ¿Donde *está* la entrada?

   ‘Where *estar*-PRES3.SG is the entry?’

   ‘Where is the door?’

As auxiliary verbs, *ser* and *estar* have less semantic value than as principal verbs (de Mello p.338). In this form, *ser* and *estar* join with past participles to create periphrastic utterances of passivity as it Examples 7 and 8, and resultant states (de Mello p. 338).

7. Juan *es* querido.

   'Juan *ser*-PRES3.AUX is querer-PAST PART loved'

   'Juan is loved.'

8. El vaso *es* roto.

   'The vase *ser*-PRES3.AUX is romper-PAST PART broken'

   'The vase is broken.'

In these expressions, breaking and loving occur to and not by the subject as opposed to expressing that the subject "exists loved" or "exists broken." Thus, *ser* becomes grammatical rather than lexical but still maintains adequate semantic value to "produce a feeling of occurrence or action" (de Mello p. 338).

Estar with a gerund composes a progressive phrase such as in Example 9 below. This type of phrase does not describe a physical location, but rather speaks of a figurative presence within the situation of singing (de Mello 339), describing an action in progress.

9. Él *está* cantando.

'He *estar*-PRES3.AUX is cantar-PRG singing'

'He is singing.'

Interpretations that are based in semantics tend to include unexplained exceptions, lack clarity, and generally grant too much "semantic responsibility" to the verb (Roldán 69). Examining an early dictionary entry of the verbs in their use as intransitive verbs, one researcher concludes "change...is always denoted by the semantics of the complement or other phrase in the predicate, or sometimes it is

extra-sentential, or a consequence of the speakers beliefs about the world," but the connotation of change is not part of the semantics of *estar* (Roldán 70). *Ser* is neutral to state or activity (Roldán 70). Examine the following examples 10 and 11.

10. Juan *es* alto.

    'Juan *ser*-PRES.3SG is tall'

    'Juan is tall'

11. Juan *esta* alto.

    'Juan *estar*-PRES.3SG is tall'

    'Juan is tall'

Example 11 uses *estar* because the speaker perceives this fact – either because Juan was not as tall the last time they saw each other, or because Juan's height impacted him in some way (de Mello p. 340). Example 12 is another expression that relays a reaction from the speaker. The utterance admits, with the use of *estar*, the possibility of the gift being something other than *bonito* (de Mello p. 340).

12. El regalo *está* bonito

    'The gift *estar*-PRES.3SG is handsome'

    'The gift is handsome'

There is a relationship between the nature of the language system and its actual use. While the concept of change reflects the duration of a characteristic in actual speech, the idea of time duration is part of the language itself (de Mello

340). The relation of permanent to transitory is one that is misleading, as exhibited by death being described with *estar*, and youth with *ser* (de Mello 340).

As principal verbs, both *ser* and *estar* retain their full semantic value. As auxiliaries, they both exhibit a diminished semantic value, but retain some nonetheless. Finally, as attributive verbs, or copula, *estar* is in a "weakened state" while the meaning of *ser* has disappeared entirely (de Mello 340). The semantics of the attributive and its relationship to the referent may not always be clear - an ambiguity that lends itself to the range of permissibility that *ser*/*estar* +adjective undergo (Silva-Corvalán 1986, 594).

3.3 Stage Level Phrase vs. Individual Level Phrase

The work of Greg Carlson (1977) developed a model, later expanded by Kratzer (1995) that distinguishes types of predicates semantically (Roby 6). Within this model, predicates may be divided into the following sub-classes, which roughly pertain to how a predicate relates to its subject. At the stage level, *estar* connects a referent to a state within a stage in time – one which has a beginning and an end. In example 13 below, it is understood that Miguel is not always tired, but has become tired. At the individual level, *ser* connects a referent to a state which is true throughout the span of existence of the individual. Example 14 states that Miguel has blond hair.

13. Miguel *está* cansado.

'Miguel *estar*-PRES.3SG is tired'

'Miguel is tired'

14. Miguel *es* rubio.

'Miguel *ser*-PRES.3SG is blond'

'Miguel is blond'

Schmitt & Miller state two possible ways to engage the distinction of levels. The first is to assume that particular adjectives are fundamentally individual or stage level (1911). This would mean that *ser* and *estar* have no meaning outside of their selectional abilities. The second way to implement these levels would be to assume that the verbs *ser* and *estar* themselves relate primarily to one level, and that they then select types of predicates which result in the interpretation of individual level or stage level phrases (1911).

In evaluating the first notion that adjectives themselves may fundamentally pertain to a particular level, it is important to note that stage level predicates can appear as secondary predicates, as in example 15 below. Thus, adjectives that can be secondary predicates should be stage level, and should be acceptable only with *estar* (1911). However, after running tests for "stage-level-hood," such as perception verb reports, Schmitt & Miller found that *estar* + predicate constructions may not take the place of a complement of a perception verb such as *ver* (to see) (1911).

Below is the illustration of this incongruity:

15. a *Ví a Maria *estar* embarazada.

'I saw Maria *estar*-INF be pregnant'

'I saw Maria be pregnant.'

b. Ví a Maria *ser* cruel (con los gatos)

'I saw Maria *ser*-INF be cruel (to the cats)'

'I saw Maria be cruel (to the cats)'

(Schmitt and Miller 2007, p 1911).

The acceptability of 15b is an interesting twist. It reflects the lack of transparency in *ser* and *estar*, Schmitt and Miller affirm that the contrast above may only be explained by admitting *ser* to output both ILPs and SLPs, while *estar* can only output ILPs. It would otherwise be inexplicable why, in a standard test for "stage-level-hood", *estar* predicates are unacceptable (1911).

Summarizing, Schmitt and Miller declare that *ser* and *estar* may not be treated as transparent, and may not be assumed to *always* output ILPs and SLPs, respectively (1912). They recommend a distinction that eschews incongruities with the recognition that the temporal/permanent dichotomy is not a semantic feature of the two verbs, but merely a meaning so implied (1912). It is concluded in Schmitt and Miller's (2007) research that the SLP/ILP characteristics thought to be part of the meaning of these verbs are actually related more to the interpretation of the predicate as a whole (1914).

Similarly, Maienborn (2005) argues against the ILP/SLP distinction, as *ser* and *estar* do not pass diagnostics for occurring with eventuality arguments. However, the ILP/SLP distinction does fit within a syntactic approach by Diesing (1992). Both the diagnostics and the syntactic approach will be discussed in the following chapter.

3.4 Syntax

Schmitt and Miller support an analysis that relies on an aspectual distinction between *ser* and *estar*. This analysis assumes that the two verbs do

bear distinct semantics, but do not directly denote either impermanence or inherence (1913). The analysis proceeds from an earlier study (Schmitt 2005) that discusses two different types of stative predicates, on two different assumptions. The first assumption depends on the source of stativity, which may be two fold: a predicate may be stative either because it is temporal, or because it encodes a state (1913).

15. Juan es alto. (state)

'Juan *ser*-PRES.3SG is tall'

'Juan is tall'

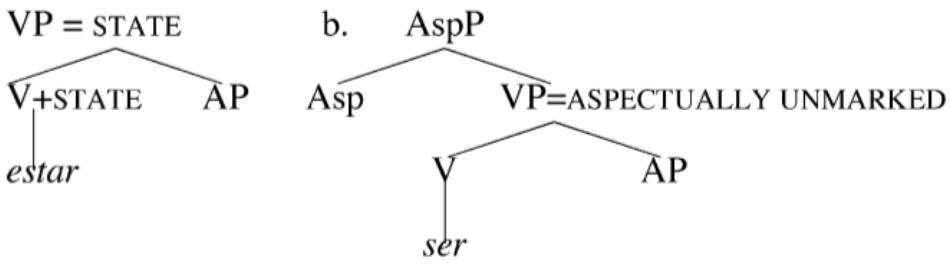
16. Juan es cansado. (temporal)

'Juan *ser*-PRES.3SG is tired.'

'Juan is tired'

The second assumption is that *ser* and *estar* may bear predicates in the syntax that are not necessarily specified for eventuality types (1913).

Thus, *ser* is decidedly devoid of semantic content. As a result, it does not restrict which complements it may appear with. *Ser* would be understood as a state automatically unless some aspectual addition allows for a temporal interpretation (1913). *Estar* adds to the VP a stative subevent (1913).



(16)

(Schmitt and Miller 2007, pg 1913)

In Spanish, adjectival phrases rely on the verbal head. This "verbalizing element" can bear tense/aspect morphology, or it can bear the aforementioned subevent (1913). In the *estar* tree, the verbal head's subevent retains a stative property. This asserts that "property x holds at all times t" (1913). In the *ser* tree, there is no marking for aspect, and as a result the property of the adjectival phrase is understood to remain, "independent of time" (1913).

However, as Schmitt and Miller point out, aspectual markers of state such as "suddenly" or "yesterday" may be added to make way for a temporal reading (1913). So *estar* predicates, interpreted as states, may not be obligatory in cases of temporal expressions as *ser* is flexible and thus may, with adverbs, be interpreted as having the very same meaning. This explains the permissibility of *ser* in ACT BE readings, where *estar* is not permitted (see example 15 a and b).

The researchers posit then that to distinguish the appropriate use of each verb, a speaker must first recognize the semantic divide between the two verbs, as well as the syntactic constraints on *estar*, then understand the pragmatic reading of the copula choice, and must be finally able to determine the interval of time in

which the predicate holds (1914-15). Research on child acquisition by Sera et al (1997) and Schmitt et al (2004) was compared against adult use of the verbs, and a lack of understanding of the pragmatic cues was exhibited by younger speakers.

Using a picture description task of both permanent and temporarily colored body parts (explained by pragmatic circumstantial cues) as well as a sentence completion task, Schmitt and Miller (2007) explored gap between the pragmatic pick-up of children and adults. Overall, the children showed much of the same developments along the first two stages of distinction. However, the children showed difficulty with prepositional phrases and *ser* - regarding the location of events. They over applied *estar*. Additionally, the children were more likely than adults to permit *estar* with the permanently colored body parts. This is suggested to be related to the pragmatic weakness in the children.

Lujan (1981) also asserted an aspectual interpretation of the *ser*/*estar* distinction. *Ser* takes stative and non stative predicates, while *estar* takes on only stative predicates (165). She suggests that all adjectives are stative, and that most participles will accept a stative reading, however the adjectives vary in their aspectual perfectivity.

When predicates refer to imperfect states, or states without an implied beginning and/or an end, they select *ser*. When they refer to states with an implied beginning and/or end, they select *estar*. Lujan asserts that the predicates themselves reflect perfectivity or the lack thereof, and that they analogously select the appropriate copula, stating that *estar* is perfective and *ser* is imperfective (165).

As seen earlier, the semantic characterization of *ser* and *estar* describes a fragmented interchangeability, providing opportunity for the inference that "*ser* predicates imply *estar* predicates, while the inverse implicational relation is correctly blocked" (Lujan 166).

This inference is depicted in the truth statements below.

(17) A. Ana *está* hermosa porque *es* hermosa

'Ana *estar*-PRES3.SG is beautiful because *ser*-PRES3.SG she is beautiful'

'Ana is beautiful because she is beautiful' [TRUE]

B. Ana *es* hermosa porque *está* hermosa.

'Ana *ser*-PRES3.SG is beautiful because *estar*-PRES3.SG she is beautiful'

'Ana is beautiful because she is beautiful' [FALSE]

The adjectival predicates in each of the examples above are all, by Lujan's syntactic analysis, considered to be stative, with those following *estar* being perfective and those following *ser,* not (174). In this syntactic approach, the semantic characterization of the adjective determines which verb is to be selected (175). The incompatibility of the verb and adjective combinations below are reflections of a semantic/aspectual dissonance, where the adjectives are perfective and the verb *ser* is imperfective (Lujan).

(18) Juan **es/está* peinado/cansado

Juan is *ser*-PRES.3SG/*estar*-PRES.3SG combed/tired

Juan *es/?está* inteligente/sincero

Juan is *ser*-PRES.3SG/*estar*-PRES.3SG intelligent/sincere

Schmitt (1992) researched similar verbs with a parallel distribution to *ser* and *estar* in Portuguese from an aspectual perspective. Along with Lema (1995), Schmitt's research disputed the conclusion of Lujan (1981). The study concluded that *estar* takes adjectives with resultant states while *ser* is underspecified for aspect. In this *ser* cannot be considered to mark a state, nor an event. This entire conclusion is motivated by the general syntactic flexibility of *ser* with adjectival predicates. For example, *ser* predicates can be in progressives while *estar* predicates cannot. See the example below. Sera interprets this as a lack of temporal characterization internal to *ser*.

(19) Maria *está* **estando*/*siendo* simpática.

Maria is *estar*/*ser*-PROG nice

'Maria is being nice.'

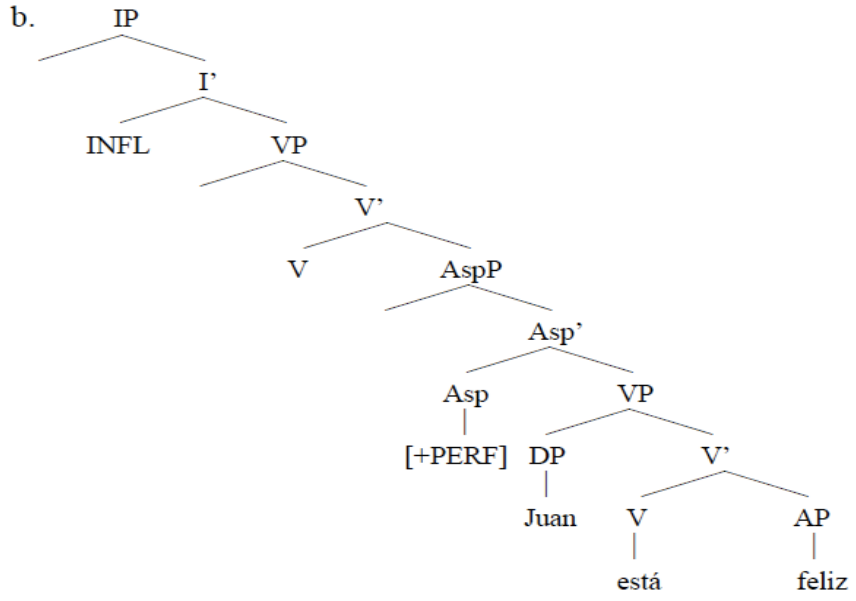
While Schmitt and Lujan discussed the aspectual properties of *ser* and *estar*, the research of Diesing (1992) was instead interested in the presence or absence of a spatiotemporal argument within each verb (Holtheuer 45). Diesing's (1992) VP/IP Split Hypothesis proposed that the semantic ILP/SLP interpretation follows from a different argument structure and therein syntactic position for each verb (Holtheuer 38).

In this model, "material from the VP is mapped onto the nuclear scope where the variable undergoes existential closure, while the material from the IP is mapped into a restrictive clause and if there is not an overt operator present, a generic null operator can be inserted, giving rise to the only other interpretation possible - generic" (Holtheuer 38). Since the subject of a SLP is generic in the

VP, it can raise to the Spec IP position or it can stay in the VP, making it available to both interpretations. Inversely, in ILPs, the subject is generated in the IP and may not move to the VP, forcing only a generic interpretation (Holtheuer 38).

As Roby (2011) points out, the subject noun phrases (NPs) originate in the Spec of the VP. Thus, SLP subjects can stay or raise to the Spec of the IP, leaving a trace. For ILP subjects, the Spec of the VP is PRO and the overt subject must occupy the Spec of the IP. Roby calls this a "control structure" (p 7). He goes on to assume an aspect phrase to where *está* may raise to have its aspectual features checked (ie - INFL) and this is where the verb will appear in the surface structure. Thus, in the tree below, Juan would raise to the Spec of the IP to check its nominative case. *Ser*, barren of aspect in this model, would stay put (Roby 2011, p 11).

b.



(Roby 2011, p 10).

The syntactic interpretations of the distribution of ser and estar resolve some of the inconsistencies presented by the semantic proposals, however the picture remains incomplete until pragmatic considerations are made.

3.5 Pragmatics

"Bundles of lexicogrammatical structures have tight associations with types of discourse" (Collentine 2010, 320). The implicatures of *ser* and *estar* were also analyzed by Maienborn, who instead supports a pragmatic explanation for the distribution of the two verbs. Though there exists a small class of adjectives which accepts only *estar* (ausente, solo, proximo, vacio, lleno, descalzo, harto de) (Maienborn 158) and there are adjectives which display a strong preference for *ser*, Lujan (1981) noted that *ser* adjectives always will "accept" *estar* if the context supports a reading which is temporary. Examples of these adjectives are *discreto* (discrete)*, inteligente* (intelligent)*, cortes* (polite)*, sabio* (wise). "Any explanation of the *ser*/*estar* puzzle that relies on a division of adjectives into two conceptual categories is essentially wrong and cannot be rescued"(Maienborn 159).

Falk (1979) approaches *ser* and *estar* from a pragmatic perspective, claiming that the notion of frame of reference is what distinguishes the two. In this approach, a class frame of reference pertains to a group of similar objects, and an individual frame of reference pertains to itself at a different point in time. In this way, it is clear to see that a class frame of reference would take *ser*, while an individual frame would take *estar* (Geeslin 2003, 722).

The following scenario struck me as the clearest example of the pragmatic differentiation between the two verbs. A Spanish-speaking botanist in a jungle discovers a previously unknown species of tree. The leaves are yellow, but how does the Spanish botanist describe this? The botanist does not know if the state of the leaves is temporary, or if it is inherent. The pragmatics of *ser* and *estar* suggest that the botanist would use *estar*. This is because the verb *estar* does not include existential properties in its context (Maienborn 160, citing Querido 1976). *Estar* in this manner can be used to express predictions that are based on immediate evidence or "first sensorial experience," (Falk 1979, de Mello 1979, Querido 1976, pg 354 in Maienborn 2005, page 160). This example shows that the distinction between *ser* and *estar* cannot be reduced to any fundamental division in the nature of the perceived universe. Instead, the perspective of the speaker appears to be paramount.

In order to show evidence against the SLP/ILP distinction, Maienborn examined underlying event arguments. If the stage and individual level predicates are indeed a valid distinction, then a.) *ser* and *estar* would produce different results in eventuality tests, and b.) *estar* would pattern with ordinary eventuality expressions (Maienborn p. 161). This is illustrated in 21, below. Eventuality expressions are described as "spatiotemporal entities with functionally integrated participants" (161). These eventualities are able to be located in space and time, can vary in how they are realized, and are perceptible. These properties are the driving force for the eventuality tests.

(21) Stage-level/individual-level expectation:

a.) *ser* ≠ *estar*

b.) *estar* = eventuality expression

(Maienborn 2005, p 161).

From this, the linguistic diagnostics should show *estar* combining with locative and temporal modifiers, manner adverbials, in addition to the fact that these expressions ought to be able to take the role of infinitival complements of verbs of perception (162). Following the expectation of the diagnostics, *ser* predications do not accept locative modifiers, as seen below.

(22) * Pilar es vanidosa delante del espejo.

'Pilar *ser*-PRES.3SG is vain in front of the mirror.'

'Pilar is vain in front of the mirror.'

(Maienborn 162).

Similarly, *estar* also does not accept locative modifiers as seen below. However, if there were an underlying eventuality argument to *estar* with adjectival predicate constructions, a locative modifier would be possible. The sentence below ought to be able to articulate that "there is a state of the shirt being wet and that this state is located on the chair" (163). This result is contrary to the expectation of the eventuality tests.

(23) * La camisa está mojada sobre la silla.

'The shirt *estar*-PRES.3SG is wet on the chair.'

'The shirt is wet on the chair.'

(Maienborn 162-3)

Maienborn shows both *ser* and *estar* predicates failed all the eventuality tests. Rather than the expectation depicted in 21, Maienborn surmises that there is no difference of grammatical significance between *ser* and *estar* based on these standard eventuality tests (166). It is then suggested that *ser* is the basic copula and *estar* is a marked variant, adding that this fits into a diachronic perspective (168).

Maienborn suggests that *estar* allows a speaker to pragmatically restrict their utterance to a particular topic situation, while *ser* allows an amount of neutrality in regards to the specificity (169). The semantic perspective on *ser* and *estar* does provide the contribution of aspect, which creates the temporal relation between the referent of the verb phrase (VP) and the topic situation (Maienborn 169 citing Klein 1994). Consider the following examples.

17. La carretera es ancha.

    'The road *ser*-PRES.3SG is wide'

    'The road is wide.'

18. La carretera está ancha.

    'The road *estar*-PRES.3G is wide'

    'The road is wide.

When does it make sense to restrict the claim of the speaker to a setting in which *estar* is appropriate? Maienborn affirms "the use of *estar* is pragmatically legitimated only if the context supports topic situation contrast" (171). This topic situation contrast may be interpreted from multiple perspectives. Given a temporal perspective, the predicate is only temporary. From a spatial perspective

there may be other parts of the road where it is not wide. From an epistemic perspective, it may be a speaker's first experience with the road (Maienborn 172).

The use of *estar* suggests a shared knowledge between the speaker and the listener, which includes the awareness that a different context for the topic situation would affect the overall meaning of the utterance (Maienborn 173). Adjectives biased toward the use of *estar* show a similar tendency toward specific discourse contexts. For example, presente (present), ausente (absent) and lejo (far) display a "spatial parameter anchored in discourse" (173). *Ser*, thusly, is unable to be interpreted as temporary - its semantics don't entail the inverse of the specific supposition of *estar*, but instead is neutral (172).

Maienborn calls this a "pragmatic division of labor" where "*ser* is a complement of *estar*" (173). A listener then is cued by the use of *ser*, in light of pragmatic economy principles, that the utterance is not specific to a topic situation (173). The complementary existence of *estar* maintains the restriction on the domain of *ser*'s uses (173). In conclusion, *estar* is considered to be the "discourse dependent" alternative to *ser* - "lexically triggered by *estar*, structurally resolved by aspect, and pragmatically licensed via topic situation contrast" (Maienborn 174).

Collentine (2008) found that native speakers use *ser*+adjectives for evaluative purposes, while *estar*+adjective is for more complex discourse. A corpus was sampled for *ser*+adjective and *estar*+adjective. Several modes (oral and written) and discourse types selected (editorial, news, literature, speech) were analyzed for frequency of each verb+adjective construction, and the frequencies

were normed for the number of words per body of text (318). Both constructions were far more frequent in speech than in written texts by 1.8 to 1 (320).

After putting the data through a log-linear analysis, there appeared to be a relationship between the type of text and the syntactic frame of the verb, which Collentine took to be a display of the influence of discourse type (2008, 320). High frequencies of *ser*+adjective were found in nearly all types of discourse, where *estar*+adjective manifested most often in dramas with evaluative language and monologues (320). History, editorial, scientific, and technical texts all showed high frequencies of *estar*+adjective, which Collentine construes to mean that the construction may play an important role in "advancing a writer's argument" (2008, 320).

3.6 Conclusion:

Silva-Corvalán described each of the contexts that correspond to *ser* and *estar* as "composed of bundles of features" (citing Falk 1979). These semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic features display a clear interaction in the research of their distribution. Thus, it appears impractical to attempt to determine absolute parameters surrounding the usage of each verb.

Nevertheless, predicates with *ser* and *estar* are certainly subject to different interpretations. *Ser* is viewed as more temporally relaxed, as well as less anchored in the discourse topic. *Estar* has been shown to be more temporally anchored (Schmitt and Miller 2007) as well as having particular predicate usages restricted by discourse topic (Maienborn 2005).

Sera (1992) points out that perhaps it is the historic change in the distribution of *estar* that has made the relationship particularly challenging to encapsulate (p 409, citing Pountain 1982). Silva-Corvalan (1986) agrees, suggesting that the syntactic/semantic complexity of the distribution of *ser*/*estar* may be due in part to the long evolution that *estar* has undergone. It may not be such a surprise that the modern form of *estar* has been shown to be permissible with an increasing number of accompanying adjectives, given the fact that the meaning of the Latin word *stare* 'to stand' has gone through such a modification as to arrive at its modern more general form, *estar* (p 589).

The semantic extension of *estar* has been found in texts dating back to the 12th Century (Vaño Cerda 1982 cited in Geeslin-Fuentes 367). This historical extension of *estar* can be seen in the Poema de Mio Cid, as it appears in Old Spanish, and then again in Modern Spanish below.

Old Spanish	**Modern Spanish**
Non se abre la puerta, ca bien ***era*** cerrada.	Mas no cede la puerta, que ***estaba*** bien cerrada
Dios ¡Qué alegre ***era***, tod cristianismo!	Dios, ¡Qué alegre ***estaba***, todo el cristianismo!

(Silva-Corvalán 1986, p 590)

By attempting to draw a distinct line between *ser* and *estar* with a single parameter, the significance of interacting linguistic systems (such as aspect and pragmatics) may be overlooked (Silva-Corvalán 1986, p. 594). Recent studies have shown that the choice of *ser* or *estar* may be the result of multiple,

simultaneously influencing factors (Clements 2005, Geeslin 2005, Salazar 2007). At a minimum, the textbook breakdown of temporary and impermanent to describe the distribution of *ser* and *estar* is insufficient at best.

CHAPTER 4: PAST RESEARCH ON ACTUAL USE OF SER/ESTAR

4.1 Introduction:

While theorists endeavor to define the divide between *ser* and *estar*, other researchers have instead assessed the actual usage of these verbs by native speakers. The studies that have tested the actual usage have evaluated situations in which contextual clues predict the use of one verb over the other. Similar research has also investigated the ways in which actual usage breaks the rules of the theoretical distribution of *ser* and *estar.* The findings of these studies illustrate an extension of *estar,* where the domain of *estar* use extends into that which has previously been the domain of *ser.* In order to fairly determine atypical uses of *estar,* however, the contexts in which it manifests must first be examined.

4.2 Predictors of *estar*

Geeslin (2003) set out to isolate predictors of the permissibility of *estar* usage - comparing a group of advanced learners to a group of native Spanish speakers. She raises an interesting question of the effect of direct experience on the acceptability of *estar*, asserting that neither Silva-Corvalán nor Gutierrez endeavor to incorporate that feature into their coding scheme (726). Her study therein adopted an advanced coding scheme that incorporated both semantic and pragmatic features.

Her semantic considerations were that of the ILP/SLP distinction, as well as whether or not the constructions exhibited a susceptibility to change (732). Her pragmatic considerations were the frame of reference (individual or class), and the amount of first hand experience the speaker had with the referent (effect of direct

experience) (732). She developed her coding by dividing the adjectives into 10 classes - age, size, physical appearance (of animate objects), description (inanimate), evaluation (personality), color, mental state, physical state, sensory characteristics, and status (733-4). She also took into account the following social factors: age, gender, level of study, number of years in the United States, age of arrival, and country of origin (734).

The findings of the study correlated three variables that support *estar* use in native speakers - susceptibility to change, adjective class, and which verb (*ser* or *estar*) is allowed with the adjective (745). Advanced learners were shown to be influenced by the three variables already mentioned, as well as frame of reference and experience with the referent (745). Geeslin (2003) concluded there was little difference between the two groups in regard to their use of *ser* and *estar* (750).

Aguilar-Sanchez (2009) did some research in Limon, Costa Rica in an attempt to investigate what linguistic and social factors are predictors of *ser*+adjective and *estar*+adjective. This study also sought to examine whether *ser*/*estar* variation is a change in progress, or a stable change (189). Multiple linguistic variables were included in the model, such as predicate type, susceptibility to change, gradiency (the lack of clear cut boundaries between categories), experience with the referent, adverbials, subject, adjective class and resultant state (192). Social factors such as age, education, gender, bilingualism, and contact with English were also considered (192).

It was found that the variables with the greatest significant statistical preference were experience with the referent, adverbials (when *estar* is not used),

adjective class, and resultant state (192). In oral interviews, the experience with the referent was a strong predictor of *estar* usage. The findings with the adverbials predicting the use of *ser* support the results of Schmitt and Miller (2007) that reflect on the presence and absence of a time referent being significant in the verb selection (Aguilar Sanchez 2009, 193).

In regard to the resultant state, males were less likely to use *estar*, while females were more likely to (Aguilar Sanchez 2009, 194). In fact, *estar* usage was overall 8% higher in the female participants. Citing Labov (1974), Aguilar-Sanchez states that this "trend is normal in sociological terms because women are usually ahead in adopting change when this change does not carry a stigma" (199). The findings of the study also reveal that higher education is correlated to lower use of *estar*, which supports Ortiz-Lopez (2000) claim that education is related to verb choice (Aguilar-Sanchez 2009, 200).

Additionally, it was shown that bilinguals use *ser* more often than monolinguals, and that monolinguals use *estar* more than bilinguals (Aguilar-Sanchez 2009, 200). As a result the researchers hypothesize that the bilingual use of the verbs most resembles the English "be" (es/is) (Aguilar-Sanchez 2009, 202).

Overall, the bilingual use of *estar* was shown to increase with the level of education of the bilingual (Aguilar-Sanchez 2009, 204). In summary, Aguilar-Sanchez surmise that contact with English has prompted a greater use of *estar* in the verb+adjective construction, that this contact has accelerated this change, and that having access to a formal education in Spanish may decrease the rate of this change (206).

Geeslin and Fuentes (2008) held a study to compare the frequencies with which each verb is selected by different groups of language speakers and the "degree to which speakers within a group respond unanimously" (366). The study examined four regions of the Iberian Peninsula, where Spanish comes into contact with a number of other regional languages (Galician, Catalan, Valencian, and Basque). Participants from each group were given a twenty eight item task, where each question was preceded by a paragraph of contextual description. The reasoning behind this was that the context allows each situation to be analyzed by discourse and sentence-level factors previously correlated to the predictability of copula choice. These linguistic predictors of *ser*/*estar* were found to be stable across the groups of participants.

4.3 Extension of *estar* in Bilinguals:

Innovative *estar* has been documented by Silva-Corvalán (1986) in bilinguals, and by Gutierrez (1992) in monolingual speakers of Mexican Spanish (Geeslin 2002, pg. 423). In studies comparing bilinguals to monolinguals, notable changes which had been observed were tied back to superordinate language transfer, a convergence of the two languages, or simply autonomous language changes (Silva-Corvalan 1986, 587).

Silva-Corvalán sought to discover the effect language contact has on language change in her 1986 study. She interviewed three generations of individuals of Mexican descent and who arrived to the United States at different age levels and different ages of exposure to English (Geeslin 2002, pg. 423). All

twenty-seven bilinguals had different proficiencies, but were conversationally fluent in both languages. The participants were separated into groups.

Group 1 consisted of speakers born in Mexico, who came into the United States after age 11. Group 2 took participants who were born in the United States or immigrated before age 6. Another prerequisite for this group was that at least one of their parents must fit into Group 1. The third group was made up of speakers born in the United States, whose parents would fit into Group 2. Silva-Corvalán (1986) examined 40 hours of transcribed materials (592) and designated three contextual features describe the choice of *ser* or *estar*: 1.) whether the adjective is one of circumstantiality, 2.) whether the adjective is susceptible to change, 3.) whether the speaker chooses to impose a class or individual frame of reference.

Silva-Corvalán also isolated stages of language change in her 1986 research. In the first stage, *estar* is constrained by pragmatic features such as individual frame of reference, semantic relationship between referent and attribute (susceptibility to change and circumstantiality). In the second stage, the restriction on frame of reference is lost, while susceptibility to change and circumstantiality may or may not be relevant. Finally, in the third stage, *estar* may be used to introduce any attribute, and all contrast is lost.

The study found 344 tokens of *estar* extension, which were classified on the necessary assumption that the speaker meant no change in meaning by choosing one verb over the other. Silva-Corvalán distinguishes this *estar* extension or overgeneralization from simplification in the way that simplification

entails the less frequent use of a competing form, whereas overgeneralization does not require a competing form (Silva-Corvalán 1990, 163).

The adjectival classes favored by the innovative *estar*, according to Silva-Corvalán, are age, description, physical appearance, evaluation, size, color, and perception (Geeslin 2002, 425). Thus, adjective class is an important indicator of *estar* usage.

The clarity of the adjective's meaning in each example was investigated by Silva-Corvalán, and she concluded that the greater the transparency, the less likely it is that a change will occur (Geeslin 2002, 425). Transparency in this case describes the distinction in meaning between adjectives when paired with *ser* as opposed to with *estar.* Silva-Corvalán points out that there was a 72% chance of *estar* extension when the accompanying adjective showed variation in its implied meaning when paired with each respective verb (Geeslin 2002, 425).

The study also points to an increase in *estar* extension as Spanish proficiency wanes. Reduced access or even lack of access to a formal variety also was correlated to *estar* extension (603). Additionally, if the speaker's English was acquired before age 5, the tokens of *estar* extension increase (Silva-Corvalán 1986, p. 602). Reduced access to a formal variety of Spanish in bilinguals was cited as a probable cause (Silva-Corvalán 1986).

Silva-Corvalán admits that the influence from English is difficult to identify, though she does share that the progressive *estar* construction was preferred over non-progressive constructions, which matches English usage (604).

Below are (bolded) examples of *estar* extension from the study:

Innov.1: Mi abuelita es blanca. Ni es gorda ni es delgada. **Está bien**.

'My grandma *ser*-PRES.3SG is white. She *ser*-PRES.3SG is not fat, she *ser*-PRES.3SG is not thin. She *estar*-PRES.3SG is good.'

'My grandma is white. She is not fat, she is not thin. She is good.'

Innov.2: Él es blanco - no **está**, ni **está gordo** ni **está flaco**. **Está en medio**.

'He *ser*-PRES.3SG is white - *estar*-PRES.3SG is not fat nor *estar*-PRES.3SG thin. He *estar*-PRES.3SG in the middle.'

'He is white - not fat nor is he thin. He is in the middle.'

Innov.3: Mi papa era un hombre muy alto. 'Todos los Campas son altos - como me dijo mi tio - menos usted, Daniel.' ¡El cabrón! Y yo le dije p' atras. Pero yo **estoy inteligente** y muy guapo y no te puedo tener todo.'And I said back to him. But I *estar*-PRES.1SG am intelligent and very handsome and you can't have everything."

(Silva-Corvalán 1986, p 589)

Gutierrez (92, 94) also examined the extension of *estar* in a monolingual community in Michoacán, Mexico. The data in the study was collected from monolinguals in Michoacan who participated in conversations that elicited comparisons and perceptions. They were also given a fill-in questionnaire (Geeslin 2002, 425). The examined data showed a distribution related to group versus individual frames of reference, as well as by adjectival category; age, size,

physical appearance, and evaluation being the categories of *estar* extension (Geeslin 2002, 425). The data also showed an initial weakening of the frame of reference constraint (Geeslin 2002, 425).

Contextual subjectivity is correlated with the *estar* extension in the way that the meaning of adjectives can be seen to express the opinion of the speaker. Thus, adjectives of description, size, age, physical appearance, and evaluation were positively correlated with *estar* extension (2003, 173). A *prueba dificil* (difficult exam) and a *pueblo grande* (large city) appear to involve more of a specific subjective meaning speaker to speaker, where a *coche rojo* (red car) or *mujer catolica* (catholic woman) seem to be "regulated by more universal parameters" (Gutierrez 2003, 174).

Gutierrez (1994) compared first generation speakers in Corvalan's work to the monolinguals in his own and showed little to no difference in the type of innovative usage (Geeslin 2002, 425). The frequency of *estar* extension differed, however, as Michoacan showed 16% *estar* extension, where Los Angeles showed 34% *estar* extension (Gutierrez 2003, 176). Gutierrez then concluded that the change was rooted in Mexico, and brought to the United States, where it has been accelerated by contact with English (Geeslin 2002, 425). Gutierrez further adds that higher levels of education, as well as higher socioeconomic status, were factors negatively correlated to *estar* extension. Gutierrez (1994) cites bias toward *estar* extension in participants younger than 30. Below are examples of Gutierrez' innovative tokens:

Innov 1.) Yo **estaba** hiquillo.

'I *estar*-IMPERF.1SG was young.'

'I was young.'

Innov. 2.) **Están** bonitos.

'They *estar*-PRES.3PL are beautiful.'

'They are beautiful'

Innov. 3.) **Están** chiquitas

'They *estar*-PRES-.3PL are small.'

'They are small'

Innov. 4.) **Estuvo** fatal.

'It *estar*-PRET.3SG was devastating.'

'It was devastating'

(Gutierrez 2003, 174).

Salazar conducted a study of *estar* extension in New Mexico and Southern Colorado. 307 tokens of *ser* and *estar*+adjectives were coded for 8 variables (348). These were choice of verb, conservative vs. innovative use, verb tense (past/present - perfect/imperfect) with Lujan (1981) as a motivation, lexical item (those occurring more often than 5 times were coded), adjective type: age, descriptive (inanimate), evaluation, time adverbial, intensifier, other, presence/absence of intensifier "muy" (very) or "mas" (more), presence/absence of time adverbial, and code switching. Salazar related the use of intensifiers, lower education, adjective type, and presence of an adverbial as the correlates of *estar* innovation (354).

Finally, a more recent study has shed a more critical light on some past research on the extension of *estar.* Hoffenberg (2002) evaluated the reported findings of Silva-Corvalán (1986) and Gutierrez (1992) in order to determine whether or not they had accurately found innovative uses of *estar.* This research lends an integral perspective. By widening the scope of acceptable norms of usage, the study narrows the rules by which to evaluate innovative uses of the verb. The research study additionally investigated a dialect of a Spanish-monolingual community in Guadalajara, Mexico to see if a change in the semantic use of *estar* was identifiable.

Hoffenberg's evaluation of innovation was based, in part, on an amalgamation of principles proposed by Silva-Corvalán and Gutierrez. Following these principles by which to deduce innovation, a token of *estar* must have an adjectival predicate in a construction which would typically select *ser,* not be documented in any prescriptive manner as typical to *estar*, and must match the speaker's use of *ser* (2002, 4). Hoffenberg asserts that, while Silva-Corvalán notes dissipation of semantic distinction between the implicature of *ser* and *estar* as being "involved" in the process of the extension of *estar*, it is in fact the defining feature of extension.

Hoffenberg further assesses the past research on extensions of *estar* by evaluating the findings of Gutierrez (1992) against the set of guidelines derived from the past research. For example, following De Mello (1979)'s assertion that implied personal perception conserves the meaning of *estar,* Hoffenberg derives the first conservative rule.

Conservative Rule A:

If the speaker implies personal perception, such as personal reference to a passage of time, or how a fact affects the speaker in some way, then *estar* is NOT innovative.

The next rule was formulated based on the affirmation of Crespo (1946) that *estar* may be used to indicate a contrast.

Conservative Rule B:

If the speaker implies contrast with the state of some related referent then *estar* is NOT innovative.

The third rule devised is also motivated by Crespo (1946) which states that *estar* may also express normal concepts with greater emphasis and emotion than *ser*.

Conservative Rule C:

If the speaker implies emphasis or emotion, then *estar* is NOT innovative.

Finally, citing De Mello (1979):

Conservative Rule D:

If the speaker implies the possibility or occurrence of a change, then *estar* is NOT innovative.

Hoffenberg applied these four conservative rules to many of the tokens cited by Gutierrez (1994) as being innovative. She concludes that Gutierrez was "perhaps too quick at classifying any uncommon use of *estar* as innovative"

(Hoffenberg pg 12). For example, Gutierrez cites the utterance below as *estar* extension , however in its context, it falls within the realm of Conservative Rule B as it draws a comparison between the height in Mexico and in the United States. Thus, it is actually not deemed to be innovative.

> "¿Como crees tu que es los Estados Unidos? Pues dicen que hay, que hay muchos arboles frutales, que hay muchos vegetales allа y... no comen grasas, que estan muy..., que ***estan*** muy altos allа..."
>
> (Gutierrez 116)
>
> "What do you think about the United States? Ok they say there are, that there are many fruit trees, that there are many vegetables there and...they don't eat *grasas,* that they are *estar*-PRES.3PL, that they are *estar*-PRES.3PL very tall there..."

Another utterance in the data from Gutierrez that was classified as *estar* extension:

> "... como el camion era muy grande tenia asiento de sobra,... no,...como el carro de mi hijo tambien **está** muy grande,... tiene metro y medio mas grande que todos..."
>
> "...how the car was very large it had *asiento de sobra*...no...how the car of my son also is estar-PRES.3SG very large, ... it has a meter and a half more than others..."

This is also dismissed by Conservative Rules B and C, as Hoffenberg suggests that the speaker is both using emphasis and comparing the unusually large car to

other cars more average in size (Hoffenberg 13). Another example of this is the utterance "*Está muy grande de edad*" as it both uses emphasis as well as compares the older man, not only to the age of the female speaker, but also to other men that she would also be likely to date (13). Finally, Hoffenberg disagrees with the main example with which Gutierrez supports his 139 cases of "*estar* extension " based on its falling within the realm of Conservative Rule C.

> "... y habia dos banos, uno que se construyo despues y uno que ya estaba y habia una pila grande y un lavadero tambien grande ... muy grande, ah ... si muy grande, era como una [pila] como de 2 por 2, **estaba** bien bonita, a mi me gustaba mucho ... (Gutierrez 121)"

> "...And there were two bathrooms, one that was built later and one that was already there, and there was a large stack and a washroom also large...very large, ah...yes very large, it was like one like two by two, *estar*-IMP.3SG it was very beautiful, and I liked it very much."

Hoffenberg points out that maybe the speaker was comparing her opinion to another's, maybe she was emphasizing how much she liked the place, or maybe her feelings had a pleasing affect. Either way, the speaker is expressing her own reaction, which according to De Mello 1979, is a prescriptive use for *estar* (Hoffenberg 15).

Using the variables deemed significant in this past research on *estar* predictors and *estar* extension preconditions, as well as on ethnolinguistic vitality

and factors which influence language shifts, I set out to code the data from my study.

CHAPTER 5: EXTENSION OF ESTAR IN ARIZONA

5.1 Methodology:

Intrigued by the trend of innovative uses of *estar* in areas of Spanish monolingualism and bilingual areas of contact between Spanish and English, I endeavored this study to find out if the same *estar* extension is currently taking place in the Southwestern state of Arizona. Many of the studies conducted on the *estar* extension consider internal changes within the language to be the driving force of the expansion, with language contact encouraging acceleration.

Sociolinguistic prestige is an element that has been greatly neglected in much of the research on the expanding domain of *estar* in verb+adjective constructions. Following from this, I considered the turbulent political climate of the Southwest to be a prime territory in which to examine how factors like enthnolinguistic vitality and language contact may interact.

As earlier depicted, Arizona has seen an incredible influx of immigrants from Mexico, with rates of immigration rising annually. At the same time, these immigrants have met a negative reception from the laws in the state - most of which seek to penalize rather than aid the assimilation of the immigrant population. If language attitudes affect language, then addressing this *estar* extension in an area where the language could be expected to be changing should provide for a very interesting look into the extent to which social attitudes shape the course of a language. I hypothesized that there would be *estar* extension in at least 25% of the tokens in the data collected from the participants.

5.2 Participants:

In this study, six participants were chosen from a group of Spanish/English bilingual volunteers, based on their past and current language experience. Each participant was given a questionnaire to ascertain his or her language background and current usage. Half of the participants selected were male and half were female. This was done to allow for any features exhibited by the discourse style of either sex.

Four of the participants were born in Mexico and two of the participants are the children of Mexican citizens, qualifying them as Heritage Learners. Of those born in Mexico, three were raised in Sonora, which is in Northern Mexico, and one in Acapulco, in Southern Mexico.

Participant 1, the female Heritage Learner (HL) was a 29 year old female, who was born in San Diego but moved at age 5 to Nogales, Arizona which is less than a mile from the Mexico/Arizona border. Both Spanish and English were spoken regularly at home, so this participant underwent bilingual first language acquisition. Academically educated primarily in English, this participant is actively pursuing a Masters Degree. Her only exposure to formal Spanish education was two classes intended for Spanish speakers in high school.

Participant 2, the male HL, was 21 years old at the time of the study. Born in Arizona, he grew up speaking Spanish with his parents at home, while also speaking English to his siblings. He was "practically forced" to be educated in English, as no Spanish was allowed to be spoken in his grade school. He took one year of Spanish in college, but he did not study Mexican Spanish. Instead, he was

encouraged to study the Spanish of countries, such as Peru and Colombia. He is currently pursuing a Bachelor's Degree.

Participant 3, female, was 27 years old. She was born in Sonora, Mexico, and spoke Spanish only at home. Nevertheless, she watched English movies and visited the United States often, and stated "English was always a part of life." She moved to Phoenix at 18 years of age. She was educated in Spanish until her move, then finished her Bachelors Degree in English. She is currently working as a paralegal.

Participant 4, male, was 30 years old. He was born in Acapulco, Mexico and moved to Phoenix at 9 years of age. At home in Mexico and in the United States, Spanish was the only language spoken. Up to the 6th grade, he was educated in Spanish. His English education spanned the years from 6th grade up until two years of college. He has spent most of his life speaking both languages. He works currently as a line cook.

Participant 5, a 47-year-old female, was born in Sonora, Mexico, and moved to Tempe, AZ at age 8. Both English and Spanish were spoken in her home growing up. She was educated until the 2nd grade in Spanish, as well as having taken classes in high school and college. She reports speaking mostly English. She also home-schools her children in English.

Participant 6, a 42-year-old male, was born and lived in Sonora, Mexico until age 18. At home growing up, only Spanish was spoken. He completed a high school education in Spanish in Mexico before moving to the United States. He works in the field of construction.

5.3 Materials and Procedure:

As stated, a background questionnaire was distributed and filled out by the group. Then, each participant was engaged in two individual, semi-structured interviews which were digitally recorded using an audio recording device. The initial interview was conducted in Spanish with a Spanish-speaking interviewer. The purpose of this interview was quantitative - to elicit tokens of *ser* and *estar* in descriptive and evaluative frames. The conditions of the interview were casual, and each interview lasted roughly fifteen minutes.

A 15-question sentence completion multiple-choice task was distributed after the initial interview. The task was written in Spanish, done at home, and returned without given time constraints. Each of the fifteen questions provided a paragraph of information in order to provide context for each answer selection. The fifteen questions selected were taken from Geeslin and Fuentes (2008)'s twenty-eight question task. This decision was made as each question's context was coded for factors shown to predict the use of either *ser* only, *estar* only, or acceptably variable responses. After the task was collected from each participant, the second interview ensued.

The second interview was conducted entirely in English with an English-speaking interviewer. The purpose of this interview was qualitative - to endeavor to understand the emotional and cognitive relationship between the interviewees and their identities as Spanish speakers in Arizona. The conditions of this interview were equivalently casual, and each interview lasted roughly twenty-five minutes.

5.4 Design:

The data from the first Spanish interview was transcribed and coded based on several factors. First, every instance of *estar* was considered as a token. Then every instance of *ser* was considered as a token. Each instance of the verbs was taken at a phrase level, at a sentence level, and then analyzed based on the knowledge shared by the speaker and interviewer. I adopted the criteria for Silva-Corvalán's 1986 work as well as Gutierrez's (1992) principles, as in Hoffenberg's 2002 research. This means that for the classification as a case of *estar* extension, the construction must:

1.) be in the verb+adjective form in a context which "historically" implies *ser*

2.) not be accounted for by prescriptive uses

3.) be identical to the use of *ser* in a native speaker's verbal discourse

Furthering the constraints with which to analyze the data, I also adopted the conservative rules of *estar* use as highlighted by Hoffenberg (7). The data from the English interview was coded for positive or negative association with Anglo culture (including the English language), positive or negative association with Mexican culture (including the Spanish language), positive or negative association with the recent SB1070 passage, and positive or negative association with their Mexican heritage as part of their identity.

5.5 Limitations:

The chief limitation of the study is in the sample size of participants. Because it is small the results therefore cannot be accurately generalized. A

similar limitation pertains to the brevity of some of the initial interviews. As a result, the limited amount of data may affect the results. Additionally, dialectal differences between some of the participants may make their data less comparable.

Furthermore, almost all of the participants have had at least two years of college education, with half of them holding Bachelors Degrees, making the group less comparable to the average Latino in Arizona. Latinos between eighteen to twenty-four are almost 10% less likely to report enrollment in school than all adults in that age range. Furthermore, native-born Latinos in the same age range are half as likely to report enrollment.(Lopez 2009).

An additional limiting factor is that the Spanish oral data was collected from an interview. Though semi-structured, the oral production cannot be considered to be the same as spontaneous production, which would be the most natural setting in which to capture any language trends. Furthermore, the 15-question task provided the choice of *ser* or *estar*. Perhaps allowing for the full spectrum of answers with a fill-in-the-blank exercise would have yielded more natural production once again. Each of these limitations must be considered in order to fairly evaluate the results of this research, as well as to improve upon its relevance to future research.

5.6 Results:

i. Interview 1:

I read each transcript from the first round of interviews, then marked and counted every occurrence of *ser*. From these, I labeled every occurrence for its

type of construction. Of 204 tokens of *ser* in 62 minutes of speech, 73/204 tokens were *ser*+adjectival phrases (35.8%), 96/204 were nominal phrases, and 12/204 were locatives.

I then re-read each transcript from the first round of interviews, then marked and counted every occurrence of *estar*. From these, I labeled every occurrence for its type of construction. Of 65 tokens of *estar* in 62 minutes of speech, 20/65 tokens were *estar*+adjectival phrases (30.7%), 11/65 were progressives, and 34/65 - over half - were locatives.

Between the assortment of adjectives for which *ser* was selected, and those for which *estar* were selected, some overlap occurred both by adjectival class and by specific adjectival meaning. *Estar* was shown with adjectives that describe age in two cases - adjectives: *joven, mas grandes* - where *ser* was used to describe age in three cases - *tres* [*años*], *diez* [*años*], and *cinco* [*años*]. Similarly, *estar* was shown in one case to describe the weather (*rico*) and in two cases, *ser* was selected instead (*caliente*, *humédo*).

Furthermore, there were minimal pairs found across specific adjectives. For example, both *ser* and *estar* were used twice with *feliz*, as well as with *grande*. However, in one of the *estar* tokens of *grande*, the implicit meaning referred to age, not size. Finally, two different adjectives with two very similar meanings were selected separately for *ser* and *estar*. The adjective *comprometidos* (committed) was selected for *estar* while *dedicada*, (dedicated), was selected for *ser*. The occurrence of these minimal pairs is interesting when considering the

wily distribution of the adjectives. More relevant to the research question however is the resultant *estar*+adjectival tokens.

Each *estar*+adjectival phrase (AP) was numbered 1-20. Ensuing will be a report of the characteristics of each predicate that appeared with *estar*. This includes extra text to contextualize the construction in the dialogue, the frame of reference (class or individual), the presence/absence of intensifiers, susceptibility to change, circumstantiality, as well as the aspectual perfectivity of the adjective involved. *Estar* may be, for these purposes, considered perfective. An additional distinction made for cases of extension then would be whether the adjective is perfective, matching the verb with which it is paired. The implication of an adjective that does not match the perfectivity of estar would then be a possible extension of the use of *estar.*

Participant 1 :

Only one token of the construction *estar* + AP appeared.

AP.1) "No me sentí como, como, en Nogales no **estaba** cómoda pero nomás fue diferente porque la gente aquí, fui como, pues como, me veía como todos los demás."

"I didn't feel like, like in Nogales estar-IMP.3S wasn't comfortable but it was just different because the people here, I was like, because I looked like everyone else."

The adjective *cómoda* (comfortable) may select either verb. The predicate in this case is classified individually. The predicate is subject to change and circumstantial. Finally the adjective is perfective.

Participant 2:

This interview had four tokens of the construction, all of which were grammatically acceptable. There is an even distribution of perfectivity and the lack there of.

AP.2) "Mi papá pues él, la cosa es sí, él es un buen… le gusta trabajar. Nunca quiere ***estar*** así este acostado o haciendo nada."

"My dad well he, the thing is yes, he is a good...he likes to work. He never wants to estar-INF be like this lying down or doing nothing."

This past participle *acostado* (lying down) prefers *estar*. Furthermore, the frame of reference is individual. The predicate is susceptible to change and circumstantial. It is imperfective.

AP.3) "Pues yo vivía en un lugar que se llamaba, Atlanta, Georgia, y había un lugar que se llamaba Lawrenceville, un lugar precioso. Me gustan muchos árboles con pasto. Así como, que no sea mucho ciudad pues. Que tenga árboles, un lugar fresco, no muy caliente ni que esté frio. Allí sí **estaba** bien. La casa que yo tenía era de dos pisos, más aparte su este, ¿cómo se dice? ¿Basement?"

"Well, I lived in a place called Atlanta, Georgia and there was a place called Lawrenceville, a beautiful place. I like lots of trees with grass. And not as much city. That has trees, a refreshing place, not very hot nor is it cold. There it estar-IMP.3SG was okay. The house that I had was two floors, with a separate, how do you say it, basement?"

The adjective *bien* (good) takes either verb. The frame of reference is that of class - as he is reflecting on the quality of the experience among other

experiences. The predicate is not susceptible to change though it is circumstantial. The adjective is perfective.

AP.4) "Pero sí me gustaba la casa. Pues todo **estaba** bien."

"But I liked the house. Well everything estar-IMP.3SG was good."

This is much like the example preceding in that it is the same adjective, a class frame of reference, without an intensifier, not susceptible to change though circumstantial, and perfective.

AP.5) "Pero sí me gustaba la casa. Pues todo estaba bien. La casa **estaba** grande. Teníamos mucho espacio para hacer muchas cosas."

"But I liked the house. Well everything estar-IMP.3SG was good. The house estar- IMP.3SG was big. We had plenty of room to do many things."

Grande (large) may select either verb. The frame of reference is class. The state of largeness is not susceptible to change nor is it circumstantial. The predicate is imperfective.

Participant 3:

This dialogue had 11 tokens of *estar* from the interviewee, all of which are grammatically acceptable. She used intensifiers in 6/11 tokens. Her selection of perfective adjectival predicates amounted to roughly half the tokens. Furthermore 8/11 tokens were in an individual frame of reference.

AP.6) "Porque cuando llego al trabajo, soy súper organizada. Entonces tengo que hacer todas las cosas en orden. Tengo que revisar todo muy bien. Todo tiene que ***estar*** impecable, limpio. Pero en cuanto salgo del trabajo, es, o sea, no hay orden."

"Because when I arrive at work, I am super organized. Then I have to do all things in order. I have to check everything very well. Everything must estar-INF be spotless, clean. But as I leave work, it is, there is no order."

The adjective *impecable* (impeccable) may select *ser* or *estar*. The predicate in this context uses an individual frame of reference. Both susceptibility to change and circumstantiality are present as the speaker is discussing her mercurial nature. The predicate is [+perfective].

AP.7) "Entonces así como puedo ***estar*** muy feliz. Cuando este voy a, cuando me enojo, ¡uy! Me enojo y no me puedo controlar."

"So like this I can estar-INF be very happy. When I go, when I get angry, uy! I get angry and I can't control myself."

The adjective *feliz* (happy) may appear freely with *ser* or *estar*. The frame of reference is that of the individual. An intensifier is present, as is susceptibility to change and circumstantiality. The predicate is imperfective.

AP.8) "Pero si no, cuando **está** rico y a gusto, nos encanta ir a acampar, nos encanta ir a Flagstaff"

"But if not, when estar-PRES.3SG it is nice and comfortable, we love to go camping, we love to go to Flagstaff"

The adjective *rico* does not prefer either verb. The frame of reference is individual as it is a statement on the weather. Equivalently, susceptibility to change and circumstantiality are present. The predicate is [+perfective] because of the time adverbial.

AP.9) “Sea lo que sea, hay violencia en México ahorita, Hermosillo es muy tranquilo. **Está** muy a gusto.”

“It is what it is, there is violence in Mexico right now, Hermosillo is very tranquil. Estar-PRES.3SG It is very comfortable.”

The adjective *tranquilo* may appear with either verb. The frame of reference is that of a class, as she is stating that Hermosillo is a peaceful city among others more turbulent. There is an intensifier. In the context of the preceding statement, the predicate may be interpreted as not bearing susceptibility to change nor circumstantiality. It is imperfective.

AP.10) “Si fuera algo católico donde son reales, y de verdad **están** comprometidos a su religión, sería diferente. Pero nada más son persignados.”

“If it were something Catholic where they are real, and really estar-PRES.3PL are committed to their religion, it would be different. But nothing more than those that make the sign of the cross.”

Most past participles (verbs with -ido/-ado endings) select *estar*. The frame of reference is that of class, as she is distinguishing committed Catholics from those who are not. This predicate, much like that of youth, can be realistically read for susceptibility to change and circumstantiality as commitments are able to be made and broken at any time, unless legally bound. The predicate is imperfective.

AP.11) “Me han dado todo, todo el cariño, siguen casados, **están** enamorados.”

"They have given me everything, all the love, they stayed married, estar-PRES.3PL they are in love."

Again, the past participle selects *estar*. The frame of reference is individual, as she is asserting that they are still married because they are (still) in love. Realistically, the state of being in love may be classified as susceptible to change, as well as circumstantial. This predicate is imperfective.

AP.12) "Aquí estudió en el FCC y este, y se acaba de regresar a Hermosillo porque su visa se venció, entonces la extraño, me siento muy sola sin ella. Pero, está tratando de pedir una beca para Mónaco para irse a estudiar allá. Entonces, **estoy** feliz por ella."

"Here she studied at the FCC and this, and just returned to Hermosillo because her visa expired, so the stranger, I feel very lonely without her. But, she is trying to get a scholarship to Monaco to go study there. So I estar-PRES.1SG am happy for her. "

As earlier asserted, the adjective *feliz* (happy) may take either verb. The frame of reference is individual, as she says she feels alone because of her sister's absence, but that she is also happy for her as well. This predicate is susceptible to change, bears circumstantiality, and is perfective as she expresses being happy for her sister because she is now following her ambitions.

AP.13) "Entonces tenemos mucho en común, pero los dos somos de carácter fuerte. Entonces peleamos bastante. Chocamos bastante. Pero pues ahorita ya, ahorita ya que **estamos** más grandes nos entendemos mucho mejor, ¿no?"

"So we have a lot in common, but both are strong willed. So we fought a lot. We hit a lot. But for right now, right now as we estar-PRES.1PL are bigger we understand each other much better, right?"

This predicate contains *grandes* (large) that is prescribed to select *ser*, however may select either verb in normal usage. The frame of reference is individual as she is exclaiming that she and her brother are older than they previously were. There is an intensifier, susceptibility to change, but not circumstantiality. The predicate is perfective per the time adverbial.

AP.14) "Y nos, nos… somos muy unidos. Entonces, este, lo extraño. Se siente que **está** muy lejos."

"And we, we ... we are very close. So this, I miss him. It feels that he estar-PRES.3SG is far away."

The adjective lejos has a preference for *estar*. The frame of reference is individual. There is an intensifier. Furthermore, this predicate is subject to change and is circumstantial. The implicature is imperfective.

AP.15) "Y nos, nos… somos muy unidos. Entonces, este, lo extraño. Se siente que está muy lejos. Ha **estado** muy separado de la familia últimamente."

"And we, we ... we are very close. So this, I miss him. It feels that he is far away. He has estar-PSTPRF.3SG been very separate from the family lately."

The past participle again has a preference for *estar*. The frame of reference is individual. There is an intensifier. The predicate is susceptible to change and is circumstantial. The adverbial gives the predicate a [+perfective] read.

AP.16) “Trabajé en un restaurante que me tocaba secar el Saganaki pero no, no es el Saganaki. Este, no me acuerdo si lo tengo en el refrigerador. **Está** muy bueno. Pero yo creo, los frijoles.”

“"I worked in a restaurant that I had to dry the Saganaki but no, its not the Saganaki. This, I do not remember if I have it in the refrigerator. It estar-PRES.3SG is very good. But I think, beans."

Bueno is acceptable with *estar* or *ser*. The frame of reference is class, as she is classifying the cheese as one that is good. There is an intensifier. The predicate is not susceptible to change nor is it circumstantial. Additionally it is imperfective.

Participant 4:

This interview too had only one token of an adjectival phrase with *estar*.

AP.17) “Problemas que hay pues apenas, se separaron mis dos padres como dos años, después de ***estar*** casados 32 años, se separaron.”

“There were hardly problems, both my parents were separated about two years after estar-INF being married 32 years, they separated.”

The adjective *casados* (married) has an *estar* preference as well. The predicate in this example uses an individual frame of reference in this context, comparing the state of the couple married to the couple now separated. This token has present both susceptibility to change and circumstantiality. Finally, in this context it is also perfective.

Participant 5:

No tokens of the construction were exhibited.

Participant 6:

This transcript had 3 tokens of adjectival phrases. All 3 phrases are grammatically acceptable. The initial example is ambiguous in its frame of reference, while the other 2 are both within that of the class frame. This speaker used no intensifiers, and selected only imperfective adjectival predicates.

AP.18) "Mi hija pues, **está** joven y tiene que estar con mamá y papá. Un día a los eighteen, a lo mejor ella dice yo me voy, okay, okay. Que te vaya bien."

"My daughter well, she estar-PRES.3SG is young and has to be with Mom and Dad. One day at 18, or more, she says I'm going, okay, okay. I wish you well."

This example contains the adjective *joven* (young) that typically prefers *ser.* The frame of reference may be interpreted in two ways. The speaker may be describing his daughter as belonging to the class of people who are young, or he may be explaining that while she is now young, in an individual frame, she will someday be older. Contextually, the latter seems more likely. The semantic features of susceptibility to change and circumstantiality are difficult to assess here, as youth is certainly a transient state. As no beginning or end is clearly defined in the observation of youth, this token is ascribed imperfective.

AP.19) "Está, cuando vas a McDowell, pasas el bridge, el puente, a la derecha. **Está** oscuro, pero, adentro, las tortillas son hechas a mano, harina de maíz."

"It is, when you go to McDowell, you pass the bridge, the bridge, to the right. It estar-PRES.3SG is obscure, but, inside, the tortillas are handmade, cornmeal."

This example contains the adjective *oscuro* (obscure) that can select either *ser* or *estar*. The frame of reference is that of class, as the speaker is describing the building as one that is not clearly seen. The susceptibility to change and circumstantiality could be interpreted as present if and only if the speaker is explaining that it is difficult to see when coming from a particular direction. This does not appear to be so. This token is also imperfective.

AP.20) "Es una comida más o menos igual. **Está** bien."

"It is a food more or less the same. It estar-PRES.3SG is good."

This adjective in this example prefers *estar*, however it utilizes a class frame of reference in this context. This utterance has a reading of no susceptibility to change and no circumstantiality. The token is imperfective.

ii. 15 Question Sentence Completion Task:

Table 1

Pragm. Context	Exception	Phrasal Context	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
2-estar		y ahora __ enojado	está	está	está	está	está	está
5 -variable		la cena __ buena	está	está	está	está	está	está
6-ser	*	Apartamento __ grande	es	es	*está	es	es	es
8-ser		No ___ pobres	somos	somos	somos	somos	somos	somos
10-ser		mi papa no __ estupido	es	es	es	es	es	es
12-estar		No __ acostumbrado	estoy	estoy	estoy	estoy	estoy	estoy
13-ser	*	que inteligente __	eres	*está	eres	eres	eres	eres
14-variable		su pelo __ azul	es	es		es	es	es
17-ser		Ella __ bastante joven	es	es	es	es	es	es
18-estar		Profesor __ enfermo	está	está	está	está	está	está
19-variable		tus ojos __ azules esta noche	son	son	están	son	están	están
20-ser	*	que bonito __	*está	*está	*está	es	*esta	es
21-ser		Ella __ catolica	es	es	es	es	es	es
22-estar		la sopa __ muy fria	está	está	está	está	está	está
27-estar		Nunca __ despierta	estás	estás	estás	estás	estás	estás

(The blank on question 14 for Participant 3 is due to the fact that she did not fill in this question.)

The questions in the sentence completion task were taken from Geeslin and Fuentes' (2008) study on linguistic predictors in cases of language contact. The evaluation of each question was based on the findings of Geeslin and Fuentes' research. In the study, certain questions were shown to elicit unanimous or near unanimous responses across all four language contact groups, or across at least one language contact group. I interpreted these questions as being prime candidates to elicit the responses that were found to be unanimous. Thus, I chose 5 questions which selected *estar*, 3 variable questions, and 3 questions which selected *ser* - two of which had nearly unanimous replies across all four groups in Geeslin and Fuentes' research. Those which exhibited *estar* extension were 6, 13, and 20, are reproduced in English below:

6. During the meal, Paula and Raúl have a chance to talk about some of the things that have been going on in their lives. They both like the apartment they live in but since the rent is so high they've been discussing moving to another place. Paula wants to know how Raúl feels about the apartment:

> Paula: Do you like our apartment?
>
> Raúl: Sí, nuestro apartamento es / está grande. [Yes, our apartment is very big.]

13. Paula and Raúl have been having trouble coordinating their schedules. Since only Paula has a car, Ra´ul has to know which days he has to take the bus.

During the day, Paula has come up with a suggestion that will save him some bus fare:

> Paula: You can come with me in the morning and go with Juan in the afternoon.
>
> Raúl: ¡Ay! ¡Qué inteligente estás / eres! [How intelligent you are!]

20. Paula tells Raúl that she thought he had just noticed that her boyfriend had just given her a new ring. She is very proud and she shows it to Raúl:

> Paula: What do you think of my new ring?
>
> Raúl: ¡Qu´e bonito está / es! [How beautiful it is!]
>
> (Geeslin and Fuentes 2008, Appendix)

Question 6 was selected nearly unanimously for *ser* across all the groups in Geeslin and Fuentes 2008. It is within a class frame of reference, has no susceptibility to change, is not animate, describes size, and both verbs are allowed with it. Only one particular chose *estar* with it as well - Participant 3.

Question 13 received unanimous responses of *ser* in one of the groups in Geeslin and Fuentes 2008. It is within an individual frame of reference, has no susceptibility to change, is not animate, and describes personality. It may only select *ser*. Participant 2 was the only participant to select *estar* for this question. Interestingly, this participant also had a token of extension in his oral interview.

Question 20 also received nearly unanimous responses of *ser* across all the groups (Geeslin and Fuentes 2008). It is within a class frame of reference, does not have susceptibility to change, has an inanimate referent, makes an evaluation

or a description and both verbs are allowed with it. A remarkable four out of six of my participants selected *estar*. Participant 4 and 6 were the only two to select *ser*.

iii. Interview 2:

I read through the transcripts of the second interviews, coding for themes based on frequency. I also coded for positive affect or negative affect based on topic - Anglo culture/English language, Mexican culture/Spanish language, SB1070, and heritage as part of their identity. The following are purely counts of mentions of positive and negative associations per theme. In a single stream of uninterrupted speech, if a reaction to a subject were elaborated upon, it was still only marked with a single + or -. In other words, the count was of *individual* remarks.

Positive and Negative Remarks by Theme

Table 2

	Mexican Culture/ Spanish Language	**American Culture/ English Language**	**SB1070**	**Hispanic Heritage as Identity Marker**
Participant 1	6+/0-	3+/1-	0+/2-	5+/1-
Participant 2	4+/0-	2+/1-	0+/4-	5+/0-
Participant 3	1+/1-	2+/1-	0+/7-	1+/0-
Participant 4	1+/0-	2+/0-	0+/2-	4+/1-
Participant 5	5+/0-	1+/0-	0+/3-	2+/0-
Participant 6	4+/0-	2+/1-	0+/7-	1+/0-

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1: Interview 1:

The first research question examined the frequency of *estar* innovation in adjectival predicates in the Spanish of my Arizonan participants. The data came from 62 minutes of transcribed audio and a fifteen-question sentence completion task. Both the individual features of the adjective and the discourse context were be assessed to evaluate the possibilities of *estar* extension.

The first interview was semi-structured and revolved around the prompts - 1.) Tell me about yourself. 2.) Describe your family. 3.) Tell me about your hometown. (ie: the landscape, weather, culture) 4.) Describe your favorite meal.

Participants were encouraged to stray from the initial questions, asked to elaborate on occasion. In the 62 minutes of the initial interviews, I found 204 tokens of *ser*, and 65 tokens of *estar*. 35.78% of the *ser* tokens were adjectival predicates, as were 30.67% of the *estar* tokens.

Roughly half the ser tokens were followed by nominal phrases and less than 6% were locatives. From the remaining *estar* tokens, about 16% were progressives, and over half were locatives. This fits with the basic syntactic distribution of ser and *estar*. This also follows Geeslin and Gumstead's findings that in verb+adjective contexts (with parecer 'to seem' and sentir 'to feel' included) both native Spanish speakers and second language learners used ser more often than other perceptual verbs, with *estar* being the second most frequent (Geeslin 2002, p. 450).

The tokens of *estar*+adjective were weighed against a set of variables. I chose these variables according to the previous literature review, selecting variables which A.) distinguish the prescriptive allowance for *estar* usage and B.) have shown to favor *estar* or lead to *estar* extension . First, I chose to include whether or not the adjective has a preference for ser or *estar*, in order to allow for a glance at its expected behavior. Then, I chose to include the frame of reference, as pragmatic cues have been shown to affect the choice of verb (Schmitt and Miller 2007, Maienborn 2005, Falk 1979, Collentine 2010, Lujan 1981).

I also decided to examine the perfectivity or lack thereof, both of my adjectives and the verb they select. I also included whether or not an intensifier was present in the expression as Salazar (2007) found a correlation between the presence of an intensifier and *estar* extension. I included the semantic features susceptibility to change and circumstantiality, as they were part of Silva-Corvalán's original study. With these six variables, I evaluated the *estar*+adjective tokens.

It has been established that *ser* tends to be selected for class frame of reference, while *estar* is selected for an individual class. Additionally, it has been shown that description of inanimate things, age, evaluation (or subjective reflections) and past participle (-ado/-ido) favor *estar*. Furthermore, it has been shown that some of these predictors, namely size, age, evaluation, and description (inanimate) have been shown to lead to *estar* extension . Finally, *ser* is selected for imperfect states, while *estar* is selected for perfective states, or those marked for time in some way.

Cases of *Estar* Extension :

APs 5, 9, 16, 19, and 20 all bear four out of five markers for *ser* selection, however *estar* was selected instead. All 5 of these APs were in the class frame of reference, were imperfective, had no foreseeable susceptibility to change, and finally were not circumstantial.

Other APs such as 3, 4, 10 all have two out of five markers for *ser* selection. AP 3, 4, and 10 are within the class frame of reference. AP 3 and 4 are not susceptible to change and are perfective, and AP 10 is susceptible to change, but imperfective.

Thus, eight of the twenty APs may be considered for potential *estar* extension . As part of this discussion, I want to assess the acceptability of these tokens of *estar* when measured against Hoffenberg's Conservative Rules. I will also review and re-assess the value of these rules in distinguishing *estar* extension

Hoffenberg's Conservative Rule A depends on an expression of perception, which I interpret to mean a subjective evaluation. APs 3, 4, 10, 16, 19, and 20 all convey a perceived value, thus cannot be considered to be innovative.

Hoffenberg's Conservative Rule B depends on a contrast between the referent and some other relatable topic within the discourse context. AP 10 also fits within the prescriptive allocation of Rule B, and therefore is not *estar* extension

Hoffenberg's Conservative Rule C revolves around the notion of emphasis. Thus the presence of an intensifier would make an atypical usage

permissible. AP 3, 4, 9 and 16 all employ intensifiers and are therefore not able to be considered innovative.

Hoffenberg's Conservative Rule D is analogous to Silva-Corvalán's semantic feature of susceptibility to change. APs 10 and 19 are both susceptible to change. As a result of the application of these four rules, APs 3, 4, 9, 10, 16, 19, and 20 may not be considered an extension of *estar*. This leaves AP 5 as the sole possibility. However, it is here that I would like to begin a discussion of the legitimacy of this feature of measurement, among others.

As Roby (5) points out, anything in the perceivable universe could be the result of a change or have a change impending. This variable, thus, is unstable and as a result, susceptibility to change and Rule D cannot be an objective qualifier in the implicational arena concerning *ser* and *estar* usage.

Additionally, the inclusion of Conservative Rule A or perception as a category is also somewhat troublesome. Perception is stable in that it always reflects a subjective reality. However, there is a gradience in that which is perceivable and NOT subjective. How does one define a fact from an observation? Where is the line drawn? History as a whole has proven that the continuum of human fact finding and reporting is a very ambiguous domain. I think this variable is also too unstable to remain in the realm of *ser/estar* distinction.

Furthermore, though I did comment on the *ser*/*estar* preference of each adjective in my original result report of *estar*+adjective predicates, numerous researchers have noted the variation that is inherent to these verbs. As a result, a

preference for either verb is not obligatory and thus of little consequence when determining if a token is of a unique usage.

Corpus Comparison

With the exclusion of some of these strictures, APs 3, 4, 9, 10 and 16 remain excluded by Rules B and C. However, APs 5, 19, and 20 remain reasonably potential for *estar* extension. Once more, Silva-Corvalán (1986) classified cases of innovation on the "well-tested assumption" that the speaker implied no different meaning in choosing *estar* instead of ser (595). None of these three cases appear to intend an alternative conveyance. A review of these three adjectival predicates follows.

AP.5) "Pero sí me gustaba la casa. Pues todo estaba bien. La casa **estaba** grande.

Teníamos mucho espacio para hacer muchas cosas."

AP.19) "Está, cuando vas a McDowell, pasas el bridge, el puente, a la derecha. **Está** oscuro, pero, adentro, las tortillas son hechas a mano, harina de maíz."

AP.20) "Es una comida más o menos igual. **Está** bien."

In order to assess how rare these tokens of *estar* extensions truly are, I conducted a corpus comparison of my results and searched [*estar*]+ each of the three adjectives above in Mark Davies Corpus del Español.

I only searched within the oral mode, and included all discourse types (editorial, news, literature, speech). The search results were analyzed for the

frequency of each *estar*+adjective construction in question and compared against the APs from my research.

a. AP 5

AP 5 corresponds with twenty-five uses of any conjugation of *estar*+*grande* between the year 1200 and the year 1900. Only three of these tokens were in the imperfect tense as *estaba*.

When I limited the time span one hundred years, from to 1300-1900, only twenty-three tokens of *estar*+*grande* appeared, meaning two of them dated back to the 13th century. Upon further limiting the year range to 1400-1900, only twenty-two tokens were available, meaning one dated back to the 1300s. With another hundred-year limitation, 1500-1900 drops to sixteen tokens, meaning six occurred in the 1400's. The years 1600-1900 show fifteen, meaning only one token was captured in the 16th century. The years 1700-1900 show thirteen, showing two tokens in the 17th century. None occurred in the 1700s or 1800s. The 1900s bear thirteen out of twenty five tokens, showing the frequency heightened over that 800-year span.

Table 3

100 yr period	**1200**	**1300**	**1400**	**1500**	**1600**	**1700**	**1800**	**1900**
tokens of *estar* + *grande*	2	1	6	1	2	0	0	13

I analyzed the context of each of the *estaba+grande* occurrences. One occurred in 1603 in a text written by Juan Rodríguez Freyle (1566-1640) titled, "El carnero." The expanded context is below. The presence of the time adverbial makes this token typical and not innovative. It also shows the great flexibility of use that these verbs employ with all adjectives.

"Vendió sus mercaderías, volvió a España, empleó su dinero y con este empleo vino a este Nuevo Reino, en tiempo que ya la criatura **estaba grande** y se criaba en casa con nombre de huérfano."

The second token occurred sometime in the late 20th century, in a fictional text titled "Ronda en las olas" by Milia Gayoso Manzur (1962-). The expanded context is below. In this context, the author speaks of a girl who looks back on her life to a moment where she realized that she was beautiful and grown. This example shows a comparison as well, and is not innovative.

"Cuando vinieron los mejores tiempos en que podían vivir un poco desahogadamente, su padre fue a reunirse con la autora de sus días. Lucía conoció a su futuro marido en el nuevo trabajo que consiguió al terminar la secundaria y recién en ese momento se dio cuenta de que **estaba grande** y bonita, y jamás lo había notado porque no pudo antes de ese momento detenerse a pensar en sí misma. Ahora estaba allí, en el jardín de su linda casa, con los años encima."

The third example is from oral production documented in Habla Culta: Mexico: M12 and the date is not specified, though it did come from within the 20th century. The transcribed text may be seen below. This example would also

not be classified as innovative as it also showcases a comparison in the discourse, following Conservative Rule B.

"¡ Ay! Te voy a regalar uno.. pero de los bonitos. Espérate, tengo ahora nada más de esos, de último, ya cuando **estaba grande** que anda con su velito, y que está así..."

The first two occurrences of an extension of *estar* in the corpus describe animate objects and therefore would not normally select *estar*, however because comparison is present in all three examples, none may be classified as innovative. This casts a brighter light on AP 5. Though it describes an inanimate object with *estar*, for which a bias has been shown, there is no implied comparison. I conclude therefore that AP 5 is a token of *estar* extension.

b. AP 19

AP 19 corresponds with 124 uses of any conjugation of *estar*+oscuro/a between 1200 and 1900. No tokens occurred until the 1500s (16th Century), in which there were seven. Three of those tokens ended in a past participle (*oscurecidos* for example), so it is to be expected that they selected *estar*. 3 of the tokens were *está*+*oscuro*/*a*, and one was *esté*+*oscura* (in the subjunctive).

The 1600s showed a total of 14 tokens of *estar*+*oscuro/a*, 7 of which matched the construction in AP 19. The 1700s showed only 6 tokens, 3 of which were in the present tense and thus related to AP 19. The 1800s had 45 tokens of the *estar*+*oscuro/a* construction, only 7 of which were the same as AP 19 in tense and number. 25 of these tokens were in the imperfective tense, *estaba*, which would mark the construction with a temporal aspect, making the selection of *estar*

somewhat not surprising. All in all, the 1900s show 52 tokens. 16/52 were in the present tense, making them most comparable to AP 19.

Table 4

100 yr period	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900
tokens of *estar+oscuro/a*	0	0	0	7	14	6	45	52

I will now look at the context of the oral examples of these tokens, which amount to 3 tokens. None of these are from Mexican Spanish. They come from Colombia, Venezuela, and Puerto Rico. As the expansion of *estar* has been documented outside of Mexican Spanish, I will accept these tokens as fair comparisons for discussion.

The first example is documented in Habla Culta: Bogotá: M36. The transcribed text is below. The speaker is articulating a desire to see documents, explaining that some things are not clear which should be. This example fits within the parameters of Conservative Rule B as the speaker is making a comparison, and therefore is not an example of innovative estar.

"porque hay cosas que no... que se repiten constantemente, pero que no... no se cita el documento; y es muy importante ver el documento, y qué pasó; y hay otras cosas que **están oscuras** porque no se ha sacado el documento."

The second example is documented in Habla Culta: Caracas: M29. Conservative Rule B may again be called upon, as the speaker is comparing the

general notion of what a lease is to the specific lease at hand in the discourse context.

"Entonces... no es que no se sabía lo que es arrendamiento... se sabía... hay un concepto general, ¿ verdad? Se ve que está claro eso, pero lo que es... lo que **está oscuro** es que... en el arrendamiento, no se entrega ningún derecho sobre la cosa."

The third example is documented in Habla Culta: San Juan (PR): M4. In this, the speaker is describing a room in a story, which is dark. The fact that the speaker is describing an inanimate thing (a room) implies the preference of *estar*. It is unclear however if the speaker is making a comparison to another thing. The time adverbial after the construction may also temporally anchor the phrase. The overall extent of the *estar* extension here is unclear.

"Esa problemática se había visto ya con el juego del espejo que había hecho Pedro Prado, el chileno, por allá por el año veinte, en una novela, en el capítulo final de una novela que se llama Un juez rural, en que el personaje al final entra al cuarto y el cuarto **está oscuro**, y de momento, en aquella soledad, en aquella angustia, angustia, dice a sí mismo, en aquel dolor y en todo aquello que él siente hasta unas náuseas y todo, lo que después va a sacar Sartre que aparece ya en esa novela de... Un juez rural."

Overall, it may be suggested by the growing number of tokens per century that the constraints that govern the use of estar with this adjective have diminished over time. The lack of any accounts of this construction in the earlier centuries investigated also illustrates a growth of acceptable domains. Two of

these examples refer to ideas as obscure, while the final example describes a room as dark. AP 19 refers to an inanimate object, however it refers to something concrete - not variable like a concept or an understanding. Thus, AP 19 is classified as *estar* extension.

c. AP 20

A corpus search of all accounts of *estar*+bien yielded over 4,000 tokens. This is not surprising in the least as the construction is a perfectly acceptable phrase used quite often in Spanish discourse. It is its context of use in the initial interview with Participant 6 that has so far qualified it as a possible extension. This context is very similar to the contexts of use in which Silva-Corvalán classified some of the innovation she documented, available again below.

> Innov.1: Mi abuelita es blanca. Ni es gorda ni es delgada. **Está** bien.
>
> Innov.2: Él es blanco - no está, ni está gordo ni está flaco. **Está** en medio.
>
> (Silva-Corvalán 1986, p 589)

The distinct difference between these examples and AP 20 is the animacy of their referent. Animacy was shown in multiple studies to influence both the selection and extension of *estar* (Geeslin and Fuentes 2008, Sanz-Gonzalez, Cheng, Lu, and Giannakouros, Aguilar-Sanchez, Clements 2006). Previously excluded from my study's qualifying variables because of its problematic nature in some of the studies mentioned, as well as the fact that Silva-Corvalán found it had no effect, it is relevant to note here. Clements (2006) and Aguilar Sanchez both found that *ser* predicates tend to appear with animate referents (first order) and *estar* predicates tend to appear with inanimate referents (second order)

(Aguilar-Sanchez). This token could then, based on that fact, be argued to not be one of innovation.

However, when analyzing the 14 corpus results for oral production in Mexican Spanish, the picture changes. The first example is one speaker appeasing another's stress, saying "no, it's okay" (Habla Culta:Mexico:M12). This can be considered a contrast, invoking Conservative Rule B. The remaining examples (Habla Culta:Mexico:M13, 18, 18, 2, 2, 20, 20, 30, 6, 7, 8) were either interrogatives or examples of contrast as well. Thus, none of these examples are comparable to AP 20.

The speaker in AP 20 switches from using *ser* to describe the food at a particular restaurant, then switches to *estar*. This final sentence can be interpreted to be *estar* extension. The speaker may also have been wrapping up his evaluation of the restaurant, using "*está* bien" as a discourse marker. A conservative review would deem it to be a typical *estar* usage.

Innovative Participants

AP 5 and AP 19 have been determined to be innovative. AP 5 was produced by Participant 2, and AP 19 by Participant 6. What similarities and differences exist between these two participants? Both speakers are male, however 6 is twice as old as 2. In addition to this, 2 is a Heritage Learner, exposed to English since birth, whereas 6 was born in Mexico and had little experience with or knowledge of English until moving to the United States at age eighteen. Furthermore, both speakers report having English-speaking friends, but speak Spanish most often with Spanish only friends, or other bilinguals.

6.2: 15 Question Sentence Completion Task:

The sentence completion task actually exhibited 6 possible examples of *estar* extension out of 89 answers, 46 of which were *estar*. These are classified as examples of *estar* extension as the contexts of each question were designed to elicit either one, or both, of the verbs *ser* and *estar*. Of the three variable questions, one was answered unanimously with *estar*, the other with *ser*, and the final received exactly 3 of each.

Where the first interview displayed 10% innovation, the 15-question sentence completion task resulted in 13% innovation. Interestingly, the highest frequency of *estar* usage was also found in Cortes-Torres's questionnaire - 31% - compared to only 9% in the conversation. Gutierrez (1994) had similar results - 24% in the questionnaire and 16% in the oral portion (Cortes-Torres, 793). Cortes-Torres notes this may be rooted in the class of the adjectives in the questionnaire - physical appearance, age, evaluation - adjectives that favor the use of *estar* (793). Similarly, the adjectives that appeared with *estar* extended in the questionnaire - *grande* 'large', *inteligente* 'intelligent' and *bonito* 'handsome' - pertain both to physical appearance and evaluation.

Innovative Participants

Only Participant 3 extended the use of *estar* with the adjective grande in the questionnaire, however Participant 2 made a similar extension with the same adjective in the initial interview. This suggests that adjectives describing the size of inanimate objects may be susceptible to *estar* extension, which is supported by other research (Silva-Corvalan & Montanari, Silva-Corvalán 1986, Gutierrez

1994, 2003). This same Participant 2 was the sole exception in the selection of *estar* for *inteligente*. Participants 1, 2, 3, and 5 all made the extension with *bonito*.

Participants 2 and 3 showed the highest rates of general extensions of *estar*. Participant 2, 21 years of age, and 3, 27 years of age, are also the youngest of the study group. However, Participant 2 (HL) has been in the US since birth and Participant 3 has only been in the US for 9 years, though she has been bilingual all of her life. Participant 1 is also a Heritage Learner (HL). Finally, it is curious that Participant 5 was involved in the *estar* extension of *estar*+bonito, as she exhibited zero tokens of the *estar*+adjective construction in her first interview.

6.3: Interview 2:

My second research question regarding the affect of linguistic hegemony on the Spanish of the area was addressed in the second interview. This was also a casual, semi-structured interview. The somewhat closed format was selected, as it is more precise and easier to analyze. Though covertly qualitative, the measurements of this format may be quantitative as the categories were presented to the subjects. These categories were identified, and then counted for positive and negative impressions. Common patterns, unusual exceptions, and correlations will now be discussed.

Thematic Coding

The first five questions that participants were asked pertained to their role models, their criteria for a romantic partner, the language habits of their friends, the sentiment of their parents toward language learning, and the language(s) in which they were educated. I then asked about contexts in which they would or

would not use Spanish, dependent on features such as with whom they're speaking or where they are. I also asked them to share their thoughts on SB1070.

Following this, I asked them to relay any first hand impact from SB1070. I also asked them to articulate the negative and positive feelings, thoughts or experiences of being a Spanish speaker in Arizona. Thus, from this conversational scaffolding I derived the themes of Mexican culture and the Spanish language, American Culture and the English language, SB1070, and Spanish heritage as part of an identity.

General Impressions

In order for a qualitative evaluation to be successful, it is imperative that the subjective meanings of the participants are illuminated. I will attempt this evaluation by reviewing, synthesizing and interpreting the data from the second interview.

Reportedly, both English and Spanish are present in the daily lives of each of my participants. In addition to this, almost every participant recognized bilingualism as an advantage. The participants in my study had each experienced feelings of discrimination, were aware of the fear in the state and still each of them spoke with pride.

My female participants all remarked on their fair complexion, referring to it in some cases as an "advantage" and in other cases as "sheep's clothing." None of my male participants had fair skin. I did not consider this variable in my selection, however the relevance of it became quite clear when interviewing each participant.

Without data gathered from these participants before the introduction of SB1070, it is impossible to evaluate a change in their attitudes. However, other studies have shown the reaction to other immigration enforcement machinations to be one that negatively impacts individuals targeted by such legislation (Wolford & Carter, 2010, Bodella, 2003). Based on these findings, I believe the response of my participants to be remarkable. It would seem that, despite the linguistic hegemony and negative stigma of the language in some social and political realms, the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish is high in Arizona. Bolstered by the demographic presence of the Hispanic population in the state, the language maintains a high status among its speakers.

1.Mexican Culture/Spanish Language

"I've known a lot of people that have come across who are eager to fulfill the need that we have for them here in terms of jobs or coming because the opportunity is there for them, and all I can think, if I were in their situation, for the betterment of my life and my family and knowing that there wasn't anything where I come from, I'm sure I'd be in the same boat as them."
(**Participant 1)**

"Not all dark Mexicans are, like, all bad, you know, like me, me and Casey get along so well. And, well, he can see that I'm one example of a good Mexican. And there's others as well as good as me or even better."
(Participant 2)

"That was important to me, as far as because then it would be cultural, in the family and all that. I would date, but to marry, that was one of my things on my list; he had to speak Spanish."
(Participant 5)

"Well, let's go to the Internet right now. And then you go to Craig's List to apply for a job. It say we need Spanish-speaking translators. Regular English, people speak English, ten dollars. Spanish speakers, translation, $18."
(Participant 6)

The Spanish speakers in my study were proud of their language. The participants exhibited an awareness of negative stereotypes and stigmas related to Mexican culture as well as the Spanish language, however each displayed pride in their mastery of the language. Participant 1, a Heritage Learner, exhibited an example of great empathy for immigrants. Participant 2 called himself a "good Mexican," expressing exception to the perceived popular stereotypes about Mexicans. Participant 5 expressed how important the Spanish language is to her idea of marriage, citing fluency in the language as a prerequisite for a potential partner. This is a reflection of how deep the relationship with her language runs. Participant 6 fervently asserted the value of bilingualism in the state, giving an example of the greater pay rate for Spanish speakers. These speakers all value their language skills, and though they understand the relationship between the adverse attitudes toward the Mexican culture and the way they are perceived, they do not seem to allow the adversity to negatively impact their opinion of Spanish.

2. American Culture/English Language

"But I did tell friends of mine, like, hey, guys, you know what, if you go to school nighttime, you will learn English and stuff. I eventually started going with my wife, but we stop for work. She works and I work. But I really recommend to everybody, even if they just got here one day or twenty years, they got to learn English."
(Participant 6)

"Yeah, he wants that. Because, like, most of the time we have been to the library, he gets both Spanish and English books. Sometimes he want to read the Spanish so we'll try to help him out but he tries to read it but he learns more of the English language than the Spanish so we try to figure, tell him like the words, which, so he can understand more."
(Participant 4)

“Completely. You know, it goes back to; I need to speak English to those powerful people. And because of that, they respect me.”
(Participant 3)

“Like I have the advantage of talking to more people. Like Spanish, at the school, I speak with Hispanics. But English, I feel, like, more I would be able to talk to more people and I even could like, Casey, like I could sometimes talk in Spanish, even though he knew real Spanish, something that I feel that, well, it makes me feel, like, a little bit more better about it, learning English, both languages.”
(Participant 2)

The benefit and the dominance of the English language were also thematically engrained in the awareness of the speakers interviewed. Participant 6 and 4 both tell of their encouragement to friends and family to learn English. Participant 3, female, also notes the power associated with speaking English and the respect that it inspires. Finally, Participant 2 made an interesting statement about the communicative bridge that either language provides - this bridge being an important determiner of the worth of fluency. There is no evidence to suggest that these participants bear analogous prejudices, at least on a surface level. They each respectively value the English language and the opportunities provided by American culture.

3. SB1070

“To give you an example, there's a border crossing now that they set up on the freeways, whenever you're leaving Nogales, like a border patrol check point. And I know that there's times where if one of us who is more fair is driving, we'll hardly even get the window down before they'll, you know, give us the wave to move through. But if it were my mom or someone else who is darker complected, it's the full, can you roll down your back window? And can you -- you know, are you American citizens? And, you know, we get -- there's a lot more. And so I can see that, like, really evident in terms of, you know, looking at someone.”
(Participant 1)

“Like, most of my family, like, they were scared of it. They really didn't want to take the risk so they either left out of state...Some of my friends went too. They had to.”
(Participant 2)

“Okay. I think SB 1070, it's a law that --it's, or it's, yeah, that has come out of the frustration of a lot of people that... that the federal government has not been able to control the immigration...situation over here in Arizona and in the Country. And I think it's incorrect because it comes from frustration, so I think the law is not right.”

“Exactly. It exhibits the kind of, you know, anguishment of, like, we have too many Hispanics and we have to get rid of them.”
(Participant 3)

“Let's say, like you, like, look Hispanic, everything, you're just going outside for exercise, say you just forget your wallet, they will arrest you for that. And unless you have the proof that you don't have your wallet, they will take you in, and the process, that's a day wasted for you. Like, if you had to work, they won't release you for 24
12 or 48 hours.”
(Participant 4)

“But to be honest, yes, my wife. She afraid of the police because she don't want to get stopped. And even she got papers or license or whatever they want, insurance, she's so scared to go to the store, and luckily for her, she got a license.”
(Participant 6)

The subject of SB1070 received the most emotional and verbose responses of all the questions asked in the second interview. There was a general consensus of dissent about the bill, and as previously mentioned, each of the females noted not feeling as targeted because of their fair complexion. The fear expressed by the men was of note. It was this type of fear that I expected would induce the development of shame and perhaps a more regular choice of English usage. No correlation was made in the actual interviews between this fear and any type shame.

In fact, some of the outrage expressed by the participants indicates to me that while they are afraid of the repercussions of this bill and how it may impact their freedom, they give little credence to the attitudes behind it, finding it generally a legislative failure more than a personal attack.

4. Mexican Heritage as Part of an Identity

I'm not ashamed. I'm not scared of what they might do or anything. I'm just really, like, proud of it, of my heritage
(Participant 2)

Because I am a first generation Mexican. I love that.
(Participant 3)

Well, when you're talking to me, I'm in my 40s. I am proud; I love Spanish; it's beautiful; it's a beautiful language; and I am not ashamed of it whatsoever.
(Participant 5)

As indicated by the general attitudes expressed about the first three themes, the participants all expressed predominantly positive thoughts and feelings about their Mexican heritage and its part in their identities. This is a remarkable result that runs contrary to my initial expectation, as well as the results of other research into discrimination and identity (Yip, Gee, Takeuchi 2008, Ramsdell 2004, Kells 2002).

6.4: Conclusion on Discussion of Results:

In response to my first research question, there was atypical usage of *estar* present in the Spanish I documented in Arizona. While this "innovation" is present, it is minimal and could potentially reflect a very normal variation.

In response to my second research question, I found that despite the definite dominance of English in Arizona, the resulting linguistic hegemony presently seems to do little harm to the ethnolinguistic vitality of Mexican-Americans in Arizona. Within my group of participants, Spanish maintains a high status despite experiences with discrimination. It is clear that recent immigration laws are in the awareness of my participants, however they remain unashamed and unafraid of their shared identity.

This study found far less innovation than any of the other studies documented in the review of previous literature on the subject (Silva-Corvalán 1986, Sanz-Gonzalez). However, this study only had six participants and sixty-two minutes of audio. Silva-Corvalán (1986) had twenty-seven participants in her study in Los Angeles and forty hours of audio.

Additionally, many of the results of this study were compared to the results of the 1986 study conducted by Carmen Silva-Corvalán in Los Angeles, California. It is important to note that, demographically, California has been very different from Arizona. Between 1990 and 2000, California was the first of five states listed with the largest growth of the immigrant population (2,405,430)(Batalova & Terrazas 2010). Arizona was not included on this list.

Furthermore, the number of nonimmigrant admissions to the United States more than doubled between 1990 and 2008. Four states - California, Florida, New York, and Texas - were the intended destination for half of all nonimmigrant admissions in 2008. Additionally, in 2008, the most popular destination for the 39.4-million nonimmigrant admissions was the state of California. Of all 1.3

million foreign academic student admissions in 2008, about half intended to study in six states. California (15.6 percent or 206,166) again was at the top of the list. Of all 409,619 temporary worker admissions in 2008, 16.1 percent (66,031) intended to go to California (Batalova 2009). Clearly, California takes in a much greater amount of immigrants, nonimmigrants, students, and workers alike.

Outside of a general lack of magnitude, this study also incorporated somewhat unique participants. Primarily, the education level of these participants is higher than that of the average Mexican immigrant (Lopez 2009). In this way, because of the education of my participants, they may not be wholly representative of a population in which innovation may be occurring. Conversely, whether representative or not, these participants had an above average level of education when compared against national statistics. This is interesting as much of the research on extensions of *estar* pointed to lower levels of education as a correlated variable.

Secondly, the Spanish proficiency of these speakers is strong. This relates to having access to formal varieties of Spanish, which is a determiner of innovation as well. Nearly all of the participants report regular conversation with monolingual Spanish speakers, in addition to the fact that they all have family in Mexico with whom they regularly communicate. Furthermore, one of the participants makes a point to read her literature in Spanish only.

Furthermore, the deep involvement of Spanish in the lives of my participants brings to the surface the great importance each of these speakers places on their language. The significance of their language comes to represent, in

times of social unrest such as this, how important their cultural background is to their identity. Despite the legislative targeting of the cultural group to which they belong, these participants have their pride supported by the dense Mexican demographics and the high status of the language within their own social circles.

It may be concluded that the high ethnolinguistic vitality of the group is involved with the maintenance of the language. Some participants stressed the importance of Spanish solely because of the frequency with which each uses English in daily life. This language maintenance may be viewed as a resistance to the linguistic hegemony of English as well. This research does not explicitly suggest that the immigration enforcement legislation being passed in the state is at the root of the minimal innovation, however the possibility is worth consideration. If this study had been endeavored during a time when Mexican immigration to the United States was encouraged, would more unique cases of *estar* use be documented?

6.5: Economic implications

"Trabajo duro y estudia."

"Work hard and study."

- Participant 6, male, construction worker

The resistance to linguistic hegemony displayed in these participants is a manifestation of the cultural resistance that exists within the Spanish language community in Arizona. It also exhibits the depth of the ethnolinguistic vitality in the microcosm of my participants in Phoenix. The duration and the magnitude of this lengthy multigenerational immigration is nourished by the growing number of

new immigrants, as well as the US native children, born into families with deep roots in Arizona - families that consider Arizona to be their home.

Often portrayed violently, the Hispanic community in Arizona takes instead positive avenues for protest -namely, language maintenance. While it may be true that the Spanish these speakers use daily is changing, the significantly salient feature is that these speakers are using Spanish daily. This signals a revivification of the language as depicted in the usage and attitudes of its speakers.

Though the grave economic recession ended officially after two years in 2009, unemployment remains rampant and the nation has been slow to heal. "Immigration flows have tended to decrease in previous periods of economic distress" (Pew). During the economic downturn that Arizona has witnessed since the start of 2007, the flood of immigration dwindled to a stream. This is exhibited in the two year long decline following the peak of 12 million in 2007 to 11.1 million in 2009. This was the first significant reversal in a two-decade pattern of growth (Pew).

It was concluded by the Pew Hispanic Center "inflows of unauthorized immigrants from Mexico had fallen off sharply, presaging the decline found in the 2010 estimates. According to the center's estimates, an average of 150,000 unauthorized immigrants from Mexico arrived annually during the period from March 2007 to March 2009, which was 70% below the annual average of 500,000 during the first half of the decade."

Between 2009 and 2012, jobs in the US have been harder to find. From 2005 to 2009, median household wealth among Latinos fell by 66%, compared with a drop of 53% among blacks and 16% among whites. As with the population total, the number of unauthorized immigrants in the labor force had decreased in 2009 from its peak of 8.4 million in 2007. They made up 5.2% of the labor force in 2010 (Kochhar, Fry and Taylor, 2011).

The decline in the population of unauthorized immigrants from its peak in 2007 appears to be due mainly to a decrease in the number of immigrants from Mexico, which went down to 6.5 million in 2010 from 7 million in 2007. Still, Mexican immigrants remain the largest group of unauthorized immigrants, accounting for 58% of the total (Passel, J., Cohn, D. 2010).

The immigrant share of the U.S. working-age population (ages 16 and older) has been on the rise for several decades, especially since 1990. Slightly more than 15% of the working-age population is foreign born, up from a little less than 10% in 1995. These immigrants are the ones who endeavored from home to get here, work here, and stay here, despite US policies that alienate their rights (Kochhar 2011).

Though it is a small sample size, from within my group of participants alone, the potential of this population only increases with time. Examine the table below. Generally, it appears that the longer the duration in the United States, the higher the education and the more prestigious the job.

Table 5 Participant Background

Participant	Generation	Origin	Age	Education	Occupation
1	2nd	US born	29	Pursuing MA	Student/ carpenter
2	2nd	US born	21	Pursuing BA	Student/ busser
3	1st	Mexican, to US at 18	27	BA	Paralegal
4	1st	Mexican, to US at 9	29	2 years college	Line cook
5	1st	Mexican, to US at 8	47	MA	Teacher, parent
6	1st	Mexican, to US at 18	42	2 years high school	Construction worker

A 2010 study reported data reflecting the positive productive capacity imbued in the U.S. economy by immigrants. The research showed that the increased investment and specialization that results from immigrants also increases the earnings per worker. In fact, between the years 1990 and 2007, immigrants were connected to a roughly ten percent increase in income per worker. According to the study, this is analogous to a yearly raise of $15,000 per worker at 2005 prices.

Furthermore, Mexican migrants are reported to contribute 4% of the US GDP (Peri 2010 cited in Mexico Migration Outlook 2010, 13). In Arizona, immigrants produce nearly 12% of the GSP (Mexican Migration Outlook 2010,

3). The economic implications of this study reveal how deeply engrained the community of Mexican immigrants is in both our national and local economies. The presence and priorities of this immigrant group provide positive potential for our workforce and economy.

6.6: Ontological Implications:

It is possible that the idea of the existential notion of "being" is changing. The what, why, and how of existence may certainly affect more liberal uses of *ser* and *estar*. Many Arizona immigrants grew up in devout Catholic households, in regions of Mexico where Catholicism was integral.

In departing from a region with great epistemic salience, these immigrants are exposed to a new universe of ideas. Among foreign-born Latinos who are naturalized citizens or legal permanent residents, 45% attend religious services on at least a weekly basis. Among U.S.-born Latinos, 37% attend on at least a weekly basis. And among the general U.S. population, 38% attend religious services on at least a weekly basis. (Taylor et al 2011). These numbers reflect a slow move away from regular church service attendance.

Somewhat similarly, almost all of my participants reported having been raised in a strictly Catholic environment and currently they either attend a Christian church or do not attend church at all. In relinquishing one way to look at the world, room is made for the opportunity to develop a new perspective. Outside of religious fluctuations in spiritual behavior, the knowledge available to the world about the world is constantly developing as well.

Currently, scientific advances in fields like quantum mechanics and physics are constantly revitalizing notions of permanence and existence. The implications of what it *means* to be are changing. With this metaphysical evolution in mind, it would be interesting to track the frequency and patterning of *ser* and *estar* usage against the history of Spanish language speaking populations. Would uprisings and other such changes in the thought of the culture reflect an influence on this ratio?

Second language learners of Spanish certainly recognize the rabbit hole of the *ser*/*estar* distinction regularly. The notion of permanence is not dealt with in the lexicon as regularly as Spanish speakers. Now, in the age of information where reason is respected as highly as ever, it is entirely feasible that some Spanish speakers may too think of the *ser*/*estar* paradigm differently.

6.7: Conclusion:

> **"**Linguistic and social factors are closely interrelated in the development of language change. Explanations confined to one or the other aspect, no matter how well constructed, will fail to account for the rich body of regularities that can be observed in empirical studies of language behavior"
>
> Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968, p188 cited in Silva-Corvalán 1990, p 162).

In evaluating theories behind the distribution of *ser* and *estar,* I arrived at the conclusion that there are multiple mitigating variables of influence, some

perhaps more immediate than others. For example, the studies on child acquisition show latent recognition of pragmatic cues, while semantic cues are more immediately recognized. This does not imply that the children were using *ser* and *estar* incorrectly. It can be inferred that the use of these two verbs for a native speaker is something intuitive, contextual, and most significantly, personal. There is no universal rule for application of *ser* or *estar*, and it is ultimately up to the speaker to choose the symbol of their meaning.

As a result of this, the change within copular verb system of the Spanish language is somewhat amorphous. Silva-Corvalán (1986) described stages in which this change may take place. In her model, *estar* at the first stage is constrained by individual frame of reference, susceptibility to change and circumstantiality. In the second stage, *estar* loses the frame of reference constraint. In the final stage, *estar* may correlate with any adjective. The tokens of innovation that were isolated in this study each appear to be at this final stage. Additionally, the individual frame of reference as a determiner of *estar* did appear to be weakened as eight of the twenty APs were in a class frame.

The extension of *estar* has been argued to be an internal change through tokens of innovation in the Spanish of monolinguals (Gutierrez 1994). Gutierrez' work with monolinguals showed virtually no difference in the type of innovative usage (Geeslin 2002, 425). The frequency of innovation differed, however, as Michoacán showed less than half as much as Los Angeles (Gutierrez 2003, 176).

However, the validity of Gutierrez' classification has been called into question, and the only recent study which employed reliable constraints in the

study of *estar* usage in monolinguals yielded no tokens of extension (Hoffenberg). According to Pountain, (1994, p 121) syntactic borrowings from English "do not lead to significant *estar* extension in Spanish, but rather encourage the fuller and more effective use of existing possibilities" (Pountain 2000, 8). Speaking to the notion of innovation as a whole, I believe it may be possible that the variation or extension is inherent to the development of these verbs in the Spanish language. As it is, the verb *estar* has been steadily broadening its meaning since its origination in the language in the 13th century. The same expansion can be seen in the corpus comparison. In this way, the slow expansion of *estar* into the domain of *ser* may be regarded as an internal change that might be accelerated by contact with English.

This paper allows for the dominance of English in Arizona to be understood as an imbalance of power through the lens of linguistic hegemony. Hegemony in this form is relevant to the political and social condition of Arizona in that it may play a significant role in language choice for bilinguals in the state. Another correlate to language choice is the ethnolinguistic vitality of a group. In this paper it has been shown that, despite the lack of institutional support for Mexican immigrants in Arizona, the dense demographics and high status have created an environment which nourishes the choice to speak Spanish, and thus in turn nourishes language maintenance as well.

In my study, I explored the current linguistic hegemony in Arizona in addition to the potential ramifications of the paradigm. In this work, I also investigated the theories behind the distribution of *ser* and *estar,* as well as past

research on the actual usage of the verbs and the change they are undergoing in conditions of language contact. In doing so, I set up a more rigorous standard by which to evaluate the use of the *estar*. The aim of this research was not to generalize about the manner of individual usage and experience in Arizona, but rather to gain a logically generalized outlook toward a theoretical understanding of a similar phenomena.

Future Research:

Future research may build upon this study by employing a greater sample size, with more participants, and greater interview duration. A larger sample size would benefit from more variable education levels as well as more variation in the complexion of the participants. Education levels, additionally, may behave as correlates or even determiners of the nature of the change. As a result, future studies must control for education. Finally, I think it would be valuable to look into the baseline examples of innovation from Carmen Silva-Corvalán's 1986 tokens of innovation in order to assess them by more conservative standards, such as those laid out by Hoffenberg.

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