Tense, Aspect, and Mood in the Spanish of Southern Arizona

by

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Abstract

In this study I analyze the use of the Spanish verbal system in the Heritage Spanish speakers of Southern Arizona across three sociolinguistic generations. By using 15 oral interviews from the Corpus of Spanish in Southern Arizona (CESA), I replicate the study that Silva-Corvalán developed in 1994, which studied the tense, aspect, and mood in Spanish speakers in Los Angeles. Therefore, this investigation aims to contribute to the understanding of the verbal system of Spanish speakers in the Southwest region of the United States in order to determine if there is simplification or loss in their verbal system as well as the triggering factors. The results show that second generation heritage speakers experience loss, and the third generation undergoes simplification due to a lack of use or incomplete acquisition

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List of Abbreviations

Cond	Conditional
Comp	Compound
Fut	Future
HS	Heritage Speakers
I	Interviewer
Imp	Imperfect
Imper	Imperative
Inf	Infinitive
IS	Imperfect Subjunctive
P	Participant
Per	Periphrastic
PerFut	Periphrastic Future
Pres	Present
PresP	Present Participle
Pret	Preterite
PS	Present Subjunctive

1. Introduction

This thesis studies Tense-Aspect-Mood in the verbal system across three generations of Spanish speakers in Southern Arizona. This investigation is a replication and extension of Silva-Corvalán's (1994) seminal work which studied the verbal system of Spanish Heritage speakers in Los Angeles, California. My research is based on data gathered from 15 oral interviews from the Corpus of Spanish of Southern Arizona, CESA (Carvalho, 2012).

The interviewees are *Heritage Speakers* (henceforth, HS) living in Southern Arizona. These speakers are generally defined as individuals who are "early bilinguals (simultaneous or sequential) exposed to the family language at home since birth in a naturalistic setting" (Montrul and Bowles, 2009). These HS, unlike native speakers, usually receive limited exposure and instruction in the heritage language, Spanish, and learn this minority language[1] at home in a society where the majority language[2], English, is spoken around them. As a result, these speakers learn how to speak fluently in Spanish, but they usually attain a lower level of reading and writing (Potowski, 2009).

Minority languages, like Spanish in the United States, undergo various processes, as a result of the unequal linguistic exposure to the target language in comparison to the exposure they receive to the majority language. One of those is *language attrition*[3], which can be defined as the weakening or loss of some linguistic features of the native language that had already been acquired (Bergman, Nota, Sprenger and Schmid, 2016). This process can be due to limited exposure to the

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[1] Minority language is the spoken language by the minority of the population in a certain territory (Thomas and Gathercole, 2007).
[2] Majority language is the most extended and spoken language within a territory (Thomas and Gathercole, 2007).
[3] Language attrition implies that the children acquired some structures of the language that have been lost during his/her life due to the lack of input or use of this structure (Escobar and Potowski, 2015).

native language because of isolation or interference caused by the acquisition of a second language. This situation typically occurs with native speakers, but this does not necessarily mean that HS cannot experience language attrition as well. Other phenomena that can be observed in HS are language loss and simplification. In other words, HS who do not use the minority language regularly, may experience significant simplification of some grammatical forms in the minority language linguistic system, which could gradually lead to a complete loss of such grammatical forms in the minority language.

Previous studies on the Spanish of HS in Southern Arizona have focused on phonetic aspects (Post, 1934; Noriega, 2004; and Casillas, 2012, 2013, among others); and on the situation of language in context such as Dubord (2010, 2011), and language contact such as Christoffersen (2015), Dubord (2014); and Snell(2016), in this community. However, little is known about the grammatical competence of HS or the aspects of syntax and morphology that are acquired during childhood. In addition, little is known about which aspects of the grammar are never acquired, undergo a process of simplification, or experience eventual loss in adulthood. Understanding these aspects can, on the one hand, help us identify linguistic and extralinguistic factors that trigger language simplification and potential loss in the Spanish of HS in Southern Arizona, and on the other, strengthen the heritage language programs by teaching those grammatical aspects that seem more problematic for the 2nd and 3rd generation of speakers.

There are only two studies that have focused on studying morphosyntactic aspects in the grammar of HS. The first one is Silva-Corvalán (1994) who studied Tense-Aspect-Mood in the verbal system of HS of Spanish in Los Angeles. The second are the studies in Montrul (2009, 2012), who investigated the use of syntactic Aspect in the grammar of HS in the Chicago Area. As the reader might have noticed, these studied have targeted the Western and Midwestern areas of

the United States. However, little to no research has focused on studying the verbal system in the Spanish spoken by HS in the Southwestern regions of the United States. This study attempts to fill this gap in the literature by analyzing Tense-Aspect-Mood in the verbal system in the variety of Spanish spoken by HS in Southern Arizona. The results from this study, taken together with the ones in Silva-Corvalán (1994) and Montrul (2009, 2012), will provide a more general picture of the status of HS Spanish spoken in the United States. Additionally, performing an analysis of the verbal system in the Spanish of HS in Southern Arizona across generations will allow us to observe patterns of maintenance, simplification and/or loss in this variety of Spanish.

According to the United States Census, the population in Arizona in 2016 was almost 7 million. More than 1,200,000 people spoke Spanish at home and almost 700,000 of those people could also speak English very well (US Census, 2016). In particular the data show that a total of 42, 000 people between the ages of 20 and 29 years old have Spanish as their first language: 21,000 females and 22,000 males. In comparison, the total for other languages as first languages (German, French, Serbo-Croatian, Italian, Russian, among others) was around 100,000 of the total population at that moment which shows the relevance of Spanish in this area.

This study is organized as follows. In Section 2, I discuss present a literature review, focusing on the historical context and the definition of concepts such as HS and sociolinguistic generations. Section 3 presents a formal description of the Tense, Aspect and Mood in Spanish and an overview of previous studies related to this study. Section 4 presents the research questions and hypotheses that motivate this research. Section 5 explains the methods followed for the data analysis. Section 6 presents the results, while Section 7 discusses the implications of the results in the context of HS Spanish spoken in Arizona. Section 8 examines the limitations of this study and suggests future lines of investigation and Section 9 presents the conclusions.

2. Background

2.1. Historical Overview and census data of Southern Arizona

The history of Arizona is inevitably linked to the Spanish language. This state inherited the language from the Spanish conquerors throughout the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the language has not been maintained over time. According to Dubord (2003) when Arizona became a state of the United States, the use of Spanish was reduced to a tool to learn English. Even though the majority of the population were native speakers of Mexican varieties of Spanish, they accepted that English had to be their new language in order to assimilate into the culture of their new country, the United States.

However, the Mexican who were created the Parochial Schools while they agreed to create English public schools. In the Parochial Schools, education was conducted in Spanish because this elite group did not want to lose their culture, in which language played a leading role. This double system of education was maintained until the late 1800's when the Mexican elite supported the use of English as the only language in education.

The dominant ideology in Arizona defends the importance of supporting English as the only culture and language. Cashman (2005) pointed out that the maintenance of Spanish is only promoted by local culture and political organizations. This contact caused the Spanish language to assimilate cultural and linguistic characteristics from English. Between the 1960's and 1970's, the bilingual education protection was approved to allow Languages Other Than English (LOTEs) to be employed at work and in official documents, however, this situation is being affected by the new policies against LOTEs. Furthermore, from the 2000's a series of laws has been approved to make English thrive over Spanish. The most relevant are: Proposition 203, that forces Spanish

speakers to participate in full English immersion programs at school; the approval in 2004 of applying physical punishment in school for speaking Spanish; and the election of 2006 when English became the official language of Arizona.

2.2. Heritage Speakers

The Spanish language is the most common minority language spoken in the United States (US Census, 2016) and some of the speakers are known as heritage speakers. HS are those speakers from the second or third generation leaving in a bilingual cultural environment and whose parents or grandparents come from a Spanish speaking country. These speakers grow up acquiring the minority language, in this case Spanish, at home and learning English at the same time outside the household (Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinski, 2013; Montrul and Bowles, 2009; Valdés, 2000).

HS have traditionally used English more than Spanish because the former was the language spoken outside the household. At school, the language of instruction was English, and the society has promoted its use in all contexts. HS felt the pressure of learning English as fast as possible in order to become more integrated and accepted in the Anglo culture. As a result, the use of English spread to the majority of social contexts. This predominant use of English is usually reflected in the lexicon of the minority language but can also lead to loss or simplification of the verbal system. This simplification or loss has generally been attributed to the interaction of the majority and the minority languages in the same context (Torres and Potowski, 2009; Silva-Corvalán, 1994) but can also be due to the interaction of the minority language with other varieties of the minority language (Shin and Otheguy, 2013).

2.3. Sociolinguistic generations

HS fluency in English and Spanish depends on the age they had when they first entered the United States, regardless where they have been born and their language-use in their immediate context (Torres and Potowski, 2008). The first researcher to point out the importance of the closest environment (family, friends and near other) and the direct effects on the use of the language was Silva-Corvalán (1994) in her study in Los Angeles (Torres and Potowski, 2008). She established a system that organizes the speakers of the minority language according to the time they had spent in United States and their level of knowledge of the Spanish language. It is important to notice that the distinction of sociolinguistic generations was made in order to represent the amount of time that the speaker had been living in the United States and his/her exposure to both languages, the minority and the majority languages. This classification of the sociolinguistic generations groups speakers from different ages who are part of the same apparent time (Labov, 1972) in sociolinguistics; this in turn will help to assess the variation on the language. Following these principles, Silva-Corvalán grouped speakers in the three sociolinguistic generations described below.

The first generation (G1) corresponds to those speakers who arrived at United States after the age of 11. They completed the first years of education in schools in their native language in their home country and had been exposed to that language in a variety of contexts, formal and informal. These speakers show an extensive command of their native language. The second generation (G2) are the children of the G1 that were born in the United States or (who emigrated from their country or arrived to the US) before the age of six. These speakers acquire their native language at home, but they learn English in their closest environment; which helps preserve the minority language in a context where English is mostly dominant in all areas. The third generation

(G3) was born in the United States, to at least one US-born parent. This generation can learn an L1 different than English at home, but the level of proficiency is lower than that of other generations.

In addition to Silva-Corvalán's (1994) classification, Torres and Potowski (2008) propose a different sociolinguistic generations distinction. The researchers subdivide different categories within the G1 and G3. In G1 there are: G0.5, native Spanish speakers who have been living in United States for less than five years and have learned English as the L2; G1, Spanish speakers who arrived at the age of nine or more and learned English as an L2; and G1.5, Spanish speakers who arrived between the age of six or eight and learned English as an L2. The G3 usually have a stronger knowledge of English than Spanish and are divided into: G3:1, speakers who have one parent from G2 and the other from G1; and G3:2, speakers whose parents are both from G2.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will assume the definitions of sociolinguistic generations presented in Silva-Corvalán's (1994).

3. Theoretical Aspect

3.1. Tense, Aspect and Mood

The verbal conjugations in Spanish are formed by the attachment of morphemes, which encode grammatical information, to the verbal root. The *verbal theme* assembles the verbs in three categories according to their ending in the infinitive form *-ar*, *-er* or *-ir*. This also indicates how each verb should be conjugated. The *person*, shows the relation between the speaker and the person or object that receives the action. The *number* indicates the number of people or objects to which

the verb refers and can be subdivided into two categories, singular or plural. The verbal theme, person and number in the Spanish verbal system are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. *Verbal theme, person and number in the Spanish verbal system*

		-AR Cant**ar** 'To sing'	-ER Beb**er** 'To drink'	-IR Viv**ir** 'To live'
Singular	Yo 'I'	Cant-o	Beb-o	Viv-o
	Tú 'You'	Cant-as	Beb-es	Viv-es
	Él/Ella 'He/She'	Cant-a	Beb-e	Viv-e
Plural	Nosotros 'We'	Cant-amos	Beb-emos	Viv-imos
	Vosotros 'All of you'	Cant-áis	Beb-éis	Viv-ís
	Ellos 'They'	Cant-an	Beb-en	Viv-en

Tense is a category that locates a situation in time and indicates when the action takes place. Tense is considered to be a grammaticalization of time reference, which can be differentiated in two main types: *the absolute time and the relative time*. The former is measured from the speaker's point of view in relation to the timing of the event; and the latter is measured relative to the absolute time of the event (i.e., reference to a point in the past or in the future).

Absolute times are formally separated in three momenta: the *present*, the *past* or *preterite*, and the *future*. The present tense locates an event in the current time. The past tense places an event in the absolute past or a past event relative to the current time. Finally, the future tense is used to describe a situation that has not happened yet but is expected to happen in the future. The distinction between these three momenta is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. *Tense in the Spanish verbal system*

	Present	**Past**	**Future**
-AR Cant**ar** 'To sing'	Cant-o Cant-as Cant-a Cant-amos Cant-áis Cant-an	Cant-é Cant-aste Cant-ó Cant-amos Cant-asteis Cant-aron	Cant-aré Cant-arás Cant-ará Cant-aremos Cant-aréis Cant-arán
-ER Beb**er** 'To drink'	Beb-o Beb-es Beb-e Beb-emos Beb-éis Beb-en	Beb-í Beb-iste Beb-ió Beb-imos Beb-isteis Beb-ieron	Beb-eré Beb-erás Beb-erá Beb-eremos Beb-eréis Beb-erán
-IR Viv**ir** 'To live'	Viv-o Viv-es Viv-e Viv-imos Viv-ís Viv-en	Viv-í Viv-iste Viv-ió Viv-imos Viv-isteis Viv-ieron	Viv-iré Viv-irás Viv-irá Viv-iremos Viv-iréis Viv-irán

In addition, relative times in the future can be expressed by using periphrastic constructions such as the one in (1) below.

(1) Yo **voy   a ir**   al   parque mañana.

   I   going to go-PERFUT to-the park   tomorrow.

   'I am going to go to the park tomorrow'.

Aspect expresses if the speaker perceives the action as something that has been completed, *perfect aspect* (see example (2)) or if it is incomplete, *imperfect aspect* (see example (3)). However, the imperfect can be used to express different meanings "such as intention, progressive, habitual, generic" (Montrul, 2008), which indicate the complexity of this verbal morpheme. The predicate of the sentence usually provides the context to distinguish which aspect is appropriate to use in

each case. Aspect can also be represented through periphrastic constructions, as shown in the example in (3b).

(2) Perfect aspect:

    a. Yo **caminé**   cuatro horas.

     I   walk-PRET.1SG four   hours.

    'I **walked** for four hours'.

    b. Yo **he**   **caminado** cuatro horas.

     I   have-PRES.1SG walked four   hours.

    'I have walked for four hours'.

(3) Imperfect aspect:

    a. Tú   **jugabas**   con la pelota cuando **eras**   pequeño.

    You play-IMP.2SG with the ball   when   be-IMP.2SG little.

    'You **used to play** with the ball when you **were** little'.

    b. Tú   **ibas**   **a jugar** con la pelota todos los días.

    You go-PERIMP.2SG to play   with the ball   every day.

    'You used to play with the ball everyday'.

Moreover, for the past tenses, Vendler (1967) proposed a classification of four scenes where either perfect and imperfect aspect can be used. This is the case of the imperfect and the preterite tenses, which can be used with the following examples of lexical predicates provided by Montrul (2009) (examples (4-7)):

(4) Juan **estuvo/estaba**   enfermo.   STATE

   Juan is-PRET/is-IMP ill.

   'Juan was ill'.

(5) Patricio **trabajó/ trabajaba**   en un banco.   ACTIVITY

   Patricio work-PRET/work-IMP in the bank.

   'Patricio worked in the bank'.

(6) Pedro **pintaba/ pintó**   la pared.   ACCOMPLISHMENT

   Pedro paint-PRET/paint-IMP the wall.

   'Pedro painted the wall'.

(7) Maria **salió/ ? salía**   de vacaciones.   ACHIVEMENT

   Maria go-PRET/go-IMP of vacation.

   'Maria went on vacation'.

(Modified examples from Montrul, 2009:244)

However, when a speaker uses the preterite instead of the imperfect, some contextual information, that the imperfect aspect provides, does not appear. This lack of contextual information, can lead to misinterpretations, as seen in example 7 above. In addition, the imperfect needs an appropriate context in order to be used in an achievement predicate. This is explained in more detail in subsection 3.2.

Last, *Mood* shows the "point of view" of the speaker. There are three moods: *indicative*, where the action is described objectively; *subjunctive*, shows the interpretation that the speaker makes about the action; and *imperative* indicates a command or a plea, as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3. *Mood in the Spanish verbal system*

	Indicative	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
-AR Cant**ar** 'To sing'	Él **cantará** luego 'He **will sing** later'	Espero que **cantes** mañana 'I hope you sing tomorrow'	(Tú) canta 'Sing'
-ER Beb**er** 'To drink'	Él **beberá** luego 'He **will drink** later'	Espero que **bebas** mañana 'I hope you drink tomorrow'	(Tú) bebe 'Drink'
-IR Viv**ir** 'To live'	Él **vivirá** luego 'He **will live** later'	Espero que **vivas** mañana 'I hope you live tomorrow'	(Tú) vive 'Live'

This study focuses on the analysis of the Tense, Aspect and Mood (henceforth, TAM) in the speech of HS, these forms are subject to simplification and/or loss in the verbal system of this population, as shown by Silva-Corvalán (1994) and Montrul (2009). Although it is important to consider the other grammatical features encoded in the morphemes of the verbal system, examining TAM on the verb is enough to identify if there is simplification and/or loss in the verbal system; and determine how the minority language develops through time.

After having introduced the Spanish verbal system, I will now turn to discuss the findings of other TAM-related studies across the United States.

3.2. Previous studies

The speech of HS in the United States has been the target of many different linguistic studies. One of the most relevant investigations is the study of Silva-Corvalán (1994) in Los Angeles, where she examined TAM in the verbal system of 50 HS of Spanish to determine whether there is simplification and/or loss. She observed through the data analysis that simplification occurs in three contexts: (i) the obligatory context, where the syntax of a sentence inflicted by a subordinate clause or by extrasentential material, forces the speaker to use a certain form of the verb; (ii) a

favorable discourse-pragmatic context where the speaker should use a certain tense and; (iii) "optional" contexts that are defined as those where any of the variants involved may occur.

For the classification of her data, Silva-Corvalán developed a system for encoding the verbal production of the participants (see example (8)). According to this system, she created the tables in the Appendix A, where each participant has a symbol that better describes his/her use of every particular form of the Spanish verbal system. This system allows us to appreciate the personal production of the speakers and a panoramic view of the verbal production across generations.

(8) *Symbols in tables of Silva-Corvalán (1994) in Appendix A*

+   stands for a tense form which is used according to the norms of general spoken Spanish

-     indicates that the form is not part of the verbal system underlying the speaker's spontaneous use of Spanish

@   signals that the speaker has used a number of preterites instead of imperfects

x   reflects that the form has failed to occur in a number of obligatory contexts

o   signals that the form has failed to occur in a high number of obligatory contexts and appears to be non-productive

]   indicates that the form occurs in one or a maximum of three different frozen expressions

n   indicates that not pragmatic context for the use of a form has been identified in the data

Her analysis reveals that G2 and G3 are gradually simplifying the Spanish verbal system. These generations generally use one of the two past tenses, imperfect or preterite, i.e., aspect; while minimizing the use of the other. In addition, these speakers use a number of strategies to compensate for the lack of use of certain verbal forms, such as the use of periphrastic constructions. This is the case of *iba* 'would go/was going/went,'which has lost its lexical meaning and is only used as an auxiliary in the construction ir a + INF 'be going to + INF'. The consequence of this

use is that *iba* is simplified to *fue* 'went' and, more frequently, by the Imperfect Past Progressive: *estaba* **cant**-*ando* 'she **was** sing**ing.**' Moreover, there are other changes that contribute to this simplification, as the use of *hacer* "to do/make" as an auxiliary verb that can perform all tenses along with the main verb in Present Participle form, as shown in the example in (9).

(9) Actual use:

Julia y   yo **haremos cocinando** la cena   para todos   esta noche.

Julia and I   cook-FUT   dinner for   everybody tonight.

'Julia and I will cook dinner for everybody tonight'.

Canonical use:

Julia y   yo **cocinaremos** la cena   para todos   esta noche.

Julia and I   cook-FUT   dinner for   everybody tonight.

'Julia and I will cook dinner for everybody tonight'.

The use of periphrastic constructions is a compensatory strategy that speakers use to reduce the cognitive load of having to use a wide variety of verbal forms. In fact, periphrastic constructions allow these speakers to express different moments in time (present, past or future) while at the same time, reducing the number of tenses in the speech (Silva-Corvalán,1994).

In addition, Silva-Corvalán (1994) noticed that the contact with English is not the cause of the loss or simplification of the Spanish tenses. She attributed this loss to a reduction of exposure and use of a complete variety of Spanish, as well as, to interlinguistic, intralinguistic, cognitive complexity and social factors. On the one hand, if a speaker uses structures in Spanish that overlap with English ones, this would be considered a interlinguistic factor. This is shown in the example

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in (10). On the other hand, if a speaker uses a verbal form that does not follow the canonical use of neither Spanish nor English, as shown in the example in (11), this would be considered an intralinguistic factor. Regarding cognitive complexity, HS often tend to use periphrastic constructions because they have lower cognitive load than fully-fledged verbal forms. Last, according to Montrul (2009) the social factors that can contribute to the speakers' use of language are: gender, age, socioeconomic background and education; among others.

(10) [Yo] no estoy tan   joven, [yo] *soy/ tengo 21 años.

    I   am not   that young,   I am/ *have 21 years.

(11) Mi papá   fui   criado aquí también.

    My father be-PRET.1SG raised here too.

    Mi papá   fue   criado aquí también.

    'My father was raised here too'.

Silva-Corvalán's study shows that females belonging to G1 are the ones who show a higher degree of maintenance of the language. Nonetheless, given that in her study the data from the speakers of G2 and G3 are mixed, it is difficult to determine which generation starts the process of simplification.

Another relevant study to the discussion of TAM in the verbal system of HS of Spanish is the one in Montrul (2009). Montrul examines TAM in the Spanish of HS in the Chicago area. She conducts two studies with the same group of participants. In both studies, the group comprises 65 HS raised in Unites States and 23 "fluent native speakers" (Montrul, 2009), between 18 and 30 years old. The HS were born in United States to Mexican parents.

In the first study, she compared the use of imperfect/preterite with diverse predicates. She provided the participants with a series of sentences in which they had to choose how logical or contradictory the sentence was according with the tense used (see examples (12-14)). The participants also had to tell a story orally in order to attest their use of these tenses, i.e., imperfect and preterite, in a spontaneous oral production. In addition, they completed written tasks that required distinguishing between these two tenses for their completion. Her results bring support to Silva-Corvalán's (1994) research, with speakers producing preterite forms more spontaneously and minimizing the production of the imperfect. More specifically, HS with lower proficiency use more present and fewer imperfect forms in cases where the advanced proficiency HS and the native speakers would use imperfect forms. This provides evidence of the simplification of the verbal system in speakers belonging to G2 and G3.

(12) Example with stative predicate:

La clase **era** a las 10:00 pero empezó a las 10:30.   IMPERFECT (logical)

*La clase **fue** a las 10:00 pero empezó a las 10:30.   PRETERITE (contradictory)

The class start-IMP/ *start-PRET at 10:00 but started at 10:30.

'The class started at 10:00 but started at 10:30'.

(13) Example with an accomplishment predicate:

Los González **vendían** la casa, pero nadie la compró.   IMPERFECT (logical)

* Los González **vendieron** la casa, pero nadie la compró.   PRETERITE (contradictory)

The González sell-IMP/ *sell-PRET the house but nobody bought it.

'The González sold the house, but nobody bought it'.

(14) Example with an achievement predicate

Juan **alcanzaba** la cima, pero un fuerte viento se lo impidió.   IMPERFECT (logical)

* Juan **alcanzó** la cima, pero un fuerte viento se lo impidió.   PRETERITE (contradictory)

Juan reach-IMP/ *reach-PRET the summit but a strong wind prevented him from reaching it.

'Juan reached the summit, but a strong wind prevented him from reaching it'.

(Modified examples from Montrul, 2009:249-50)

In the second study, she examined whether participants found a contrast between the use of present indicative and subjunctive in a diversity of subordinate clauses examples (see the examples (15-16)). In this part of the study, Montrul develops the same task as in her first study. The participants had to choose whether the use of indicative or subjunctive was logical or contradictory according to the following premises: the mood was introduced by a relative clause, headed by the adverb "cuando" ('when'), or with the expression "de manera que" ('so that') (see the examples (17-19)).

(15) Es importante que **tengas/ *tienes** cuidado.   SUBJUNTIVE

It is important that you have-SUBJ/*have-IND care.

'It is important that you be careful'.

(16) Creo que **es/*sea** verdad.   INDICATIVE

I believe that it is-IND/*is-SUBJ true.

'I believe it is true'.

(Modified examples from Montrul, 2009:246)

(17) Example with "cuando":

Cada año, Ana se alegra cuando le **aumentan** el sueldo.   INDICATIVE (logical)

* Cada año, Ana se alegra cuando le **aumenten** el sueldo.   SUBJUNTIVE (contradictory)

Every year, Ana becomes happy when her salary is raise-IND/ *raise-SUB

'Every year, Ana becomes happy when her salary is raised'.

(18) Example with relative clauses:

*Necesito un libro de cuentos para niños que **tiene** ilustraciones de Miró, pero no sé si hay uno.

<div align="right">INDICATIVE (contradictory)</div>

Necesito un libro de cuentos para niños que **tenga** ilustraciones de Miró, pero no sé si hay uno.

<div align="right">SUBJUNTIVE (logical)</div>

I need a children's book that *have-IND / have-SUB illustrations by Miró, but I don't know if there is one.

'I need a children's book that has illustrations by Miró, but I don't know if there is one'.

(19) Example with "de manera que":

*El profesor siempre explica ese teorema de manera que todos los estudiantes lo **entienden**, pero unos pocos estudiantes no lo entienden.   INDICATIVE (contradictory)

El profesor siempre explica ese teorema de manera que todos los estudiantes lo **entiendan**, pero unos pocos estudiantes no lo entienden.   SUBJUNTIVE (logical)

The professor always explains that theorem in such a way that all students *understand-IND/ understand-SUB it, but some students don't understand it.

'The professor always explains that theorem in such a way that all students understand it, but some students don't understand it'.

(Modified examples from Montrul, 2009:257-8)

The results show that HS have a very low understanding of the use of mood and its variability in the semantic and pragmatic contexts provided in (15)-(19). The participants used subjunctive where indicative should be used on some written tasks, while avoiding the use of the subjunctive in most cases in other tasks. These results suggest that the participants did not have a clear sense of when to use mood in verbal forms. Montrul (2009) concludes that the subjunctive is being simplified or substituted with other constructions.

Other studies on the HS Spanish of Southern Arizona have focused mostly on phonetic aspects (Casillas, 2012-2013; Noriega, 2004; and Post, 1934). The other line of investigation of this variety of Spanish has focused on the analysis of specific social contexts and its influence on the use of Spanish in society more than analyzing the linguistic factors *per se* (Dubord, 2011; Snell, 2016a-2016b; Christoffersen 2015). To my knowledge, no study has focused on TAM in the verbal system of Spanish HS in Southern Arizona, thus this research will shed light on grammatical aspects pertaining TAM in this variety of Spanish spoken in this region.

4. Research Questions and Hypothesis

The discussion above brings me to the following research questions (henceforth, RQ):

RQ 1. Is there simplification or loss in the verbal system of the Spanish spoken in Southern Arizona?

RQ 1 a. If there is any simplification and/or loss which forms of the verbal system are the most affected?

Hypothesis: In line with previous TAM studies' findings (Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Montrul, 2009), I predict that some degree of simplification and or loss will be observed in the use of the past tenses: preterite and imperfect; where the preterite would be used in almost all contexts that allow it, and the imperfect would be barely used. In addition, I also expect to find that the subjunctive mood will be simplified or replaced by the indicative.

RQ 2. What generation seems to be more affected by simplification or loss?

Hypothesis: According to previous studies, I anticipate that G2 and G3 are more likely to experience greater simplification or loss of TAM morphology on verbal forms.

5. Methodology

5.1. Participants

The selected participants are a total of 15 HS of Spanish, organized in three groups according with the sociolinguistic generations suggested in Silva-Corvalán (1994) (see section 2.3.). Each of these groups are comprised of five participants within the age range of 20-29 years old. These speakers were born and raised in Arizona or have spent most of their adult lives in this state.

For this study, gender will not be considered as a relevant factor because the number of males in the interviews from the CESA corpus is considerably lower than females. The total number of males per generation is: one in G1, two in G2, and zero in G3. All participants have completed or are completing undergraduate studies at the University of Arizona.

5.2. The interviews

All participants and interviews for this study are taken from the Corpus of Southern Arizona (CESA) with permission of the University of Arizona. The data was compiled by the undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in sociolinguistic classes. The interviews have two parts. The first, consisted of a written part that had to be completed by the interviewee and the interviewer with relevant demographic information. The second part is a recorded one-hour spontaneous conversation, where the interviewee did most of the talking. This type of interview is suitable for the purpose of this study because it provides a variety of contexts where speakers can make use of their verbal repertoire in Spanish. Additionally, the interviews included questions related to their individual experiences in their childhood, in their current lives as college students, their plans for the future, and about hypothetical situations that they could have lived in the past or will live in the future. These situational contexts correspondingly require that the interviewees use TAM morphology in verbal forms according to the canonical use of the Spanish verbal system (see section 3).

5.3. Procedure

For analyzing TAM in these conversations, I have followed several steps. First, all the transcriptions of the conversations have been revised, to facilitate the identification and classification of TAM in the verbal forms that appear on the speech of the interviewees. Second, I have calculated the number of canonical uses of TAM over the total number of occurrences of those verbal forms to obtain the average percentages of accuracy. Third, I have coded all the verbal forms according to the symbols used in Silva-Corvalán's study (see example (8), in subsection

3.2.). This provides a general picture of the canonical and non-canonical uses of TAM in the verbal forms of these speakers.

All information is organized in Tables, similar to those found in Silva-Corvalán (1994) (see Table 4 in Appendix A for an example). The adoption of that organizational system would facilitate comparisons of my data quantitatively and qualitatively to that of Silva-Corvalán and Montrul's (2009, 2012), as well as to obtain a global picture of the status of the verbal system of the HS Spanish spoken in Southern Arizona.

6. Results

Based on the data collected from the interviews, we can observe in Figure 1 a summary of the results of the use of the Spanish verbal system in Southern Arizona. This Figure represents only those forms that have been produced by the interviewees. According to the data analysis, HS use nine out of a total of 16 existing tenses in the Spanish verbal system. Thus, the tenses that I will examine in the following paragraphs are: Present, Imperfect, Preterite, Future, Perfect Future, Conditional, Preterite Perfect, Present Subjunctive, and Imperfect Subjunctive. Figure 1 also includes Imperative Mood, the Infinitive, Present Participle, and the Periphrastic Future, due to the prominence of these forms in the speech of the participants.

Figure 1 shows the percentage of the verbal forms that the speakers produced according to the canonical use in the Y-axis. The X-axis includes all the verbal forms that were present in the speech of the interviewees. The information is presented in three colors to represent the three sociolinguistic generations: blue as G1, orange as G2, and grey as G3.

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Figure 1. *Panoramic View of the Produced Tenses in the Interviews*
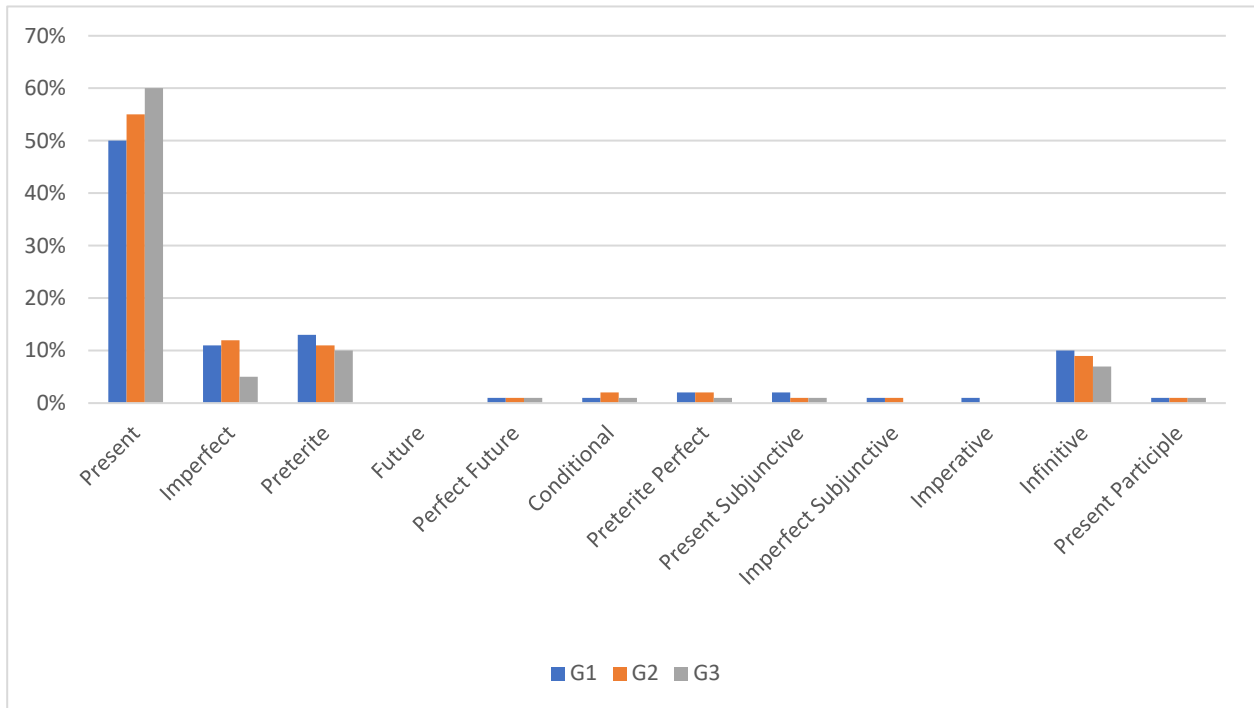
As shown in Figure 1 Present (Pres) is the most used tense across the three generations; increasing its use by 12% between the G1 and the G3. In addition, the Imperfect (Imp) and the Preterite (Pret) tend to be recurring, as it shows percentages which represent between the 6 and 14% of the total production. At same time, the data point to another noteworthy form, the Infinitive (Inf), with a total of 10% in G1 to 7% in G3. As Figure 1 shows, the speakers produce other forms such as Conditional, Present Subjunctive, or Present Participle, although they use them to a lesser extent in comparison with the use of Pres, Pret, Imp, and Inf.

In the following subsections I will discuss the results for tense, aspect and mood separately. In subsection 6.1. I analyze the use of tense, in subsection 6.2. I examine the use of aspect; and in subsection 6.3. the use of mood.

6.1. Tense

The Spanish verbal system has a wide variety of tenses that are used to express time. In the previous section, Figure 1 showed the verbal forms that have been represented in the speech of the interviewees. As it has been mentioned before, the tenses observed in the interviews are only the following nine: Present, Imperfect, Preterite, Future, Perfect Future, Conditional, Preterite Perfect, Present Subjunctive, and Imperfect Subjunctive. Therefore, in this section I analyze the use of these tenses.

The most notable percentage is the one corresponding to the Pres; in G1respresents 55% of the total use of tenses, in G2 increases to 59%, and in G3 reaches the 67% of the total verbal production. This is due to two main situations: (i) the use of Pres in contexts where, according to the canonical use, a different tense should have been used (example 20); (ii) rephrasing the sentence in order to get a context that provides the opportunity of expressing Pres (example 21).

(20) Actual use:

Y   cuando me dijiste **es**   para su   clase y   para un grado *I was like, oh okey*.

And when   you said   be-PRES.3SG for   your class and for   a   grade

Canonical Use:

Y   cuando me dijiste **era**   para su   clase y   para un grado *I was like, oh okey*.

And when   you said   be-IMP.3SG for   your class and for   a   grade

'And when you said that it was for your class and for your grade I was like, oh okey'.

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(21) Actual use:

I: ¿Tú crees que hubieras sido o hubieras querido de otra manera? // P: No. Creo que [pausa]

con tiempo, no **tengo** [pausa] *mistakes* en mi vida, entonces.

'I: Do you think that you would have been or would have loved in a different way? // P: No.

I think that [pause] with time, I do not have-PRES.1SG [pause] mistakes in my life, then.'

Canonical use:

I: ¿Tú crees que hubieras sido o hubieras querido de otra manera? // P: No. Creo que [pausa]

con tiempo, no **hubiera tenido** [pausa] *mistakes* en mi vida, entonces.

'I: Do you think that you would have been or would have loved in a different way? // P: No.

'I think that [pause] with time, I would not have had [pause] mistakes in my life, then.'

This increase of the use of the Pres is also a compensatory strategy for the lack of use of the Present

Subjunctive (PS). Speakers of the G1 know the difference between these two tenses, but speakers

of the G3 the use these tenses interchangeably . This is illustrated in the example in (22).

(22) Actual use:

(Yo) creo   que en mis estudios no hay   nada   que **sirve**   aquí.

(I)   think that in my studies   there be-PRES.3SG nothing that work-PREST.3SG here.

Canonical use:

(Yo) creo   que en mis estudios no hay   nada   que **sirva**   aquí.

(I)   think that in my studies   there be-PRES.3SG nothing that work-PS.3SG here.

'I think that in my studies there is nothing that **work** here'.

There is a remarkable lack of another tense in the speech of the three generations. This is the case of the Future (Fut). Most of the speakers barely use this tense and they express the future with the periphrastic future (PerFut). However, this is not only a matter of HS, on the contrary, the native speakers of Latin America and Spain prefer to use the PerFut instead of Fut in most contexts. De Mirande (1992) studied this phenomenon in Argentina and observed that this reduction of the use of the Fut is a change in progress in that country. Cartagena (1995) indicates this variation as a part of the development of the Spanish language is the natural consequence of its evolution. He mentioned that similar changes had occurred with other Romance languages in the past and thus, this phenomenon is happening now with Spanish. The relevant contrast between the PerFut and the Fut, is illustrated in the examples in (23a) and (23b) respectively.

(23) a. Él **va   a pensar** otra   cosa o él **va   a pensar** como en español.

He going to think   another thing or he going to think   like   in Spanish.

'He is going to think another thing, or he is going to think like in Spanish'.

b. Él **pensará**   otra   cosa o él **pensará**   como en español.

He think-FUT.3SG another thing or he think-FUT.3SG like   in Spanish.

'He will think another thing, or he will think like in Spanish'.

A total of only five participants in the study produces Fut. From those, only participant eight from G2 uses the Fut in nine occasions; the other participants who used this tense (G1-4, G2-6, G2-9, G3-11) did not produce it more than five times. Nevertheless, the expression of future is still possible through the use of the Periphrastic construction. Its use is relevant enough to consider it as a category for Figure 1, since it represents an expression of future and participants from G1 and

G2 use this construction consistently. Figure 2 shows that the periphrastic future prevails over the use of Fut.

Figure 2. *Use of Fut vs. PerFut*
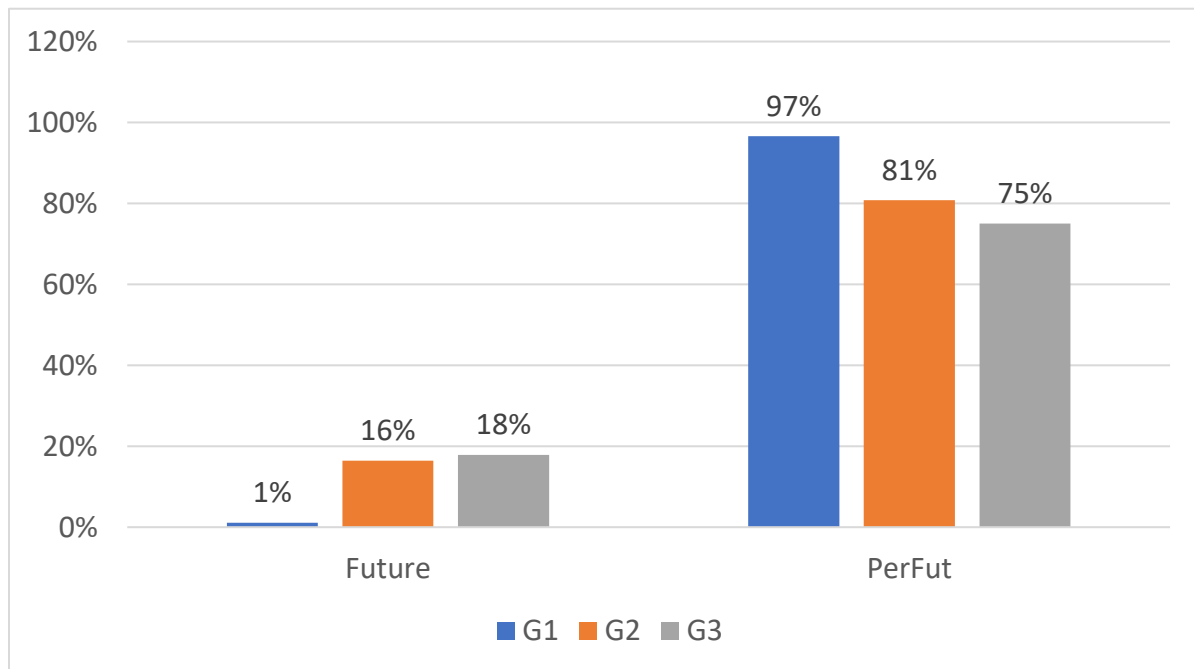
In addition, the Conditional (Cond) is produced in the interviews but only with certain verbs in the first and third person singular. In other words, this tense is used in a number of frozen expressions, such as *me gustaría* 'I would like to', *diría* 'I would say', *sería* 'It would be' (see (24)). This suggests that the Cond has become a discursive marker devoid of any tense information. As a consequence, the Cond tense maintains its use across the generations but with a very low frequency of use (between 1-2%) in comparison with other tenses.

(24) Yo **diría** que para mí como el Día de los Muertos es casi todo el año.

    I say-COND.1SG that for me like the Day of the Dead is almost the entire year.

    'I **would say** that for me like the Day of the Dead is almost the entire year'.

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Similarly, the Present Subjunctive (PS) appears in the three generations in 1 or 2% of the canonically. The last tense under analysis is the Imperfect Subjunctive (IS), which has a presence of 1% in the G1 and the G2. In G3, only participant 12 uses it in a few occasions, as shown in examples in (25) and (26).

(25) Cuando (tú) no   tienes a nadie que te **influya**.

When   you don't have anyone that influence- PS.2SG you.

'When you don't have anyone that influences you'.

(26) (Yo) le di   un dólar   para que (él) se **comprara** unas galletas.

I   gave him a dollar so   that   he buy-IS.3SG some cookies.

'I gave him a dollar, so he could buy some cookies'.

In the non-finite forms, the use of the Inf is the one with the highest percentage of use and maintenance. The G1 shows 10% of usage and the G3 7%; which represents those percentages can be considered substantial in comparison with the 1% of use in the Present Participle (PresP) across the three generations and the absence of the Past Participle (see example (27)).

(27) Actual use:

Y   [yo] puse los subtítulos en español nomás para **practicar**.

And I   put the subtitles in Spanish only for   practice-INF.

'And I   put   the subtitles in Spanish only for   practicing'.

6.2. Aspect

Aspect defines if the action that the verb expresses is complete or incomplete. This aspectual difference is well marked in the past with the use of the Pret and the Imp in the Spanish verbal system. These two tenses have been analyzed in multiple occasions with the aim of establishing if the speakers use them according to the canonical use. In order to point these particularities, Figure 3 shows that the use of Imp decreases in the G3 with regards to the G1, while the use of Pret increases.

Figure 3. *Use of the Pret vs. Imp*
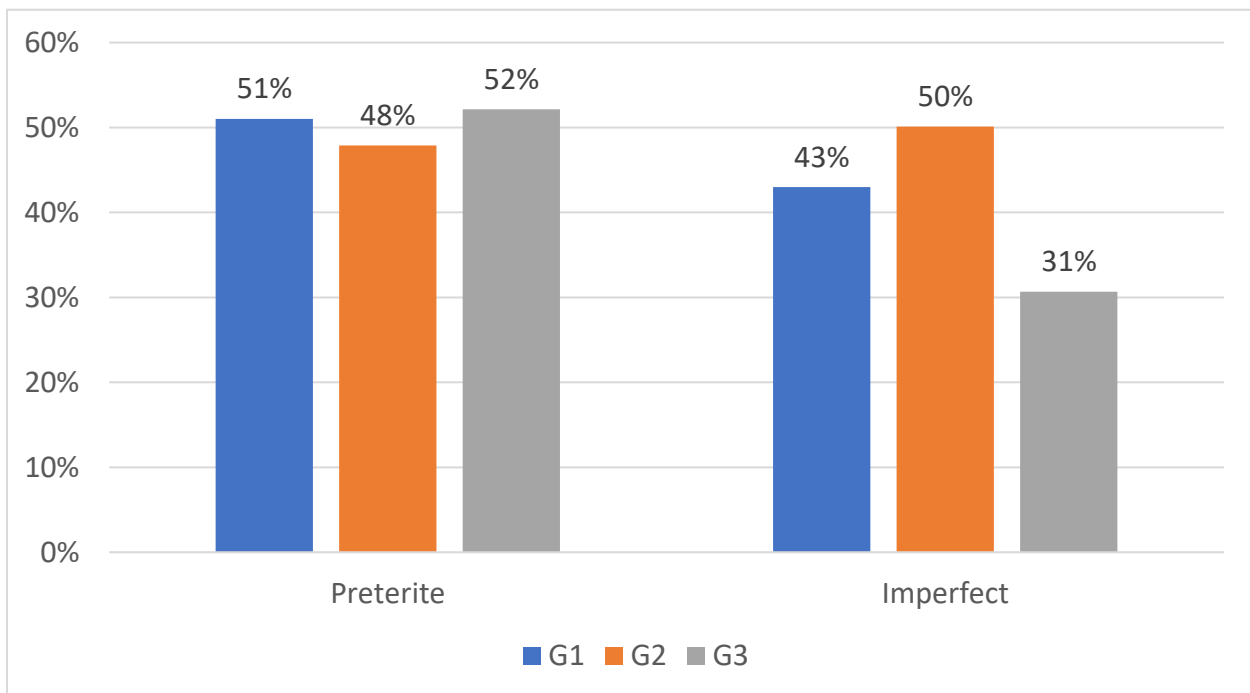
Figure 2 draws the percentage of the canonical uses that the speakers have made of each aspectual form per generation. From the total number of occurrences of these tenses, they produced the Pret more often than the Imp, according with the canonical use. This is due to two main circumstances.

Firstly, the speakers try to avoid the contexts where the Imp is required by paraphrasing (example (28)) or providing an answer without a verb. Secondly, when the speakers use the Imp is mostly in periphrastic constructions of the past (example (29)). That is why in a spontaneous conversation the HS use Pret over Imp even if the context needs the aspectual reference of the Imp. This does not imply a lack of meaning in the conversation because the aspect of the verb is substituted by linguistic factors (i.e. use of periphrastic constructions) and extralinguistic factors (i.e. non-verbal communication).

(28) Actual use:

Con   la   familia de mi mamá (yo) **habló**   español.
With the family of my mum   I   speak-PRET.1SG Spanish.

Canonical use:

Con   la familia de mi mamá (yo) **hablaba**   español.
With the family of my mum   I   speak-IMP.1SG Spanish.

'With the family of my mum I spoke Spanish'.

(29) (Yo) tengo amigos que fueron, yo **estaba**   **trabajando**, como siempre.
I   have friends who went, I   be-IMP PERF.1SG working,   like   always.

'I have friends who went, I was working, like always'.

Furthermore, HS use the Imp preferably with periphrastic constructions with verbs that express movement, for example: íbamos a tomar "we **were going** to drink". While in other contexts, they use Pret.

6.3. Mood

The Spanish verbal system has three moods: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. The indicative mood, as shown in Figure 4, is the most used in the HS Spanish of Southern Arizona. Figure 4 shows that the G3 favors the use of the indicative over other moods, because this is the only mood that shows an increase in percentage of usage in comparison to the other generations. The subjunctive is mostly restricted to the Present Subjunctive (PS) and the Imperfect Subjunctive. This very last tense, the IS, is barely used in conversations. Imperative mood decreases significantly in G2 and G3; the use of subjunctive in these generations is 2.3% and 1.7% respectively, as well as, 0.4% and 0.3% for the Imperative.

Figure 4. *Percentage of use of Indicative, Subjunctive and Imperative moods*
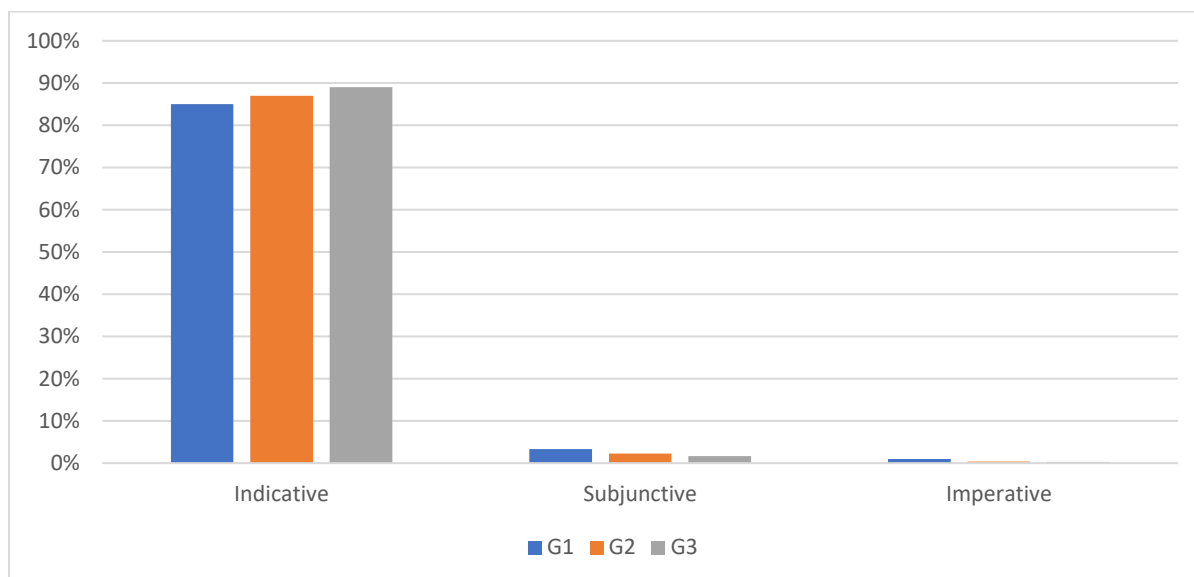
The indicative is generally used to conduct most of the speech. This allows the speaker to avoid the use of other moods. The subjunctive is still used in the PS and IS in G1 and G2, as shown in the examples in (30) and (31). G3 reduce the use of the PS in comparison with G1 and does not use the IS at all. Participant G3-12, who speaks more than the other participants of G3, is the only

one that produces the IS, and 50% of the time its usage differs from the canonical norm. This shows that HS of the third generation are reducing the use of the subjunctive mood.

(30) Yo voy   a ser el   muchacho que   **cuide**   su carro.

 I   going to be the guy   who take-PS.1SG care of his car.

 'I am going to be the guy who take care of his car'.

(31) Que (tú) **estudiaras**   trade school dos años y   que (tú) hicieras   algo   así.

   That you study-IS.2SG trade school two years and that you do-IS.2SG something like this.

    'That you would studied trade school and you would do something like this'.

The Imperative mood shows a lack of use across generations. Although there were not much context that allow to produce this mood. For that reason, imperative is only relevant in G1 and the occurrences of Imp in G2 and G3 did not even represent 1% of the usage. In G1 and G2 the use of Imp is restricted to some verbs such as *haz* "do it" or *cuídate* "take care". The usage of this mood in G3 is even more restricted—only eight instances of this form were observed across all interviews. This suggests that this mood is used as a frozen expression similar to a discourse marker. This is shown in the example in (32).

 (32) **Ponle**,   que desde que (yo) tenía 5 años.

    Put-IMP.2SG, that since that I   had   5 years.

    'Put, that since I had 5 years'.

7. Discussion

In the present section I will address the research questions exposed in section 4 of this study. First, RQ 1 asked the following: Is there simplification or loss in the verbal system of the Spanish spoken in Southern Arizona by HS? And if there is any simplification and/or loss which forms of the verbal system are the most affected?

The data analysis attests that the verbal system has undergone loss because its reduction to nine tenses in G3. These reduction results on the lack of use of the Subjunctive and Imperative moods and, at the same time, the use of Pres as a substitute for the majority of tenses.

This lack of use, however, does not imply that the participants do not acknowledge the Subjunctive or Imperative mood. On the contrary, speakers demonstrate the use of Subjective tenses such as PS but they do not recognize in which contexts they have to use Indicative or Subjunctive. This is clearer when the speaker does not use Subjunctive in contexts where he/she should use it. As a result, the PS has decreased its use and it is not a part of the spontaneous of language production of these speakers. This shows that the speakers can avoid the loss of meaning produced by a verb that does not follow the canonical use, by adding more context to the sentence in the discourse. However, sometimes this absence of meaning that should have been given by the verb is noticeable during the conversation.

Therefore, the reduction of aspectual forms does not seem to have a great impact on communication. The speakers are capable of conveying the desired meaning to the discourse, in spite of the non-canonical use of aspect. There are some contexts when the conversation is not clear, or the speaker needs to use English to provide meaning to his/her utterances. All interviews were developed in Spanish but both, the interviewer and the interviewee, could speak English.

This is relevant mostly in the G3 where participants rely more on the use of English during the interview. If there is something they cannot express in Spanish or they feel insecure about, they develop different strategies such as making a pause and rephrasing, repeating the question, avoiding the use of the verb, or introducing English words or structures. Sometimes, the use periphrastic constructions help reduce this lack of meaning. The usage of these forms is more productive in the past and the future than in the present. The periphrastic forms of the past are either constructed with Imp or Pret as the auxiliary verb. This suggests that these speakers have some residual knowledge of the aspectual differences between Pret constructions and Imp constructions. Moreover, the periphrastic constructions of the future are substituting the Fut tense; which indicates a change in progress given that this is a phenomenon that is observed in the speech of HS as well as many other Spanish speakers across the globe. I consider these facts—taken together with the usage of mood in G2 and G3—indicative of simplification in the verbal forms in these generations.

The loss and simplification of verbal forms can be better appreciated in the Table 5 in Appendix B (not included here for reasons of space). This table, shows the reduction of the entire Spanish verbal system across generations. The symbol "-" indicates that the form is not a part of the spontaneous production of the speaker. Thereby, the speakers of G3 present a reduction in almost all forms with only four exceptions: the Pres, the Imp, the Pret, and the Inf. In addition, the Cond appears with "]" symbol in some speakers; which means that this tense is used as a discursive marker and only in certain frozen expressions. There are also a couple of particularities in participant three and participant 14. In participant three's speech there is no pragmatic context where the ImpS can be produced. Moreover, participant 14 shows that the Imp has failed to occur in more than five obligatory contexts in the discourse.

RQ 2 asked: What generation seems to be more affected by simplification or loss? Results that G2 and G3 seem to be the generations that are being more affected by simplification and loss. In addition, the demographic data as well as the conversations during the interviews allow me to conclude that this loss across generations is due to incomplete acquisition. During the interviews, participants form the G3 reported not having received any education in Spanish in their childhood.

Finally, extra-linguistic factors, such as speakers' attitudes towards their Spanish also play an important role in understanding the situation of Spanish in Southern Arizona. During the interviews, some speakers of the G3 manifested being more insecure when they produce verbs rather than other parts of the speech. They indeed talk about this in the interviews because they feel that the interviewer will understand what they say; even if they misplace a word or mispronounce something. However, they perceive the confusion in the verbal system as an important cause for misunderstandings.

8. Limitations and Future Research

In search of new perspectives, I would like to address the limitations and restrictions of this investigation. There are some extralinguistic factors that have been considered by Silva-Corvalán (1994) and Montrul (2009) that could not be taken into consideration in this study. During the selection process of the interviews, I noticed that it would not be possible to make a distinction according to gender because there were not enough male participants in the interviews of the corpus.

Additionally, this study focuses on a very specific age-range and educational level, hence it cannot specify whether the simplification and loss reported in this study is equal in speakers with different level of education or different age. Future investigations on the HS Spanish of Southern

Arizona should focus on the impact of extralinguistic factors such as age, gender, or socioeconomical background, among others.

Finally, in this study I have noticed that HS switch between English and Spanish in their discourse. Therefore, I consider that it would be relevant to research the role of codeswitching for maintenance of the minority language.

9. Conclusions

This study has analyzed tense, aspect, and mood in the Spanish of HS in Southern Arizona belonging to three different sociolinguistic generations. Following the methodology outlined in Silva-Corvalán's (1994) study in Los Angeles, I report on data gathered from 15 oral interviews taken from the Corpus of Spanish of Southern Arizona, CESA (Carvalho, 2012). Analysis of the data draws the following conclusions.

First, we can observe both, simplification and loss in the Spanish of speakers from the second and third generations. Loss can be attested by the fact that the Spanish verbal system is being restricted to the use of nine tenses. Simplification becomes more prominent when we examine aspect and mood and can be observed by: (i) the reduction of the Subjunctive into two tenses, PS and IS; (ii) the use of Imperative as a discursive marker in G2 and G3; (iii) the increase of the usage of present tense in contexts where other tenses should be used; and (iv) the use of periphrastic forms to convey aspectual information.

Second, the demographic data as well as the conversations during the interviews allow me to conclude that the loss from generation to generation reported in this study is due to incomplete acquisition, given that most of the participants from G3 reported not having received any education in Spanish during their childhood.

In conclusion, this study contributes to draw a more general picture of the status of the Spanish spoken by HS in the United States, by having analyzed the Spanish verbal system of Southern Arizona.

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Appendix A

Table 4. *Stages of Loss of Tense-Aspect-Mood Morphemes from Silva-Corvalán (1994)*

Group 1 n = 12

	E1	S2	E12	P15	A9	L3	J16	R11	J14	M6	F5	M8
Inf	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PresP	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PastP	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PerFut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pret	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Imp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Imper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n	+	+
PS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PresPerf	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
IS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cond-FutRef	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cond-PastRef	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−
Pluperf	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PluS	+	+	x	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Perf Inf	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
Fut-PresRef	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
Fut-FutRef	+	+	+	+	o	o	−	o	−	o	o	−
PPS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	x	+	−	n	n

Group 2 n = 12

	E30	M26	B27	L28	L19	A29	A20	R17	H22	V21	E18	M25
Inf	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PresP	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PastP	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pres	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PerFut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pret	+	+	+	+	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Imp	+	+	+	+	+	+	@	@	@	+	@	@
Imper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n	+	o	+	+
PS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	x	o	o	+
PresPerf	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
IS	+	+	+	+	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	o
Cond-FutRef	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	−	−	o
Cond-PastRef	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
Pluperf	+	+	+	+	x	−	x	+	+	−	−	−
PluS	+	+	+	+	x	+	x	−	−	−	o	−
Perf Inf	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−

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Tense–Mood–Aspect Across the Continuum

TABLE 2.2 (cont.)

Group 2

	E30	M26	B27	L28	L19	A29	A20	R17	H22	V21	E18	M25
Fut-PresRef	+	+	−	−	−	]	−	−	−	−	−	−
Fut-FutRef	]	−	−	−	−	−	−	o	]	−	−	−
PPS	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	n	−	n	n	n
Cond Perf	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Group 3[a] n=16

	R35	A37	B33	A34	R50	R49	M47	H48	S38	D39	J43	M41	D36	A46	R42	N40
Inf	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PresP	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
PastP	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
PI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	x	+	+	+	+	+	+
PerFut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
Pret	x	+	*	+	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	x	*
Imp	+	+	x	+	x	@	o	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	+
Imper	+	+	+	n	+	+	+	+	o	+	−	+	o	]	−	n
PS	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	−	o	o	x	x	o	]	o	−
PresPerf	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	−	o	+	x	+	−	n	−	n
IS	+	o	+	+	x	+	o	−	−	−	x	−	−	−	−	−
Cond-FutRef	o	o	−	−	o	o	+	−	−	o	o	−	−	−	−	−
Cond-PastRef	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Pluperf	−	o	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	o	x	−	−	−	o	n
PluS	o	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	n	n	−	n	n	n	n
Perf Inf	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	n	n	n	n	n	n
Fut-PresRef	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Fut-FutRef	+	+	−	−	]	−	−	−	]	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
PPS	+	−	−	−	−	n	n	n	−	−	n	n	n	n	n	n
Cond Perf	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	n	n	n	n	n	n

[a] Italics indicate speakers in special Group 3.

Appendix B

Table 5. *Stages of Loss of Tense-Aspect-Mood Morphemes in Spanish of Southern Arizona*

	G1						G2						G3				
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5		P6	P7	P8	P9	P10		P11	P12	P13	P14	P15
Pres	+	+	+	+	+	Pres	+	+	+	+	+	Pres	+	+	+	+	+
Imp	+	+	+	+	+	Imp	+	+	+	+	+	Imp	+	+	+	x	+
Pret	+	+	+	+	+	Pret	+	+	+	+	+	Pret	+	+	+	+	+
Fut	-	-	-	-	-	Fut	-	-	+	-	-	Fut	+	-	-	-	-
PerFut	+	+	+	+	+	PerFut	+	+	+	+	+	PerFut	+	-	-	-	+
Cond	]	+	+	+	+	Cond	+	-	+	]	+	Cond	]	+	-	-	-
PretPerfComp	+	+	+	+	+	PretPerfComp	+	-	+	+	+	PretPerfComp	+	+	-	-	+
Plusperf	+	+	+	+	+	Plusperf	-	-	-	+	-	Plusperf	-	-	-	-	-
"Anterior"	-	-	-	-	-	"Anterior"	-	-	-	-	-	"Anterior"	-	-	-	-	-
PerfFut	-	-	-	-	-	PerfFut	-	-	-	-	-	PerfFut	-	-	-	-	-
CondPerf	-	-	-	-	-	CondPerf	-	-	-	-	-	CondPerf	-	-	-	-	-
PS	+	+	+	+	+	PS	+	-	+	+	+	PS	+	+	-	-	+
PretS	-	-	-	-	-	PretS	-	-	-	-	-	PretS	-	-	-	-	-
ImpS	+	+	N	+	+	ImpS	+	-	+	+	-	ImpS	-	+	-	-	-
FutS	-	-	-	-	-	FutS	-	-	-	-	-	FutS	-	-	-	-	-
PluS	-	-	-	-	-	PluS	-	-	-	-	-	PluS	-	-	-	-	-
FutPerfS	-	-	-	-	-	FutPerfS	-	-	-	-	-	FutPerfS	-	-	-	-	-
Imper	+	+	+	+	+	Imper	-	-	+	+	+	Imper	-	+	-	-	-
Inf	+	+	+	+	+	Inf	+	+	+	+	+	Inf	+	+	+	+	+
PresP	+	+	+	+	+	PresP	+	+	+	-	+	PresP	-	-	-	+	-