

**THE USE OF THE PRETERITE AND THE PRESENT PERFECT IN THE SPANISH OF
LIMA**

by

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, Hispanic Languages and Literatures

University of Pittsburgh

2006

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
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University of Pittsburgh, 2006

This is a study of the use of the present perfect and the preterite in the Spanish of Lima, Peru. It explores whether specific linguistic factors, such as situation type, temporal adverbials and type of speech, as well as social factors, such as age, gender and social stratum have an effect on the use of these verb forms. It also aims to find out whether the frequency of the preterite is increasing or not through time, and whether there is evidence of a change in progress. The study also discusses the extent to which the distribution of the preterite and the present perfect in the Limeño variety reflects a process of dialect and language contact. This is an experimental study that uses a questionnaire as a data-collecting instrument, created with the purpose of comparing the same linguistic context and tense choice. This study involves sixty-four participants, all of them Limeño Spanish monolinguals. Results show a significant effect of the linguistic factors on the selection of the preterite and the present perfect, as well as of their interactions with social factors. They also give evidence of different patterns of tense choice according to social strata, which seem to be linked to language contact. Results also provide evidence of the interface between lexical properties and the grammatical categories of external aspect and tense, thus giving information about how the language components interact, and indirectly supporting a modular approach to the study of language.

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PREFACE

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank many people that in different ways helped in the completion of this dissertation. First, I would like to thank my advisor Pascual J. Masullo for his theoretical insights and support during my doctoral studies. I am very grateful to Pascual for his comments, corrections and advising. I also want to express my gratitude to the other members of my committee. I would like to thank Scott Kiesling for carefully reading my dissertation proposal and for his helpful suggestions on the methodology and the theoretical framework. I want to thank Christina Bratt Paulston for her encouragement, patience, support and carefulness during the different stages of my dissertation, and over the years I spent at the University of Pittsburgh. My thanks also go to Bruce Stiehm for his willingness to help me and for his comments.

I am deeply grateful to Elaine Rubinstein for her help with the statistical analysis. Elaine has kindly and patiently helped me since the beginning of this research with the exploratory study and with the dissertation data. I am also indebted to Deborah Truhan for her support in finishing my dissertation and for helping me to obtain the financial aid that I needed to complete my Ph.D. I want to thank Janine Carlock for her work with the editing of the first drafts and especially to Maeve Eberhardt for editing of the final version. I want also to thank Rob Mucklo for translating the questionnaire and most of the examples cited in this study.

My family and my husband have a special place in the dissertation. Without their love I would not have been able to finish it. My mother Elva, my sister Alina and my brother Quique have supported me throughout all these years. I would like to thank German for his love and support during this journey. His friendship and affection helped to withstand the hardest times and made me more fully enjoy the best moments.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this study, I investigate the different facets involved in the usage of the preterite and the present perfect of the Spanish of Lima, Peru.

The first chapter of this study is devoted to introducing the theoretical framework. It is divided into two parts: one presents the diachronic perspective of the use of the mentioned tenses, and the other presents the synchronic perspective of this use. The diachronic section summarizes the theories about the formation of Latin American Spanish with specific attention paid to the process of koinézation in Iberian and Latin American Spanish. The synchronic section summarizes the grammatical, sociolinguistic and dialectological issues involved in the usage of the preterite and the present perfect. First, in the synchronic section I discuss issues of tense, aspect, reported speech and temporal adverbials, and I introduce the debate on syntactic variation, language change and social variables. Additionally, I give an overview of the use of the preterite and present perfect across Spanish varieties, and present the findings of my exploratory study of Limeño Spanish. Finally, I state the research questions and hypotheses of the main study.

The second chapter introduces the methodology used in this research. It describes the participant's characteristics, the organization of the data collection instrument and the type of analysis. The third chapter analyzes the results of the frequencies obtained from the application of the data collection instrument. It is divided into three main parts: 1) the analysis of tokens in

contexts with temporal adverbials which trigger present perfect forms, 2) the analysis of tokens in contexts with temporal adverbials which trigger preterite forms, and 3) the analysis of tokens in contexts without temporal adverbials. The fourth chapter discusses the results of the logistic regression analysis in two sections. The first section is devoted to the analysis of the linguistic variables, while the second focuses on the analysis of the social variables. The fifth chapter analyzes some results in relation to the varieties which the participants were exposed to and explores some explanations in terms of dialect and language contact. Finally, the last chapter summarizes the conclusions of this study and provides implications and directions for future research.

2.0 CHAPTER I: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will present an overview of three main issues. It begins with a description of the use of the preterite and the present perfect through time, followed by a discussion of the formation of Latin American Spanish, and finally presents the theory of koinéization in Iberian and Latin American Spanish.

2.1 DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

The contrastive use of the present perfect *he trabajado* ('I have worked') and the preterite *trabajé* ('I worked') varies in different regions of the Spanish-speaking world. While this grammatical opposition is still valid in the Spanish dialects, over the years a considerable difference has developed in the frequency and semantic scope of use between Peninsular Spanish and the Spanish spoken in the Hispanic American countries (Cfr. RAE, 1973, p.466; Kany, 1976; Westmoreland, 1988).

For the Peninsular Spanish dialects, the distribution of frequencies of the preterite and the present perfect is similar, with the exception of Galicia and Asturias, with a marked preference for *trabajé* at the expense of *he trabajado* being exhibited (Piñero, 2000, p 45). In fact, in Peninsular Spanish the tendency is to use the preterite for situations completed in the past and not related to the present, whereas the present perfect is used to refer to situations completed in

the past, but closely related to the present. In the American Spanish dialects, there is also evidence of a predominant use of the preterite over the present perfect, at least in the spoken language (Westmoreland, 1988, p.384). In Latin American Spanish this distinction is often neutralized, and both tenses are used to refer to completed events that are close to or far from the present. In this study I aim to explore whether there is overlap between the preterite and the present perfect, and if so, whether such a finding could be explained in terms of an ongoing redistribution of functions for the tenses under discussion.

2.1.1 The Preterite and the Present Perfect through Time

A topic of great interest in historical Romance linguistics is the changes in the relationship between preterite and present perfect. What scholars in this area have found particularly striking is the instability of the present perfect throughout the Romance languages.

In Standard Spanish, what is expected is the use of the preterite with events and adverbs related to events that occurred far from the moment of speaking, and the use of the present perfect with events and adverbs related to events that occurred near to the moment of speech. However, what is occurring in Limeño Spanish is an apparent indistinctness of this opposition as, for example, in (a) ‘Hoy visité a mi madre’ (*Today I visited my mother*) instead of (b) ‘Hoy he visitado a mi madre’ (*Today I have visited my mother*), and (c) ‘Hace dos años he venido a vivir aquí’ (*I have come to live here two years ago*) instead of (d) ‘Hace dos vine a vivir aquí’ (*I came to live here two years ago*). It seems that (a) and (b) on one hand, and (c) and (d) on the other, are used without distinction and that in certain contexts the preterite and the present perfect are interchangeable.

The ‘present perfect’ and the ‘preterite’ are two semantic-syntactic categories based mainly on time and aspect. The key distinction is that the ‘present perfect’ is a category used to refer to a situation located in the past which includes the present or is still relevant at the speech time, whereas the ‘preterite’ is a category used to refer to a completed past event that has no present relevance (Harris, 1982, p. 43).

The preterite and the present perfect originated in Classical Latin. In Classical Latin (CL) there was a three way opposition: FECI ‘perfect’, FECERO ‘future perfect’ and FECERAM ‘pluperfect’. FECI had two values: preterite and present perfect. With the development of Vulgar Latin (VL) a new form entered the indicative verbal system, the HABEO FACTUM. This new paradigm began a process of grammaticalization, enabling an expression of both an aspectual and a temporal value (Harris, 1982, p. 46-47).

Harris (1982) examines contemporary Romance languages and distinguishes four synchronic patterns for the use of the two categories. They correspond to different stages of the ‘preterite’ and the ‘present perfect’ in the Romance Languages:

- i. The first pattern is the common starting point where the ‘preterite’ (FECI) serves primarily to mark the present relevance of an event which took place, began to take place or failed to take place in the past and the ‘present perfect’ (HABEO FACTUM) remains restricted to present states resulting from past actions but is not used to describe past situations or recent past situations (Harris 1982: 49). The latter corresponds to Comrie’s perfect of result that refers to a situation that is the result of a past action (Comrie 1976: 56). Examples of this pattern are found in the Calabrian and Sicilian dialects of Italian.
- ii. In the second pattern, the ‘preterite’ (FECI) refers to past events, including recent past events and events occurring at a period of time still in progress. In contrast, the ‘present

perfect' (HABEO FACTUM) begins to have present relevance in specific contexts, but is restricted to recent past or persistent past with a durative or iterative aspect (Harris, 1982, p. 49). It corresponds to Comrie's perfect of persistent situation, which describes 'a situation that started in the past but continues (persists) into the present' (Comrie, 1976, p. 60). Examples of this pattern can be found in Galician, Portuguese and many varieties of South American Spanish (Harris, 1982, p. 49).

- iii. In the third pattern, the 'preterite' (FECI) is restricted to its aforementioned functions and the present perfect (HABEO FACTUM) assumes the traditional 'present perfect' value of past action with present relevance. According to Harris (1982), the Spanish varieties of Northern Spain belong to this type (Aragón, Navarra). Also, Escobar (1997, p. 860) argues that the Andean varieties of Peru, which are in contact with Quechua, are also at this stage.
- iv. In the fourth pattern, the semantic contrast between the 'preterite' (FECI) and the 'present perfect' (HABEO FACTUM) disappears. The preterite is restricted to formal registers and the present perfect is used for functions of the preterite and perfective (Harris, 1982, p. 50). In this stage are Standard French, Northern Italian and standard Rumanian).

These observed patterns of the current use of the two tenses in different Spanish varieties leads us to formulate several questions regarding the use of these forms in Limeño Spanish. Is the present perfect of the Limeño variety following the process observed for other Romance languages? Are there contexts of overlap between preterite and present perfect in Limeño Spanish? To which of the patterns described above does the variety of Lima correspond? If there is more than one pattern found in the Spanish of Lima, is one of them the possible use in which overlap between preterite and present perfect occurs? If the Spanish of Lima presents

overlapping, could it be explained in terms of the theory of koinéization in Latin American Spanish? These are questions to which I will return later, when I discuss aspect and tense in the preterite and the present perfect in the Spanish of Lima. In the following chapters, I first summarize the results of a previous study on the same topic, and then analyze the findings of the present research with respect to the issue.

2.1.2 About the Formation of Latin American Spanish

There are basically four positions with regard to the formation of South and Mesoamerican Spanish (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992). The first position maintains that the peculiarities of Latin American Spanish are due to the influence of the Amerindian substrate (Lenz, 1940). The second position states that the American dialects are result of the large number of Andalusian settlers in America, due to the many linguistic features that the dialect shares with the Spanish currently spoken in Latin America (Lapesa, 1956; Catalán, 1956; Menendez Pidal, 1962). The third position claims that there was a parallel development of the Andalusian and American dialects independent of the peninsular dialects and the indigenous languages (Henriquez Ureña, 1925; Alonso, 1953). The last position supports the idea of the origin of the South and Mesoamerican Spanish as a result of a process of koinéization¹ (Lapesa, 1986; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992). I consider that this last perspective better explains the development of Latin American Spanish and, in particular, the variety of Limeño Spanish that I have undertaken in the current study.

¹ (...) a koiné is the stabilized result of mixing of linguistic subsystems such as regional or literary dialects. It usually serves as a lingua franca among speakers of the different contributing varieties and is characterized by a mixture of features of these varieties and most often by reduction or simplification in comparison. (...) the terms “koinéizing” and “koinéization” (...) refer to a dynamic process, usually of dialect leveling and mixing, of which the formation of a stabilized koiné may be one stage (Siegel, 1985, pp. 363-364).

In the last decade, there has been an ongoing debate on the formation of Latin American Spanish in light of this theoretical perspective, with several different perspectives on the origin of Latin American Spanish. De Granda (1994) proposes two stages in the formation of the Spanish spoken in the Americas. The first stage is characterized as successive linguistic accommodation among the Spaniard colonizers and conquerors whose speech corresponded to different diastratic and diatopic varieties. In this stage their Spanish underwent processes of leveling and simplification, and progressively converged in a Spanish koiné. After this period, the process of standardization began, due to the influence of prestigious varieties established by civil and religious authorities. In fact, Granda claims that the Toledan and courtly varieties of Spanish served as a linguistic model in most of the American territories under Spanish sovereignty. Granda labels this period as having undergone a *monocentric standardizer process*, because the process had its source in government and administrative centers. From his point of view, the period of koinéization was a process which involved a change from below, while the monocentric period involved a change from above.

Granda believes that during the Colonial period, there were two basic linguistic mechanisms that played a role in the formation of the koineized Spanish: leveling and simplification. According to Granda, the process of leveling caused the adoption of the linguistic elements that were frequent on the new continent. When leveling did not happen, the mechanism of simplification prevailed. In the formation of the Latin American Spanish, he observes that the simplifier mechanism overcame the leveler mechanism. I will return to these observations on Latin American Spanish in a later section, because they constitute evidence that support my interpretation of the results obtained in the present study.

Penny (2000) also supports the hypothesis of koinéization in the formation of the colonial dialects of Latin American Spanish. He points out the role of dialect mixing in this process and the relative homogeneity in American Spanish compared to Peninsular Spanish (p. 137-38). Moreover, he observes that the former possesses linguistic forms from different regions of Spain, which supports the theory of dialect contact. He also maintains that the prevalence of Andalusian features in America can be accounted for in terms of demographic traits of its colonization, and the process of leveling or koinéization (p. 156-157).

A somewhat different viewpoint is proposed by Rivarola (2000). He claims that heterogeneity was more relevant than homogeneity in the early years of formation of Latin American Spanish, diminishing in some way the role of the koiné during this period. From his point of view, there was no uniform diffusion of the linguistic features during the formation of the American varieties; rather, depending on the regional and historical circumstances, in some places some features were successful and thus spread, while in other places they did not. Rivarola suggests, for example, that the Panamerican *seseo* (neutralization of the phonological opposition contrast between /s/ and /ʎ/) diffused throughout Latin America because it was a phenomenon which already extended both socially and geographically in Southern Spain, and was consequently less susceptible to stigmatization (p.56).

In the dialects of America it is also possible to observe some processes of simplification, both at the morphological and at the phonological level. Some examples at the phonological level are the *seseo* -the neutralization of the distinction /s/ and /θ/, the *yeísmo* –the neutralization of the distinction between /y/ and /ʎ/, the aspiration and lenition of post-syllabic /-s/, the lenition of the phonologic distinction between /-R/ and /-L/, and the loss of the distinction between *ustedes* (You/2Ppl.) and *vosotros* (You/1Ppl.) in the pronominal system (Fontanella de

Weinberg, 1992, p. 273; De Granda, 1994, p. 68). The distinction between the present perfect (*he cantado* ‘I have sung’) and the preterite (*canté* ‘I sang’) seems to be neutralizing too, at least in some contexts. Frequent overlaps seem to occur where they appear, which could make this distinction unnecessary. Since one of the aims of this study is to determine in which contexts the two tenses overlap, I will return to this topic later.

2.1.3 Dialect Contact and Koinéization in Iberian and Latin American Spanish

I have mentioned above that the history of Spanish involves language contact and dialect contact. In this study I mainly focus on the latter, due to the fact that my study only takes into account monolingual Spanish, with a smaller discussion on what possible factors related to language contact could be considered in future research on this variety.

In the last few years it has been recognized that the interaction between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties of a language leads to a process of *accommodation* (Trudgill, 1986). In this process “every speaker adjusts his or her speech (by selection of certain items rather than others) to the speech of the person or persons he or she is talking with” (Penny, 2000, p. 39). This process of adjustment can occur over a short period or one that is longer. Moreover, it is possible for a short-term adjustment to become a long-term adjustment over years of sustained contact. As a result of this process of accommodation in face to face interaction, speakers of different varieties sometimes adopt some features, which in turn spread and subsequently used by individuals who have never before used those features.

This process enables us to understand the changes that Spanish has undergone. Penny (2000) asserts that this process probably occurred in Medieval Castile, in Andalusia, in colonial America and in the cities from which the Spanish Jews emigrated. He claims that “permanent

adjustment resulting from dialect contact is particularly relevant to Spanish, since from at least the tenth century there has been constant mixing, in the Peninsula and in America, of speakers of mutually comprehensible varieties of Hispano-Romance, followed (one presumes) by the emergence of new dialects” (2000, p. 40).

The presence of diverse varieties of the same language in one place and the mixing of them over a long period of time may result in a stabilized situation, with the final result being the formation of a new dialect. This process has been described by Trudgill as ‘*koinéization*’ (1986).

According to Trudgill, *koinéization*:

(...) consists of the leveling out of minority and otherwise marked speech forms, and of simplifications, which involves, crucially, a reduction in irregularities (...). The result of the focusing associated with *koinéization* is a historically mixed but synchronically stable dialect which contains elements from the different dialects that went into the mixture, as well as interdialect forms that were present in none (p. 107-108).

From his point of view, then, the process of *koinéization* refers basically to the combination of two processes: levelling and simplification (p. 106), both of which are consequences of dialect mixing. In the process of levelling, the majority linguistic forms spread and the minority linguistic forms, which are socially and linguistically marked, are lost (Trudgill, 2004, p. 23). Simplification, on the other hand, is the reduction of irregularities, by which the simpler forms survive (Trudgill, 1986, pp. 107,126).

In trying to clarify the process of *koinéization*, Siegel (1987) makes a distinction between ‘dialect levelling’ and ‘dialect mixing’. For ‘dialect levelling’, he refers to a process of elimination of particular features of different dialects. In this case “the original dialects in contact remain and become more like one another” (1987, p. 187). In contrast, with the expression “dialect mixing” he alludes to a process of amalgamation of regional varieties of the same language. In this situation, “a new compromise dialect may emerge which is used as a lingua

franca among speakers of the original varieties” (1987, p.187). He additionally assumes that koinéization involves dialect mixing and thus restricts this term to the result of contact among linguistic subsystems. As time passes, a process of focusing takes place, in which the dialect which originated from a process of koinéization becomes more homogeneous, acquiring a distinct identity and resulting in the formation of a new dialect. Thus, the process of koinéization is characterized by the convergence of different varieties of the same language, a reduction and simplification of linguistic features, the use of the new variety, the emergence of native speakers and the subsequent standardization of the system.

2.2 SYNCHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

I have divided this section into two main parts: one related to grammatical issues, and the other to sociolinguistic issues. First, I summarize existing theories on aspect and tense, direct and indirect speech, and adverb licensing, with specific attention paid to the preterite and the present perfect. Second, I present the variationist debate about apparent and real time and related social variables. Within this section I present a succinct summary of language contact for a more complete view of the situation in which Peruvian Spanish developed.

2.2.1 The Preterite and the Present Perfect: Grammatical Issues

In general, the preterite and the present perfect are considered to be temporally restricted to the past (Comrie, 1985; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994; Escobar, 1997), diachronically related

(Harris, 1982; Bybee et al., chapter 3; Escobar, 1997; Fleischman et alia, 1991) and non imperfective (Alarcos Llorach, 1984, 1994; Escobar, 1997; Rojo and Veiga, 1999).

2.2.1.1 Tense

The notions of the time and order are closely related according to the literature within Hispanic linguistics. As early as 1964, Andrés Bello had already claimed that events can show a specific order which does not have a direct relation to chronological time. Thus, verbal tenses can express anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority with respect to the speech time.

In this approach, supported by diverse specialists in Hispanic Linguistics (Bello and Cuervo, 1964; Alonso and Henríquez Ureña, 1974; Kany, 1976; Alarcos Llorach, 1970; RAE, 1970; De Kock, 1990; Rojo and Veiga, 1999), the forms *he cantado* and *canté* are seen as different forms to measure time, though both are previous to the moment of speech time and both refer to the past. The difference lies in the fact that only the present perfect involves a relationship to the time of the speech, which is expressed in Spanish by the present tense *canto* (I sing) or the present progressive *estoy cantando* (I'm singing).

This relationship with the present also has been treated in terms of absolute time and relative time. From this point of view, the preterite *canté* is an absolute past, as it is seen as having no relation to the present. In contrast, the present perfect *he cantado* is a relative past, as it is seen through the grammatical present (Alonso and Henríquez Ureña, 1974; Alarcos Llorach, 1970). The present perfect and the preterite have alternatively been referred to as 'immediate past' and 'remote past' respectively, in order to capture this difference (RAE, 1973). In other words, the preterite tense expresses an event or situation felt to be far from the moment of speech act: '*Viajé a París el año pasado.*' (I traveled to Paris last year), while the present perfect tense

expresses a situation felt to be near to the moment of the utterance: '*He viajado a París esta semana*' (I have traveled to Paris this week).

Verb tense is a deictic grammatical category that places situations in time, orienting them to the primary reference (the moment of the utterance), or orienting them to a secondary reference that is directly or indirectly related to the primary reference.

Rojo and Veiga (1999) give a clear account of the verb tense categories in Spanish. According to them, verb tense in Spanish is a deictic grammatical category used to express the orientation of a particular event in relation to a central point. This central point usually, but not necessarily, coincides with the moment of speaking. The central point may also be in relation to a secondary reference, directly or indirectly oriented to speaking (p. 2879).

The authors assert that there is a zero point from which all the temporal relationships of verbs are established. Therefore, an event can be considered previous (-V), simultaneous (oV) or posterior (+V) to this zero point. The central point is symbolized by 'O' ('origin') and the three types of relationships are accordingly formulated as O-V to indicate 'previous to the origin', OoV for the events 'simultaneous to the origin', and O+V for events 'posterior to the origin'. These relationships are conventionally represented in the following graphic:

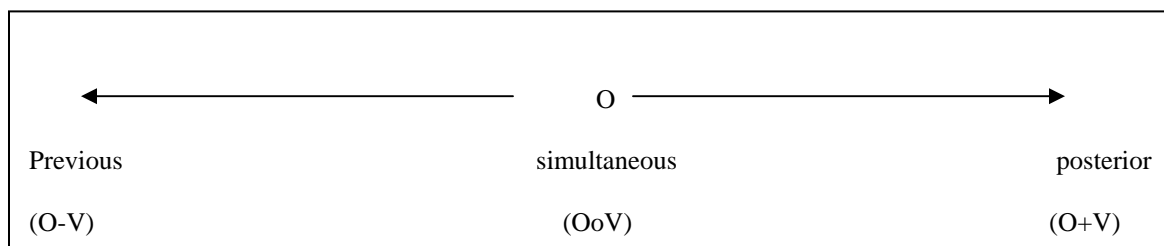


Figure 1: Representation of Time According to Rojo and Veiga (1999)

The verbal forms can be oriented with respect to secondary references, which are linked directly or indirectly to the origin (See Figure 2). The preterite has a primary reference, directly oriented

to the origin (O-V) and the present perfect has a secondary reference, indirectly oriented to the origin ((OoV)-V) (Rojo and Veiga, 1999, pp. 2869-2883).

Point of Reference	Temporal Primary Relationship		
	-V	OV	+V
O → origin	<i>trabajé</i>		
OoV → simultaneous to the origin	<i>he trabajado</i>		

Figure 2: Primary and Secondary Reference of the Preterite and Present Perfect

Most Hispanic linguists maintain that the grammatical category of aspect is a characteristic feature of these two tenses. Both are considered perfect tenses: both the preterite and the present perfect tenses express events or situations completed before the moment of utterance.

Nevertheless, Rojo and Veiga (1999) believe that aspect is not a category needed to distinguish these verbal tenses, but rather that the distinction can be explained by the notion of time. By providing arguments based on the largely used intuitional method, these authors present a distinction between *he cantado* and *canté* in which the main difference between them is the point of reference (see Figure 3).

<div style="text-align: center;"> ←————— O —————→ </div>		
before	origin	After
before the origin + origin as point of reference -V means anteriority O-V means before the origin <i>Canté</i> O-V Anteriority to the origin	before the origin + simultaneity to origin as point of reference oV means simultaneity OoV means simultaneous to the origin <i>He cantado</i> (OoV)-V Anteriority to a simultaneous reference to the origin	+V means posteriority O+V means after the origin

Figure 3: Rojo and Veiga's Distinction between the Preterite and the Present Perfect

As shown in Figure 3, Rojo and Veiga (1999) define the preterite as a past tense situated previous to the origin (generally, the moment of utterance) and having the origin as a point of reference, while the present perfect tense is situated previous to the origin, which is a simultaneous point of reference.

In the following sentences, the verbs ‘*robaron*’ (they stole), ‘*subimos*’ (we got on), ‘*bajé*’ (I got off) and ‘*toqué*’ (I touched) show events that are previous to speech time and that do not have any relevance to the present.

(1) a. Le *robaron* sus alhajas, sus zapatillas. (PS)²
They stole his/her jewelry, his/her shoes.

b. Entonces *subimos* al carro. (PS)
Then we got into the car.

c. Yo *bajé*, lo *toqué* yo mismo. (PS)
I got out [of the car], I touched him.

In contrast, the sentences in (2) present events that happened in the past, but which are still focused on the speech time.

(2) a. Toda mi vida lo *he creído* un inútil, pero ayer me demostró su gran capacidad (Rojo y Veiga, 1999, p. 2903).
All my life I thought he was useless, but yesterday he showed me his great ability.

b. Hace un momento *he oído* las mismas críticas (Cartagena, 1999, p. 2492).
I’ve heard the same criticism my whole life a moment ago.

But one can also observe events that begin in the past and continue in the present:

(3) a. Siempre *ha sido* una chica muy guapa (Cartagena, 1999, p. 2492).
She has always been a very pretty girl.

b. Toda la vida *he oído* las mismas críticas (Cartagena, 1999, p. 2492).

² Examples 1a, 1b, and 1c have been taken from interviews of speakers of Limeño Spanish. These data are part of the previous study which is presented in this study. Throughout this study I will use the letters PS (Pilot Study) to refer to utterances taken from this research.

I've heard the same criticism my whole life.

In sentence (3) a, one is referring to a girl that is pretty and one assumes will probably continue to be pretty. In (3) b, one has heard the same criticisms, and one will probably continue to hear them.

Cartagena (1999) shares a perspective similar to that of Rojo and Veiga in his work about compound tenses (see Figure 4). He tries to distinguish between primary temporal fields (retrospectivity, coexistence and prospectivity) and secondary temporal fields (retrospectivity, coexistence and prospectivity).

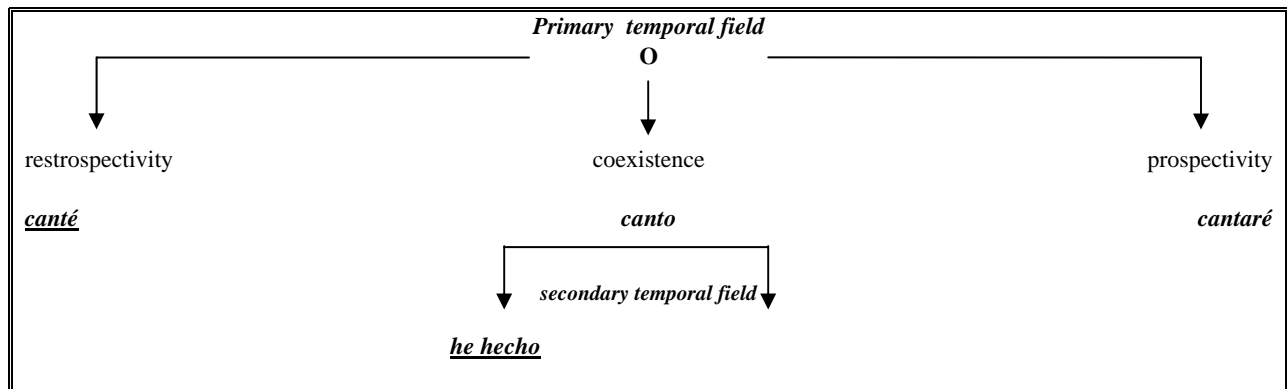


Figure 4: Cartagena's Distinction between Preterite and Present Perfect

On one hand, the primary temporal fields are delimited by the Spanish simple forms that are related to the point of origin. On the other hand, the secondary temporal fields are fashioned by the compound forms that are related to the simple forms. The points of reference at the secondary level are the simple forms. From this point of view, all the compound tenses are perfect because they express an event which has already been accomplished within a specific temporal field.

2.2.1.2 Aspect

Grammatical aspect is a concept that refers to the different perspectives that a speaker can take to express the temporal development of an event, action, process, etc. The speaker's viewpoint of this event or period of time can be considered either to be completed, in process, at its inception, etc. Languages mark aspect by means of verbal morphology, adverbs or other elements (Klein, 1994, p. 16).

Some authors (Gili Gaya, 1943; Criado de Val, 1969; Alarcos, 1970; Moreno de Alba, 1978; Hernández Alonso, 1984; Salas González, 1998; Cartagena, 1999), besides the temporal features described above for both the preterite and the present perfect, also point out a concomitant aspectual feature. According to this perspective, the preterite is characterized as a verbal tense that expresses actions of punctual aspect, unique and momentary actions with a beginning and an ending; the verbal tense is one used to refer to closed intervals of time. In contrast, the present perfect is described as a verbal form that expresses situations with a durative aspect, actions not finished and with an open interval of time.

In understanding the different theories of aspect, I have considered it relevant in this work to explain both theoretical approaches to aspect, Smith's and Comrie's. These approaches are important in order to understand any discussion of the preterite and the present perfect in Limeño Spanish.

Smith (1991) says that aspect is "the domain of the temporal organization of situation" (p. xvi). From her perspective, the aspectual system of a language is the result of two components interacting in a sentence: situation type and viewpoint. The 'situation type' is the composite of the verb, its arguments and the adverbials modifying the verb. This component distinguishes two types of temporal structure for situations: states and events. Conversely,

‘viewpoint’ is the component that indicates the perspective of the situation that is manifested through morphemes and special forms.

In the situation type component, situations are classified by a cluster of features: [+/- stative], [+/- telic], [+/- duration]. The [+/-stative] feature is used to differentiate states from events. States consist only of an entire period without stages, without endpoints. Events are dynamic and consist of stages. The [+/-telic] feature is used to distinguish between events that do or do not have a goal, the goal being the endpoint of the event. Telic events are directed towards a goal, while atelic events are processes and thus lack an endpoint. The [+/- duration] feature categorizes idealized situations as durative or instantaneous. Each type of temporal structure is reflected in schemas of the essential structure of situations. Situations are classified by a cluster of features which contrast with one another: [+/- stative], [+/- telic], [+/- duration]. Based on the combination of these three semantic features, Smith (1991, pp. 28-29), drawing on a seminal classification by Vendler (1967, p. 121) and adding the category ‘Semelfactive’, classifies the situation types as ‘State’, ‘Activity’, ‘Accomplishment’, ‘Semelfactive’ and ‘Achievement’ (See Figure 5).

situations	static	durative	telic
states	[+]	[+]	n.a.
activity	[-]	[+]	[-]
accomplishment	[-]	[+]	[+]
semelfactive	[-]	[-]	[-]
achievement	[-]	[-]	[+]

Figure 5: Features of the Situation Types

States involve a stable situation, without stages and with an arbitrary final point, as illustrated by ‘tener’ (to have), ‘quedarse’, ‘ser’ (to be), ‘pensar’ (to think) in the following examples.

(4) Como vigilante *tuve* un momento también difícil.
As a security guard, I also had a difficult time.

(5) Me *quedé* solito.
I was left alone.

(6) Y un día *fue* algo como las once de la noche.
And then one day it was something like at eleven at night.

(7) *Pensaron* que iba a ser una reunión pequeña.
They thought it was going to be a small get-together.

Activities include mental or physical activity; they have dynamic successive stages and an arbitrary final point. The phrases below exemplify the verbs of activity ‘dedicarse’ and ‘pintar’.

(8) Me *he dedicado* a esas tareas esta semana.
I've been doing only those chores this week.

(9) *He pintado* durante la tarde.
I have been painting during the afternoon.

Accomplishments “consist of a process and an outcome, or change of state. The change is the completion of the process.” (Smith, 1991, p. 49) In the following sentences the verbs ‘hacer’, ‘agarrar’ and ‘meterse’ are processes that involve such an outcome or change of state.

(10) *Hicimos* una pequeña reunión.
And we had a small get-together (gathering).

(11) *Agarré* un taxi.
I took a taxi.

(12) *Se ha metido* debajo de la rueda del carro grandazo.
It ended up under the big car's wheels.

Semelfactives correspond to the situation type in which events are instantaneous, atelic, and do not have either preliminary or resultant stages. Examples of the semelfactives ‘tocar’ and ‘sonar’ are provided in the following sentences.

(13) Yo sentí que el carro *sonó*.
I heard a noise coming from the car.

- (14) Yo *toqué* y nadie contestó.
I knocked and nobody answered.

Finally, achievements are “instantaneous events that result in a change of state” (1991:58), which is the case with ‘ver’, ‘correrse’ and ‘subir’ in the following contexts.

- (15) Entonces *vi* la cara del chofer.
Then I saw the driver’s face.

- (16) Los estudiantes *se han corrido*.
The students have moved (to one/the side).

- (17) Entonces *subimos* al carro.
Then we got in the car.

In addition to situation type, Smith (1991) considers viewpoint to be part of aspect. She says that “aspectual viewpoints function like the lens of a camera, making objects visible to the receiver. Situations are the objects on which viewpoints’ lenses are trained.”(p.91) She differentiates three types of viewpoints: the *perfective*, which focuses “on the situation as a whole, with initial and final points” (p.6); the *imperfective*, which focuses “on part of a situation, including neither initial nor final point” (p. 6), and the *neutral*, which is “flexible, including the initial point of a situation and at least one internal stage” (p.6).

From her standpoint, Universal Grammar provides general categories for each viewpoint and each particular language chooses its particular viewpoints. The different realizations of the viewpoint component are parameterized in each language.

Both components, situation type and viewpoint, are present in the aspectual system of a language, and they offer the speaker different choices depending on what he wants to express. It is thus the speaker who determines the aspectual choice. However, these choices are restricted, since there is a limited group of situation types and viewpoints. In other words, the viewpoint component is a closed, or bounded class, as it can only use a finite set of morphemes. In

contrast, at a surface level in the grammar, the situation component of aspect can use an infinite set of lexical forms, and thus constitutes an unbounded class (see Figure 6).

Two classes of linguistic forms	Lexical morphemes	➤ entities	Unbounded class	Situation aspect	
		➤ events			
		➤ concepts			
		Grammatical morphemes	➤ grammatical functions	Bounded class	Viewpoint
			➤ relationship		

Figure 6: Situation Aspect and Viewpoint in Relation to Linguistic Forms

Perfective viewpoints present a situation as a single whole, as punctual, and as a *closed* span, with initial and final endpoints bracketing the situation. On the other hand, imperfective viewpoints are *open* and present part of a situation, with no information about its endpoints, in other words, as an incomplete situation. The following schemes (Figure 7) correspond to the perfective and the imperfective. The perfective includes both endpoints, the imperfective includes neither. Neutral viewpoints permit either a closed or open reading of the situation.

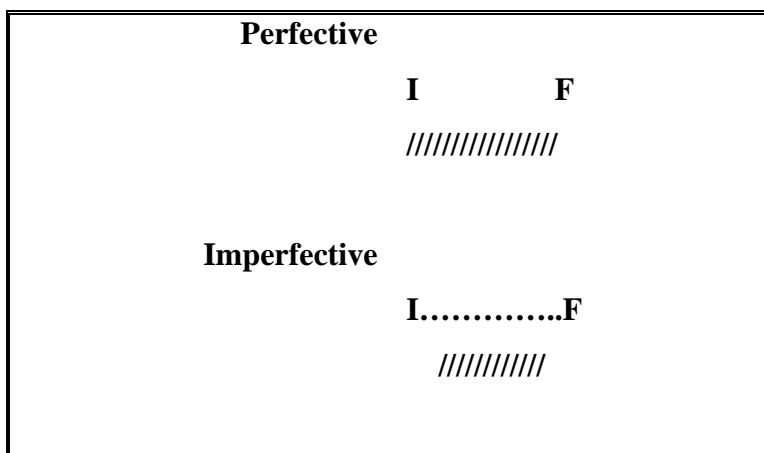


Figure 7: Imperfective and Perfective Viewpoints

According to this distinction, both the preterite and the present perfect in Spanish are perfective tenses, because they include endpoints. Thus, in a sentence such as ‘¿Sabes que le han robado a Ronald?’ (*Do you know that they have robbed Ronald?*), the verb ‘han robado’ refers to an event that has already finished, but is seen as near to the speech time, while in a sentence like ‘¿Sabes que le robaron a Ronald?’ (*Do you know that they robbed Ronald?*), the verb ‘robaron’ refers to an event seen as far from the moment of speech. Both events have endpoints in the past.

For the research that I do here, I take into account the situation type component in order to control the lexical-syntactic factors of the verbs that are part of my research instrument. However, Comrie’s classification of types of perfect is also presented in this section, because his classification of internal aspect is useful in describing Limeño Spanish. In fact, this categorization focuses on the internal stages of the event, specifically on the internal stages of the perfect, which is the tense with a more controversial and differentiated use in Spain and Latin America.

According to Comrie (1985), there are four types of perfect. The first type refers to an event which took place in the past and the result of which persists in the present (p.56).

(18) El trabajo ha sido una revisión más general. (PS)
‘The job done has been a more general review.’

(19) Pensaron que iba a ser una reunión pero ha sido unos quince años. (PS)
‘They thought that it was going to be just a get together but it ended up being a party to celebrate turning fifteen.’³

In sentence (18), it is understood that the result of this review was general, and in sentence (19), the result of a get-together was not a small party, but unexpectedly a big party.

³ Turning 15 in Latin American countries is the equivalent of “sweet 16” in the USA.

The second reading of present perfect indicates an experienced event. It indicates that “a given situation has been held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present” (1985, 58).

- (20) He tenido tanta suerte que no ha pasado nada. (PS)
‘I’ve been so lucky that nothing has happened to me.’

In example (20) the speaker experienced an event considered to be punctual in the past and which is narrated with an orientation to the present: the speaker was so lucky that he/she wasn’t hurt after having an accident.

The third reading is used to describe a past situation that persists into the present (1985, 60).

- (21) Nunca me has contado. (PS)
‘You have never told me (that)’.

- (22) Yo siempre he dicho que esa época de mi vida...(PS)
‘I have always said that that period of my life....’

In sentence (21) a woman is telling her interlocutor that she never heard that story before that moment. In the same way, sentence (22) alludes to a situation that began in the past and still continues into the moment of speaking: the speaker says that she began to assert something in the past and she still asserts the same now.

Finally, the fourth reading is used to refer to an immediate past (p.60).

- (23) ¡Qué regia que has venido! (PS)
(lit. *“How nice you have come!”*)
‘How nice you [look]!’

- (24) La he visto hace un momento. (PS)
‘I have just seen her.’

Sentence (23) is a compliment, expressing that the person who has just arrived at that place looks nice. Finally, sentence (24) is uttered by a speaker who a few minutes ago saw a woman who had been mentioned earlier in the dialogue.

As we have just described, the four uses described by Comrie (1976)—perfect of result, experiential perfect, perfect of persistent situation, and perfect of recent past—are attested in the Spanish of Lima. The existence of different meanings of the present perfect in this dialect is a phenomenon linked to the development of Spanish. The data from Limeño Spanish that I have just presented situate this dialect at Harris’ stage III, described in section 2.1.1

In the following section, I discuss the interface between situation type and viewpoint with the aim of identifying possible sources of overlap in the use of the preterite and the present perfect.

2.2.1.3 The Interaction between Internal and External Aspect

As I mentioned above, my discussion is based on Smith’s theoretical framework about aspect. In her theory of aspect, Smith (1991, §1) distinguishes the three dimensions mentioned above, but she reformulates their interrelations and assembles aspect and aksionsart to make up the structure of the aspectual system that she proposes. As a result, we have two temporal systems: one related to temporal location and the other to aspect. Temporal location refers to ‘external time’ by means of tense in verbs and time adverbials, while aspect is concerned with ‘internal time’ and therefore refers to the internal temporal structure of the event. In this section I focus on the latter; and in the next section I summarize the debate on the former since it is tightly linked to the use of the preterite and present perfect in Limeño Spanish.

According to Smith (1991), aspect (internal time), has two components: situation type and viewpoint. Situation type is also known as ‘internal aspect’. It is based “on the way humans

perceive and cognize situations” (1991, p.23). In this sense, it has its foundation in human cognitive abilities. People can differentiate between ‘*caminar*’ (to walk), ‘*trotar*’ (to jog), ‘*correr*’ (to run) based on their perceptual and cognitive faculties. Structurally, situation type is a composite of a verb, its arguments and the adverbials modifying the verb. This component distinguishes two types of temporal structure for situations: states and events.

The second component of aspect is viewpoint (Smith, 1991, § 3). Viewpoint is also named ‘external aspect’ because it presents a perspective of the situation: all or part of it. This property is referred to as ‘*visibility*’ by Smith (1991, p. 99). In fact, the viewpoint component gives the receiver “full view of the situation”. For instance, the viewpoint is different in the following sentences:

(25) Juan fue a la escuela.
‘*John went to the school.*’

(26) Juan está yendo a la escuela.
‘*John is going to the school.*’

In sentence (25) the event is presented as completed and closed, and with the goal reached, while in sentence (26) the event is incomplete and the goal is not reached yet.

A derived characteristic from the notion of closed viewpoint is punctuality, which means that a perfective event is conceptualized as occupying a ‘point in time’. Clearly, this is an idealization. In fact, Lyons (1977, pp. 708-710) claims that this conceptualization of events is an abstraction which depends on the subject and on the pragmatic context.

Natural language systems of course offer options. There are possibilities to choose among different situation types and viewpoints to facilitate the production of meanings. At this point, I would like to comment on the speaker-based approach (Lyons, 1977). In this approach, it is the speaker who chooses the aspect of a sentence from among different possibilities offered by the

aspectual system of his/her language. This approach differentiates between the actual situation, the idealization of the situation by the speaker, the linguistic forms, and the meaning produced by these forms. Thus, the aspectual meaning of a sentence is a choice on the part of the speaker, who has an idealization of the actual situation made on perceptual and cognitive grounds. S/he chooses the linguistic forms available in his/her language and combines them according to the grammatical rules of this language. I think this is an interesting account of how aspect finally emerges in communicative situations, and it will enable us to explain later how the difference in use between the preterite and the present perfect in the Spanish of Lima is blurred in some contexts.

Situation type and viewpoint have their own temporal schemes, which can be used to represent the aspectual meaning of a sentence. Smith (1991, p. 23) designs a basic schema of the temporal structure of events (See Figure 8). In this schema, dots indicate stages and capital letters represent initial and final points. This is an abstract schema that depends on the possibilities given by each language. “This abstract schema,” Smith writes, “predicts the range of aspectual meaning: the categories of situation type and viewpoint meanings that involve the temporal structure of situations.” (1991, p. 23).

...I....F...

Figure 8: Schema of Abstract Structure for Situations

This is a basic temporal schema that Smith proposes in order to create specific schemata for each kind of situation type and viewpoint. The chart provided below integrates the characteristics of each situation type and the temporal schemata of situation type and viewpoint. Smith proposes the use of **I** and **F**, respectively, to represent the initial and the final points of the situations; a line (____) to symbolize an undifferentiated period, dots (.....) to refer to the

successive internal stages of a period, slashes (//////) to indicate the interval of the situation, the subindexes **A_{rb}** and **N_{at}**, to mark that the final points are respectively arbitrary or natural, and (**R**) to indicate the result of a change. Figure 9 summarizes situation types, their characteristics and temporal schemes.

Situation type	Characteristics Of Situation Type	examples	Situation Type Temporal Schemata	Viewpoint Temporal Schemata
states	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Static, no dynamics • Durative • No internal structure • Period of undifferentiated moments • Duration of at least a moment 	<i>Know the answer,</i> <i>Be in Athens</i>	(I) ____ (F)	Imperfective I.....F //////////
activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dynamic and durative atelic events • Homogeneous successive stages • Involve agency, activity and change • Arbitrary final point 	<i>Walk in the park</i> <i>Laugh</i>	I....FA _{rb}	
accomplishments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dynamic and durative telic events • Processes of successive stages and natural final point • The outcome is a change of state. 	<i>Build a house</i> <i>Walk to school</i>	I....FN _{at} (R)	
semelfactives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dynamic, atelic, instantaneous event 	<i>Knock, cough</i>	I F	
achievements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dynamic, telic, instantaneous events • Instantaneous changes of state, with an outcome of a new state 	<i>Reach the top, Win a race</i>I (R) F	
				Perfective I F //////////////////

Figure 9: Characteristics of Situation Type, and Temporal Schemata of Situation Type and Viewpoint (based on Smith, 1991)

Situation type and viewpoint are expressed by means of linguistic forms that interact to produce aspectual meaning. At the surface level of grammar, the situation component of aspect can select an infinite number of lexical forms which express entities, events or concepts, and form an unbounded class; in contrast, the viewpoint component can only choose from a finite set of morphemes that carry specific grammatical functions, establish a determined relationship, and form a bounded class. In the case of the preterite and the present perfect in Spanish, verbs like ‘*trabajé*’ (preterite) and ‘*he trabajado*’ (present perfect) have the same lexical morpheme: ‘*trabaj-*’, which expresses the action of ‘to do or make something with effort’⁴. With respect to the viewpoint, the ending –*é* is a portmanteau morpheme that encapsulates information of tense, mood, aspect, person and number. This morpheme carries the information of completed or perfective action. In the case of the present perfect, the morpheme ‘*he*’ carries the information of person, number and mood, and the combination of ‘*haber*’ plus the past participle suffix –*ado* adds to it the information of completion. Therefore, the form ‘*he trabajado*’ is considered to have a perfective viewpoint.

Situation type and viewpoint are mutually independent, although both components permeate each other. The following examples illustrate the way in which these aspectual components differ from one another.

(29) *Leí un libro.*
 ‘*I read a book*’

(30) *He leído un libro.*
 ‘*I have read a book*’

(31) *El leía un libro.*
 ‘*I was reading a book*’

⁴ Dictionary of the Real Academia de la lengua española (RAE).

[*leer un libro*] [-static], [+durative] [+telic] = accomplishment

a. [Yo leo un libro]	I.....F _{Nat (R)}	(Accomplishment schema)
b. [-í]	IF	(perfective schema)
c. Leí un libro.	I.....F	(composite schema)
	//////////	

a. [leo un libro] I..... F_{Nat} (R) (Accomplishment schema)
 b. [haber + -ido] I.....F (perfective schema)
 c. He leído un libro. I.....F (composite schema)
 //////////////////////////////////

a. [leo un libro] I..... F_{Nat} (R) (Accomplishment schema)
 b. [-ía] (imperfective schema)
 c. Leía un libro. I...//////////...F (composite schema)

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a camera. This lens allows the speaker to focus on one part of the situation or on the situation as a whole, similar to the ‘zoom in’ and ‘zoom out’ functions of a camera. We can say that viewpoint gives the speaker the opportunity to choose among different possibilities to express the temporal situation. For instance, in Spanish the speaker can choose between perfective and imperfective viewpoints. On one hand, if the speaker wants to express the situation as closed, with the initial and final endpoints included in order to indicate completion of the situation, then s/he chooses the perfective viewpoint. On the other hand, if the speaker prefers to present the situation as open, with the initial and final endpoints excluded to express that the situation is incomplete, then s/he selects the imperfective viewpoint. Other languages also allow the speaker to present the situation without specifying if it is open or closed. Put briefly, the aspectual viewpoints offer useful information to interpret a sentence both semantically and pragmatically.

To summarize, the interaction between internal (lexical) aspect and external (viewpoint) aspect consists basically of five properties, which I have named ‘permeability’, ‘complementarity’, ‘independence’, ‘optionality’, plus an additional characteristic referred to as ‘visibility’ by Smith (year). First, there is a kind of *permeability* between one component and another, since both temporal systems, situation type and viewpoint, permeate each other. Second, this property allows the property of *visibility* due the fact that viewpoint enlightens and establishes the ‘limits’ of the situation type. Third, there is *complementarity* between both components: the situation type contributes the lexical morphemes and the viewpoint the grammatical morphemes. Fourth, although viewpoint and situation type both select different categories of morphemes, the two aspectual components have *independence* in the sense that they can be distinguished because they supply different temporal meanings to the sentence.

Finally, they share the characteristic of *optionality* since viewpoint and situation type give the speaker the possibility to choose among different types within each component.

2.2.1.4 Viewpoint and Tense: The Preterite and the Present Perfect in Limeño Spanish

Thus far, we have seen the relationship between internal and external aspect. Before addressing their relationship to tense, I will extend the discussion on viewpoint, focusing on the use of the preterite and the present perfect in Spanish.

As I have mentioned before, the perfective viewpoint presents situations as bounded, in contrast to the imperfective viewpoint, which presents the situation as unbounded. Nevertheless, it is necessary to distinguish between unmarked and marked perfective. Unmarked perfectives do “not apply to stative situations, because endpoints do not appear in their temporal schema.” (Smith, 1991, p. 103) In contrast, marked perfective “has a span that includes more than the actual situation.” (Smith, 1991, p. 103) This is the case of the perfect in Spanish.

(32) Pero siempre *he tenido* un carácter muy fuerte. (PS)
‘*But I have always had a strong character*’

This sentence with present perfect has a span beyond the final point of the situation talked about. The speaker is talking about an inherent characteristic of her personality and we assume that this characteristic will continue to exist in the future. The possibility offered by the perfect to extend the internal viewpoint is one of the characteristics that distinguishes between the preterite and the present perfect, but it is also this characteristic which is blurred in some contexts, practically causing a temporal neutralization between the two tenses. Thus, this viewpoint feature is one of the factors that produces temporal synonymy between the preterite and the present perfect.

This phenomenon is directly linked to temporal location as well. Temporal location is a dimension that participates in the difference/lack of difference between the preterite and the present perfect in Spanish. This issue needs to be clarified in order to explain the identification of the syntactic variable in the final section of this chapter. The temporal location system of a natural language locates situations in time. With respect to temporal location, Smith says:

Temporal location and aspect are complementary temporal systems. The former locates a situation in time, while the latter specifies the internal temporal structure of the situation. The expression of temporal location and aspect is intertwined in many languages of the world (1991, p. 135).

Time is a continuous and unbounded dimension, without beginning or end. Natural languages take as the axis of orientation the time of utterance, which is always the present. This time becomes the zero point that serves as point of reference for other events. Traditionally, it has been represented linearly as follows (Comrie, 1985, p. 2):

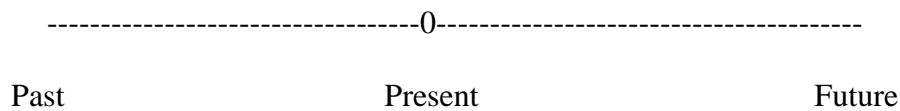


Figure 14: Time Line

Thus, tense is a deictic grammatical category that is expressed through verbal inflections, other verbal forms, and time adverbials. In fact, the temporal deictic function locates point or intervals on the time axis, and basically uses the moment of utterance as a point of reference. There are three main divisions in the temporal axis: (i) before the moment of utterance, (ii) the time of utterance, and (iii) after the time of utterance. (Cruse, 2000, p. 321) For example, the tense system in Spanish operates by means of verbal inflections and temporal adverbials, which function deictically by orienting the situations in time. As I said above, tense can point to the

However, while tenses frequently locate a situation or time relative to the Speech Time, sometimes they make reference to a secondary orientation point. In fact, to locate all types of sentences temporally three times are needed: Speech Time (SP = Time 1), Reference Time (RT = Time 2), and Situation Time (ST = Time 3) (Smith, 1991, p. 140). Speech Time is the moment of the utterance. Reference Time is the time of the secondary orientation point or “the temporal standpoint of a sentence” (1991, p. 140). Situation Time is the time at which the event occurred; “it is the time of event or state, identified as interval” (1991, p. 140). The following sentence together with its schema (Figure 15) exemplify how these times interact and how specific Situation Times may be specified with temporal adverbs.

<-----time 2-----time 1 -----time 3----->

Reference Time	Speech Time	Situation Time
<i>Decir</i>		<i>escribir , mañana</i>

In this sentence the verb “*decir*”, located in the past and, therefore, before the Speech Time, is the Reference Time. Besides, the verb “*escribir*” and the temporal adverb “*mañana*”, both located in the future, indicate the Situation Time.

(34) a. Daniela vino.
'Daniela came'

- b. Daniela *ha venido*.
 ‘Daniela has come’

The following schemas correspond to the temporal interpretation of sentences (34a) and (34b):

- a.ST = RTSP
 b.STSP = RT

Figure 16: Schema Sentences 34a and 34b

In 34a the preterite locates the event in the past, while 34b locates the event within a present reference interval (Speech Time) which extends to the past. This is the basic difference between these tenses in Limeño Spanish; however, the characteristic of present relevance becomes diffuse in some contexts, in which cases those forms are interchangeable. In the following example from Limeño Spanish, there are instances in which the present perfect is used to refer to a remote event, with a punctual meaning in the past, and with the verb ‘*ser*’ in the sense of ‘*ocurrir, suceder*’ (to occur, to happen) to refer to a telic event. All of these features correspond to the preterite tense in Spanish. In fact, the participant in the interview is talking about an event that happened eleven years ago, when she was nine years old.

- (35) Cuando me *he enfermado* con amigdalitis y no hay nadie pues y es horrible, porque no podía pasar saliva, no podía tomar agua, no podía comer nada. Y cuando fui al hospital estuve cinco horas para que recién me atendieran. Fue horrible. A pesar de que tenía... que me *he ido* con dos amigas, pero no vivía con ellas y aparte no sé, es diferente. (PS)
 ‘When I got sick with tonsillitis and there wasn’t anyone [around] and it was horrible, because I couldn’t swallow, I couldn’t drink water, I couldn’t eat anything. And when I went to the hospital, I was there five hours until I was helped. It was horrible. Even though I had... I went with two friends, but I didn’t live with them and besides, I don’t know, it is different.’

Alternatively, in this variety of Spanish we find instances where both the present perfect and the preterite are used with temporal adverbials with present relevance, which are expected to be used only with the perfect form. Examples of this use are illustrated in the sentences below.

(36) No *he hecho* mucho *hoy día*. (PS)
'*I haven't done much today*'

(37) Y bueno, *hoy día* *tuve* este curso Civil, y ahora me tengo que quedar hasta las cinco de la tarde acá. (PS)
'*And well, today I had this Civil course, and now I had to stay [here] until five in the afternoon.*'

(38) *Este mes estuve* full muchos días de la semana, con muchos trabajos, con las clases, y entrenando fútbol por el Regatas. (PS)
'*This month I was busy every day of the week, with a lot of work, with classes, and soccer training for the Regatas [Club]*'

(39) Esta semana empieza el curso de Astronomía Práctica. El Círculo de Astronomía es la agrupación de alumnos, profesores, que cultivamos la pasión y la observación astronómica. Entonces en *esta (semana)* *hemos tenido* la suerte de que vino un español. (PS)
'*This week the course of Practical Astronomy starts. The Astronomy Circle is a group of students, instructors that cultivates astronomical passion and observation. Then, this [week] we were lucky to have a Spaniard [professor].*'

I have pointed out above another dimension of fuzziness when I discussed viewpoint. In brief, I have mentioned so far the possibility of vague limits in the use of the preterite and the present perfect in the Spanish of Lima with respect to two temporal dimensions: one refers to the internal viewpoint and the other to the external viewpoint. In the section devoted to discourse functions and tense variable, I will discuss how the phenomenon described can explain the actual use of the present perfect in Limeño Spanish.

In the next section, I will discuss on reported speech, which corresponds to another linguistic variable included in this study.

2.2.2 Reported Speech

In analyzing the data of a pilot study carried out on Limeño Spanish (see section 2.2.7), I observed the frequent appearance of present perfect forms in citations embedded in direct

speech. For that reason, I felt it relevant to take into account non-reported discourse as well as reported discourse, classifying it into two types: indirect speech and direct speech. From these two types, I include in my study only direct reported speech because this is the linguistic context in the pilot study in which I observed the recurrent use of the present perfect.

I follow Maldonado's theory (1991) of these types of discourse and speech. She claims that reported discourse is a reproduction of a communicative verbal situation. In reported discourse the situation of reproductive enunciation should have as its object the situation of reproduced enunciation.

There are three conditions to be met in order for discourse to be recognized as 'reported discourse': the condition of metareferentiality, the condition of representativity, and the condition of no accomplishment.

The condition of metareferentiality establishes that given a situation of utterance *E*, its object must be another situation of utterance *Ei* (Maldonado, 1991, p.17)

[El vecino me dijo: ["Nadie vendrá".] E_i] E

The (My) neighbor said: "Nobody will come."

Secondly, the condition of representativity refers to the need to represent the object of the discourse in the verbal chain that makes reference to *Ei*. Reproducing involves referring. For example, in the sentence 'Gritó que la mataría' (*She/He shouted that he/she would kill her*) there is a reproduction of words, while in the sentence 'Gritó durante horas' (*he/she screamed for hours*), there is no reproduction of words. Thus, the second case is not an instance of indirect speech (p.20).

Finally, the condition of no accomplishment refers to the fact that verbs introducing citations should not have an accomplishment value. In other words, they should not appear in first person/present as if the event were developing at that moment. For example, in the sentence

‘*Yo digo que esta situación no es importante*’ (I say that this situation is not important), there is no citation. It coincides with the moment of utterance. The exception to this condition is the stylistic use of the present for past events (historic present): ‘*Ayer lo encuentro y le digo: “¡Hace tiempo que no te veía!”*’ (Yesterday I found him and I told him: I haven't seen you for ages!) because this type of present is referring to the past, equivalent to: ‘*Ayer lo encontré y le dije: “¡Hace tiempo que no te veía!”*’ (Yesterday I met him and I told him: it's been a long time since I've seen you!).

I mentioned before that Maldonado has identified two distinct types of reported discourse: direct speech and indirect speech. The former is the type of speech relevant for my research, because it tries to reproduce the real situation of utterance. Maldonado (1991) defines direct speech as:

Every *direct speech* (DS) is constituted by an *introductory expression* (IE) that contains an inflected verb of saying, a direct quotation (DQ) marked topographically by dashes or quotations marks, and the *quoted content* (QC), always literal reproduction of an utterance. The IE and the DQ are separated by a pause, marked topographically by colon.⁵

[DS [IE Mary said to me]:[DQ“[QC Come]”]] (p. 29)

For Maldonado *direct speech* is “the literal reproduction of own or another’s words” (p. 16) and *indirect speech* is “the reproduction of those words from the system of the deictic references that the speaker reproduces’ (p.16). Her approach is from the point of view of ‘reported discourse’, which means that direct speech and indirect speech are procedures of quotation. They are the result of an act of textual organization.

With respect to this, Tannen (1989) states that even ‘direct quotation’ is a type of “constructed dialogue”, in the sense that it is “primarily the creation of the speaker rather than

⁵ Todo *discurso directo* (DD) está constituido por una *expresión introductora* (EI) que contiene un verbo de decir flexionado, una *cita directa* (CD) marcada topográficamente por guiones o comillas, y el *contenido citado* (CC), siempre reproducción literal de un enunciado. La EI y la CD está separadas por una pausa, marcada topográficamente por los dos puntos (Maldonado 1991: 29).

the party quoted” (p.99). She maintains that much of what is reported speech does not correspond to the exact words uttered by the speaker, but to the speaker’s appropriation of another speaker’s words. Tannen also claims that:

(...) when a speaker represents an utterance as the words of another, what results is by no means describable as “reported speech.” Rather it is a constructed dialogue. And the construction of the dialogue represents an active, creative, transforming move which expresses the relationship not between the quoted party and the topic of talk but rather the quoting party and the audience to whom the quotation is delivered (p.109).

I agree with Tannen’s concept of reported speech as a constructed dialogue. The quotations of direct speech, then, are formulated from the speaker’s perspective of the situation reported. Direct speech is frequently used when the speaker wants to more vividly report a past event, as if he were reproducing the ‘exact’ words uttered by another person. What matters is that they are conceived of as the ‘real’ words, even if they are not the ‘real’ words.

I mentioned at the beginning of this section that the participants in the pilot study on Limeño Spanish used with great frequency the present perfect in direct speech quotations. This fact seems to be related to the present relevance of the citations. Direct speech citations have present relevance and the temporal deixis of the citation is intended to reproduce the exact moment when they were formulated. This is the reason why I consider it relevant to include the factor ‘direct speech’ in the elaboration of the data collection instrument. I want to create a context in which this tense can be triggered. In this way, either the preterite and the present perfect will have the same opportunity to be selected by the participants.

In the elaboration of the data collection instrument, the distinctions described above have been operationalized as ‘Reported Speech’ (RS) and ‘Non-Reported Speech’ (NRS), which means ‘presence’ or ‘absence’ of direct speech citation. My aim is to determine whether in fact

the direct speech triggers the present perfect, as was observed in the pilot sentences, and consequently whether this leads to a favoring of the present relevance use of that form.

2.2.3 Adverbs in Combination with the Preterite and the Present Perfect

It is well known that in the verbal phrase, temporal indicators generally have two sources: the verb morpheme and the adverbs or adverbial constructions accompanying them. In this section I focus on the second source, since in some contexts they can determine the occurrence of either the preterite or the present perfect. Thus, I included this factor in the creation of my data collection instrument.

Temporal indicators include circumstance complement adverbs, adverbial locutions, prepositional phrases or noun groups with adverbial value, adverbial subordinate clauses, and temporal relative pronouns (Piñero, 2000, p.52). Due to the fact that the topic of the current study involves temporality, I have considered it relevant to determine which adverbs and adverbial locutions of time, also called ‘adverbial complements’ (AC), usually accompany the preterite and the present perfect. Adverbial complements are closely related to the aspectual meaning of the verb. This must be taken into account in the elaboration of my data collection instrument because a correlation is expected between certain adverbs and present perfect or preterite forms. I want to establish to what extent this correlation is significant, and whether there is an overlap in the use of these forms and whether there is a tendency to neutralize the two forms.

García Fernández (1999, pp. 3132-33) proposes a classification of temporal AC based on three types of criteria (see Figure 17 below):

- The relationship with the cultural division of time
- The relationship with aspect
- The relationship with grammatical tense

The first criterion points to the manner in which a culture measures and segments time. Adverbial complements are formed in terms of time considered units of measurement and calendar units: year, month, week, hour, January 1st, etc. Calendar units can be absolute or cyclic. They are absolute when they refer to historical events or events shared in the speech event, such as in the sentences ‘Napoleon lost the Battle at Waterloo’ and ‘My mom is coming for my birthday’.

The second criterion deals with the relationship between adverbial complements and the expression of grammatical and lexical aspect. According to this criterion there are adverbial complements of duration, localization, phase and frequency. The adverbial complements of duration can be quantitative (*durante (during) + nominal phrase* and *en (in) + nominal phrase*) or delimitative (*desde (since)*, *desde....hasta (from...to)*, *hasta (until)*, *de... a (from...to)*, *de ahora en adelante (from now on)*, *a partir de (beginning on)*, *entre (between)*). Those of localization refer to the moment of the verbal event or a period that includes it: *hace + temporal complement (temporal complement + ago)*, *ayer (yesterday)*, *la víspera (eve)*, *ahora (now)*, *hoy (today)*, *a las tres (at three)*, *en Navidad (in Christmas)*, *en verano (in summer)*, *en 1945 (in 1945)*, etc. Adverbial Complements of phase indicate different moments in the development of an event: *ya (already)*, *todavía (still, even)*, *ya no (no longer)*, *y todavía no (not yet)*. For example, in the sentence ‘*Elena todavía no viene*’ there are two possible phases: one in which Elena is not here and another in which Elena will be here. Finally, AC of frequency signal how many times the event has taken place: *siempre (always)*, *muchas veces (many times)*, *frecuentemente*

(*frequently*), a veces (*sometimes*), raramente (*rarely*), una (*sola*) vez (*once*), nunca (*never*), jamás (*never*), nunca jamás, etc.

The third criterion establishes the relationship between the way in which the grammatical tense situates the events on the temporal line and the way that this localization is delimited by means of the AC. The complements addressed here are deictic, anaphoric and anaphoric-deictic (García Fernández, 1999, p. 3160). Deictic complements are those that make necessary reference to the speech time: hace tres días (*three days ago*), ayer (*yesterday*), mañana (*tomorrow*), dentro de un rato (*after a short time*). Anaphoric complements are those that make reference to a different moment from the speech time: tres días antes (*three days before*), la víspera, al día siguiente (*the next day*), al rato (*after a while*). Complements that are deictic/anaphoric are those that are indifferent to the characteristics mentioned above: antes (*before*), después (*after*), and recientemente (*recently*).

Temporal adverbial complements (ACs) related to cultural division of time	Temporal adverbial complements (ACs) related to aspect	Temporal adverbial complements (ACs) related to tense
ACs that include measure units Año (<i>year</i>), mes (<i>month</i>), semana (<i>week</i>)	AACCs of duration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>quantitatives</u>: durante, en + NP (<i>during, in + nominal phrase</i>) <u>delimitatives</u>: desde, desde...hasta, etc. (<i>from, from....until, etc.</i>) 	AACCs Deictics (they refer to the speech time) Hace tres días (<i>three days ago</i>), ayer (<i>yesterday</i>), mañana (<i>tomorrow</i>), dentro de un rato.
Absolutes En la batalla de Trafalgar (<i>In the Battle of Trafalgar</i>) Cyclics En Semana Santa (<i>in Eastern</i>) El Lunes (<i>on Monday</i>)	Localization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Interval</u>: ayer (<i>yesterday</i>), el año pasado (<i>last year</i>), esta semana (<i>this week</i>), etc. <u>Punctual</u>: a las tres (<i>at three</i>), en ese momento (<i>in this moment</i>), a medianoche (<i>at midnight</i>), etc. 	Anaphorics (they refer to a different moment of the speech time) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Simultaneity</u>: entonces (<i>then</i>), en ese momento (<i>at that moment</i>) <u>Anteriority</u>: el día anterior (<i>the day before</i>), dos días antes (<i>two days before</i>), etc. <u>Posteriority</u>: al día siguiente (<i>the next day</i>), etc.
	Phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Todavía no (<i>not yet</i>) Ya (<i>already</i>) Todavía (<i>still, even</i>) Ya no (<i>no longer</i>) 	Deictics or Anaphorics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ayer (<i>yesterday</i>), hoy (<i>today</i>), mañana (<i>tomorrow</i>) El X pasado (<i>the last X</i>) este X (<i>this X</i>) el X próximo/que viene (<i>the next X</i>)
	Frequency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Absolutes</u>: dos veces (<i>twice</i>), seis días consecutivos (<i>six consecutive days</i>), etc. <u>Relatives</u>: siempre (<i>always</i>), nunca (<i>never</i>), a veces (<i>sometimes</i>), raramente (<i>rarely</i>), con mucha frecuencia (<i>frequently</i>) 	

Figure 17: Classification of Temporal Adverbial Complements Based on García Fernández (1999)

With respect to the use of the preterite and the present perfect and their combination with adverbial complements, Alarcos Llorach (1970) states that in Spanish:

The compound perfect is used with the adverbs which indicate that the action has been developed in the period of time which involves the time of the speaker or writer: *today, tomorrow, these days, this week, this afternoon, this morning, this year, the present year, this period of time, nowadays, not yet, in my life, during this century*, etc, (...). Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that with *esta mañana, antes* the simple perfect can be used when the two mentioned expressions are in opposition to *esta tarde, ahora*: '*Antes no hice reparo, pero ahora, me dijeron esta mañana que te habías ido*, etc ⁶ (...). The simple perfect with the adverbs that indicate that the action is made in a period of time which does not include the time of speaker: yesterday, last night, last month, that day, years ago, then, when, etc. (p. 24).

However, numerous studies inform us that this distribution is variable in Latin America (Kany, 1976; Westmoreland, 1988; Lope Blanch, 1989, 1993; Piñero, 2000). In the Spanish of the Americas, a different use than that described for the Peninsular Spanish by Alarcos Llorach has been observed. I have also found a preference for the preterite in the unstructured interviews that I gathered in Lima for my preliminary study, as well as evidence of the frequent use of adverbials with the present perfect.

It seems that the presence or absence of adverbials is a factor that reinforces the appearance of the present perfect. For this reason, I have included temporal complements as an independent variable in the texts of the data collection instrument. The purpose is to give contexts that will reasonably elicit preterites as well as present perfect forms.

⁶ (...) se emplea el perfecto compuesto con los adverbios que indican que la acción se ha efectuado en un período de tiempo en el que se halla comprendido el momento presente del que habla o el que escribe: hoy, mañana, estos días, esta semana, esta tarde, esta mañana, este mes, el año en curso, esta temporada, hogaño, todavía no, en mi vida, durante el siglo presente, etc, (...) Hay, no obstante, que señalar que con esta mañana, antes, se puede emplear el perfecto simple cuando las dos expresiones citadas se sienten como oposición a esta tarde, ahora: Antes no hice reparo, pero ahora, Me dijeron esta mañana que te habías ido, etc (...) Se emplea el perfecto simple con los adverbios que indican que la acción se produce en un período de tiempo en el que no está incluido el momento presente del que habla: ayer, anoche, el mes pasado, aquel día, hace años, entonces, cuando, etc. (Alarcos Llorach 1970:24)

2.2.4 Sociolinguistic Issues Related to the Preterite and the Present Perfect

In this section I introduce the discussion on variation, language change and social variables, as well as on the identification of a tense variable, paying specific attention to its discursal functions.

2.2.4.1 Variation, Language Change and Social Variables

Languages are always changing at different levels: at the phonological, grammatical, discursive, semantic and lexical levels. These changes have their origin in the speaker's interactions, in the activity of speaking itself. It is for this reason that there is the useful linguistic distinction between innovation and change: "A linguistic innovation is an act of the speaker (or speakers). It may or may not become established in the linguistic system and become part of the language. If it does penetrate into the system, however, it becomes a linguistic change and will at that point display a regular structure of variation in terms of the social variables..." (Milroy and Milroy, 1997, p. 51). Innovations are part of the variability of languages. All languages exhibit variation, but not all variation phenomena necessarily become changes (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog, 1968, p.188).

Studies of language variation show that it is related to social correlates and to linguistic patterns. This correlation has been studied in terms of social class (Labov, 1994; Chambers and Trudgill, 1980), sex and gender (Eckert, 1989; Chambers, 1992, 1995), age (Labov, 1994; Eckerd, 1988, 2000), and ethnicity (Gilbert, 1986; Rickford, 1992; Fought, 1997). In these studies, language variation can mark stability or instability or change. Referring to language variation, Chambers (2004) says that "when it marks change, the primary social correlate is age, and the change reveals itself prototypically in a pattern whereby some minor variant in the speech of the oldest generation occurs with greater frequency in the middle generation and with

still greater frequency in the youngest generation. If the incoming variant truly represents a linguistic change, as opposed to an ephemeral innovation as for some slang expressions or an age-graded change, it will be marked by increasing frequency down the age scale” (p. 355). Thus, frequency of a variant is one of the aspects to consider in observing change in progress. What is expected is an increase in the use of a variant in young people. This fact makes age a necessary factor in determining whether there is a possible change taking place.

In this research, age will be analyzed to determine whether it has any impact on the selection of the two verbal forms in the Spanish of Lima. I have chosen *age* as one of the sociolinguistic variables to account for a possible ongoing change that involves frequency and context of use of both the preterite and the present perfect. Age is a variable that places a person in a given stage of time that involves a social and historical order. If I am able to observe a relationship between age and the linguistic variable, or a significant correlation between them, then the next step is to demonstrate whether in fact Limeño Spanish is exhibiting a change in progress or whether age-grading is responsible for the pattern (Labov 1994: 46). In other words, the question emerges if this increase is due to the evolution of a language or to innovation, which characterizes the speech of youth.

Age grading refers to “change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life” (Eckert, 2000, p.151). Particular phases in life are related to changes in speech. Studies with children show early differences in their speech (Roberts and Labov, 1992), and it seems that the earliest category of differentiation is gender (Edelsky, 1977). In industrialized societies, pre-adolescents and adolescents need to express distance both from childhood and from adulthood. In this process of constructing their identity, they adopt certain behaviors and develop innovations in their speech (Eckert, 2000, p.163). These periods of life show a great tendency

towards innovation due to the adolescents needing to establish their own identity. Adulthood, on the other hand, exhibits conservatism, and this tendency to be more conservative is associated with the entrance into the job market and the pressure to use standard varieties (Eckert, 2000, p.164). Thus, in adulthood innovations are used with much less frequency.

Although age grading shows variability, the use of a particular variant doesn't increase through generations. On the contrary, when change in progress is underway, the use of a particular variant increases through generations (Chambers, 2004, p. 360). In this research, I propose to study syntactic variables which I think are not commonly marked as a feature of 'young' or 'old'. Certain colloquial phrases, and especially lexical items are prone to be used as markers of age and gender, but not verbal tense and aspect. However, I believe that in this case the use of the preterite and the present perfect may be affected by social class, since the use of the latter could have been influenced by Andean Spanish. It is important to note that many people of the working social stratum have Andean heritage.

One of the many studies which examines the influence of social factors on linguistic variation is Sankoff and Thibault's research (1980) on Canadian French. Sankoff and Thibault examine the influence of social factors on language use, and attempt to establish whether there is a change in progress in this dialect. They analyze the use of the auxiliaries *avoir* and *être* in French of Montreal, which are expected to appear in complementary distribution with different type of verbs. They find that the increasing of use of *avoir* with verbs that traditionally have been used with *être* is socially conditioned (p.104). They observe that individuals engaged in professional activities use the auxiliary *avoir* much less than individuals engaged in non-professional activities. In other words, this tendency seems to be constrained by level of education: the higher the level of schooling, the less use of this auxiliary is found. They find also

that this phenomenon is correlated with age. Young people are generally more exposed to schooling than older people, and they observe a slight preference of the young individuals to use the verb *avoir*. From these findings, they deduce that schooling constrains the expansion of the auxiliary *avoir*, which would constitute a change in progress. They conclude that the increase in the use of the auxiliary *avoir* corresponds to the tendency of this dialect towards the regularization of conjugation, which is supported in the evolution of Indo-European languages.

In my study in Limeño Spanish, I propose to use apparent-time span in order to ascertain whether or not there is a change in progress. The distinction between ‘real time’ and ‘apparent time’ serves to explain the impact of time on language. The construct of real time refers to measuring real-time evidence, leaving long periods between two sets of data collection and analysis. Thus, linguistic results obtained in this way will probably provide a good view of the change in the language. Nevertheless, there are some problems that researchers face in using real-time data: “Researchers who want to use real-time evidence for studying language change have only two options: (1) they can compare evidence from a new study to some pre-existing data, or (2) they can re-survey either a community (through a trend survey) or a group of informants (through a panel survey) after a period of time has elapsed. Neither option is without problems, but both can offer valuable insight into language change” (Bailey, 2004. p. 325). In this research, I use apparent-time to find out if there is a difference in the use of the preterite and the present perfect over time.

The apparent-time construct is a useful tool in exploring ongoing linguistic changes, although it too faces difficulties related to the subject's age. Eckert (2000) raises important issues with regard to classifying ‘age’. Age can be seen in two ways: in relation to the community and in relation to the individual. She says that “Age stratification of linguistic

variables, then, can reflect change in the speech of the community as it moves through time (*historical change*), and change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life (*age grading*)” (p. 151).

If there is an ongoing change in verb usage in Limeño Spanish, it will be reflected in generational differences. In other words, change in real time will be reflected in apparent time. However, this generalization only holds true if the individual’s linguistic system remains stable throughout life or if changes are regular (Eckert, 2000: 151-152).

Unfortunately for this study, I neither have any previous data from the participants nor is it possible to wait years to analyze this data and compare it to future new data. However, as Labov (1994) says: “It appears that the inferences to be drawn about change in progress from apparent time are not negligible, and that this type of analysis can be pursued profitably when no real-time data are available” (p. 72). Therefore, a viable option when the analysis of real-time data is not possible is to analyze apparent time considering two age cohorts: speakers from a younger generation and speakers from an older generation.

The second central variable I will examine is social class. Various studies have demonstrated the relationship between social class and language change (Labov, 2001; Sankoff and Thibault, 1980). Ash (2004) clearly summarizes Labov’s ideas:

In determining the relationship between social class and variable language use, there are three cases to consider: stable variation, change from above (that is from above the level of consciousness or social awareness), and change from below the level of social awareness. The linguistic variants that may be involved in stable variation or change from above may be prestige forms or stigmatized forms (p. 416).

In the case of Peru, where there are enormous differences between social groups, it is crucial to include social stratum alongside age, since as we have seen, there have been many studies carried out in Western societies that give evidence of a strong interaction between these

variables. Also we will see in a later section devoted to an exploratory study on the variety of Lima that the findings support the importance of the inclusion of age and social class in my research.

Finally, although I don't include gender as a social factor to be studied, my data comes from equal numbers of women and men in order to control for any possible bias.

2.2.4.2 Syntactic Variation and Variation in Verb Tense

Since the topic of my dissertation involves syntactic variables, in this section I discuss the theoretical arguments on syntactic variation, and specifically on variation in verb tense.

Variability is a characteristic of language at different levels. Within descriptive linguistics, it was Labov who first initiated studies on language variation, and he and his colleagues have been at the forefront of the field since then. They have developed analytic techniques and methods for analyzing variation and have shown that variability is not unsystematic but rather structured and subject to rules that condition it. The variationist paradigm is quantitative. According to Milroy and Milroy (2000):

[the variationist paradigm] explores the regularity in linguistic variation by examining certain dimensions that are external to language itself and relating variation in these to variation in language. These dimensions are normally social; however, strictly speaking, two of the dimensions that are involved in variation are perhaps better described as "natural" dimensions. These are the dimensions of *space* and *time*, which exist independently of human society and which have been studied extensively by linguists for some centuries. (p. 49).

It is this social dimension linked to linguistic phenomena on which the variationist paradigm is based.

Sociolinguistics works with a basic theoretical construct: the linguistic variable. The linguistic variable has been conceptualized as:

(...) the option of “saying the same thing” in several different ways: that is, the variants are identical in referential or truth value, but opposed in their social and/or stylistic significance (Labov, 1972, p. 271).

Thus, these two or more ways of saying the same thing are variants of one variable. This conceptualization has been used not only to describe the different ways to say the same thing at the phonological level, though phonological variation was the focus of the early studies in this area. The overarching goal of the studies carried out in the variationist paradigm has been to go beyond distinctions on the structural level and to discover those distinctions which lie on the pragmatic-semantic, social and stylistic levels as well (Silva-Corvalán, 2001, p. 86).

In fact, these initial variationist studies were performed at the phonological level with success, which motivated sociolinguists to extend such work to the syntactic level. The definition of syntactic variable was the same as the one set forth for the phonological variable.

Gillian Sankoff (1980) extends the scope of the analytical framework that deals with phonological data to other levels of grammar. She posits that the jump from the phonology to the syntax and semantics is possible and gives examples from the research that she and her coworkers have done on Tok Pisin and Montreal French. In the following paragraphs I summarize a selection of these studies in order to be able to explain the drawbacks of studies on syntactic variation, and the studies of variation in verb tense as well.

Sankoff and Laberge (1980) describe changes in the grammatical structure of Tok Pisin, a New Guinea Pidgin, which at the time of the study was undergoing a process of creolization. Sankoff and Laberge explore “in what respects the Tok Pisin spoken by this new generation of native speakers is different from that spoken by their (nonnative speaker) parents, in order to understand the kind of changes that are taking place in the grammar of the language as it becomes a creole (i.e., a natural language)” (p.198). They propose that native speakers are not

tolerant of a language with few linguistic resources, so they will act favorably towards the strengthening of existing resources as well as the creation of new ones. Their study focuses specifically on the adverb *bai*, which, it is hypothesized, is shifting to the status of a future marker. In fact, they observe that this adverb exhibits redundancy, since it occurs in sentences containing either prospective adverbs or other indications of future time. When analyzing the use of the marker *bai*, they also assert that it has a variable placement before or after the subject NP, and that this variability is not determined by generational differences but instead by syntactic constraints. Such a type of constraint is evidence of a new language configuration with more linguistic mechanisms available for communication. They argue that in this case, the presence of native speakers is one of the factors that has an influence on the direction of language change, essentially due to communicative needs.

Gillian Sankoff and Diane Vincent studied the use of the negative particle *ne* in French spoken in Montréal (Sankoff, 1980). They conclude that French appears to be experiencing a loss of the negative morpheme *ne*. After analyzing over 12,000 negative sentences, they found that *ne* was used only in a very small percentage of negative syntactic environments. Most of these cases were attributed to conversational styles, thus to stylistic differences. Besides this, they found that there was a strong correlation of use of *ne* with social class and the linguistic market. People participating in professional and white-collar activities, and members of the bourgeoisie used the form *ne* more. They suggest that the disappearance of *ne* is a linguistic change in progress, but that literacy and standard written French contributes to its maintenance.

The seminal studies described above and other initial studies in syntactic variation (Sankoff and Laberge, 1980; Sankoff and Brown, 1980; Laberge and Sankoff, 1980) caused negative reactions towards efforts to extend the concept of the linguistic variable from the

phonological level to the syntactic level. Essentially criticisms have stemmed from the premise that the nature of syntactic variation differs from the nature of phonological variation.

Silva-Corvalán (1989, p. 98) outlines the four main arguments against the extension of the sociolinguistic variable to the syntactic level. The first line of reasoning is that there is generally less syntactic variation than there is phonological variation. One phonological variable usually has three or more variants; in contrast, a syntactic variable generally has only two. The second argument is closely related to the first, in that it points out the difficulty in quantifying syntactic variation. Quantifying sounds is easier than quantifying syntactic units, simply because there is more incidence of the former than the latter. This fact makes syntactic variation more difficult to study because it is more difficult to find units of comparison. The third claim is that it is difficult to identify and define the context of occurrence of a syntactic variable. Finally, the fourth argument, and the most relevant to the current work, is that syntactic units carry meaning and thus it is difficult to find syntactic units with exactly the same meaning; in other words, it is doubtful that one could find strict synonymy at the level of syntax.

Alternatively, Lavandera (1978) proposes that the study of non-phonological variables is possible, but with one condition: they have to be identified by their functions, not by their referential identity. She additionally includes two conditions that the syntactic variables themselves must meet: (I) that they can be proven to be the carrier of some non-referential information, to have social and stylistic or other significance (Lavandera, 1978, p. 181); (II) that they prove to be a kind of device of the language similar to phonological variables, that is, elements whose defining property is quantifiable covariation and for which the frequency relationships are the very signals of those differences (Lavandera, 1978, p. 181).

Thus far, I have presented previous studies on syntactic variation in which the variables studied are not verbs. From this point forward, I will review a number of studies on verb mood in Spanish in order to explain variation in verb tense more clearly.

Lavandera (1984) examines the colloquial Spanish of Buenos Aires and analyzes the semantic variation in the verb tenses that appear in conditional clauses. She asserts that some speakers use a system of two forms for the si-clauses, which refer to [NO PAST]:

Present Indicative

- (a) Si *tengo* tiempo.
'If I have time'

Imperfect Subjunctive

- (b) Si *tuviera* tiempo.
'If I/s/he had time'

However, other speakers sometimes use the conditional, in addition to the present indicative and the imperfect subjunctive:

- (c) Si ellos *estarían* en peligro
'If they would be in danger'

She also points out that the third form is not considered standard, and that there is evidence that these uses correlate with social status. She adds also that variation in conditional clauses is recurrent in Romance languages and that it is one of the contexts in which the subjunctive shows instability and is replaced by indicative.

Lavandera proposes that the verb tenses used in the si-clauses categorize a semantic substance that she characterizes as “the probability that a hypothetical situation has to become a real event” (Lavandera, 1984, p. 24). She divides all the contexts of occurrence into three groups according to “degree of probability”:

Context 1: [CONTRARY], when the speaker is clear that the situation described is contradictory with the real world (i.e. Example b).

Context 2: [REAL], when the speaker presents the situation as if it were real (i.e. Example a).

Context 3: [POSSIBLE], when the speaker presents the hypothetical situation as a doubtful situation, where it is not clear if it is contrary to facts or real, in other words, when it is [NO CONTRARY] or [NO REAL] (i.e. Example c).

Lavandera explains that [CONTRARY] and [REAL] are the extremes of a continuum of “degree of probability” where [POSSIBLE] corresponds to a range of hypothetical situations. First, she reports that in her data, the imperfect subjunctive is more frequent in [CONTRARY] contexts, while it is absent in [REAL] contexts. She also remarks that the present indicative appears more frequently with [REAL] contexts and rarely with [CONTRARY] contexts. Her third observation is that the conditional has a higher frequency in [POSSIBLE] contexts. With the purpose of explaining the innovative use of conditional in the protasis of the *si*-clauses, Lavandera presents other functional motivations for these uses as well, related to the combination of the verb forms in the protasis and the apodosis. Finally, she describes the social conditionings of the use of the three possibilities, and shows the correlation between the frequency of the three variants (imperfect subjunctive, conditional and present indicative) with social factors such as education, age and sex. In general, what she finds is that women use the imperfect subjunctive, which is the prestigious variant, more than men. Women with less education use the conditional, which is the stigmatized variant, more frequently; however women with secondary education use the imperfect subjunctive more than women with higher education. Lavandera interprets the behavior of women with secondary education as a phenomenon of hypercorrection and the behavior of women with higher education as a mark of a new status of equality with men. Ultimately, Lavandera concludes that the conditional is a new option in the

si-clause context which allows the speaker to present a situation without compromising the degree of probability, and she suggests that different groups of a linguistic community can use different conventions to convey “the same” referential information.

Silva-Corvalán (2001) criticizes this work and states that it is clear that the morphosyntactic variable studied by Lavandera has a common element in the referential meaning; however its variants carry different semantic and pragmatic meanings, which motivate its selection in the discourse. Silva-Corvalán recommends that the correlation between frequencies of use of the variants and different social groups be made in relation to each communicative context.

Silva-Corvalán carried out a study similar to Lavandera’s in which she examined the Spanish spoken in Covarrubias, located in the province of Burgos in Spain. In Covarrubias the conditional (*-ría*) is used not only in the si-clauses, but also in all contexts where other varieties of Spanish accept the Imperfect Subjunctive (*-ra/-se*). The “mood variable” in this town has three variants: Imperfect Subjunctive (*cantara/cantase*), the Conditional (*cantaría*) and the Imperfect Indicative (*cantaba*). It seems also from this data that the present indicative (P) and imperfect indicative (I) are sometimes used in contexts where the standard Spanish would require an imperfect subjunctive form (Silva-Corvalán, 1986, p. 290).

(d) Me acuerdo como si *es* hoy. (P)
‘I remember as if it were today.’

(e) Si no *está* (P) el frontón, harían allí más casas.
‘If the handball wall was not there, they’d build more houses.’

(f) No fui porque tenía (I) miedo que me *iba* a pasar algo.
‘I didn’t go because I was afraid that something might happen to me.’

(g) Parece como si *estaban* (I) maduras.
‘They look as if they were ripe.’

After identifying the context of occurrence of these variables and their possible differences in meaning at the discourse level, Silva-Corvalán continues on to analyze external factors (sex and age) by interpreting attitudinal tests applied to Cobarrubians and the impact of these factors on the results of the attitudinal tests.

Silva-Corvalán concludes that the phenomenon described above corresponds to a synchronic variation which is part of a change in progress and which is situated in “a process of semantic weakening of the forms used to express modality.” (1986, p. 282). She observes an overlapping distribution of the three forms, which makes the differences among them opaque. Furthermore, Silva-Corvalán suggests that semantic weakening may be a consequence of the interaction between internal and external factors. With the aim of explaining the influence of external factors in the use of these variants, she proposes the *principle of distance*:

(...) if a language system has several closely related forms in the same syntactico-semantic sphere, the form which is farthest away from the speaker, in the sense that it refers to objects or events which are the farthest from him in his objective (e.g. actual distance) or subjective (e.g. possibility of actualization) world, will be lost. I further propose that one of the factors which triggers this loss is interactional, i.e. sociolinguistic (Silva-Corvalán, 1986, p. 283).

According to this principle, if there are linguistic forms that share the same syntactico-semantic territory, the form which has more possibility to be lost is the one that refers to objects, states, events, etc. situated farthest away from the speaker's reality.

Her analysis of correlation with social factors reveals a different distribution of the variants between men and women. She interprets this differences as representative of different communicative needs for each gender group and, furthermore, as different styles of communication. Silva-Corvalán observes that women use the variant *-ba* more than men. It has a stronger degree of probability, and she hypothesizes that women have a style of communication which is more determinant, categorical and conclusive than men. Years later, Silva-Corvalán

(2001) points out that the results from her study of the Spanish of Buenos Aires coincide with results from her study of Cobarrubian Spanish to some extent in its conclusions with respect to gender differences, with women using more assertive forms.

In short, from this review on syntactic variation, it can be concluded that the most important way that variation in verb tense differs from the classic definition of the sociolinguistic variable is with respect to the form-meaning relationship, and more specifically, its meaning. The Labovian method is based on the semantic equivalence of two or more variants of a variable. However, this requires referential semantic synonymy, and the analysis of verb tense as a syntactic variable involves other levels of meaning, and must be linked to the discourse level as well (Silva-Corvalán, 2001; García, 1985; Romaine, 1981).

Silva-Corvalán (2001, p. 136) distinguishes between two levels of meaning. One level is called *referential* or *logical* and is independent of the discursive context. The other level she names *contextual*, which is dependent on the discursive context being related to pragmatic and discursive meanings. In order to identify a syntactic variable, it is necessary to go beyond the referential meaning and involve the discourse level to establish whether there is equivalence in the discourse function.

There is no agreement among sociolinguists with respect to the meaning of variables. Some scholars support strict synonymy while others argue for different meanings in all contexts. However, there is an intermediate position between these two extremes. Sankoff (1988, quoted in Silva-Corvalán, 2001, pp. 134-35) proposes the notion of *weak complementary distribution* in the community. From this perspective, there are two possibilities: the two forms have the same function but their meaning has been neutralized in the discourse, or the two forms retain different functions and these functions alternate in such a way that they are in complementary distribution

in the community. It seems that when there are cases of weak complementary distribution, the distinction between the linguistic variants is blurred and thus is not relevant for the speakers; hence, there are two variants of one variable. Silva-Corvalán (2001) maintains that the cases of weak complementary distribution usually show change in progress. She cites the cases of the extension of *estar* in Mexico and the present perfect in Castile in Spain as evidence of this claim.

Some sociolinguists (Sankoff, 1980; Silva-Corvalán, 2001; Cheshire, 1987, 2004a, 2004b) support a flexible point of view with respect to semantic equivalence of the syntactic variables and have a conciliatory position. Nevertheless, they state that a syntactic variable should be identified in terms of equivalence at the level of discourse. Several studies on syntactic variation illustrate the progress made in the creation of ways of studying syntactic variability.

Milroy and Gordon (2003) address the difficulty of extending the notion of the linguistic variable to the syntactic level. They debate this issue, analyzing different works on syntactic variation: Laberge and Sankoff (1980) on the alternation between *on* and *tu/vous*, Lavandera (1978) on the alternation among verb forms along the dimension of Tense, Mood and Aspect (TMA), Silva-Corvalán (1994) on TMA in Spanish/English bilingual speakers, and some recent work on the discourse marker and quotative expression *like* in English (Dailey O'cain, 2000; Romaine and Lange, 1991; Ferrara and Bell, 1995; Tagliamonte and Hudson, 1999). Milroy and Gordon observe that all of these studies need to first examine issues of semantic equivalence and discourse context before initiating a quantitative study.

Silva-Corvalán (2001)⁷ as well proposes ways in which to proceed in the study of a variable at the syntactic level:

⁷ My translation

(...) we can take as departing point a variant whose logical synonymy is not questionable and whose syntactic or morphosyntactic structure (or lexical if it is the variation in study) varies only with respect to the phenomenon considered to be variable. (...) The realizations of these variables are equivalent in with respect to the type of entities, events/states and circumstances that may constitute these realizations and in with respect to the thematic structure of the utterance (i.e. agents, patients, instruments, etc). The common element, the syntactic variable (or morphological), out of any discursive context, does not alter the referential equivalence. (p.135)

Thus, what Silva-Corvalán (2001) proposes is to look first for the semantic-discursive differences. These differences act as independent variables which are internal factors conditioning the dependent variable. She formulates this procedure in the following terms:

(...) given a discursive context X, two (morpho)syntactic variants, Y and Z, which alternate in X, and two social groups, A and B, we have to establish the frequency of occurrence of Y and Z in the context X for each group A and B separately. (p.137)

Such a procedure would allow us to compare the results and to interpret them from the social perspective. For instance, in the case of verb tense variation, one would have to investigate what the discourse functions for the form(s) studied are. An investigation that follows these steps of study would be more reliable, because the contextual factors of occurrence would have been described and controlled for in the research.

2.2.4.3 Discourse Functions and Tense Variable

In the preceding section I presented some studies on syntactic variation and I explained how this phenomenon is related to meaning. I begin this section by revisiting this topic in the area of meaning.

I agree with Lavandera when she states: “I propose to relax the condition that the referential meaning must be the same for all the alternants and substitute for it a condition of functional comparability” (1978, p.181). The setting up of a tense variable requires departing

from a semantic analysis of the verb meanings and from a correlational analysis of the linguistic contexts in which they appear.

Cheshire points out that most of the cases of syntactic variation are motivated by pragmatic factors such as information packaging, politeness strategies or ‘communicative intent’ (Cheshire, 2004b, ¶ 1). She argues that in order to more clearly understand syntactic variation across social and regional space, it is crucial to consider a given form in its discourse context. Based on analysis of English corpora, she makes three observations to support her argument:

1. What may look like one and the same form may have quite different functions for different groups of speakers (Cheshire, 2004b, ¶ 3).
2. Some syntactic constructions may be better understood as instances of pragmatic rather than syntactic variation (Cheshire, 2004b, ¶ 4).
3. Forms diffusing through social and regional space may sometimes be reflexes of a new discourse style (Cheshire, 2004b, ¶ 5).

What is clear from these observed facts is that syntactic variation seems to be explained more clearly in relation to discourse and pragmatics.

At this point, I return to the distinction that Silva-Corvalán makes between levels of meaning. I have mentioned before that she recognizes two levels of meaning. The first is referential and independent of the discursive context, and the second is dependent on the discourse and pragmatics (2001, p.136). This differentiation is helpful in locating the identification of the temporal meaning in the second level, and furthermore, shows the need to present a description of tense in Spanish. It is essential to take a holistic look in determining where the preterite and the present perfect are situated within the Spanish verbal system. With this purpose to account for a tense variable, I base my explanation on Silva-Corvalán’s system of the Spanish verb forms proposed in “Language Contact and Change” (1994).

In this work, she follows Comrie’s (1985) classification of tense forms into the categories *absolute*, *absolute-relative*, and *relative*. An absolute tense includes as part of its meaning the

present moment as deictic center, an absolute-relative tense locates a situation in time relative to a reference point which is established to be before or after the time of speech, and a relative tense locates the reference point at some point in time provided by the context, not necessarily the present.

Silva-Corvalán (1994, p. 21) considers absolute tenses in Spanish to include the Present Indicative, Preterite Indicative, Imperfect Indicative, Future, and Present Perfect; Absolute-relative tenses contain the Conditional, the Present Subjunctive and Imperfect Subjunctive, and Indicative and Subjunctive compound forms. Relative tenses comprise the non-finite forms.

In the case of a tense variable, the temporal distance in relation to the time of speech should be taken into account. Tense is a deictical category which can point to the past, to the present or to the future. Considering that the comparison of the preterite and the present perfect is the topic under investigation in the current work, I will focus here on the past.

The preterite in Spanish is used to refer to a completed action (*Hice la tarea* (I did the homework), a completed action with specific time period or number of times (*Llamé tres veces*/ I called three times), a summary or reaction statement (*El concierto fue excelente*/ The concert was excellent), and in general to an event conceived as completed in the past (*Yo fui a Lima el año pasado*/I went to Lima last year). In contrast, the present perfect has present relevance and prototypically indicates resultative (*El país ha desarrollado mucho*/The country has developed a lot), iterative (*Yo he usado esto varias veces*/I have used this many times), experiential (*Yo he viajado a París y Madrid*/I have traveled to Paris and Madrid), immediate past events (*Ha venido hace unos minutos*/ S/he came few minutes ago) (Rojo and Veiga, 1999).

A study on Limeño Spanish carried out by Howe and Schwenter (2003) discusses the discourse functions of the present perfect in the Spanish of Lima. Howe and Schwenter analyze

data from the La Paz and Lima corpora⁸ and observe that the preterite is employed in contexts where other dialects would prefer the present perfect. However, they say that these forms are not fully interchangeable. They assert that the present perfect is favored for marking non-sequenced situations in the past, signaling a disruption in the timeline, and providing a summary statement (p.67-69).

I agree with Howe and Schwenter in the observation that these forms are not fully interchangeable, because the present perfect is used in many contexts with the prototypical use of present relevance. However, based on observation of data from my pilot study on Limeño Spanish, the present perfect seems to be used also for other discourse functions, for example, to create temporal sequentiality in narrative, which is a context usually reserved for the preterite. This use does not correspond to an interruption of the time sequencing. For example:

- (40) Creo que mi pata se estaba olvidando una casaca y fui y se la dejé. Entonces mientras yo entraba a la casa de nuevo, ellos subían al carro, y en ese momento, los *han asaltado* con pistola, los *han tirado* al piso, *han robado*, *han manoseado* a la chica y era complicadísimo no poder hacer nada. (PS)
'I think that my buddy was forgetting his jacket and I went and I left it for him. Then, while I was coming back to the house again, they got in the car, and at that moment, they were robbed at gunpoint, they were thrown to the ground, and robbed, they got fresh with the girl and it was awful not being able to do anything.'

I agree as well with Howe and Schwenter's interpretation that in some contexts the present perfect is used to summarize the previous narrative sequence, but this function is also a function usually performed by the preterite. The preterite is also used frequently in narrative to make evaluations of events.

Based on my data from Lima (Pilot Study), I would argue that instead of two equivalent discourse functions, I find at least one discourse function that can be filled by the preterite and the present perfect in Limeño Spanish, indeterminately, without producing a change of meaning.

⁸ PILEI's Corpora of educated Spanish speakers.

Thus, I propose labeling this function in the discourse [SEQUENCING PAST EVENTS], which can be defined as ‘temporal advance in the past to foreground information’. This position in the discourse may be occupied by either the preterite or the present perfect.

I argue for the existence of this discourse function for two reasons:

1. Both verb forms, the preterite and the present perfect, take the same place, the same position in the discourse when advancing a temporal sequence in the past.
2. Both verb forms are used with perfective, completed, and punctual meaning when used to indicate sequencing in narration. The feature ‘punctuality’ is attributed to the preterite; therefore the present perfect should occupy the same place as the preterite incorporating that feature at the discourse level.

In conclusion, the present perfect and the preterite are not able to substitute for each other completely in all contexts; however there is evidence of overlapping at the discourse level. From our point of view, this could be a strong factor that causes the preterite to be favored over the present perfect in Limeño Spanish.

The next chapter provides a summary of several studies on the use of the preterite and the present perfect in Europe, the Canary Islands and Latin America. It has the purpose of giving a broad overview of the use of the preterite and the present perfect in these areas and revealing the tendencies observed.

2.2.5 Panorama of the Preterite and the Present Perfect in Spanish Varieties

Early works in Hispanic Linguistics acquaint readers with the different use of the preterite and the present perfect in Spain and in America (Kany 1951; Zamora 1970; Lapesa 1986;

Westmoreland 1988; Moreno de Alba 2003). This seems to be one of the more controversial phenomena in Spanish linguistics, especially in the case of American Spanish.

2.2.5.1 Spain and the Canary Islands

In 1951, Kany, in “American Spanish Syntax”, writes that “modern Spanish (...) employs the preterite (*vine* ‘I came’) to express a completed act in the past. It employs the present perfect (*he venido* ‘I have come’) to express a past act whose effects reach into the present, the effects being either real or merely imagined by the speaker. Consequently, it is used to express a recent past act (*he venido* = *acabo de venir*), or an act that has taken place within a period of time not yet ended (*hoy, esta semana, este año*, etc.)” (p.161). He also points out that this distinction varied in the Iberian Peninsula and in the American continent.

In fact, Castilian Spanish exhibits a present perfect with several functions, not just one. It is used to express that the situation is close to the moment of speaking, in other words, to express current relevance, and it is also often used in situations which happen during the period of speaking. In sum, the use of the present perfect is tightly related to the time of the utterance. In contrast, the preterite is used for situations completed prior to the speech time (Alarcos, 1947; Harris, 1982; Schwenter 1994a, 1994b; Brugger, 2001).

With respect to usage according to location, Kany mentions that the distinction discussed above is widespread in Navarre, Aragon, and part of Old Castile, but that it does not exist in some regions of Galicia, Asturias, and León, where the archaic use of the preterite is extensive. In the “History of Spanish Language”, Lapesa (1986, p. 589) confirms this use in those regions, and includes the Canary Islands as a preterite use area. Zamora Vicente (1970, p. 260) also reports an increasing use of the present perfect in the Southern region of Spain in Andalusia. He

says that, in general, all preterites tend to be substituted with present perfects. More recent work on the Iberian and Canary dialects (Sang Kim, 1987; Herrera and Medina, 1991; Serrano, 1995-96; Piñero, 2000) supports these earlier descriptions; however, the studies carried on Canarian Spanish also report an increase in preference of the present perfect over the preterite in this region.

Herrera and Medina (1991) study the Spanish of one of the Canary Islands, Tenerife (see Table 1). They observe different tendencies in the older and younger generations. They report a tendency for the older generation to use the preterite more than the present perfect, but a tendency for the younger generation to use the present perfect more frequently than the preterite. Although the tendency to use the present perfect increases in the middle generation, still the use of the preterite is high in comparison with the present perfect.

Table 1: Distribution of the Preterite and the Present Perfect in Tenerife according to Generation (Herrera and Medina, 199, p. 237, in Piñero, 2001)

	Preterite	Present perfect
1st. Gen. 25-35	80 %	20%
2nd gen. 36-55	76%	24 %
3rd. gen. 66→	94 %	6 %

Serrano (1995-96) investigates the Spanish of another Canary island, La Laguna. She analyzes a corpus of 715 sentences produced by 34 native Spanish speakers from La Laguna. Her study consists of two parts: one related to the lexical meaning of the preterite and the present perfect, and the other to their correlation with three social variables (age, class and gender). Serrano concludes that the values for the present perfect in La Laguna are correlated with present relevance to the communicative situation. In contrast, she concludes that the preterite acquires the pragmatic function of relevance if it is associated with present situations. She also states that

adverbs and lexical characteristics are not the determining factors for its use. In addition, she finds that class and age affect the frequency of use of the present perfect. The upper social class speakers use the present perfect more frequently because they seem to be adopting the Spanish standard, probably due to the prestige associated with it. This is corroborated by the finding that the older generation uses the preterite more frequently than the present perfect and the middle generation tends to use the present perfect more frequently. These results seem to support the idea that there is a change in progress in the Spanish of the Canary Islands towards a predominance of the present perfect. It seems that the adoption of a Spanish variety more similar to the variety of Madrid goes hand in hand with the abandonment of a less standard Spanish, a Spanish variety identified with the rural area. Finally, she reports that the gender variable was not significant in her study.

In a similar study to that described above, Piñero (2000) studies the Spanish of the educated population of Las Palmas in the Canary Islands as part of a larger project⁹ the objective of which is to describe standard Spanish in the principal cities of the Hispanic world. Her research was based on 42 interviews, from which she obtained 2,639 occurrences of the preterite and 1,259 of the present perfect. Her study analyzes the frequency of these forms in relation to age and gender, the extraverbal indicators of tense and aspect, context of use of the preterite and the present perfect, the secondary values of these forms and the influence of other linguistic factors on their usage.

The results from Piñero's study corroborate Serrano's findings with regard to the increase in use of the present perfect over the preterite. She offers results stratified by age. The first generation (25-35 years old): 51.12% (preterite) and 48.88% (present perfect); the second

⁹ Proyecto de estudio coordinado de la norma lingüística culta del español hablado en las principales ciudades del mundo hispánico.

generation (36-55 years old): 65.19% (preterite) and 34.81% (present perfect); and the third generation (66 years old→): 80.99% (preterite) and 19.01% (present perfect). We can see that there has been a progressive expansion of the use of the present perfect in the Canary Islands over time.

Thus, the young generations of Las Palmas and La Laguna tend to prefer the use of the present perfect. At the same time, however, Piñero's work reveals differences between Tenerife and Las Palmas. Her results are still far from the Herrera and Medina findings outlined above. In fact, Piñero observes that there is a ratio of 2.1: 1 in Las Palmas, which means that 2.1 preterite forms occur for each present perfect form. Piñero compares her results with those obtained by other investigations carried out in Madrid and other Latin American capitals. The results from Madrid, Las Palmas, Santiago, San Juan and Mexico are studies involved in the same project, and the results from Buenos Aires and Salta are independent studies¹⁰. The tendency to use the preterite more than the present perfect is most obvious in two Latin American cities: Mexico (4.60 preterites for every 1 present perfect) and Buenos Aires (6.90 preterites for every 1 present perfect). However, we can also see that the ratio 2.10 preterites for every 1 present perfect in Las Palmas is close to the use of Madrid, the dialect leading the innovative use of the present perfect (1.40 preterites for every 1 present).

In summary, the contrast between the study in Madrid carried out by Sang Kim, (1987) and the studies conducted by Piñero (2000) in Las Palmas and Serrano (1995-1996) in La Laguna, demonstrate that the frequency of present forms for Madrid is greater than that of the Canary Islands. However, Piñero and Serrano observe that in both places, the present perfect is

¹⁰ The data correspond to the following scholars: H. Sang Kim 1987 : 179 and 204 (Madrid); J. Cardona 1978: 8 (Puerto Rico); J.G. Moreno de Alba, 1985: 43-68 (México); H. Miranda 1980-81: 871 (Santiago de Chile); S. Martorell, E. Soto and A. Taruselli 1992-93: 71 (Salta); (H. Kubarth 1992: 556 (Buenos Aires).

increasing in frequency and that this use is correlated with age and socio-cultural stratification. It seems that older generations use the preterite more frequently than the present perfect, while younger generations tend to use the present perfect more. Their results seem to indicate a change in progress towards the adoption of the present perfect. Moreover, with respect to the use of these verb paradigms, Piñero suggests that this insular region seems to be an intermediate dialectal zone between the European and American dialects of Spanish.

2.2.5.2 The Americas

Regarding Piñero's suggestion above, a study on grammaticalization and comparative dialectology conducted by Company (2002) demonstrates that there is a semantic-syntactic isogloss which divides European Spanish and Latin American Spanish. This isogloss involves different aspects of Spanish grammar: nominal possession, diminutives, *leísmo*¹¹ and present perfect. She affirms that the dialectal division originated in a different selection of semantic features to codify the same functional notional area (p.39). Peninsular Spanish is more sensitive to the observable semantic properties of the entities/situation, and American Spanish is more sensitive to the speaker's assessment and perspective of the entities/situation. In other words, Peninsular Spanish selects an 'absolute profile' (non-relational), whereas American Spanish chooses a 'relational profile' (p.45).

One of the grammatical aspects that Company analyzes to demonstrate her point of view is the use of the present perfect. She summarizes the differences between Spain and Latin America, stating that Peninsular Spanish selects preferably temporal values for the present perfect, while American Spanish selects preferably aspectual, or non-temporal values (p 60).

¹¹ In some dialects, dative clitics (le/les) encroach the functions of accusative clitics (lo,los/la,las). This phenomenon is known as "*leísmo*" (Zagona, 2002, p.17)

There is evidence, in fact, that European and American Spanish differ in the use of the present perfect not only qualitatively but also quantitatively. In the following section, I review a number of studies which have investigated the difference in use of these tenses in Europe and the Americas. Because of the focus of the main study in this paper, specific attention will be paid to the latter.

Josse de Kock (1990) analyzes European and Latin American Spanish corpora in three types of register: informative, literary and oral¹². He compares the relative frequency of the preterite, the imperfect and the present perfect in Spanish. His results illustrate that in informative language (written language), the differences of use of these tenses between Spanish in Spain and Spanish in Latin America are reduced. In contrast, the literary corpus exhibits many differences in the use of preterite and present perfect, with a significant preference in American Spanish for the preterite. In oral language, both continents prefer the preterite, although the preference in American Spanish for the preterite is higher, at least in the two cities of this sample (Mexico and Santiago). The 8.66 % difference in usage between Madrid and Santiago, Chile is the largest, with a divergence between Madrid and Mexico being 5% and Madrid with San Juan, Puerto Rico only 2.5%. Overall, the preterite is used more in oral language and the present perfect in informative and literary language both in Spain and the Americas.

Moreover, as previously mentioned, there are many studies that attest the less frequent use of the present perfect in American Spanish (Westmoreland, 1988, p. 379; Kany, 1976, p. 161; Lope Blanch, 1972, p. 127; Alvarez Nazario, 1972, p. 90). Westmoreland (1988) posits that different individual surveys confirm this usage for Mexico, Central America, Argentina and

¹² In this analysis each type of register is not defined. From the examples, I deduce that the term '*informative*' refers to newspaper articles and essays; the term '*literary*' refers to narrative texts written by famous authors; and '*oral*' refers to interviews taken for the study of the educated Spanish in Hispanic cities (PILEI).

Caribbean Spanish (p. 380). Some researchers have observed neutralization between the preterite and the present perfect (Schumacher de la Peña, 1980), while others report a functional differentiation between them (Berschin, 1975; Lope Blanch, 1972).

For the Spanish of the Americas, Kany (1951) has also observed that “the simple preterite, on the contrary, is frequently used in most of Spanish America in cases where a purist insists on the present perfect” (p.161). In this initial work on Latin American Spanish, Kany had already noticed that in this region, with the exception of some areas in Peru, Bolivia and Argentina, there was a more frequent use of the preterite. He also observed that in Spain the use of the present perfect was more frequent than in Latin America, except in some areas of Galicia, Asturias and Leon. These early generalizations about the American varieties were confirmed by Zamora Vicente (1970, p. 34) and Lapesa (1986, pp. 589-190).

In 1964, during the II Symposium of PILEI (Programa Interamericano de Linguística y Enseñanza de Idiomas) carried out in Bloomington, Indiana, Juan Lope Blanch’s Project dedicated to describing the educated norm of major Hispanic capitals, *Proyecto de Estudio coordinado de la norma lingüística culta de las principales ciudades de Iberoamérica y de la Península Ibérica*, was proposed and approval was given to carry it out. Later Latin American linguists worked on the description of diverse varieties of American Spanish, using data collected in the frame of this Project (Lope Blanch, 1977). In the following paragraphs I summarize a selection of these studies in addition to other studies conducted on the Latin American varieties of Spanish.

Lope Blanch (1972) and Moreno de Alba (1978) study the verb system of Mexico and observe a more widespread usage of the preterite than the present perfect. Lope Blanch (1972, p. 127-139) analyzes data from PILEI and concludes that the meanings of the preterite are different

from those in Spain. Furthermore, he reports that the present perfect has almost disappeared in oral language in Mexico and it is rare in written language. He says that the present perfect is usually replaced by the preterite and in some cases by the pluperfect, especially in literary language (p. 136).

The work of Moreno de Alba (1978) supports Lope Blanch's findings. Moreno de Alba analyzes PILEI's data and finds that the 2.7% of the verb forms in the corpus are present perfect and 11.7% are preterite forms. From the 404 forms of present perfect that he analyzes, most of them are ongoing and present or latently ongoing and habitual present time (Moreno de Alba, 1978, p. 43 and 54). Moreno de Alba (2003) maintains that the use of the present perfect has been diminishing from the sixteenth century to the present (p.230).

Moreno de Alba (2003:231-32) states that, at least in Mexican Spanish, the preterite *canté* (I sang) and the present perfect *he cantado* (I have sung) are used to express past actions independently from the lexical aspect of the verb (i.e. semelfactive, iterative events, etc.) and independently of whether the perfective event has taken place inside or outside the extended 'now' of the speaker. The present perfect is employed to refer to actions that are conceived of as still present. Therefore, the difference between the preterite and the present perfect rests on the contrastive features 1) ***not leading into the present***: "*ayer llegué tarde*" (Yesterday I arrived late); *hoy llegué tarde* (Today I arrived late); *ya regresé* (I have already come back); and 2) ***leading into the present***: "*hoy he trabajado mucho (y sigo trabajando en este momento)*" (Today I have worked much (and I am still working at this moment)); "*he ido mucho a Acapulco (y sigo yendo)*" (I have often gone to Acapulco (and I still go)).

In Central America, studies of the Spanish varieties of Costa Rica (Arroyo Soto, 1971, p.155) and El Salvador (Canfield, 1960, p. 70) also report a more frequent use of the preterite.

Research on the Spanish of Cuba (Padrón, 1949), Puerto Rico (Alvarez Nazario, 1972; Cardona, 1980), and the Dominican Republic (Jorge Morel, 1978) shows a preference for the preterite. For Puerto Rico, Alvarez Nazario (1991, p. 704) reports that on the island the use of the preterite is evenly spread over rural and urban areas, with a temporal adverbial expected to be used with present perfect: “*Hoy hablé con ella*” (I talked to her today), “*No hace mucho que vino aquí*” (It hasn’t been much time since she came here), “*Llegué ahora mismo*” (I came right now), “*Lo vi ayer*” (I saw him yesterday). In addition, he says that several uses of the present perfect have been maintained: the use of the present perfect to refer to a durative or reiterative action that extends to the present - “*Nunca he ido a verlo*” (I never have gone to see him), “*Siempre he usado este perfume*” (I have always used this perfume); to refer to an action that persists in the present (“*Todavía no ha llegado*”/ S/he still hasn’t arrived); or to express a present result (“*Te he dicho que no!*”/ I have said to you No!). Maria Vaquero (1996, p. 64) reports as well the high frequency of the preterite in comparison with the frequency of the present perfect, and Amparo Morales (1992, p. 627) suggests that this usage is motivated by diverse discursive factors and by the type of action expressed.

In South America, authors of independent studies express similar observations with respect to the use of the preterite and the present perfect.

For Venezuela, Sedano and Bentivoglio (1996) report instances of the preterite of indicative alternates and the present perfect of indicative in the same context, but they assert that generally these forms are in complementary distribution. The preterite is frequently used for completed actions that occurred far (*en 1970 me compré una casa*/In 1970 I bought a house) or near (*ya terminé la tarea*/I have already finished the homework) to the time of speech (1996, p.125).

In 1975, Berschin prepared a survey on the use of these forms in the Spanish of Bogotá, Colombia. He analyzed the compatibility of the preterite and present perfect with the temporal adverbials *hoy* (today), *ayer* (yesterday), *hace poco* (some time ago) in Colombian Spanish and contrasted these results with those obtained for the Peninsular Spanish.

	Contexto: [+pasado]	
	<i>hoy</i>	<i>ayer</i>
Colombian Spanish→	preterite	preterite
Peninsular Spanish→	present perfect	preterite
	preterite	

Figure 18: Use of the Preterite and Present Perfect with the Adverbs *hoy* and *ayer* in Colombian Spanish (Berschin, 1975, p.548)

Berschin concludes that the present perfect in Colombian Spanish is incompatible with the semantic feature [+pasado] (see Figure 18 above). Additionally, he says that the present perfect in this variety is compatible with events which are leading to the present because this form, combined with the temporal adverbs '*hace poco*' and '*en los últimos años*', results in present perfects 92.0% of the time and preterites only 8.0% of the time (1975, p. 548-550)

Research carried out in the 1960's in Argentina shows similar results. Vidal de Battini (1964, p.89) reports a preference for the preterite in Argentina. Donni de Mirande (1967, p.34,) in a study of the Argentine oral and literary language, finds that in realist literature there is a generalized use of the preterite in contexts where the present perfect should appear. In 1992, she points out a process of neutralization between the two tenses:

In the use of perfects (simple and compound of the indicative) there are tendencies to prefer one or the other depending on the regions; but in general the aspectual differences between them seem to be forgotten. In the pampean litoral region the simple preterit is used. In Rosario, for example, the difference between both preterites is neutralized [...] In the Northeast, especially from Tucuman to the North, up to the border with Bolivia the

compound form is preferred, as well as in the central region (especially Northwestern Cordoba).¹³

Donni de Mirande (1992) analyzes linguistic data gathered in Rosario, Argentina, and finds a higher occurrence of the preterite over the present perfect: formal educated sociolect (68% of preterites and 32% of present perfects), informal educated sociolect (82% of preterites and 18% of present perfects), formal non-educated sociolect (75% of preterites and 25% of present perfects), and informal non-educated sociolect (85% of preterites and 15% of present perfects) (In Martorell de Laconi, 2001, p.124).

In a later work (1996), Donni de Mirande also affirms that in the use of the preterite and the present perfect there are different tendencies according to different geographic areas with respect to preference for one or the other. It seems that in some cases the functional and semantic-pragmatic differences are fused (p. 217).

Investigations of other Argentinian varieties have obtained similar results, with a preference for the preterite. Martorell de Laconi (2001) investigates the Spanish of Salta, considering educated and non-educated strata, using tests of complementation and participant observation techniques. She finds a frequency of 43.88% for the present perfect and 56.12% for the preterite. In 1992, using the interview technique, she finds a 68.12% of incidence for the preterite and 31.87% for the present perfect. In 2001, in a second study in which she analyzes interviews, the results confirm the preference for the preterite (74.04%) over the present perfect (25.95%).

¹³ “[...] En el uso de los perfectos (simple y compuesto de indicativo) hay tendencias a preferir uno u otro de ellos según las regiones; pero en general parecen olvidadas o poco claras las diferencias aspectuales entre ambos. En la región litoral pampeana se usa sobre todo el pretérito simple. En Rosario, por ejemplo, la diferencia entre ambos pretéritos se neutraliza [...] En el Noroeste, especialmente desde Tucumán hacia el norte, hasta la frontera con Bolivia, se prefiere la forma compuesta, lo mismo que en la región central (N.O. de Córdoba especialmente) (Donni de Mirande, 1992, p. 407)

In 1992, Kubarth studied the Spanish spoken in Buenos Aires. His corpus, gathered in 1983, is stratified into three socio-cultural levels. From 1,834 tokens, 1,602 (87%) were preterites and 232 (13%) were present perfects. He concludes that: (1) the preterite is used with actions finished before the speech time, independent of temporal or affective distance, (2) the use of the present perfect is limited to cases in which the action is extended to the speech time or when the completed action does not have a temporal relation with the speech time, and (3) the frequency in use of present perfect is not the same through generations. It is higher in the older generation and lower in the younger generation. (Kubarth, 1992, p. 505)

With regard to Chilean Spanish, Rodolfo Oroz (1966) indicates that the preterite is preferred over the present perfect. He posits that this preference is based on the contrast between perfective actions not leading to the present and perfective actions leading to the present. In 1980, Miranda analyzes PILEI's data gathered in Santiago de Chile, and his results are similar to those obtained by Piñero and Serrano for Canarian Spanish. His findings show a preference in Santiago de Chile for the preterite over the present perfect. However, it seems that over time, the preterite has been displaced by the present perfect. The younger generation has a more marked tendency to use the present perfect than the older generation (p. 871).

In Peru, Schumacher de Peña (1980, p. 553-557) observes that along the northern coast the tendency is to use the preterite forms more. She also puts forth that in the highlands area, there is a neutralization of these forms. We will see below that other linguists have demonstrated there is quite a divergent situation in the Andean region. In the central coast area, Caravedo (1989, 1990) studied the Spanish of Lima on the lexical and phonological levels. She reports that the present perfect is preferred in the Coastal variety, and that this tendency is higher in the Andean and Amazonian varieties (Caravedo, 1996, p.165). Howe and Schwenter (2003) also

study the use of the present perfect in the Spanish of Lima, and find that the perfect has acquired new discursive functions. I will return to this topic in the next chapter.

Andean Spanish

A particular use of the present perfect in the Andean region has been attested in Peru (Escobar, 1997), Ecuador (Bustamante, 1991a, 1991b) Bolivia (Hardman, 1986; Martin, 1981; Laprade, 1981; Stratford, 1989), and Argentina (Martorell, Soto and Taruselli, 1992-1993).

Escobar (1997) analyzes 15 hours of recordings from Quechua native speakers for whom Spanish is a second language, and she finds that there is no support for the semantic neutralization hypothesis in the Peruvian Andes. In addition, she observes that the pluperfect participial is also in contrast with the preterite and the present perfect, so that there is a “three-term subsystem within the Spanish verbal system of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals” (p.860). Her analysis shows that the Spanish in contact with Quechua uses a perfect of result, a perfect of persistent situation, a perfect of experienced situation, and a perfect with present relevance. Moreover, she attests two new uses of the present perfect in this variety of Spanish: one used with a spatial relevance meaning and another used with an evidential meaning. On one hand, the spatial relevance function marks “whether the past event took place at a location coinciding with the here-and-now (where the speaker is at the moment of speech) or not” (p. 863).

(41) *yo he venido de allá el año 72/ o sea pues ya estoy un poquito tiempos acá (más de 15 años)/.../después he venido m'ido de entre [después de] ocho años /siete años/ habré ido por allí/y así estuve allá/ de allí todavía hasta ahora no voy.*
'I have come from over there in the year 72/ that is I am a little while here [more than 15 years at the time of the recording]/.../after I have come I have gone between [after] eight years/seven years/I must have gone that way/ and then I was over there/from then I still until now do not go.' (Escobar, 1997, p.863)

In example (41) from Escobar, the present perfect is used to refer to a past event which occurred within a spatial deictic center--the same place where the interviewee is located at the

moment of speaking. In contrast, the preterite is used to refer to past events that do not coincide with the spatial deictic center. In other words, they do not coincide with the location of the interviewee in the moment of speaking.

On the other hand, the evidential function is used with “the purpose of emphasizing events once experienced or witnessed by the speaker” (Escobar, 1997, p. 864). An example of such a function is provided below:

(42) estuve un mes no más [en mi tierra] después me regresé/ me enfermé [mientras estaba allá]/ mi garganta se ha cerrado y todo me ha pasado/
I was a month not more [in my native area] afterward I returned/ I got sick [while I was over there]/my throat has closed and everything has happened to me. (Escobar 1997: 864)

In example (42), the purpose of the speaker is to use the present perfect to emphasize the past event as an event lived and witnessed.

From Escobar’s point of view this variety of Spanish in contact with Quechua is at a more advanced stage of evolution since it adds innovative uses to the already existing uses of the present perfect.

Other research studies in the Andean regions make similar observations. Schumacher (1975) argues that the present perfect in Peruvian Andean varieties expresses direct participation of the speaker. Klee and Ocampo (1995) make a similar suggestion about the Quechua spoken by bilinguals in Peru. Bustamante (1991b) in her doctoral dissertation concludes that in the Spanish of Quito, the present perfect is not in the process of disappearing but instead has added new functions. Besides the traditional semantic values of the present perfect, she observes that it is used to express new distinctions of modality.

Analogous results have been found for the Spanish of La Paz in Bolivia. Hardman (1986), Martin (1981), Laprade (1981), and Stratford (1989) attest to innovative uses of the

present perfect in this region. They find that, in this variety, the preterite permits the speaker to indicate indirect knowledge. In addition, events not witnessed by the speaker or those received from other sources are narrated using the present perfect (or the pluperfect of indicative).

Nevertheless, we have to take into account that Andean Spanish is a variety immersed in a situation of language contact, which means that most of their speakers have Quechua or Aimara as their first or second language. Quechua and Aimara are indigenous languages. The former is spoken in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Northwestern Argentina and Northeastern Chile, and the latter in Peru and Bolivia. It is important to consider this factor in the classification of Latin American Spanish dialects, because language contact is an important factor in determining whether a variety should be considered Andean or not.

2.2.5.3 The General Panorama

On the basis of the studies reviewed, we can confirm that the contrast between the preterite and the present perfect is active in Spain and America; in other words, these forms have a functional differentiation. However, an alternation has been observed between these verb tenses across different Spanish varieties. It is the use of the preterite where the present perfect would be expected which has led some linguists to hypothesize a partial neutralization of these forms in some American dialects.

In contrast, other linguists argue against such a position, formulating different arguments. Westmoreland (1988, pp. 380-381) summarizes these arguments: first, the contrastive use is founded on the criterion ‘leading into/not leading into the present’(based on Berschin, 1975, Colombian Spanish); second, on aspectual (present perfect) and non-aspectual considerations (preterite) (based on Lope Blanch, 1972, Mexican Spanish); thirdly, on the preference for the present perfect in negative structures (based on Lope Blanch 1972, p. 33, Mexican Spanish; Del

Rosario, 1970, pp. 51-52, American Spanish; Moreno de Alba 1978: 59, Mexican Spanish); fourthly, on the use of the present perfect for punctual and completed actions generally in exclamations (based on Lope Blanch, 1972, p. 137); and finally, on the fact that the present perfect is not used to indicate anteriority in the past (based on Moreno de Alba, 1978, p. 64, Mexican Spanish).

In brief, the reports of the use of the present perfect and the preterite for different Spanish varieties distinguish between the American dialects and the Peninsular dialects. It may be concluded that there are basically two tendencies: one group prefers to use the preterite over the present perfect (Non-Andean American dialects, Galicia, Asturias, León, Andalucía and Canary Islands –although this last area seems to be in process of change to the present perfect), while the other prefers the present perfect over the preterite (Old Castile, Navarre, Aragon, and Andean American dialects-although this last group with meanings added due to language contact).

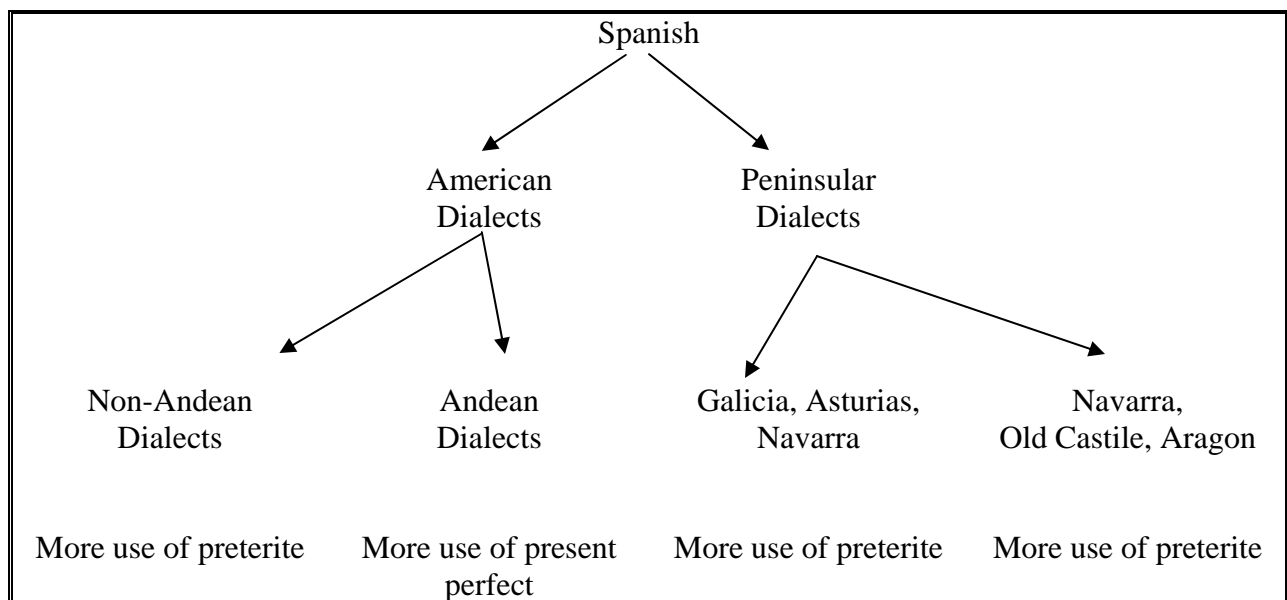


Figure 19: Distribution of Use of the Preterite and the Present Perfect across Spanish Varieties

Figure 19, above, shows the distribution of the frequencies of the preterite and the present perfect across different Spanish varieties, based on the findings of the studies reviewed above.

Non-Andean Spanish dialects, and those in Galicia, Asturias, and the Canary Islands correspond to a more archaic and frequent use of the preterite. They are at the third stage in the process of grammaticalization of the present perfect (Harris, 1982), with less frequency of use of this tense and with the semantic coverage described for this stage (see section 1.1.1. of this chapter). In contrast, Navarre, Castile and Aragon are more innovative dialects that are at the fourth stage in the process of grammaticalization. Moreover, the frequency of the present perfect in these dialects is increasing. Andean dialects are included in this group as well, due to their innovative character: they have added new meanings to the use of the present perfect and have restructured the Spanish paradigm.

In sum, I hypothesize that the divergent situation between Spain and the Americas with respect to the use of the preterite and the present perfect is the result of the transplantation of Spanish to the American continent. It has been demonstrated that Spanish has undergone a process of koinéization, especially during the colonial period where all the elements of koinéization worked together to produce leveling and simplification. The form with higher frequency when Spanish arrived in America has gained territory steadily, leaving the present perfect to be used with specific pragmatic functions emphasizing the speaker's perspective. Also, over the years, both tenses have continued to struggle for their own 'territory', and at some point the process of grammaticalization of the present perfect added new functions to this tense, creating overlap with the preterite in some contexts. This apparent fusing of functions in some contexts could be one of the factors that, through time, has fostered a preference for the preterite. In other words, if we have two forms that are employed with the same discourse functions, then

it may happen that the speakers prefer one, in this case the preterite. This process has been observed in the phonological and grammatical areas of American Spanish, especially in its origins.

In the specific case of Lima, one must consider both dialect contact and language contact when examining usage. Dialect contact has come about as Lima is a city which has received migrants from different Peruvian Spanish-speaking regions, especially in the last fifty years. This is the perfect context for koinéization. Furthermore, language contact exists because many of these migrants come from the Andes. Many of them are Quechua-Spanish bilinguals that speak an Andean variety of Spanish or that have different levels of bilingualism. Most of them live in small villages in impoverished zones around Lima and raise their children and grandchildren exposing them to their own interlanguage, to other neighbors' interlanguage, to other neighbors' Peruvian variety and, of course, to the Spanish from Lima.

2.2.6 Exploratory Study

2.2.6.1 Sample

These data consisted of 40 unstructured interviews with monolingual Spanish speakers from Lima¹⁴. The participants were grouped according to age, socio-economic strata and gender variables. The age variable comprised two groups: a young generation (18 to 27 years old) and an older generation (28 to 37 years old). The socio-economic variable took into account two large strata: the upper middle class and the working class. Three indicators were used to define these strata: type of school (private and expensive schools vs. public schools), neighborhood

¹⁴ The Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh funded my field research project on the Spanish of Lima in 2003. During the summer of that year, I gathered linguistic data for my pilot study on the use of the preterite and the present perfect in Lima.

lived in (Miraflores, San Isidro, La Molina, Camacho vs. Villa El Salvador¹⁵), and level of education (secondary education vs. higher education). Gender was the third variable considered in this project, with each quota represented by the same number of females and males to somewhat nullify its effect. The requirement for all participants in the sample was that they had to be born and socialized in Lima.

The participants were divided into quotas of five participants. This made a total of 20 women and 20 men for the gender factor, and 20 participants from the working class stratum and 20 participants from the upper middle class stratum. Finally, the total number of younger and older participants was 20 for each generation.

2.2.6.2 Data Collection Instrument

I conducted a total of 40 unstructured interviews. Their duration was from 35 minutes to one hour. The set of questions was organized into modules: general biographical information, school, games, work, neighborhood, danger, fights, family, recent activities (Labov 1984). I asked the interviewees questions about their life experience, starting to trigger information from the remote past, and then finishing with events in the recent past.

2.2.6.3 Data Analysis

Qualitative Analysis

The preterite in the Spanish of Lima is used with the prototypical discourse functions observed in other varieties (Rojo y Veiga, 1999; King, 1992; Westmoreland, 1988). It has been mentioned that the present perfect typically has acquired different meanings in its process of

¹⁵ I gathered information from the National Institute of Statistics in Lima to ensure that those neighborhoods corresponded in fact to the strata selected.

grammaticalization (Harris, 1982). For this reason, an analysis of the meanings of the present perfect was carried out in these data. The qualitative findings of this analysis were discussed in the present chapter in sections 1.2.2.1 and 1.2.5.3, and they confirmed that the present perfect is being used with same function observed for the present perfect in other Peninsular and Latin American varieties, but also with new discourse functions. The present perfect is taking over the functions of the preterite, thus reaching another stage in its process of grammaticalization. Based on these findings, the next step of this study was to analyze the frequencies of the preterite and the present perfect forms. Since different variationist studies have found a significant correlation between some social factors and linguistic factors (Sankoff and Thibault, 1980; Lavandera, 1984; Silva-Corvalán, 1986 & 1994), I considered it useful to include gender, age and social stratum as independent variables in this study. Therefore, I analyzed within these data the frequencies of preterites and present perfect in relation to gender, age, and social stratum.

Quantitative Analysis

The total number of tokens analyzed was 6,979. Out of a total of 6,979 tokens, 5,727 (82%) are preterite and 1,252 (18%) are present perfect.

These tokens were distributed according to the quotas already mentioned. The next table shows this distribution by age, gender and social class. Bold capital letters and numbers in each quota are assigned to each participant. Bold capital letters code social strata, gender and age: upper class (**U**) and working class (**W**); male (**M**) and female (**F**); younger generation (**Y**) and older generation (**O**). Regular numbers are used for the number of preterite and present perfect tokens produced by each speaker. Table 2 below shows the number of preterites and present perfects per participant in the pilot study.

Table 2: Number of preterite and present perfect

Age	Younger				Older			
Gender	Male		Female		Male		Female	
SES	<i>pret</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>pret</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>pret</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>pret</i>	<i>pp</i>
Upper Class	UMY1. 86	12	UFY2. 182	13	UMO3. 145	32	UFO4. 160	34
	UMY5. 85	8	UFY6. 141	36	UMO7. 84	21	UFO8. 117	37
	UMY9. 239	7	UFY10. 197	13	UMO11. 136	18	UFO12. 111	38
	UMY13. 107	13	UFY14. 151	38	UMO15. 201	32	UFO16. 43	6
	UMY17. 80	13	UFY18. 123	27	UMO19. 92	8	UFO20. 212	23
Working Class	WMY21. 151	10	WFY22. 94	11	WMO23. 78	29	WFO24. 81	45
	WMY25. 175	75	WFY26. 213	29	WMO27. 174	108	WFO28. 52	24
	WMY29. 214	19	WFY30. 112	29	WMO31. 103	36	WFO32. 221	108
	WMY33. 213	31	WFY34. 241	41	WMO35. 183	19	WFO36. 180	42
	WMY37. 113	17	WFY38. 211	66	WMO39. 102	36	WFO40. 124	48

These data were entered in the SPSS program and a two way analysis of variance was applied¹⁶. Analysis of variance was chosen for this study because of the nature of the independent variables. The independent variables –age, gender and social class- are described as categorical variables. This type of variable can take on only a small number of values or ‘scores’. In this case, gender, age and social class can each have two possible values: ‘male’ or ‘female’ for gender, ‘younger’ and ‘older’ for age group, and ‘working’ or ‘upper middle’ for social class. Analysis of variance is appropriate for testing the effect of categorical independent variables.

This type of analysis essentially compares the means of the groups, and it is possible to apply it when the dependent variable is quantitative, as in this case.

¹⁶ I thank Elaine Rubinstein from the Office of Measurement and Evaluation Teaching (OMET) at the University of Pittsburgh, who helped me to analyze these data.

The results of the independent samples tests show that the difference within gender was not significant ($p>.05$), though the differences within age groups and within class levels were significant ($p<.05$).

The test of between-subjects effects was used to analyze the effects of age and class separately. The effects of age and class each proved to be significant ($p<0.25$). Furthermore, the interaction between age and class is also significant ($p<.10$). Interaction tests whether differences between upper middle class and working class are bigger among younger participants or older participants. Alternatively, it tests whether differences between younger and older participants is larger within the upper middle class or within the working class.

The following list summarizes the results found for the relationship between the linguistic variables (preterite and the present perfect), and the social variables (gender, class and age):

1. All of the participants use more preterite forms than present perfect forms (82.3582%).
2. Young people (86.4327%) produce more preterite forms than older people (78.2836%). This difference is significant at $p<0.05$.
3. Upper middle class participants produce significantly more ($p<.05$) preterite forms (85.9803%) than working class participants (78.7360%).
4. Men (84.1527%) are more likely than women (80.5636) to produce preterite forms, although this difference is not significant ($p>.05$).
5. The effects of age and class are significant at $p<.05$.
6. The interaction between age and class is significant at $p<.10$.
7. The interaction between class and age shows that the difference between younger individuals is more pronounced for working class participants than for upper class participants.

8. The interaction between class and age shows that the difference between upper and working class participants is bigger among older than among younger participants.

Breakdown of the results

Examining in more detail the use of both tenses in each generation, one can see that the younger generation has increased the use of the preterite over the present perfect. As stated above, this difference is significant. The frequencies and percentages of forms with respect to the age variable are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of Preterite and Present Perfect According to Age

Generation	Preterite		Present Perfect		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Younger	3, 128	86%	508	14%	3,636	52.09
Older	2, 599	78%	744	22%	3,343	47.91
Total					6,979	100.0

Considering only social stratum, we find that in the upper middle class the occurrences of the preterite are greater than those of present perfect. Table 4 shows the frequency of both tenses and their distribution according to social stratum.

Table 4: Distribution of Preterite and Present Perfect according to Social Stratum

Social Strata	Preterite		Present Perfect		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Upper middle	2,692	86.0	429	14.0	3,121	44.72
Working	3, 055	79.0	823	21.0	3,858	57.28
Total					6,979	100.0

In Table 5, the difference in the use of the preterite and the present perfect between men and women is small and not significant, although the former are more likely to produce preterite than the latter.

Table 5: Distribution of the Preterite and the Present Perfect according to Gender

	Preterite		Present Perfect		Total
	n	%	n	%	
Males	2761	83.54	544	16.46	3,305
Females	2966	80.19	708	19.81	3,674
Total					6,979 (100%)

Comparing class and age in Tables 6 and 7, the variables that show more distance among groups, one observes a more noticeable difference among older participants. Older working class participants are less likely to utter preterite forms than older upper class participants.

Table 6: Distribution of the Preterite and Present Perfect in the Working Stratum according to Age

Generation	Working class			
	Preterite		Present Perfect	
	n	%	n	%
Younger	1,737	84	328	16
Older	1,298	72	495	28

Table 7: Distribution of the Preterite and Present Perfect in the Upper Middle Stratum according to Age

Generation	Upper middle class			
	Preterite		Present Perfect	
	n	%	n	%
Younger	1,391	88.54	180	11.46
Older	1,301	83.94	249	16.06

The following boxplot (Figure 21) illustrates the difference between generations and social strata. This difference is significant as corroborated by the ANOVA test. From the

outcome presented below, what is clear is that the variables which exhibit a significant effect over the use of the preterite and the present perfect are social stratum and age.

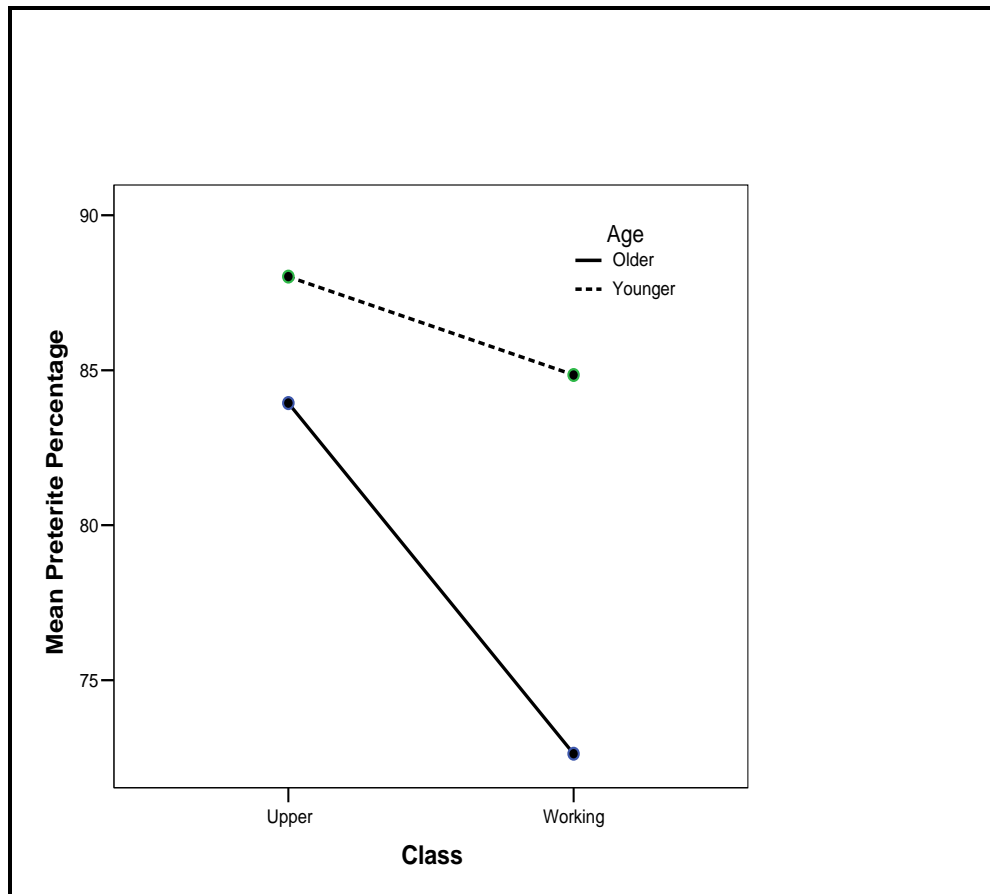


Figure 20: Profile Plot of the Interaction of the Preterite by Age and Class

The results for the interaction between age and social stratum show that the use of the preterite has increased in the young generations of both strata. However, the group that presents the highest incidence of preterite is the young upper middle group. The contrast with the old generations of both socioeconomic strata is very noticeable and the increasing of the use of one linguistic form through the generations is constant.

This difference required a more careful study of the aspectual uses of the present perfect by the working class speakers and their attitudes toward Limeño Spanish. Nevertheless, there were reasons to believe that the considerable difference between the first generation and the second generation of the working stratum is probably due to migration factors, which I explain below.

The pilot study focuses on the variety of Spanish monolinguals that were born and have lived in urban areas of Lima; but the older participants of the working stratum corresponded mostly to the first generation that was born and socialized in Lima. They are descendants of migrants from different regions of Peru, most of them from Andean regions. They were more exposed to the Andean Spanish spoken by their parents and neighbors and consequently exposed to different patterns of use of the present perfect (see section 2.2.6.2). Some of the parents of the older working stratum participants learned Quechua as a first language and then stopped using this language when they arrived in Lima.

The difference in the use of the preterite and present perfect is considerable between the younger and older participants of the working class. I said before that the younger participants are mostly from the second generation born in Lima, with immigrant grandparents (and in some cases parents) who were Spanish-Quechua bilinguals. Their Spanish correspond to the Andean Spanish, which displays the different meanings for the present perfect described by Escobar (1997).

Unfortunately, in the Peruvian context, Andean varieties, in general, are stigmatized because they are identified with poverty, indigenous roots and ‘broken Spanish’. The first generations of immigrants had to struggle against discrimination and the status of being not only foreigners in the city, but also speakers whose accent easily revealed their Andean roots. Thus,

the extreme difference between older and younger participants could be related to the urgent need of the younger generations to acquire a not stigmatized or, at least less stigmatized variety. These young participants are the new working class of ‘limeños’ who have populated the city. They do not speak either an Spanish-Quechua interlanguage or a “serrano”¹⁷ variety but a new dialect closer to what is identified as Spanish of Lima, a “costeño” variety.

The results for the working class are particularly interesting because they are linked to the characteristics of the new *limeños*, and, in brief, linked to the formation of a new Lima. It is true that this new city is no longer the city formed by ‘pure’ limeños descended from several limeño generations, but is a city of immigrants. The result of this population mixing is dialect mixing. It is not clear exactly how this mixing occurred; in fact, more studies about Limeño Spanish and about what has happened in the last 50 years are needed in order for a fuller picture of this issue to emerge.

Throughout this chapter, various studies of the preterite and the present perfect in Spain and Latin America have been summarized. Based on what has been observed in these diachronic and synchronic studies, I thought that it was necessary to explore a possible connection between the results of our pilot study on Limeño Spanish and the long-term process of koinéization of Latin American Spanish. I hypothesize that for the upper middle class the preference to use more preterites than present perfects could be explained in terms of the history of Latin American Spanish, which has undergone a process of transplantation, mixing and further focusing. However, it is necessary to consider other factors, social as well as linguistic; thus, I have proposed this second study in order to address these issues.

¹⁷ The adjective ‘serrano’ in Peru generally has a derogatory meaning, and it is used on the coast to refer contemptuously to the people from the highlands. Quite the opposite is the use of the adjective ‘costeño’, which in Lima holds positive connotations.

To summarize, the use of the preterite over the present perfect seems to be a phenomenon that is increasing in frequency in the Spanish of Lima; however, in order to know better if this increase mirrors a change in progress or if it is just the result of the topic in the interviews and narrative mode, a deeper study of the phenomenon is needed. It seems as if age and social stratum are factors that could shed additional light on the preference for the preterite and on the apparent instability of the use of the present perfect. Moreover, it appears that gender alone is not a relevant factor to predict the preference for the preterite, but that age and class are factors that show a strong correlation with the use of the preterite over the present perfect. Besides, there is some evidence that the differences between generations within upper class and within working class seem to be a phenomenon related to identity, an interpretation which needs further analysis.

The hypotheses of this dissertation have been formulated on the basis of these findings. In the next section I will present my hypotheses and research questions for the main study. Afterwards, I will describe the methodology and discuss why I have used an alternative data collection instrument.

2.3 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES AND QUESTIONS

2.3.1 Hypotheses

Since the frequencies of the pilot study and frequencies of other studies on American dialects show an overwhelming preference for the use of the preterite over the present perfect, the first hypothesis states that in Limeño Spanish there is a tendency for the preterite to replace the present perfect in contexts where the latter would conventionally occur in European Standard Spanish. In my study I expect to find more use of preterites even in linguistic contexts where recency of situation to moment of speaking is a strong factor that should trigger present perfects.

Also based on the results of the pilot study, the second hypothesis states that the use of the preterite in place of the present perfect is expected to be higher among younger speakers than older speakers. If this increase between generations is indeed found, it would seem to provide of a possible change in progress in the Spanish of Lima.

2.3.2 Questions

The first issue that this study will address is to what extent internal aspect influences choice of preterite over present perfect. Second, I also aim to establish whether or not social class stratum, age and gender factors have an impact on the selection of the preterite and the present perfect, since in my exploratory study, results show a significant effect of social strata and age and a non-

significant effect of gender on the selection of the preterite. I will also attempt to determine whether apparent time measured through age gives any evidence of change in progress with respect to the use of the preterite and the present perfect. Finally, I will investigate whether the relation between the use of these tenses and speakers' characteristics give evidence of a setting which has favored koinéization.

3.0 CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I explain the methodology used in this study of linguistic variation and the use of the preterite and the present perfect. I will first describe the type of methodology used, followed by a description of the participants of the sample, the data collection instrument, the sampling method, and finally, the type of data analysis used.

3.1 TYPE OF METHODOLOGY

This research draws on both the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. In order to study the effect of the social variables on the use of preterite and present perfect quantitatively, it is necessary both to measure their frequency of use and to analyze their significance and interaction. Qualitatively, analysis of the impact of all the features considered for aspect - situation type, type of discourse and temporal adverbials- is necessary.

The type of approach that will be used is cross-sectional; in other words, the research takes place at only one point in time, and is intended to be generalizable. Thus, it is based on a large group of subjects, and is characterized by controlled measurement (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1999, p.12).

3.1.1 The Participants

The results of the pilot study showed a significant effect of interaction between age and class and the use of the preterite and the present perfect. For this reason, I included these two variables in this study.

Since one of my goals was to find out if there was evidence of change in progress in the patterns of use of the preterite and the present perfect, I chose age as the variable to measure apparent time. I will analyze generational differences in order to describe synchronically the current use of the preterite and the present perfect in the dialect of Lima and to situate it diachronically with respect to other stages of these paradigms in Iberian and Latin American Spanish. In other words, apparent time differences will be applied to mirror possible real-time linguistic changes (Bailey, 2004, p. 313, Labov, 1963, 1966). Given that age grading could be a possible problem (see section 2.2.5.1., I have chosen to work with adults, under the assumption that there is more stability throughout the course of an adult lifetime (Bailey, 2004, p. 320).

The sample was divided into two groups according to the age variable: a younger and an older generation. This division corresponds to different cohorts: the first formed by eighteen to twenty-five year old participants (younger generation), and the second formed by thirty two to forty two year old participants (older generation). Because ten years is usually the approximate time span used to compose a generation, the generation groups contain a range of years similar in number - 8 years (younger generation) and 11 years (older generation). The former cohort ranges from eighteen to twenty-five for three reasons. First, eighteen is the age in Peru when young people are officially considered adults. Additionally, it is common for young people at this age to finish secondary school and begin to work or to study at a college or university. Third, the twenty-five year old cut-off point coincides approximately with the end of higher education

for the young middle stratum group. The second cohort begins at thirty-two years old because I thought it desirable to have a six-year gap between generations to ensure enough distance between the two groups. I am assuming that people from one generation normally have more interaction with people from their own generation and follow models established by the generation to which they belong.

All participants are Spanish monolinguals born and socialized in Lima. The participants therefore have grown up in Lima, studied in schools and colleges or universities (in the case of the middle class), and lived in different neighborhoods of the city throughout their lives. I have limited participation to Lima as the place of socialization because I wanted to ensure that the dialect acquired by the participants was, in fact, a result of their being native to this city.

The other social variable considered is social stratum. In order to distinguish social strata clearly, I have selected two strata whose characteristics assure a large social distance between them: a middle stratum and a working stratum. As indicators of social stratum I have taken into consideration level and type of education and neighborhood.

To define type of education, I use the parameters of private education vs. public education, and higher education vs. secondary education. It is expected that the working class participants should have received a public education, both in primary and secondary school, while the middle class participants are expected to have had private education in primary and secondary school and as well as college or university. In order to obtain a good sample of private schools in Lima, I used the ranking of private schools used by a private university in the city¹⁸. This university, like other private universities in Lima, uses a scale of tuition based on private schools' tuition scales. The second distinguishing characteristic is level of education: the middle

¹⁸ The list of tuition scales is attached in Appendix B

class participants necessarily have a higher education, and the working class participants only a secondary education. However, in the young working class group, I have included some participants that received some training in technology, for instance as electricians or machine operators.

In order to select neighborhoods, I have taken first the subdivision of areas in Lima by Arellano and Burgos (2004). They divide the city into Central Lima, Callao, Northern Lima, Eastern Lima and Southern Lima. The population of Central Lima is 2.2 million inhabitants; that of Callao 0.8 million; Northern Lima 1.8 million; and Eastern Lima and Southern Lima respectively 1.7 and 1.3 million (p. 113).

Moreover, I took the analysis of socioeconomic level in Arellano and Burgos (2004). Figure 21, below, shows that Central Lima is the richest area, and also contains a large population which is descended from parents and grandparents born in Lima. The middle stratum sample of this study comes from this area.

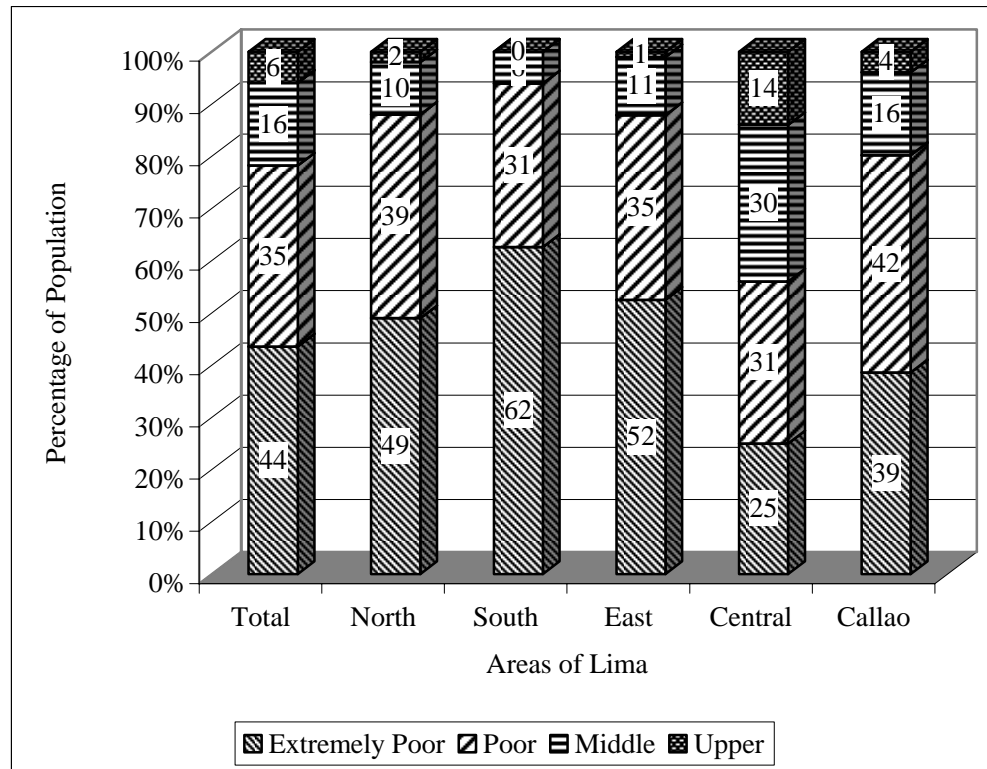


Figure 21: Lima from the Socio-Economic Traditional Perspective
(Arellano and Burgos 2004: 110) ¹⁹

In contrast, the Southern area is the poorest of all. Among the new settlements in Lima, this is the oldest, having developed approximately 50 years ago. In this area, the majority of inhabitants is descended from immigrants of other regions of the country. A representative district of this area is Villa El Salvador, which has approximately 370.1 inhabitants. In this study, the participants from the working stratum are from Villa El Salvador.

I chose Central Lima and Southern Lima as representative areas of middle stratum and working stratum, respectively, based on the economic income information obtained from Arellano and Burgos (2004). Both areas of Lima are situated at the extremes of the

¹⁹ I have translated 'alto' (high) as 'upper', 'medio' as 'middle', 'bajo' (low) as 'poor' and 'muy bajo' (very low) as 'extremely poor'.

socioeconomic continuum. In order to be included in the study, participants had to have grown up and still have been living in the neighborhoods of these areas.

Each of the sixty-four participants was assigned a code based on their inclusion in a specific social strata, generation and gender. Table 8 below displays the coding for all the participants in the sample, including age, level and type of education, neighborhood, occupation and parent's birth place.

As can be seen from this table, three capital letters are used to code these social factors. The first capital letter corresponds to social strata, with M standing for middle class and W for working class. The second capital letter corresponds to age, which is coded with a Y for the young generation and O for the older generation. Finally, the third capital letter provides the gender of the participants, M for male and F for female. The number used for each participant individualizes participants and permits access to his/her selection of preterites and present perfects for each item in the questionnaire; for example, the code '3. MYM' should be read as 'participant number three: middle class, young and male'.

Table 8 : Participants' Social Description

Code	Age	Education			Neigh bor hood	Occupation	Parents' Birth place	
		level	School Type	Univ. Type			mother	father
1. MYM	19	higher	3	PUCP	10	student	A (L)	A (L)
2. MYM	19	higher	3	USMP	16	student	A (L)	A
3. MYM	19	higher	4	PUCP	16	student	A (L)	A (L)
4. MYM	21	higher	2	UPCH	16	student	A (L)	A (L)
5. MYM	26	higher	4	UAP	14	student	A (L)	A (L)
6. MYM	18	higher	2	PUCP	13	student	A (L)	A (L)
7. MYM	25	higher	4	UPC	7	engineer	B	B
8. MYM	20	higher	3	PUCP	17	student	A (L)	B
9. MYF	22	higher	4	PUCP	9	student	A (L)	A (L)
10. MYF	19	higher	4	PUCP	9	student	A (L)	A (L)
11. MYF	19	higher	2	PUCP	16	student	A (L)	A (L)
12. MYF	20	higher	4	PUCP	7	student	B	A (L)
13. MYF	21	higher	4	USMP	7	student	A (L)	A (L)
14. MYF	25	higher	4	ULIMA	14	student	A (L)	B
15. MYF	23	higher	3	PUCP	16	student	B	B
16. MYF	20	higher	2	ULIMA	13	student	A (L)	A (L)
17. MOM	40	higher	4	PUCP	11	lawyer	B	F
18. MOM	33	higher	3	PUCP	16	anthropologist	A	A
19. MOM	35	higher	3	PUCP	4	lawyer	A	A
20. MOM	33	higher	3	PUCP	10	sociologist	C	B
21. MOM	38	higher	4	USMP	4	engineer	B	C
22. MOM	37	higher	4	UPMC	17	teacher	B	B
23. MOM	42	higher	4	ULIMA	16	teacher	F	A
24. MOM	41	higher	3	PUCP	10	engineer	A (L)	A (L)
25. MOF	35	higher	4	ULIMA	16	lawyer	B	B
26. MOF	36	higher	4	UIGV	16	teacher	B	A (L)
27. MOF	33	higher	4	UPMC	16	teacher	C	C
28. MOF	35	higher	3	USMP	13	engineer	B	A
29. MOF	42	higher	2	USMP	16	engineer	A	A
30. MOF	34	higher	4	USMP	9	engineer	A (L)	A (L)
31. MOF	40	higher	4	USMP	11	engineer	A (L)	A (L)
32. MOF	38	higher	4	USMP	3	engineer	A	A
33. WYM	19	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	B	A (L)
34. WYM	25	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	B	B
35. WYM	19	sec.	public	n/a	27	painter	A (L)	A (L)
36. WYM	25	sec.	public	n/a	27	electrician	B	B
37. WYM	18	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	A (L)	B

38. WYM	21	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	B	B
39. WYM	19	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	B	B
40. WYM	19	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	B	B
41. WYF	20	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	B	ukn
42. WYF	19	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	B	B
43. WYF	20	sec.	public	n/a	27	housewife	A	B
44. WYF	20	sec.	public	n/a	27	housewife	B	A
45. WYF	21	sec.	public	n/a	27	housewife	B	ukn
46. WYF	25	sec.	public	n/a	27	housewife	B	A (L)
47. WYF	19	sec.	public	n/a	27	housewife	B	A (L)
48. WYF	22	sec.	public	n/a	27	housewife	A (L)	B
49. WOM	34	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	B	A (L)
50. WOM	32	sec.	public	n/a	27	market vendor	B	B
51. WOM	42	sec.	public	n/a	27	plumber	B	A (L)
52. WOM	34	sec.	public	n/a	27	market vendor	B	B
53. WOM	42	sec.	public	n/a	27	street vendor	B	A
54. WOM	32	sec.	public	n/a	27	market vendor	A	C
55. WOM	32	sec.	public	n/a	27	locksmith	B	A
56. WOM	42	sec.	public	n/a	27	egg farmer	B	B
57. WOF	30	sec.	public	n/a	27	worker	B	B
58. WOF	34	sec.	public	n/a	27	hairdresser	B	B
59. WOF	35	sec.	public	n/a	27	childcareworker	B	B
60. WOF	35	sec.	public	n/a	27	market vendor	C	C
61. WOF	35	sec.	public	n/a	27	market vendor	B	B
62. WOF	42	sec.	public	n/a	27	market vendor	B	B
63. WOF	37	sec.	public	n/a	27	market vendor	A	B
64. WOF	43	sec.	public	n/a	27	market vendor	B	B

In the column labeled ‘School Type’, only private schools have been classified with numbers from a scale used by a private university for their tuition scale (see Appendix B.1.1). This scale runs from 1 to 4, with 1 corresponding to the most expensive private schools and 4 to the least expensive. It is important to notice that in this scale there is only a selection of private schools in Lima. In contrast, non private schools are labeled under the name of ‘public’. The great majority of the schools where the working stratum participants studied are located in the southern district of Villa El Salvador (VES) in Lima.

One of the requirements for the middle class participants was that they were educated in a private institution of higher education. For this reason, in the 'University Type' column, I do not specify whether it is public or private. Only the abbreviations of the names of the private universities were entered in that column. The full name of each university is shown in Appendix B.2.2.

Neighborhood has also been coded with numbers. The complete list of neighborhoods included in this sample is displayed in Appendix B.2.1.

Finally, parent's birthplace has been coded by means of letters. Letter A signifies that the parent was born on the Northern/Central/Southern Coast; letter B that the parent was born in the Andean region; letter C in the Amazon region and F in a foreign country.

3.1.2 Data Collection Instrument

In the pilot research, I used unstructured interviews with the purpose of obtaining more natural speech; however, this instrument presented the difficulty that one cannot directly compare all of the occurrences because they were uttered in different contexts. Therefore, I created as an additional data collection instrument a fieldworker-administered questionnaire for the use of eliciting the preterite and the present perfect. The idea of this questionnaire is to control the linguistic context, with the purpose of providing the same opportunities for the preterite and the present perfect to be triggered, so that the results can be reliably compared.

This questionnaire consists of a linguistic stimulus given to the participant, which then requires a linguistic reaction. Short conversations were used in creating the questionnaire, and each contains blanks to be filled in by the participant with the preterite or the present perfect form, according to what he/she decides to choose.

I have one dependent variable with two predictors: ‘preterite’ and ‘present perfect’, and three independent variables: ‘type of situation’, ‘adverbial’ and ‘type of speech’.

The syntactic setting of these forms is controlled, and the participants have to use a finite form of the verb that is given in parentheses. The verbs in parentheses correspond to one of the five types of situations mentioned above: state, activity, accomplishment, achievement, and semelfactive. Also the presence (1) and absence (0) of temporal adverbials is considered for each type of verb. I have made a distinction between those usually identified with the use of preterite (p) and those usually identified with the use of present perfect (pp), so that we have three possibilities for the five types of verb situation: with no temporal adverbials, with temporal adverbials that go with preterites (‘preterite adverbials’), and with temporal adverbials that go with present perfects (‘present perfect adverbials’). The third factor considered in drawing up the questionnaire is ‘type of speech’, in light of the fact that in the pilot study this seems to be closely related to the occurrence of present perfect. There are two types of context, those in which the blanks are part of the citation of the direct reported speech (RS) and those in which the blanks are not part of reported speech (NRS). The following chart shows the distribution of the dependent variables in the questionnaire. The numbers used in this chart for the types of situation do not necessarily correspond to the numbers of the entries in the questionnaire. They were used only with the purpose of presenting the information in a more organized manner (see Table 9).

Table 9: Distribution of Dependent Variables Per Question

Type of situation	Presence or absence of temporal adverbs	Direct Speech
1. State	0	NRS
2. Activity	0	NRS
3. Accomplishment	0	NRS
4. Achievement	0	NRS
5. Semelfactive	0	NRS
6. State	1p	NRS
7. Activity	1p	NRS
8. Accomplishment	1p	NRS
9. Achievement	1p	NRS
10. Semelfactive	1p	NRS
11. State	1pp	NRS
12. Activity	1pp	NRS
13. Accomplishment	1pp	NRS
14. Achievement	1pp	NRS
15. Semelfactive	1pp	NRS
16. State	1p	RS
17. Activity	1p	RS
18. Accomplishment	1p	RS
19. Achievement	1p	RS
20. Semelfactive	1p	RS
21. State	1pp	RS
22. Activity	1pp	RS
23. Accomplishment	1pp	RS
24. Achievement	1pp	RS
25. Semelfactive	1pp	RS

The total number of blanks that needed to be filled in was 25. Thus, for each questionnaire I expected to obtain 25 tokens, either of preterite or present perfect. Considering that each participant could produce 25 tokens and there were 64 participants, I should have obtained a total of 1,600 tokens. However, I obtained 1,598 tokens because one participant left two spaces blank.

Although the data obtained in this study is not comparable with the linguistic data obtained in recorded conversations or participant observations, I have considered questionnaires to be a viable method, since the pilot study consisted of unstructured interviews, which are closer

to natural conversation. In Appendix A I include the questionnaire with the specifications of the variables for each entry of the questionnaire.

3.1.3 Sampling Method

For this study I have chosen a nonprobability sampling method known as quota sampling. As Russell Bernard (2000) says, this method permits the researcher “to decide on the subpopulations of interest and on the proportions of those subpopulations in the final sample (...) Quota sampling resembles stratified probability sampling with an important difference: respondents are not chosen randomly. Instead, interviewers choose members of the sample on the spot (...) The result is quota samples that are not unbiased, but which often do a good job of reflecting the population parameters of interest”(p. 181). In fact, quota sampling is used when there is the willingness to equitably represent all the social segments, making it ideal for use in this study.

Milroy and Gordon (2003) also maintain that this approach of sampling assumes that “the researcher identifies in advance the types of speaker to be studied and then seeks out a quota of speakers who fit the specified categories” (p. 30). Quota sampling is also referred to as ‘judgment sampling’ because it depends on the investigator’s judgment and on his or her rationale and knowledge of the field in the selection of participants.

This research has eight quotas, distributed over two generation groups and two social strata groups. The two age groups and two social strata groups are used to see if there is a significant difference in apparent time, and to analyze their interaction. Although gender is not a target of this study, I have included the same number of women and men in order to make the samples and the quotas more homogeneous.

Table 10: Quota Distribution of the Sample

Age		Young generation		Older generation	
Gender		male	female	male	female
Social Strata	Middle Upper	8	8	8	8
	Working	8	8	8	8

As we can see in Table 10, all of the quotas have an equal number of participants: eight. Each generation has thirty-two participants, sixteen men and sixteen women. The total number of participants was sixty-four.

For this sample, I use calculations of the power of the sample²⁰. If, in fact, the usage is different between young and old, I wanted to be able to detect the difference. Power is the probability of finding this significant result. Based on calculations, the recommendation was to include 60 participants, 15 per group of class and age; however, in order to have the same number of women and men I added one more participant per group, totalling 64 participants, which is 16 per each group of class and age.

3.1.4 Type of Analysis

Logistic regression is used here to predict a dependent variable on the basis of independents and to determine the percentage of variance in the dependent variable explained by the independents; to rank the relative importance of independents; and to assess interaction effects (Garson, D. Retrieved January 4, 2006, from <http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/logistic.htm>).

In this study, logistic regression has been used with the purpose of establishing how well a set of explanatory variables predicts the preterite or other verbal forms. The explanatory

²⁰ I consulted the Department of Statistics at the University of Pittsburgh on this aspect.

variables in this study are: situation type, temporal complement (adverbs), social strata (SES), age, gender, and all two-way and three-way interactions between these variables.

3.1.4.1 Logistic Regression Variable Selection Methods

There are different methods of variable selection provided by the statistical software (SPSS): (1) Enter, (2) Forward Selection and (3) Backward Elimination. These methods of selection allow us to specify which independent variables to include in the analysis. The first method consists of entering all explanatory variables at the same time. The second method, forward selection, starts with no variables in the model. The variables are then added one at a time until adding more new variables would not significantly improve the prediction. The third method is backward elimination, which starts with all the variables in the model. Variables are then removed one at a time until removing a new variable would significantly reduce the prediction.

For this study, Forward Selection was chosen. At Step 1, situation type was included; at Step 2, situation type and adverbials; and at Step 3, situation type, adverbials and situation by adverbial interaction; finally, at step 4, situation type plus adverbial, plus situation type by adverbial interaction, plus social stratum by adverbial interaction.

The following classification table shows the percentages of correct prediction for each step. The results for Step 1 predictions show that (a) using situation type alone, we would be 0% correct in predicting when preterite was not used, in other words, when another tense was used; (b) using situation type alone, we would be 100% correct in predicting when preterite was used; and (c) using situation type alone, we would be correct 79.8% overall in predicting preterite.

Table 11: Classification Table

observed			Predicted		
			Use preterite		Percentage Correct
			no	yes	
Step1	Use preterite	no	0	322	.0 (a)
		yes	0	1276	100.0 (b)
	Overall Percentage				79.8 (c)
Step2	Use preterite	no	124	198	38.5 (d)
		yes	68	1208	94.7 (e)
	Overall Percentage				83.4 (f)
Step3	Use preterite	no	124	198	38.5 (g)
		yes	68	1208	94.7 (h)
	Overall Percentage				83.4 (i)
Step4	Use preterite	no	92	230	28.6 (j)
		yes	36	1240	97.2 (k)
	Overall Percentage				83.4 (l)

At Step 2, when adverbials are added to situation type results show that if we use situation type and adverbials as predictors: d) we would be 38.5% correct when preterite was not chosen, e) we would be 94.7% correct when preterite is chosen, , and f) we would be 83.4% correct overall in predicting tense.

At Step 3, which included situation type, adverbials and situation type by adverbial interaction in the analysis, results show the same percentage of prediction as in Step 2.

At Step 4, situation type, adverbial, situation type by adverbial interaction and social stratum by adverbial interaction are the variables considered in the analysis. Considering these variables, we would be 97% correct in predicting when preterite was used. Also, using only these four variables, we would be 28.6% correct in predicting when preterite was not used. Overall, we would be correct 83.4% in predicting tense.

In the stepwise analysis, we have to distinguish between the results of the ‘*variable in the equation*’ and ‘*variables not in the equation*’. The stepwise procedure adds variables to the model in steps; in other words, variables are entered one at a time. The ‘variables in the equation’ are all the variables that have been added to the model at that point; the ‘variables not in the equation’ are the variables that have not been added up to that point.

3.1.4.2 Variables in the Equation

With the statistical procedure used in this study, we cannot compare more than two categories. Therefore, new variables (indicator variables) were created for the purpose of the analysis, with each indicator variable having only two categories. Indicator variables need to be created for independent variables that have more than two categories. In this study, indicator variables needed to be created for *situation type* and *adverbial*.

The number of indicator variables is always one less than the number of categories in the original variable. Because *situation type* has five categories, there are four indicator variables associated with situation. Because *adverbial* has three categories, there are two indicator variables associated with it.

The first indicator variable for situation contrasts activity with all other situations. To enter the variables into an equation the variables had to be coded. The coding used for this purpose is presented in Table 12. As we see, activity is coded as 1; all the other situations are coded as 0. The second indicator variable contrasts accomplishment with all other situations. Accomplishment is coded as 1; all other situations are coded as 0. The third indicator contrasts achievement with the others, and the fourth contrasts semelfactive with all the rest. State is coded as 0 for all of the indicator variables.

Table 12: Categories Compared in the Analysis (Situation Type)

Indicator Variable <i>Situation</i>	What is being compared
Situation (1)	Activity vs. all others
Situation (2)	Accomplishment vs. all others
Situation (3)	Achievement vs. all others
Situation (4)	Semelfactive vs. all others

The first indicator variable for adverbials contrasts trigger preterite with the other two, and the second contrasts trigger present perfect with the other two (Table 13).

Table 13: Categories Compared in the Analysis (Adverbial)

Indicator Variable <i>Adverb</i>	What is being compared
Adverb (1)	Trigger preterite with the other two
Adverb (2)	Trigger preterite with the other two

The results of entering the variables in the equation reveal several trends:

If we had to use only one variable to predict choice of tense, situation type would be the best one.

- a. With situation type as the only explanation variable, we could correctly predict tense for 80% of the cases.
- b. If we could use only 2 variables, situation type and adverbials would be the best two.

3.1.4.3 Variables not in the Equation

Step 1

The following list displays the variables at this step. Situation type is the only variable in the equation. The following list displays the variables at this step.

- situation * adverb, this interaction has a score 73.194, significant at (.000)²¹
- SES score 1.393, not significant (.238)
- SES* situation, score 3.564, not significant (.468)
- SES*adverb, score 58.210, significant (.000)
- SES*situation*adverb, score 50.316, significant (.000)
- age, score 1.153, not significant (.283)
- age*situation, score 7.181, not significant (.127)
- age*adverb, score 73.014, significant (.000)
- age*situation*adverb 56.321, significant (.000)
- gender, score .654, not significant (.419)
- gender* situation, score 7.618, not significant (.107)
- gender*adverb, score 68.009, significant (.000)
- gender*situation*adverb, score 60.998 (.000)

As we can see from the list above, the variable with the highest significant score is ‘adverbial’ with a score of 79.933; for this reason, the variable ‘adverbial’ was selected in Step 2. In fact, results have shown that ‘adverbial’ in combination with other variables has statistical significance to be chosen for further analysis.

Step 2

At Step 2, situation and adverbial are the variables in the equation because together they have the highest significant score: 71.432 (sig. .000). Consequently, both were added to Step 3.

²¹ This index is statistically significant if it is 0. The smaller this number is the greater significance it has.

Step 3

At Step 3, SES by adverbials is the interaction that has the highest score (9.331) and it is significant (.009). For this reason, it was added to Step 4. Also, it should be noted that at Step 3, the interaction of age*situation*adverb has a high score of 11.722, but is not significant (.164).

Step 4

At Step 4, no other variable would significantly improve prediction; thus no new variables were added.

In Chapter 3, I present the description of each entry in the questionnaire and the analysis of the frequencies obtained. Following that, in Chapter 4, I discuss the findings of the logistic regression analysis.

4.0 CHAPTER 3: FREQUENCY RESULTS

In this chapter, an analysis of frequencies is presented in order to explain each entry of the questionnaire, as well as the participants' selection of the present perfect, preterite or alternative form they considered appropriate for each specific context.

In order to avoid confusion, when I make reference to the data of the questionnaire, I use the term 'entry' along with a number, which refers to each blank space that had to be filled in by the participants with the verb provided. Sometimes, but not always, these entries correspond to one 'question' in the questionnaire. Some questions consist of two or three entries. Although the entries were designed to elicit either the preterite or the present perfect, participants also used other forms of the target item such as imperfect, pluperfect, present, and future. The aim of this section is to determine whether the frequency of the preterite forms exceeds overall that of the present perfect for each item, and to discuss how the meaning of specific temporal adverbials affected choice of tense and why other options of tense were chosen for each case. Additionally, whenever possible, I have made a second analysis of these frequencies for each entry, grouping those forms that were used in place of the preterite or the present perfect. I refer to the process of grouping those forms together 'reanalysis' or 'data reanalysis'. The aim of the reanalysis was to view the results in a less atomized fashion in order to obtain a clearer profile of the use of past tense with present relevance (present perfect) or without present relevance (preterite, imperfect, pluperfect).

Frequencies have been divided into three groups: the first group (Type A) includes the entries for which the intended target was the present perfect; the second group (Type B) includes the entries for which the intended target was the preterite, and the third one (Type C) to the texts where the target is either the preterite or the present perfect.

4.1 TYPE A ENTRY FREQUENCIES

In this section I analyze the results of the entries that contain temporal adverbials with present relevance, which were expected to give the participants the appropriate linguistic context associated with the use of the present perfect.

4.1.1 Entries with Stative Verbs

Entries 1 and 2 contain stative verbs. Entry 1 includes a temporal complement '*desde el mes pasado hasta esta semana*' (from the last month until this week). This temporal complement emphasizes not only *recency* but also *duration*. These are semantic features associated with the use of the present perfect; for this reason, the above mentioned temporal complement was included in Entry 1.

A: ¿Alguna noticia sobre el profesor Rodríguez?

B: Sí. Desde el mes pasado hasta esta semana el profe ____1____ (estar) en otra oficina.

A: Any news about Professor Rodríguez?

B: Yes. From last month to this week the Prof _____ (to be) in another office.

Figure 22: Questionnaire Entry 1

Table 14: Entry 1 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect	7	10.9
Preterite	29	45.3
Imperfect indicative	13	20.3
Pluperfect indicative	1	1.6
Present indicative	12	18.8
Future indicative	2	3.1
Total	64	100.0

Although Entry 1 was intended to trigger present perfect forms, the percentage of preterites (45.3%) triggered is higher than that of present perfects (10.9%). As is also shown in Table 14, the imperfect reaches 20.3% and the present indicative 18.8%. We can see that in this context these terms are interchangeable with the preterite and the present perfect respectively. Therefore, I think it is possible to reanalyze the data, i.e., to include some results in different groups when the linguistic context allowed it to do so. Therefore, those forms that were used only to express past events - perfectly or imperfectly—were grouped together, as were those forms used to express present relevance. As just mentioned, in Entry 1 present forms can be considered alternative forms to the present perfect, and imperfect forms alternatives to the preterite. If the present indicative forms are added to the present perfect forms, the percentage of use increases to 29.68%. Alternatively, if the imperfect forms are added to the preterites, the percentage of forms with reference to the past with no present relevance reaches 65.62%, which is an even higher percentage than the one obtained for the present perfect.

For this entry, a form of pluperfect indicative was also used, but in this case the occurrence cannot be reanalyzed as preterite because it is not possible to determine if there is a neutralization of the '*ha estado*' (he has been) or '*estuvo*' (he was). This use of pluperfect may

be analyzed in terms of a point in the past previous to another point, which in this case is the beginning of this week: '*hasta esta semana*' (until this week). It is the introduction of this point in the past that licenses the pluperfect, but as it could also correspond to either '*ha estado*' or '*estuvo*', it is a context of neutralization similar to what we have seen before. Therefore, one cannot add these occurrences either to the preterite or the present perfect. There are also two future forms that I have omitted in the discussion since they are ungrammatical (**Desde el mes pasado hasta esta semana el profe estará en otra oficina*).

As we can see, the stative verb '*estar*' (to be) in combination with adverbials with present relevance has an effect on selection of present perfect. In continuing with the analysis of the next entry we can see more evidence of the impact of stative verbs on present perfect choice.

Entry 2 included two temporal adverbials - '*Hasta ahora*' (until now) and '*nunca*' (never) - adjacent to the stative verb '*odiar*' (to hate). Here, as well as in Entry 1 above, the target was also the present perfect, since these adverbials communicate *recency*. The frequency of present perfects obtained for Entry 2 is 40.6%, which constitutes the highest percentage of this form in the whole questionnaire. Although the preterite is still used more than the present perfect, in this context the preterite obtains its lowest frequency (48.4%).

B: ¿y entonces?

A: Entonces Lucía me dice: “Hasta ahora nunca te _____2_____ (odiar)”.

A: *And then?*

B: *Then Lucia tells me, “I never _____ (to hate) you.*

Figure 23: Questionnaire Entry 2

Table 15: Entry 2 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect	26	40.6
Preterite	31	48.4
Imperfect indicative	1	1.6
Pluperfect indicative	5	7.8
Future indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

These results can be explained in terms of the meaning of the verb '*odiar*' (to hate). The expected natural grammatical aspect or viewpoint which states are linked to is imperfective and not perfective. This explains the higher preference for present perfect, in this case matching '*odiar*' (to hate) with perfect aspect. The preterite, which expresses perfective aspect, would require special licensing and contextual factors.

In addition, the imperfect and future are anomalous in this case, resulting in ungrammaticality²². In this study, the results cannot not be regrouped because the pluperfect cannot not be considered an alternative form of preterite in this context. Here, it is not possible to decide if the neutralization is attributable to the present perfect or to the preterite, and thus I do not reanalyze the occurrences of pluperfect in this case.

In summary, results show that the internal semantic composition of stative verbs determines the selection of tense, triggering more present perfect forms than other kinds of verbs.

²² In this study, I have found some instances of ungrammaticality. I have attributed this fact to the written character of the data collection instrument. Sometimes the participants got distracted and were tired, or sometimes it was difficult for them to understand the task. I will comment further on this issue in the last chapter of the dissertation.

The number of preterites continues to be higher than the present perfect, but the incidences of the latter increase significantly.

4.1.2 Entries with Activity Verbs

Verbs of activity were included in Entries 3 and 4. Entry 3 includes the verb of activity ‘*enviar*’ (to send) and the temporal complement ‘*este año*’ (‘this year’) to denote a recent situation. In addition, the presence of the complement ‘*todo el tiempo*’ (‘all the time’) reinforces the idea of durativity.

A: ¿Te manda mensajes por correo electrónico tu prima?
 B: Sí, este año me ____ **3** ____ (enviar) mensajes todo el tiempo.

A: *Does your cousin send you messages via email?*
 B: *Yes, this year she _____ (to send) me messages all the time.*

Figure 24: Questionnaire Entry 3

Table 16: Entry 3 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect Indicative	15	23.4
Preterite	34	53.1
Progressive Present Perfect	3	4.7
Imperfect indicative	2	3.1
Pluperfect indicative	1	1.6
Present indicative	8	12.5
Future indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

The results presented in Table 16 show 23.4% use of present perfect forms, which is higher than that of other entries with verbs of activity which also have the present perfect target. If we compare this entry with other entries that have durative adverbials, it seems that this type of complement is more likely to generate present perfect forms. Moreover, if I reanalyze, which the context makes possible in this case, the preterite obtains an even higher frequency. If one adds 3 progressive present perfect tokens and 8 present indicative tokens to the 15 present perfect tokens, the total number of forms associated with present relevance is 24, which means that 40.63% of the participants chose a form with present relevance. Although most of them chose the preterite (53.1%), the frequency of present perfect forms is significantly higher in the presence of adverbials that express present relevance or durativity. If we also reanalyze the actual frequency (34%) in the case of the preterites by adding the two imperfects and the only pluperfect, this percentage rises to 57.81%, which is even higher than the results for the reanalysis of present perfects.

In Entry 4, which contains the verb of activity ‘*cantar*’ (to sing), the participants also preferred the preterite, although in this case the percentage is overwhelmingly higher than in Entry 3.

A: Entonces me pregunta: ¿quién es la próxima cantante?
 B: ¿y qué le dices?
 A: Le digo: “La que viene es Shakira. Hace pocos minutos ____4____(cantar) Cristina Aguilera”.

*A: Then he/she asks me, “Who is the next singer?”
 B: And what do you say to him/her?
 A: I say to him/her, “The one that is coming up is Shakira. A few minutes ago Cristina Aguilera _____ (to sing).*

Figure 25: Questionnaire Entry 4

Table 17: Entry 4 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect Indicative	1	1.6
Preterite	62	96.9
Present indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

Table 17 shows that 96.9% of the participants chose a preterite form and only one (1.6%) chose a present perfect form. I cannot reanalyze the only present indicative because the reanalysis would result in ungrammaticality.

In Entry 4 as well as in Entry 3 verbs of activity are included, but the results are quite different. One reason seems to be that in Entry 3 the presence of a temporal complement that emphasizes duration (*todo el tiempo* ‘all the time’) is tightly associated with present perfect. Another reason is the fact that ‘cantar’ (to sing) is in the preterite. It is a verb of activity in this context, but in preterite tense the meaning is conceived as punctual. Additionally, in Entry 4 there is no complement that emphasizes duration.

Thus, there is evidence so far that *durativity* and *punctuality* are two semantic features which favor the present perfect and the preterite, respectively.

4.1.3 Entries with Accomplishment Verbs

In Entry 5, the temporal adverbial ‘*este último mes*’ (‘last month’) was included to make clear to the participant that the action was recently accomplished. The verb in parentheses is ‘*superar*’ (overcome), and all other verbs in this entry are in the present with the purpose of mimicking an actual dialogue.

A: Tu problema me causa pena.
 B: Sí, pero ya este mes último mes lo _____**5**_____ (superar) bastante.

A: *Your problem upsets me.*
 B: *Yes, but just this last month I _____ (to overcome) quite a lot.*

Figure 26: Questionnaire Entry 5

Although the percentage of present perfects is 18.8%, the use of the preterites in this context is preferred, occurring in 73.4% of the responses.

Table 18: Entry 5 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect Indicative	12	18.8
Preterite	47	73.4
Progressive Preterite	1	1.6
Pluperfect Indicative	1	1.6
Future indicative	3	4.7
Total	64	100.0

In addition, if in the reanalysis one adds the number of progressive preterite (1) and pluperfects (1), the occurrence of the preterite increases to 76%. The three tokens of future are considered anomalous because they make the sentence ungrammatical.

In Entry 6, the verb of accomplishment ‘*vivir*’ (to live) appears with the temporal adverbial ‘*estos últimos meses*’ (‘these last months’) within a quotation of direct speech. This adverbial has the purpose of reinforcing the notion of recency in the linguistic context.

A: Y Lucía me dice: “En estos últimos meses yo también ____ **6** ____ (vivir) en Miraflores”.

B: ¿Pero tú te piensas mudar o no el año que viene?

A: And Lucia tells me, “These last months I also _____ (to live) in Miraflores.

B: But are you planning to move or not next year?

Figure 27: Questionnaire Entry 6

The number of present perfect forms in Entry 6 is 9.4%, while that of the preterite is 59.4%. These results again show a preference for the use of the preterite even in contexts where recent events are highlighted.

Table 19: Entry 6 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect	6	9.4
preterite	38	59.4
Progressive present perfect	2	3.1
Progressive preterite	1	1.6
Imperfect Indicative	7	10.9
Pluperfect indicative	1	1.6
Present Indicative	4	6.3
Future Indicative	4	6.3
Present Progressive	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

In the reanalysis, if we add to the percentage of preterites the percentage of progressive preterite, imperfect and pluperfect forms, the total amounts to 73.43% for past tense forms that do not have present relevance. In contrast, the addition of progressive present perfects and presents to the frequencies of present perfect increases the results from 9.6% to 14.06%, which is still significantly lower than the percentage of preterites.

After regrouping the results, we see that the percentages of preterites and present perfects are similar in both entries. It is interesting to mention here that one of the semantic features associated with verbs of accomplishment is the durative feature. Thus, there is evidence again that this feature accompanied by adverbials for recent events helps to trigger present perfect forms.

4.1.4 Entries with Achievement Verbs

The verb of achievement ‘comenzar’ (to begin) was provided in Entry 7. In this entry, the temporal complements ‘hoy en la mañana’ (today in the morning) and ‘hace muy pocas horas’ (‘very few hours ago’) were included in order to trigger present perfect forms. Both were chosen to mark recent actions in the past.

A: Y me dice: “Quiero ingresar. Hoy en la mañana, justamente hace muy pocas horas, yo _____7_____ (comenzar) a estudiar en la academia”.
B: ¡Qué bien por él! Es una excelente decisión.

A: *And he says: “I want to be accepted. This morning, just a few hours ago, I _____ (to start) to study at the academy.”*
B: *Good for him! It’s an excellent decision.*

Figure 28: Questionnaire Entry 7

In the results, 84.4% of the verb forms are preterite and 12.5% are present perfect. The high number of preterites can be explained in terms of the meaning of the verb. A verb like ‘comenzar’ (to begin) is more compatible with preterite forms, since this tense usually focuses

on the beginning or ending of a situation. This fact gives us evidence of the interaction of internal aspect and selection of tense in Limeño Spanish.

Table 20: Entry 7 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect Indicative	8	12.5
Preterite	54	84.4
Present Indicative	1	1.6
Future Indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

Reanalysis of Entry 7 is possible in this context, but the addition of the only form of present indicative to the forms of present perfects does not change the results considerably. The percentage increases from 12.5% to 14.06%, but this frequency is still not significant.

Comparable results are observed in Entry 8. Here, the verb of achievement '*morir*' (to die) appears with temporal information about a situation that has just happened '*lo que acaba de ocurrir*' ('what has just occurred'). The construction '*acabar de ocurrir*' (to have just happened) is in present indicative, but this periphrasis indicates a recent situation in the past.

A: ¡Es horrible lo que acaba de ocurrir!
 B: ¿Qué cosa? No me asustes.
 A: _____ **8** _____ (morir) el papá de mi mejor amiga.
 A: *What just happened is horrible!*
 B: *What? Don't scare me.*
 A: *My best friend's dad _____ (to die).*

Figure 29: Questionnaire Entry 6

The verb '*morir*' in this entry obtains 89.1% of preterite forms and 10.9% of present perfect forms. Again, the meaning of the verb exerts a significant effect on tense choice. This

verb contains a telic feature, and telicity is associated with punctuality, which is a semantic characteristic expressed prototypically by the preterite.

Table 21: Entry 8 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect Indicative	7	10.9
Preterite	57	89.1
Total	64	100.0

In conclusion, the results for verbs of achievement (Entries 7 and 8) are similar. The number of preterites increases with verbs that express telicity. This fact confirms the close relation between telicity and preterite selection.

4.1.5 Entries with Semelfactive Verbs

In Entry 9, the semelfactive verb is ‘*toser*’ (to cough) within a context of direct speech quotation and a temporal adverbial ‘*hace un momento*’ (a moment ago) indicates the recency of the situation.

A: Y me pregunta: “¿hace un momento tú _____ (ser) la que _____ **9** _____ (toser)?”
 B: Me parece una pregunta inesperada.

A: *And he/she asks me, “a moment ago (to be) _____ you the one who _____ (to cough)?”*
 B: *That seems like an unexpected question.*

Figure 30: Questionnaire Entry 7

The number of preterites in this context is 78.1%, while the number of present perfects is very low - 3.1%. Moreover, a considerable number of imperfect indicative forms were used by

the participants. The total number of imperfections is 18.75%. It seems that the presence of a stative verb introduced previously in the same sequence favored imperfectivity in the first part of the sequence and thus affected the second part with ‘*toser*’ (to cough).

Table 22: Entry 9 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect Indicative	2	3.1
Preterite	50	78.1
Imperfect Indicative	12	18.8
Total	64	100.0

I did not perform a reanalysis for Entry 9 because the sequence of verbs makes it difficult to decide if the forms were used in place of preterite or present perfect. The selection of tense in the first blank determines the selection of tense in Entry 9, so that, for instance, if the participant chose preterite for the first blank, he would also choose preterite for Entry 9.

Entry 10 includes the semelfactive verb ‘*estornudar*’ (to sneeze) and the temporal adverbial ‘*hace un instante*’ (a moment ago). The idea of a recent event is expressed not only through this adverbial, but also through the predicate ‘*acabar de hacer*’ (have just done), which also communicates the idea of recency, as we saw in Entry 8.

A: ¿Qué acaba de hacer la niña?

B: Ella _____ **10** _____ (estornudar) hace un instante.

A: What did the girl just do?

B: She _____ (to sneeze) a second ago.

Figure 31: Questionnaire Entry 8

In contrast to Entry 9, Entry 10 has a larger number of present perfect forms (12.5%), although the verbs in both cases are semelfactive. In Entry 10, the percentage of preterite forms (87.5%) is also higher than in Entry 9 (78.1%).

Table 23: Entry 10 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect Indicative	8	12.5
Preterite	56	87.5
Total	64	100.0

The reason for this seems to be the fact that in Entry 9, the participants had to select the right tense; besides, the position of this entry was in second place and consequently was affected by the form chosen for the previous blank. In Entry 10, on the other hand, there is no sequence of verbs. The participants preferred the preterite most probably because of the meaning of the verb. The event is conceptualized as having occurred once, even though in a real situation one can sneeze repeatedly. In sum, both semelfactive verbs and preterite tense mark the semantic feature *punctuality*. For this reason, a great percentage of preterites can be predicted to occur with semelfactive verbs.

In sum, the analysis of Type A Entry Frequencies shows evidence that the lexical aspect of the verbs determines the selection of grammatical tense. In addition, the semantic feature *duration* is associated with an increase in frequency of the present perfect and the semantic feature *punctuality* is associated with an increase in frequency of the preterite. Thus, when durative temporal adverbials appear in Type A entries, the amount of present perfect increases, especially if the adverbials suggest repetition. Nevertheless, in all the cases the number of preterites exceeds the number of present perfects.

4.2 TYPE B ENTRY FREQUENCIES

4.2.1 Entries with Stative Verbs

For Entry 11, the stative verb ‘*sufrir*’ (to suffer) was chosen, and it is accompanied by the temporal adverbial ‘*el año pasado*’ (last year) to refer to an event remote from the moment of speaking.

A: Es una chica muy triste.
B: Sí, pues, ella el año pasado _____ **11** _____ (sufrir) mucho.

A: *She is a very sad girl.*
B: *Yes, well, last year she _____ (to suffer) a lot.*

Figure 32: Questionnaire Entry 9

In this Entry, 89.1% of the participants opted for the preterite and 4.7% of them for the present perfect. Sentence reanalysis is possible in this case because the linguistic context provided allows an alternation between the perfective form ‘*sufri*’ (I suffered) and the imperfective ‘*sufría*’ (I was suffering). If we add the frequencies of preterites and imperfects, the percentage of forms used to refer to a non-recent past increases to 93.75%.

Table 24: Entry 11 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present perfect Indicative	3	4.7
Preterite	57	89.1
Imperfect Indicative	3	4.7
Present Indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

The percentage of preterites obtained in the reanalysis of Entry 11 is quite high, considering that the verb is stative. A tendency for present perfect forms has been observed with this type of verb in this study. In fact, there is a close relationship between the lack of adverbials of duration and the recency factor. Let us see what happens with the following entry, which also contains a verb of state.

In Entry 12, the verb provided is ‘*estar*’ (to be), and there are different linguistic factors that help to communicate the idea of a completed event in the past. In addition to the verbs ‘*pregunté*’ (I asked) and ‘*dijo*’ (he said) in the first part of the dialogue, which are in the preterite, the temporal adverbial ‘*ayer*’ (yesterday) clearly states that the event was completed the day before.

A: Le pregunté sobre el porqué de su silencio y sobre su paradero el día anterior.
B: Me dijo: “Ayer **12** (estar) en la casa de mi tía”.

A: *I asked him/her the reason for his/her silence and about his/her whereabouts the day before.*
B: *He/she told me, “Yesterday I _____ (to be) at my aunt’s house.*

Figure 33: Questionnaire Entry 10

In sum, the results for this entry show that the preterite is used by 71.9% of the participants and 28.1% of them used the imperfect indicative, whereas none of the participants used the present perfect. In this entry, as in Entry 11, the context allows reanalysis, which yields 100% of forms used to refer to a completed event in the past.

Table 25: Entry 12 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Preterite	46	71.9
Imperfect Indicative	18	28.1
Total	64	100.0

Summing up, the results for Entry 12 show that there is a tendency with stative verbs to select the imperfect instead of the preterite, focusing on the process itself. This behavior is particularly intensified with the use of '*estar*', which is the stative verb par excellence in Spanish. I must also point out that I observed an increase of present perfects with stative verbs in the Analysis of Type B entries. The common feature between the present perfects of Type A entries and the imperfects of Type B entries with stative verbs is *duration*. Therefore, we see that the durative feature is tightly associated with stative verbs.

4.2.2 Entries with Activity Verbs

In Entry 13, the verb of activity '*bailar*' (to dance) appears with the temporal adverbial '*el año pasado*' (last year), indicating that the event was completed in the past.

A: ¿Y cuáles son tus actividades del año pasado?
 B: El año pasado _____ **13** _____ (bailar) en muchas fiestas.

A: *And what are your activities from last year?*
 B: *Last year I _____ (to dance) at a lot of parties.*

Figure 34: Questionnaire Entry 11

As expected, results for this entry show a significant preference for the preterite. Present perfect forms were used only 3 times (4.7%), whereas preterite forms were used 58 times (90.6%). Reanalysis is possible in this sentence, causing the number of preterites to increase to 95.31%.

Table 26: Entry 13 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect Indicative	3	4.7
preterite	58	90.6
Imperfect Indicative	3	4.7
Total	64	100.0

Apparently the adverbial '*en muchas fiestas*' (in many parties) helped to trigger use of both the present perfect and the imperfect. This adverbial expresses frequency and repetition of a situation. This concurs with the results for Entry 13, in which adverbials of duration/frequency triggered present perfect forms. Besides, the same temporal adverbial indicates that the action was somehow habitual (frequent), which is one of the uses of the imperfect indicative in Spanish.

In contrast, Entry 14 includes the verb of activity '*manejar*' (to drive) within a citation of direct speech. The verbs of the main clauses '*dije*' (I said) and '*contestó*' (he answered)

contextualize the sentence in the past since they are preterites. In addition, we should consider the temporal adverbials ‘ayer’ (yesterday) and ‘*muchas horas*’, which emphasize duration.

A: “Se te ve cansado”- le dije y me contestó: “Es que ayer ____14____(manejar) muchas horas”.

B: ¡Pobre! ¡Debe estar muerto de cansancio!

A: “*You look tired*” I told him, and he answered “*It’s that yesterday I _____ (to drive) for hours.*”

B: *Poor thing! He must be dead tired!*

Figure 35: Questionnaire Entry 12

The results for Entry 14 display a clear preference for preterites (85.9%) over present perfects (9.4%). This is not surprising since the entry was meant to trigger preterites.

Table 27: Entry 14 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect Indicative	6	9.4
Preterite	55	85.9
Preterite Progressive	1	1.6
Imperfect Indicative	2	3.1
Total	64	100.0

Reanalysis is also valid in this context. If preterite progressive and imperfects are summed up, the frequencies of non-recent past tense increase to 90.62%. It is noticeable to observe that the amount of present perfects is higher than the imperfects and preterite progressive. If we observe the context of the verb ‘*manejar*’ (to drive), we see that the presence of ‘*muchas horas*’ (many hours) contributes to the effect of duration. Although the situation had already been completed the day before, six participants selected the present perfect. By selecting

a present perfect form, the participants are expressing that the situation was completed in the past, but at the same time, they are communicating that it lasted for several hours.

To summarize, the analysis of Type B entries with activity verbs reveals a higher incidence of the preterite over the present perfect and other tenses.

4.2.3 Entries with Accomplishment Verbs

In Entry 15 the verb of accomplishment ‘*meter*’ (to enter) is provided within the direct speech citation. The temporal adverbial ‘*hace horas*’ (hours ago) and the verb ‘*dijo*’ (she said) in the main clause refer to completed events in the past. The second blank space was left for the simple reason that I did not want to include a finite verb form that could have influenced the selection of tense.

A: Entonces me dijo nerviosa: “Hace horas los doctores la ____**15**____(meter) a la sala de operaciones, por eso nos _____(poner) en un cuarto, para esperarla allí”.
B: Ah, deben haber esperado mucho.

A: *Then she said to me nervously, “Two hours ago the doctors _____15_____ (to put) her in the operatin room, that’s why we _____ (to put) ourselves in a room, to wait for her there.*
B: *Ah, you should have waited longer.*

Figure 36: Questionnaire Entry 13

In Entry 15, participants overwhelmingly preferred the preterite (93.8%). Moreover, there is only one instance of present perfect (1.6%). This entry allows reanalysis of the imperfect and the present forms. In this context, both are alternative forms of the preterite. If one adds them to the original percentage of preterites, the new percentage is 98.43%. In fact, the imperfect is possible here if the speaker wishes to emphasize the process by itself, while the present functions

as a kind of ‘historic present’. Specifically, the main function of the ‘historic present’ is to make a narration more vivid. (Moreno de Alba, 2003, p. 44)

Table 28: Entry 15 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect Indicative	1	1.6
Preterite	60	93.8
Imperfect Indicative	2	3.1
Present Indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

Entry 16 includes a dialogue where speaker A is narrating an event that used to happen in the past. The use of the imperfect ‘vivía’ (she used to live) as well as the temporal adverbial ‘*en esa época*’ (in that time/back then) serves as background for this narration. This is the context that precedes the verb of accomplishment ‘*crecer*’ (to grow up) included in this entry. The second blank was left in order to avoid contamination in the selection of tense.

A: En esa época aquí vivía mi mamá. Aquí _____**16**_____ (crecer) mi mamá. Aquí _____ (criarse) ella. Esta es la casa de mi abuela.
 B: Sí lo sé. Esta casa es muy bonita.

A: *Back then, my mom lived here. My mom ____16____ (to grow up) here. She _____ (to be raised) here. This is my grandmother's house.*
 B: *Yes, I know. This house is very pretty.*

Figure 37: Questionnaire Entry 14

According to the results, the preterite is greatly preferred (96.9%) over the present perfect (1.6%). In this case, it is also possible to add the occurrence of imperfect to the preterite, thus increasing the percentage of preterites to 98.43%.

Table 29: Entry 16 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect Indicative	1	1.6
Preterite	62	96.9
Imperfect Indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

A clear tendency to use the preterite with accomplishment verbs can be observed. In the next chapter, I analyze the extent to which this tendency is or is not significant.

4.2.4 Entries with Achievement Verbs

In Entry 17, the verb of achievement ‘*aparecer*’ (to appear) and the temporal complement ‘*en aquel momento*’ (at that moment) appear together. This temporal adverbial was included to specify punctuality, which, as we have pointed out, is a semantic feature associated with preterite. The demonstrative adjective ‘*aquel*’ (that) points to a moment before the speech time, but it does not necessarily specify whether the event happened some hours ago, during the same day, the day before or just some time ago.

A: Bueno, en aquel momento mi papá _____17_____ (aparecer). Después de un rato _____(abrir) la puerta la empleada. Estaba asustada.

B: Ya me imagino.

A: Sí, recuerdo que _____(oír) disparos. Parecía un secuestro. Era horrible. ¡Qué miedo!

A: *Well, at that moment my dad _____17_____ (to appear). The housekeeper _____(to open) the door, scared.*

B: *I can imagine.*

A: *Yes, I remember _____(to hear) shots...like a kidnapping, something like that. Horrible. How scary!*

Figure 38: Questionnaire Entry 15

The participants used 84.4% of preterites in this entry. None of the occurrences were present perfect forms. In the reanalysis, if we add the three occurrences of pluperfect and the seven occurrences of present indicative, 100% of the tokens are used to refer to a past situation, with no extended relevance to the present. In fact, the seven tokens of indicative seem to have been used as historical present to make the narration more dramatic at the moment of speaking, but still referring to a past situation.

Table 30: Entry 17 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Preterite	54	84.4
Pluperfect Indicative	3	4.7
Present Indicative	7	10.9
Total	64	100.0

The second entry with a verb of achievement and presence of temporal adverbial intended to trigger preterites is Entry 18. The verb ‘ocurrir’ (to occur) appears modified by the adverbial ‘anoche’ (last night). Entry 18 is preceded by a sequence of present indicative used as

the historical present in a narration, and it is also part of a direct speech citation. The linguistic context after the entry uses preterite forms and clearly contextualizes the event in the past.

A: Estaba saliendo a tomar algo, entonces llego a mi casa, cuadro el auto, bajo, y en ese momento la empleada me dice: “Acaba de llamar la tía del Sr. Pedro. Parece que anoche 18 (ocurrir) un accidente”.

B: ¿Y tú qué hiciste?

A: Me preocupé, por supuesto.

A: *I was going out to get something to eat, then I get to my house, I park my car, I get out, and at that moment the housekeeper says to me, “Mr. Pedro’s aunt just called. It seems that yesterday there _____ (to be) an accident.*

B: *And what did you do?*

A: *I got worried, of course.*

Figure 39: Questionnaire Entry 16

In Entry 18, the use of the preterite is overwhelming (98.4%), while the present perfect obtains only 1.6% of the total.

Table 31: Entry 18 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect Indicative	1	1.6
Preterite	63	98.4
Total	64	100.0

These results confirm once again that the internal aspect of a verb affects the selection of preterite, as was observed in Entries 15 and 16 above and in other items previously discussed.

4.2.5 Entries with Semelfactive verbs

The semelfactive verb ‘*tocar*’ (to buzz) in Entry 19 is modified by the temporal adverbial ‘*ese domingo*’ (that Sunday), which situates the event before the moment of the utterance. Moreover,

in the previous sentence in the dialogue, the adverbial ‘*la semana pasada*’ (last week) locates the past interval in a specific moment in the past.

A: ¿Por qué tenías esa cara de fastidio la semana pasada?
 B: No, nada. Es que ese domingo alguien _____**19**_____ (tocar) el timbre, pero no había nadie en la puerta.

A: *Why did you have such a bothered look on your face last week?*
 B: *No, it was nothing. It's that that Sunday someone _____ (to ring) the doorbell, but there wasn't anyone at the door.*

Figure 40: Questionnaire Entry 17

With this semelfactive verb, the preterite occurred 90.6% of the time. There is only one occurrence of present perfect (1.6%). The other forms of past can be reanalyzed in this entry. The preterite progressive (1 token), the imperfects (2 tokens) and pluperfects (2 tokens) are alternative forms for non-recent and completed past events. Considering these tokens, the percentage that favors preterite now rises to 98.43%.

Table 32: Entry 19 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect Indicative	1	1.6
Preterite	58	90.6
Preterite Progressive	1	1.6
Imperfect Indicative	2	3.1
Pluperfect Indicative	2	3.1
Total	64	100.0

Similar results are obtained for Entry 20. The dialogue provides a linguistic context for the semelfactive verb ‘*timbrar*’ (to ring), which refers to past and completed events. The verb ‘*preguntó*’ (she asked) appears twice: in the main clause before the citation and in the reply of

speaker B of the dialogue. Also, the temporal adverbial ‘*anoche*’ (last night) reinforces the notion of completion of the event.

A: Alicia me preguntó: “Anoche _____ **20** _____ (timbrar) el teléfono?
 B: ¿y por qué te preguntó eso?
 A: Quisiera saberlo yo también.

*A: Alicia asked me, “Did the telephone _____ (to ring) last night?
 B: And why did she ask you that?
 A: I would like to know, too.*

Figure 41: Questionnaire Entry 18

The majority of participants (95.3%) used preterite forms to complete Entry 20. There is only one occurrence of present perfect, as in Entry 19, which also has a semelfactive verb.

Table 33: Entry 20 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect Indicative	1	1.6
Preterite	61	95.3
missing	2	3.1
Total	64	100.0

Results for Entries 19 and 20 demonstrate that semelfactive verbs, due to the semantic characteristics mentioned before, are preferred with the preterite in Limeño Spanish. These results again reveal the close relationship between lexical aspect and grammatical tense.

4.3 TYPE C ENTRY FREQUENCIES

Henceforth, all the entries analyzed do not include temporal adverbials. They were created to give the participants dialogues that recreate natural speech. With the exception of Entries 24 and 25 that provide a narration with dialogues but not explicit adverbials, Type C Entries lack any temporal adverbials. For this reason, the participants do not know if they have to situate the event in the past, present or future.

4.3.1 Entry with Stative Verb

The stative verb chosen for Entry 21 is ‘*saber*’ (to know). The lack of temporal information led participants to situate the situation of communication at the time of speaking, not referring to a past event but to an event in progress. Since the question that they had to answer was formulated in the present, the most natural answer would seem to be the present here.

A: ¿Tienes alguna noticia de Javier?

B: No **21** (saber) nada de él.

A: *Do you have any new of Javier?*

B: *No, I don't (to know) anything about him.*

Figure 42: Questionnaire Entry 19

Table 34: Entry 21 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect Indicative	5	7.8
Preterite	8	12.5
Imperfect Indicative	10	15.6
Present Indicative	41	64.1
Total	64	100.0

Most of the participants did choose the present indicative (64.1%). Only 12.5% used the preterite and 15.6% the imperfect indicative. However, participants also used 8 preterites and 10 imperfects, indicating that the events were in the past. There were fewer present perfects than preterites and imperfects. The context does not allow reanalysis here. These results do not add substantial information about the analysis being conducted in this study.

4.3.2 Entry with Activity Verb

Entry 22 included the verb of activity '*caminar*' (to walk). Apparently, there is no actual reference to the past since there are neither temporal adverbials nor past tense verbs in this entry. However, the verb in the imperative '*cuéntame*' (tell me) provides a context in which one of the interlocutors is inviting the other to narrate a situation. From a pragmatic point of view, it is natural to assume that one can 'tell' something that has happened or has just happened, in other words, that one can narrate in this situation.

A: ¿Y? ¿Qué tal? Cuéntame
 B: Bien, 22 (caminar) por el parque.

A: *And? What's going on? Tell me.*
 B: *Well, _____ (to walk) around the park.*

Figure 43: Questionnaire Entry 20

Most of the participants (82.8%) selected the past as their point of reference, and thus there was a variety of past tenses: preterite (82.8%), preterite progressive (3.1%) and imperfect (1%). Six of the participants (9.4%) opted for present perfects, one for present indicative (1.6%) and one for future (1.6%).

Table 35: Entry 22 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect Indicative	6	9.4
Preterite	53	82.8
Preterite Progressive	2	3.1
Imperfect Indicative	1	1.6
Present Indicative	1	1.6
Future Indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

It is interesting to notice that progressive forms, imperfects and present perfects have a common characteristic: durativity. It appears as if the spatial complement '*por el parque*' (around the park) conveys the idea of an event that lasted enough to be linked to the idea of durativity. This once again supports the association of duration with present perfect forms.

4.3.3 Entry with Semelfactive Verb

Entry 23 has the semelfactive verb ‘*tocar*’ (to knock) appearing in a context with a clear reference to the past, expressed by the imperfective ‘*era*’ (it was) inserted in a question that introduces the dialogue. The dialogue provides a context that can be mostly interpreted as recent past. It is a dialogue where one of the interlocutors asks for information from the other interlocutor about an event that has just happened.

A: ¿Quién era?
B: No sé. Creo que alguien _____ **23** _____ (tocar) la puerta por fastidiar nomás.

A: *Who was it?*
B: *I don't know. I think (they) _____ (to knock) on the door just to be annoying.*

Figure 44: Questionnaire Entry 21

Table 36: Entry 23 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfec Indicative	1	1.6
Preterite	62	96.9
Present Indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

The entry was filled in almost exclusively with preterites (96.9%). In contrast, the present perfect and present obtained a mere 1.6% each. Once again one can observe that with semelfactive verbs, the participants prefer to use the preterite. We have already explained that the feature punctual of the preterite is closely associated with semelfactivity, which seems to be the reason for the high occurrence of preterites with these types of verbs.

4.3.4 Entries with Accomplishment and Achievement Verbs

Entry 24 offers participants the verb of accomplishment ‘*abrir*’ (to open) and Entry 25 the verb of achievement ‘*oír*’ (to hear). There are no temporal adverbials either in Entry 24 or 25; however, the previous entry included a reference to a punctual past time (‘*en aquel momento*’ –at that moment). In general, the dialogue presents a period of time situated in the past. The demonstrative adjective ‘*aquel*’ (that) points to a past period of time, although it is not clear whether it is a recent or non-recent past event.

Most of the participants chose preterites (96.9%) to fill in the blank in Entry 24. There were also two present indicative forms (3.1%), which can be interpreted as historic present, i.e. the present indicative is used to make the discourse more natural.

A: Bueno, en aquel momento mi papá _____ (aparecer). La empleada
_____ **24** _____ (abrir) la puerta, asustada.
B: Ya me imagino.
A: Sí, recuerdo que _____ **25** _____ (oír) disparos...como un secuestro. Horrible. ¡Qué
miedo!

A: Well, at that moment my dad _____ (to appear). The housekeeper
_____ **24** _____ (to open) the door, scared.
B: I can imagine.
A: Yes, I remember _____ **25** _____ (to hear) shots...like a kidnapping, something like
that. Horrible. How scary!

Figure 45: Questionnaire Entry 22 and 25

Table 37: Entry 24 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Preterite	62	96.9
Present Indicative	2	3.1
Total	64	100.0

The majority of the participants in Entry 25 used preterites (92.2%). Four of them also used imperfects (4.7%) and a pluperfect (1.6%). All of these forms together (98.43%) refer to a non-recent past. In this context they can be considered alternative forms to the preterite since the intention is to indicate a past event without present relevance.

Table 38: Entry 25 Frequency

Verb forms	Frequency	Percentage
Present Perfect	1	1.6
Preterite	59	92.2
Imperfect Indicative	3	4.7
Pluperfect Indicative	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0

The results for Entries 24 and 25 show an overwhelming preference for the preterite with verbs of accomplishment and achievement. These are verbs that naturally indicate completion of the event in the past, given that they contain a telic semantic feature.

In sum, with the exception of stative verbs, the frequencies of entries without temporal adverbials show a preference for the preterite for all situation types.

4.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter I have analyzed the frequencies of the entries that contained temporal adverbials and predicates that convey the notion of recency. This semantic feature has effect on the preference for the present perfect, but this effect is still considerably weak. In fact, even though the target of these entries was the present perfect, the use of the preterite is preferred. It is this finding in which our first hypothesis is borne out. In other words, we expect to find a greater use of preterites even in linguistic contexts where recency is a strong factor that should trigger present perfects.

In addition, the effect of temporal adverbials that indicate duration/frequency is noticeable. The highest incidence of present perfect was found in entries 2 and 3 which have adverbials of duration/frequency. It seems that the present perfect is most likely to be used with this type of adverbial, which means that the present perfect focuses more on aspectual than on temporal meaning. In fact, the semantic features *duration* and *punctuality* are associated with an increase in frequency of the present perfect and the preterite respectively.

In sum, the analyses of Type A, Type B and Type C Entry Frequencies show evidence that the lexical aspect of the verbs determines the selection of grammatical tense. The analyses also show that the number of preterites exceeds the number of present perfects in all of the cases.

Tables 39 and 40 display the overall results in the sentences with adverbials after the reanalyses described above for each entry, in the contexts which allowed it. In entries with the present perfect as the target (Type A), the ratio is 4.5 preterite forms for each present perfect. In entries with the preterite as the target (Type B), the ratio is 35.4 preterite forms for each present perfect.

Table 39: Reanalysis of Type A Entry Frequencies

Entries whose Target is the Present Perfect							
Present Perfect		Preterite		Other		Total	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
106	16.56	484	75.63	50	7.81	640	100.0

Table 40: Reanalysis of Type B Entry Frequencies

Entries whose Target is the Preterite							
Present Perfect		Preterite		Other		Total	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
17	2.66	602	94.06	21	3.28	640	100.0

Even without the reanalysis, the percentages of preterites in both kinds of entries are significantly higher than the percentage of present perfects. In the next chapter, I will analyze the effect of the linguistic and social variables on the selection of preterite, as well as their interaction between the two.

5.0 CHAPTER 4: RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION

This chapter presents the results of the Logistic Regression Analysis. I will discuss the results of the crosstabs procedure, which offers tests and measures in order to obtain estimates of the effect of one particular factor in the presence or absence of another factor. Thus, the crosstabulation tables account for the relationship between two nominal²³ variables, in this case a social variable (age, gender or social strata) or a linguistic one (situation type, adverbial or type of speech) in relation to a tense variable. This chapter is divided into two main parts: one devoted to the discussion of the results of the linguistic variables, and the other to the results of the social variables.

5.1 ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC FACTORS

This section of the chapter presents an analysis of the effects of the linguistic factors on the selection of tense. I first explain the results obtained for situation type followed by the results for adverbials and finally, the results for reported speech.

²³ in the sense of discrete, discontinuous, categorical, dichotomous

5.1.1 Situation Type

This subsection of the chapter analyzes the effect of situation type of the verbs on preterite choice. First, I begin with a discussion of the extent to which situation type alone affects the selection of tense in sentences with or without adverbials. I then address the effect of situation type on tense choice in relation to type of adverbials, followed by the effect of situation type with respect to reported speech.

5.1.1.1 Situation Type and Tense

Entries with and without adverbials

The analysis of the questionnaire entries with and without adverbials reveals that among the five existing types of situations, there is a continuum of preference for the use of the preterite. Among the five situations, semelfactive verbs rank first (90.3%), followed by achievement verbs (89.7%), verbs of accomplishment (84.1%) and activity verbs (81.9%), and finally stative verbs (53.4%). The relationship between type of situation and tense is significant ($p < .05$). The following figure displays this ranking:

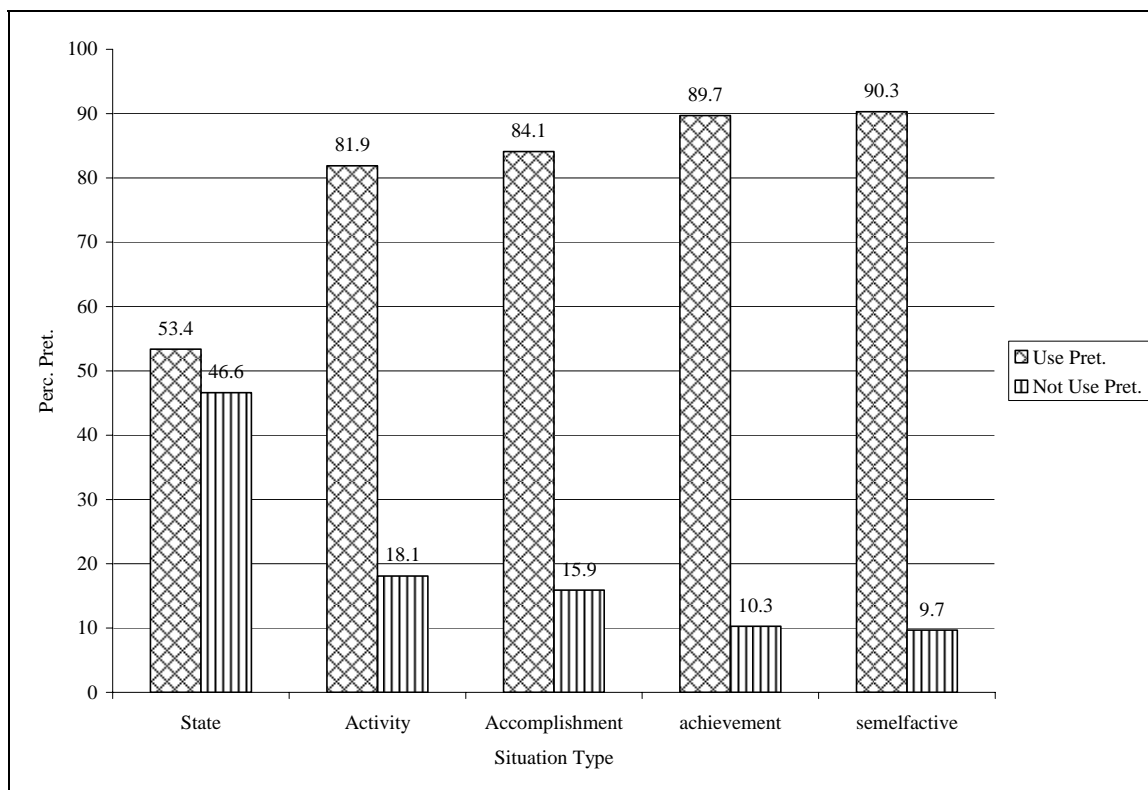


Figure 46: Effect of Situation Type by Preterite with and without Adverbials

From this scale, it can be inferred that semelfactive verbs whose semantic features are [-static,-durative,-telic] have a natural affinity with preterite forms, since these verbs refer to instantaneous events, which are therefore seen as punctual. We can assert that *punctuality* is a semantic feature characteristically expressed by the preterite (Smith, 1991, p. 104), and for that reason, it is logically associated with semelfactive verbs.

As stated above, verbs of achievement rank second. These verbs are composed of the semantic features [-static, -durative, +telic], which express punctuality. In Saeed's words, verbs of achievement express "instantaneous changes with an outcome of a new state" (2003:124).

Accomplishment [-static, +durative, +telic] and activity [-static, +durative, -telic] verbs rank third and fourth, respectively. In this case, it is obvious that telicity is the semantic feature calling for preterite.

Finally, stative verbs [+static, +durative] are the least likely to be used with preterite forms. This can also be explained by the character of these verbs, which present a situation with no internal phases or changes, and no focus on the beginning or end of the state (Saeed 1997: 119). The inherent characteristics of stative verbs are therefore not particularly compatible with preterite, which is a tense usually used to focus on the beginning or the end of a situation.

Entries with Adverbials

In contrast, the results of entries only with adverbials are slightly different from the results described above. The results show that verbs of achievement rank first (89.1%) in predicting the use of the preterite. Semelfactive verbs rank second (88.6%), followed by activity verbs (81.6%), accomplishment verbs (80.9%), and stative verbs (63.7%). The following table displays scores and percentages from entries only with adverbials according to type of situation. The relationship between situation type and selection of preterite is also significant ($p < .001$). The results of these analyses provide evidence of an interaction between lexical and grammatical properties.

In fact, the percentages shown in Figure 47 below reveal that the ranking of preference for preterite forms is almost the same in sentences with no adverbials omitted as in sentences with no adverbials included

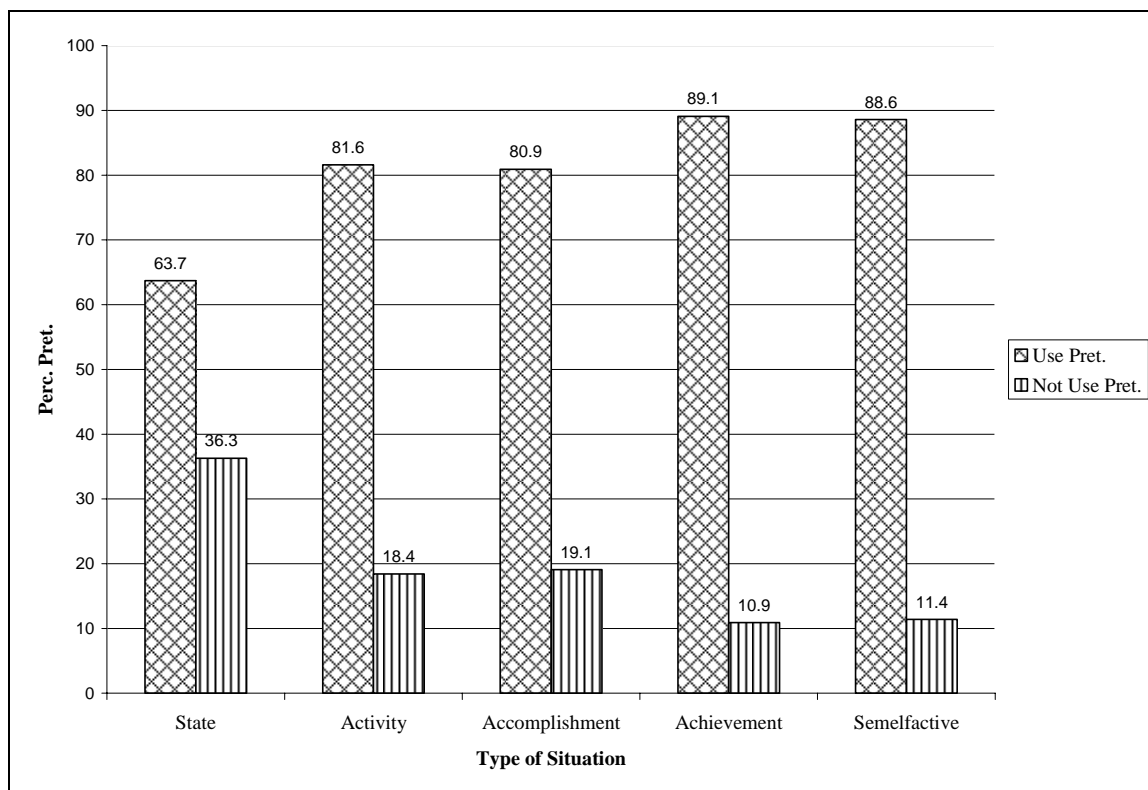


Figure 47: Effect of Situation Type by Preterite with Adverbials

However, there is a small difference between achievement and semelfactive verbs on the one hand and accomplishment and activity verbs on the other. What achievement and semelfactive verbs have in common is punctuality and lack of duration. The presence of these semantic features makes the use of preterite forms more likely, while their absence makes the use of present perfect or other tenses more probable. In contrast, accomplishment and activity verbs share the semantic characteristic of duration. Therefore, verbs that include the feature durative are less likely to occur with the preterite. Overall, the fact that the presence or the absence of adverbials does not significantly affect this scale of preference provides evidence of a prevalence of cognitive associations among similar semantic features.

Finally, the type of situation that is the least likely in entries either with or without adverbials is the stative situation. Moreover, stative verbs are consistently not preferred with preterite forms, especially if these verbs are not accompanied by adverbials. In fact, the frequency of use of preterite forms becomes higher with the inclusion of sentences with no adverbials in the analysis. This can be interpreted as a high preference for the use of the preterite, independently of the presence of adverbials in the linguistic context. Such a finding corroborates the pattern of usage in Limeño Spanish, different from European Spanish. Although Spanish grammar in general shows a high frequency of preterites over the present perfect, the frequencies for Latin American Spanish are higher than those for European Spanish.

5.1.1.2 Situation Type and Adverbials

In this section, I will first present the analysis of the results when there are no adverbials in the entries, followed by the results when there are adverbials that are usually compatible with preterite and finally when there are adverbials usually compatible with present perfect. In all of these linguistic contexts, the effect of situation type with adverbials is significant ($p < .001$).

The highest percentages of preterites are produced when adverbials are not present in the entries. In this linguistic context, the situation type with the highest occurrence is semelfactive (96.9%), followed by achievement (92.2%), and accomplishment (96.9%). Thus, it seems that in the absence of adverbials, the semantic feature ‘punctuality’ has the strongest effect on the selection of the preterite. The fact that semelfactive verbs express that an event is performed only once nicely matches the temporal notion of an event that took place at one specific point in time.

Entries with ‘preterite adverbials’ have results similar to those just mentioned in the previous paragraph. As can be seen in the following graph, in entries with accomplishment

verbs, preterites were used 95.3% of the time; semelfactive verbs 94.4%, and achievement verbs 91.4%. In the case of the entries with ‘present perfect adverbials’, the percentage of preterites decreases, although it is still above 60%. In this type of context, semelfactive (82.8%) and achievement (86.7%) verbs continue to be very frequent. Comparing the frequencies of the entries with the two types of adverbial, *telicity* is the semantic feature that is associated with the preterite.

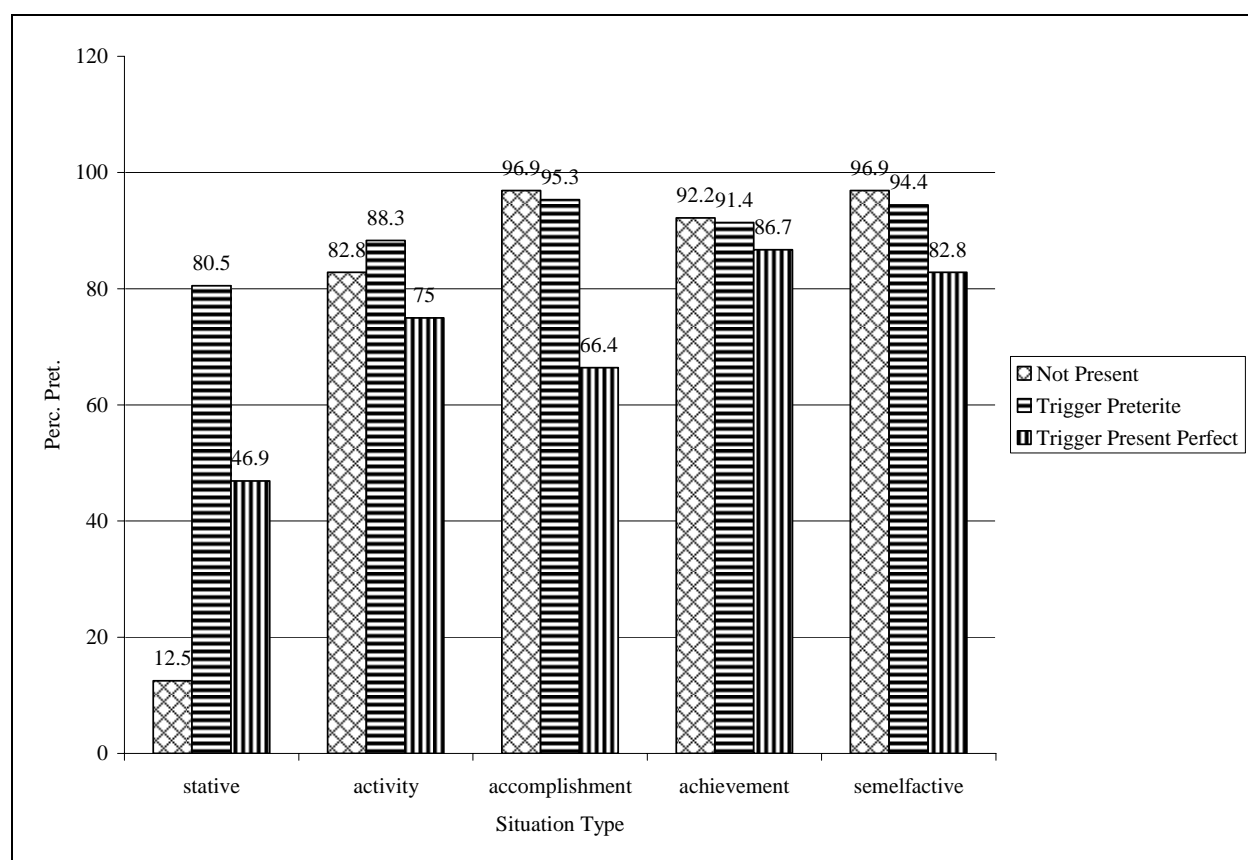


Figure 48: Effect of Situation Type by Type of Adverbials

If we consider the three contexts provided (without adverbials, with preterite adverbials and with present perfect adverbials), results show that activity and stative verbs are less likely to be used with preterites. In particular, stative verbs without adverbials increase the possibility of

conveying the idea of unboundedness of the situation. Stative verbs emphasize the steadiness of a situation, with no internal changes and without attention being paid to the beginning or end of the situation (Saeed 2003: 119). These characteristics of stative verbs seem to be responsible for their low frequency with preterites (12.5%) in these entries.

Thus far, I have partially answered the first research question, i.e. to what extent does internal aspect influence choice of preterite over present perfect? I have shown that the variable situation type has a significant effect on the selection of preterite. In other words, the lexical meaning of the verbs affects the selection of preterite in Limeño Spanish.

5.1.1.3 Situation Type and Type of Speech

There is a significant effect of situation type on the use of the preterite, both when the context corresponds to non-reported speech ($p < .001$) as well as to reported speech ($p < .001$). The frequency of preterite forms is higher than present perfect or other tenses in both reported speech (81.5%) and non-reported speech (78.8%) as shown in Figure 51 below.

The results show that situation type has a greater effect in the absence of reported speech, which is shown by the fact that the contingency coefficient is higher (.363) than in the presence of reported speech (.296)²⁴, revealing that the effect of situation type is stronger when there is no reported speech. In other words, it seems that the internal aspect of the verb has a greater effect within contexts other than direct speech citations. One may infer from this observation that the reported speech context constrains the effect of situation type on the use of preterite.

²⁴ The contingency coefficients displayed in the tables are indexes of relationship. If the number falls between 0 and 1, with 1 being the strongest relationship, there is greater effect of the factor –in this case, the factor is situation type.

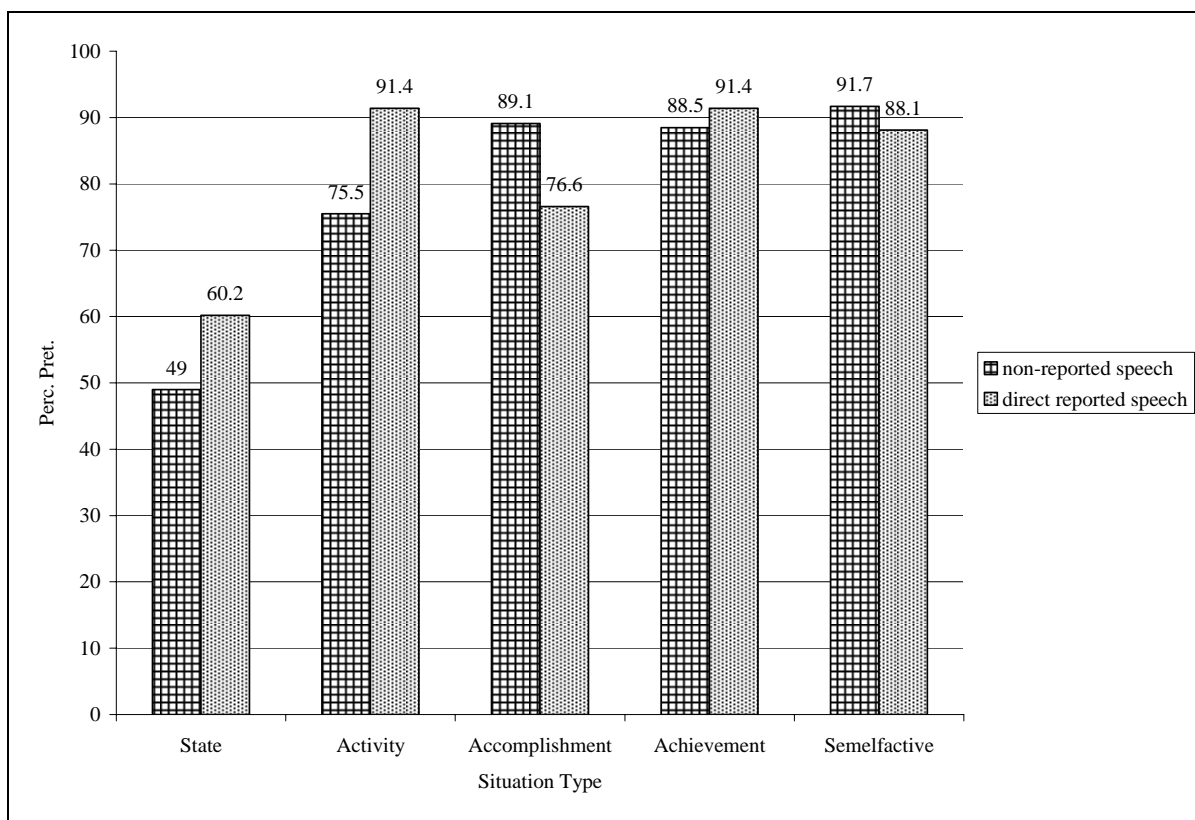


Figure 49: Effect of Situation Type within Type of Speech

Summing up the results for situation type, it can be asserted that this linguistic variable has a significant effect on preterite choice by itself, and in contexts with adverbials or reported speech. This section has partially answered the first research question, i.e. whether internal aspect has an effect on preterite selection. The answer is affirmative. The semantic composition of the verbs does have an important effect on the use of the preterite and the present perfect. In the following section, I discuss the effect of adverbials on the selection of the preterite.

5.1.2 Adverbials

This section presents the analysis of the effect of adverbials by themselves on the use of the preterite as well as the impact of adverbials on situation type and reported speech.

5.1.2.1 Adverbials and Tense

The analysis of adverbials shows that their presence in the entries is significant in predicting the use of the preterite ($p < .001$). Figure 50 below displays the frequency of preterite in relation type of adverbial and their absence in the linguistic context.

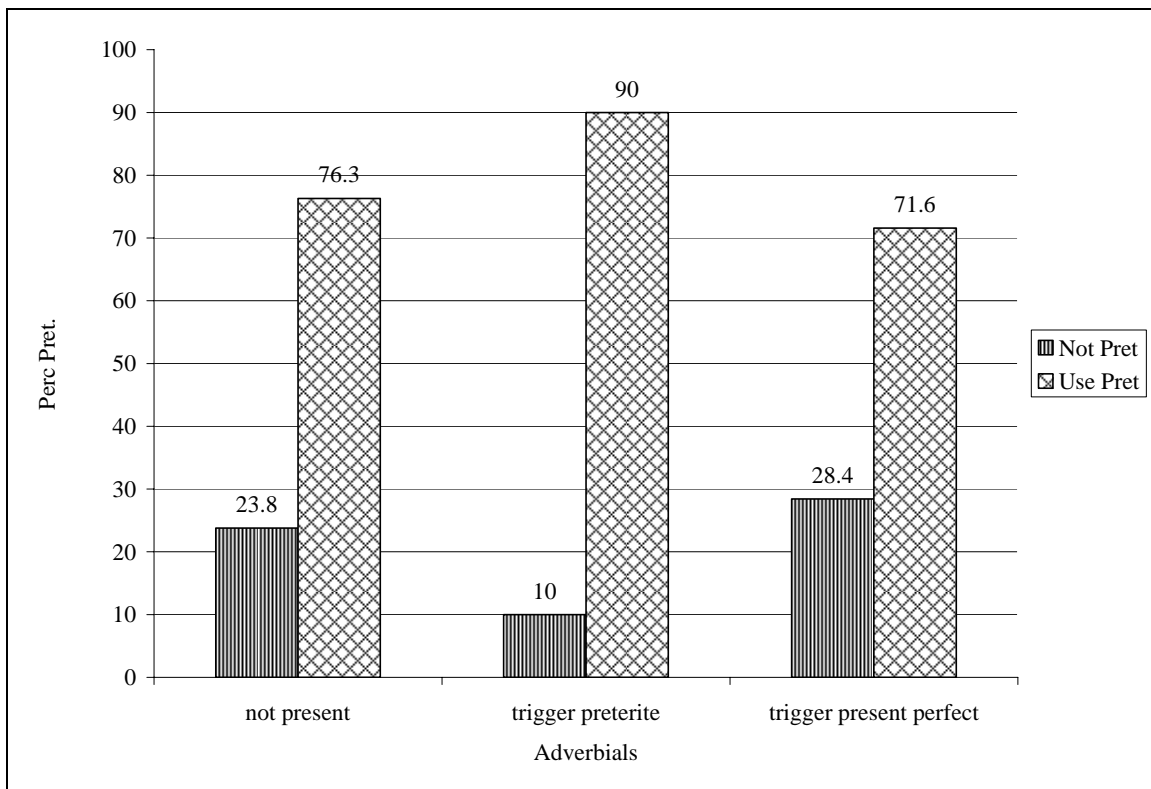


Figure 50: Effect of Adverbials on Selection of Tense

If adverbials are not present in the sentence, the possibility of the use of the preterite is 76.3%; however, if there are adverbials intended to trigger preterite forms in the sentence, the possibility of the use of the preterite rises to 90.0%. Nevertheless, when there are adverbials whose target is the present perfect, the frequency of preterite forms decreases and the presence of present perfect tokens increases significantly. However, adverbials with temporal relevance do not obtain the highest frequency of occurrence of present perfect. Even with adverbials for present perfect forms, the number of preterite is high, at 71.6%.

Based on these observations, one may claim that presence of adverbials has a stronger effect than their absence. Moreover, temporal adverbials without present relevance have a greater impact on the selection of preterite than adverbials with present relevance.

5.1.2.2 Adverbials and Situation Type

In section 4.1.1.1., we have seen that situation type has a strong effect on the selection of preterite forms in the absence of adverbials. Furthermore, in entries with adverbials, the results show a preference for the preterite. The table below shows the use of preterite by adverbial type within situation type, along with their statistical indices (Chi-Square and Contingency Coefficient).

Table 41: Effect of Type of Adverbial within Situation Type

Situation Type	No Adverbials		Preterite Adverbials		Present Perfect Adverbials		Chi-Square	Cont. Coeff.
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
State	8	12.5	103	80.5	60	46.9	p<.001***	.454
Activity	53	82.8	113	88.3	96	75.0	p<.05*	.153
Accomplishment	62	96.9	122	95.3	85	66.4	p<.001***	.367
Achievement	59	92.2	117	91.4	111	86.7	p>.05	.080
Semelfactive	62	96.9	119	94.4	106	82.8	p.01**	.204

* p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

As can be seen in this table, even when verbs are stative, preterite adverbials obtain a high percentage of these forms (80.5%). The effect of adverbials on the selection of preterite forms within situation type is significant for stative verbs (p<.001), for activity verbs (p<.05), for accomplishment verbs (p<.001) and for semelfactive verbs (p<.01). Only with respect to verbs of achievement is the impact of adverbials not significant (p>.05).

With preterite adverbials, the effect of situation on preterite choice is higher with verbs that share the telic feature, as can see below. Table 42 shows these percentages from the highest to the lowest percentage of preterites in relation to situation type within preterite adverbials.

Table 42: Semantic Features in Interaction with Preterite Adverbials

Situation Type	Semantic Features			Percentage of Preterite	
	static	durative	telic	n	%
1. Accomplishment	-	+	+	122	95.3
2. Semelfactive	-	-	-	119	94.4
3. Achievement	-	-	+	117	91.4
4. Activity	-	+	-	113	88.3
5. Stative	+	+	n.a.	103	80.5

In contrast, as was expected, with present perfect adverbials the frequencies of preterite are lower. Table 43 shows situation types, from the lowest impact on preterite to the highest impact. The results are again directly related to the semantic features associated with the verbs. What stative, accomplishment and activity verbs have in common is the durative semantic feature. Durativity increases the possibility of using not only present perfect forms, but also other tenses, rather than only preterite. Adverbials with present relevance highlight duration, thus favoring the use of present perfect.

Table 43: Semantic Features in interaction with Present Perfect Adverbials

Situation Type	Semantic Features			Percentage of Preterite	
	static	durative	telic	n	%
1. Stative	+	+	n.a.	60	46.9
2. Accomplishment	-	+	+	85	66.4
3. Activity	-	+	-	96	75.0
4. Semelfactive	-	-	-	106	82.8
5. Achievement	-	-	+	111	86.7

In entries with no adverbials, telicity is predominant, and favors the use of preterite, as we can see in Table 44. Semelfactive verbs express the notion of an event performed at one point in time, while accomplishments and achievements share the feature of telicity.

Table 44: Semantic Features not in Interaction with Adverbials

Situation Type	Semantic Features			Percentage of Preterite	
	static	durative	telic	n	%
1. Semelfactive	-	-	-	62	96.9
2. Accomplishment	-	+	+	62	96.9
3. Achievement	-	-	+	59	92.2
4. Activity	-	+	-	53	82.8
5. Stative	+	+	n.a.	8	12.5

Summarizing the results of the relationship between adverbials and situation type with regard to tense choice, the percentage of preterites with stative verbs decreases precisely when adverbials are not present and when adverbials have temporal relevance. The participants associate the unboundedness of stative verbs with present perfect adverbials. Furthermore, with accomplishment verbs the percentage of preterites increases quite significantly, since the feature telicity is strengthening the adverbials with no present relevance. Finally, as we have seen, semelfactive verbs express punctual and instantaneous situations, causing a significant increase of preterite frequency in the three contexts in question, since this tense corresponds to the realization of an event at one point in time.

Moreover, considering the contingency coefficient values with regard to the strength of the relationship between adverbials and verb choice with respect to each situation, stative verbs (.454) and accomplishment verbs (.367) show the strongest possible relationship, followed by semelfactive verbs (.204) and activity verbs (.153). Achievement verbs show the weakest relationship (.080). In fact, achievement is the only type of situation that is [-durative, + telic];

thus, in this case the choice of tense is based on the [+telic] feature, which, as we have already seen, is quite compatible with preterite. As a result, the percentages of preterites with verbs of achievement are similar for at least two of the three types of linguistic contexts (no adverbials, adverbials for preterite, adverbial for present perfect), and therefore, not significant.

5.1.2.3 Adverbials and Type of Speech

The presence of adverbials within reported speech (direct speech quotations) or within non-reported speech does have a significant effect on the selection of preterite ($p < .001$).

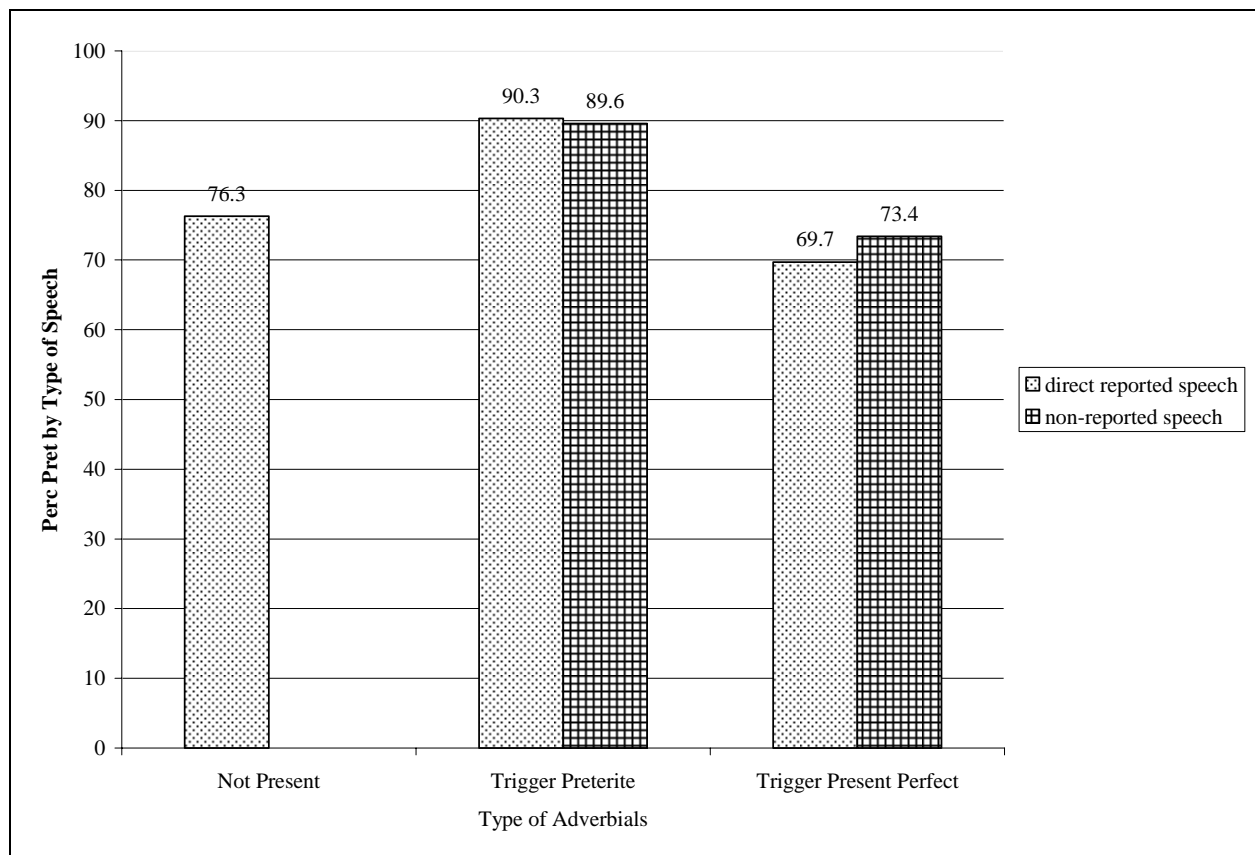


Figure 51: Effect of Adverbials within Reported or Non-Reported Speech

If we compare the entries that include reported and non-reported speech with preterite adverbials, percentages for direct reported speech (89.6%) are very close to those for non-

reported speech (90.3%). In the case of entries with present perfect adverbials, results are also similar for direct reported speech (69.7%) and non-reported speech (73.4%).

The previous table shows that the difference within reported speech as well as in non-reported speech is small, although the number of preterites triggered is high in both types of context.

We have now answered another aspect of the first research question, i.e. whether temporal adverbials have an effect on selection of tense. Temporal adverbials do have a significant effect on the use of the preterite and on the use of the present perfect. In chapter three, I discussed adverbials of frequency that seem to have a strong effect on the selection of present perfect. There, I suggested that temporality is a characteristic mostly related to the preterite, as is aspectuality to the present perfect. In this section, the analysis of semantic features of the verb in relation to type of adverbial confirms this relationship

5.1.3 Type of Speech

This section addresses the effect of reported and non-reported speech on the selection of preterite within adverbials and within situation type.

5.1.3.1 Type of Speech and Tense

Entries with and without adverbials

Considering the whole group of entries, results for the use of the preterite in direct reported speech and non-reported speech exhibit no significance ($p > .05$). In Figure 52 below, we see the percentages for each type of speech.

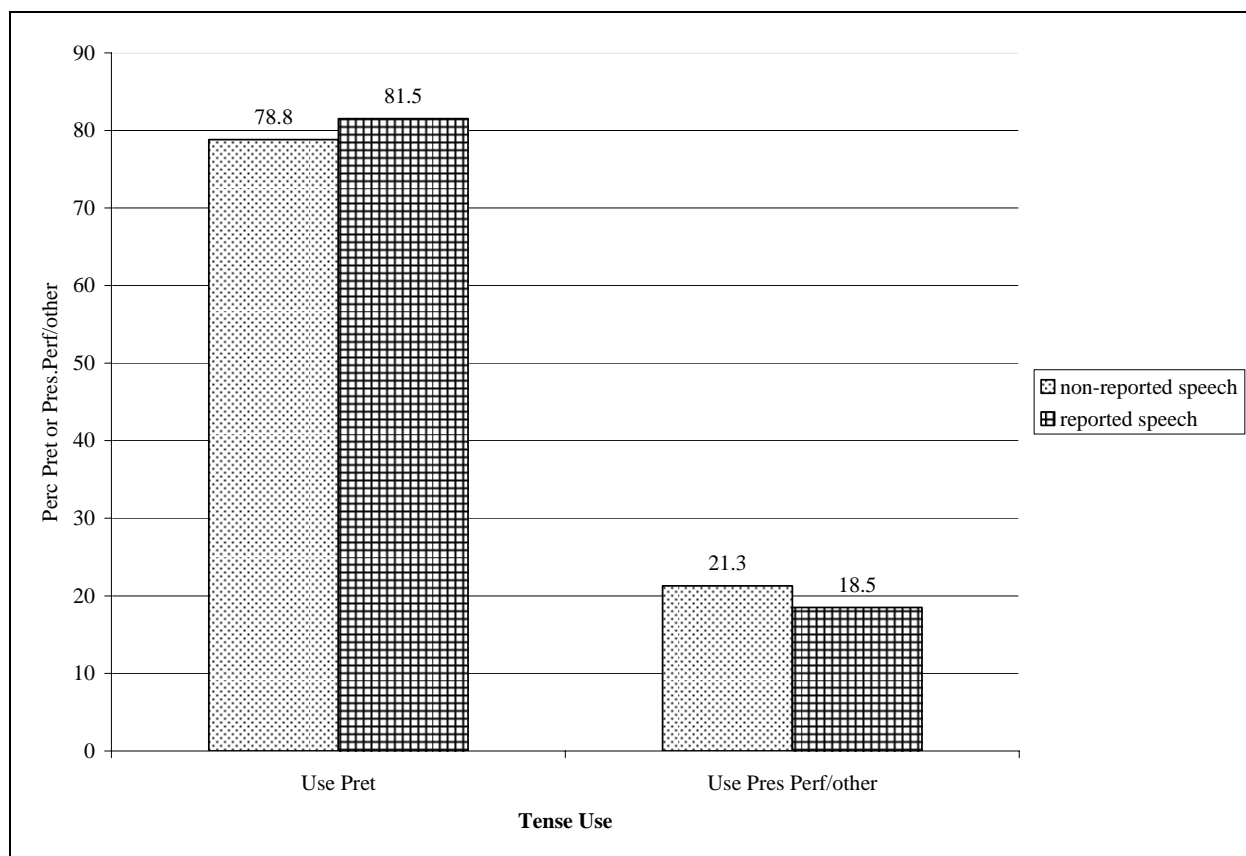


Figure 52: Effect of Type of Speech in Sentences with and without Adverbials

When the context is a direct speech citation, the probability of choosing preterite is 81.5%; conversely when the context is non-reported speech, the probability is 78.8%. This difference is not significant ($p > .05$). In fact, we can see in the table above that the percentages for preterite and present perfect are almost identical. We will see in the next chapter that in this type of context the analysis of tenses such as present perfect and imperfect offer interesting results linked to patterns of use by social strata.

Entries with adverbials

Similar results are found in sentences only with adverbials. The omission of sentences with no adverbials does not exert an influence over the choice of preterite. Questionnaire entries with

non-reported speech get 80.0% of preterites, while entries with reported speech (direct speech) get 81.5%. This difference is also not significant ($p > .05$).

5.1.3.2 Type of Speech and Situation Type

Results show that type of speech has significant impact on preterite choice with activity, accomplishment, and stative verbs, and no significant effect with achievement and semelfactive verbs. The following table presents frequencies, percentages and significant values of type of speech within each type of situation.

Table 45: : Effect of Type of Speech to Preterite within Situation Type

Situation Type	Non-Reported Speech		Reported Speech (direct)		Chi-Square	Contingency Coefficient
	n	%	n	%		
State	4	49.0	7	60.2	3.87*	.109
Activity	145	75.5	17	91.4	13.060***	.198
Accomplishment	171	89.1	98	76.6	8.957**	.165
Achievement	170	88.5	17	91.4	.681	.046
Semelfactive	176	91.7	11	88.1	1.103	.059

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Although the highest percentage of preterites occurs within achievement and activity verbs in direct reported speech, the contingency coefficient shows that the strongest effect is found within activity, accomplishment and stative verbs. As is shown in Table 46 below, these three types of verbs have the semantic feature *durative* in common.

There is a connection between duration and reported speech. Duration makes situations in direct speech citations more dynamic. Very often, if the participant is trying to reproduce

someone else's discourse, s/he conveys duration to the event in order to make it more similar to an ongoing situation as it were.

Table 46: Semantic Features in Interaction with Direct Reported Speech and Situation Type

Situation Type	Semantic Features			Contingency Coefficient
	static	durative	telic	
1. Activity	-	+	-	.198
2. Accomplishment	-	+	+	.165
3. Stative	+	+	n.a.	.109
4. Semelfactive	-	-	-	.059
5. Achievement	-	-	+	.046

With stative verbs the percentage of preterites in reported speech decreases, as is expected, due to the characteristics of these verbs. However, the percentage of preterites in reported speech for stative verbs is still considerable, given that these verbs are [-static, +durative, -telic]. In contrast, accomplishment verbs which carry a [+telic] feature are less frequently preterite in reported speech (76.6%) than in non-reported speech (89.1%) (see Table 51). This is understandable since the telic feature gives the idea of natural completion of the situation, and does not correspond naturally to the context of a direct speech quotation that hypothetically would be much more compatible with a tense that points to speech time. The frequencies of preterites with stative and accomplishment verbs in direct reported speech suggest that telicity is a stronger semantic feature than durativity, because the durative feature present in these verbs has a stronger effect than the telic feature on the decreasing the use of the preterite. This explanation is supported by the behavior of achievement verbs, which lacks duration, and so increases the possibility of using preterite in reported speech (91.4%).

5.1.3.3 Type of Speech and Adverbials

The effect of reported speech on preterite choice within adverbials is not significant ($p > .05$). The frequency of preterites is high, although very similar both in reported and non-reported speech when preterite adverbials are present (Table 47).

Table 47: Effect of Type of Speech to Preterite within Adverbials

Adverbials	Non-Reported Speech		Direct Reported Speech		Chi-Square	Contingency Coefficient
	n	%	n	%		
Preterite Adverbials	289	90.3	285	89.6	.084	.011
Present Perfect Adverbials	223	69.7	235	73.4	1.106	.042

However, when present perfect adverbials are present, the frequency of preterites decreases to 73.4% in direct speech citations and to 69.7% in non-reported speech. This means that adverbials with present relevance have a negative effect on the selection of preterite. This finding is not surprising, given that these types of adverbials should favor present perfect forms. This effect, however, is not significant.

5.1.4 Linguistic Factors: Conclusions

In this subsection I summarize the major findings with regard to linguistic factors. On the one hand, situation type and adverbials by themselves have a significant effect on the selection of preterites ($p < .001$). On the other hand, reported speech by itself does not have a significant effect on the selection of preterites (see Table 48 below).

It was also found that the effect of situation type on preterite within temporal adverbials and within type of speech is significant. In addition, with respect to temporal adverbials, results

show that they have different degrees of significance with stative, activity, accomplishment and semelfactive verbs, but a similar effect within type of speech (reported vs. non reported). In addition, the results of type of speech show a significant effect of this variable within situation type for stative, activity and accomplishment verbs, but not achievement and semelfactive verbs. Finally, the effect of type of speech on preterite within adverbials is not significant.

Table 48: Relationship of Linguistic Factors to Preterite Use

		Preterite Use					
		no		yes			
Factor	Categories	n	%	n	%	Total	Chi-square
Situation Type	State	149	46.6	171	53.4	320	183.72***
	Activity	58	18.1	262	81.9	320	
	Accomplishment	51	15.9	269	84.1	320	
	Achievement	33	10.3	287	89.7	320	
	Semelfactive	31	9.7	287	90.3	318	
Adverbials	Not present	76	23.8	244	76.3	320	70.50***
	Preterite Adverbials	64	10.0	574	90.0	638	
	Present Perfect Adverbials	182	28.4	458	71.6	640	
Type of Speech	Not within reported speech	204	21.3	756	78.8	960	1.808
	Within direct reported speech	118	18.5	520	81.5	638	

* p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

At this point in the study, I have fully answered the first research question, the purpose of which was to find out the influence of internal aspect, temporal adverbials and type of speech on the selection of preterite over present perfect. In fact, as I have shown, situation type, indicated by a composite of verb, arguments and adverbials, has a significant effect on tense selection.

This indicates that there are two components in interaction: a lexical semantic component and a grammatical component.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL FACTORS

At this second stage in the analysis, I discuss the effect of the social factors taken into account (social stratum, age and gender) on the selection of tense.

5.2.1 Social Strata (SES)

In this subsection, I first analyze the relationship between social stratum and the selection of preterite. I then explore the effect of social stratum in interaction with situation type, adverbials and type of speech.

5.2.1.1 Social Strata and Tense

Entries with and without adverbials

If one takes into account all entries including those with no adverbials, results show that the working stratum participants use more preterite forms than the middle stratum participants (see Figure 55 below). However, both middle (78.8%) and working social stratum (81.0%) show preference for the preterite over present perfect or any other tense; in fact, the small difference between them is not significant ($p > .05$).

Entries only with adverbials

In addition, if we omit from our analysis those entries with no adverbials, results are similar. Both groups prefer the preterite to complete the sentences in the questionnaire. However, although the working stratum participants employed more preterites (81.7%) than those of the middle stratum (79.8%), this difference is not significant ($p > .05$).

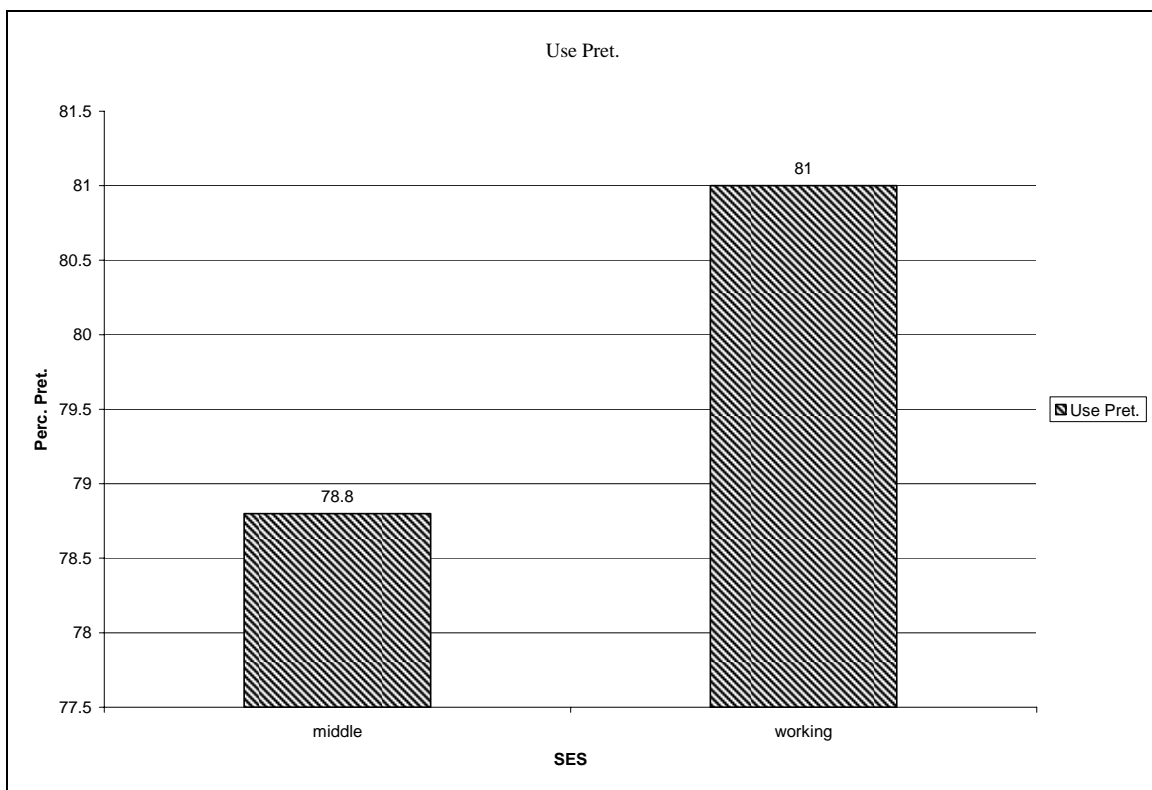


Figure 53: Effect of SES by Preterite within Sentences without Adverbials

In conclusion, the social stratum factor does not have a significant effect on the selection of preterites, neither in the analyses in entries with and without adverbials, nor in entries only with adverbials. The difference between one social stratum and the other is thus too small to be evidence of a significant effect of social stratum on preterite use.

Let us see if the interactions of SES with any of the three linguistic factors (situation type, adverbials, type of speech) are significant.

5.2.1.2 Situation Type and Social Strata

In this section I analyze the effect of situation type within each level of social stratum. A comparison of the frequencies for each type of situation reveals that within the middle stratum, achievement (89.4%) and semelfactive (89.4%) verbs are associated with the highest percentage of use of preterites, followed by accomplishment (81.9%), activity (78.8%) and stative (54.4%) verbs. A similar effect on preterite choice is observed in the working stratum (see Table 49 and Figure 54 below). Within this working stratum, achievement (90.0%) and semelfactive (89.4%) verbs also obtain the highest percentages of preterites. In this case the third position in the frequency scale is filled by accomplishment verbs (86.3%), the fourth position by activity verbs (52.5%) and the last position by stative verbs (52.5%).

Table 49: Relationship of Situation Type to Preterite Use within Social Strata

SES	Stative		Activity		Accomp.		Achievem.		Semelf.		Chi-Square	Cont. Coeff.
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Middle	87	54.4	126	78.8	131	81.9	143	89.4	143	89.4	79.328 ***	.300
Working	84	52.5	136	85.0	138	86.3	144	90.0	144	91.1	107.741 ***	.345

***p < .001

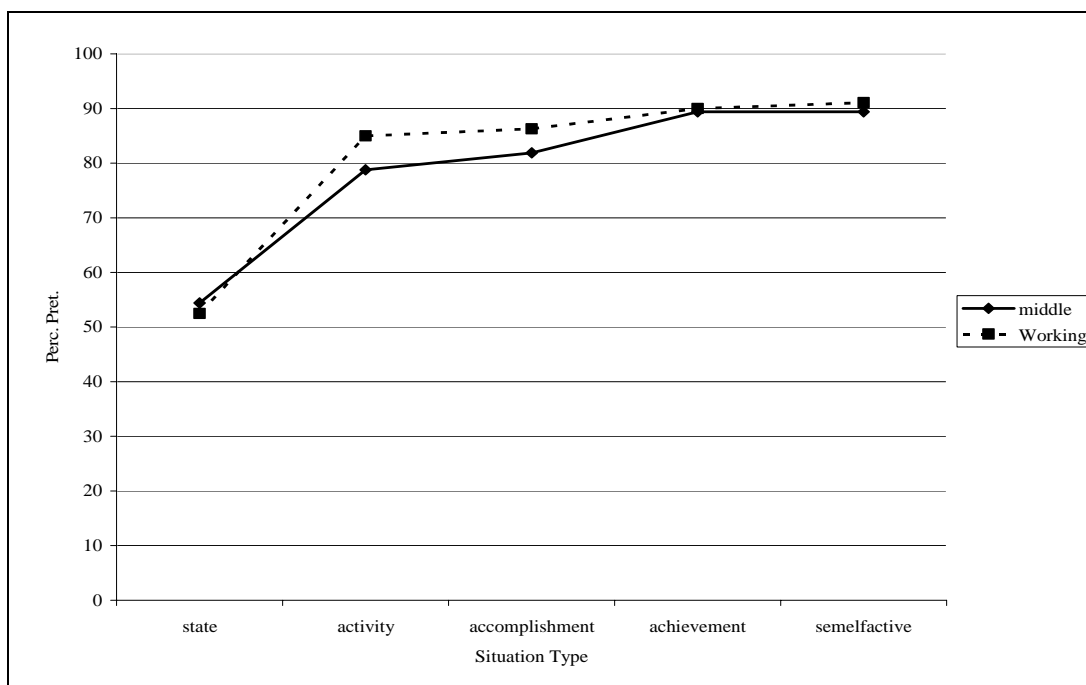


Figure 54: Situation Type within Social Strata

However, in Figure 54, we see a difference between social strata with respect to activity and accomplishment verbs. This difference is not significant, and seems to be associated with different verbal patterns used by the two social strata, which will be explained in detail in the next chapter. So far, on the one hand, we have mentioned in the previous section that the *durative* semantic feature present in these types of verbs decreases the possibility of triggering preterites and increases the possibility of triggering present perfects. On the other hand, with present perfect adverbials, a higher frequency of present perfect forms has been observed among middle class participants, especially within the young generation, and a higher frequency of imperfect forms among working class participants, also remarkable within the young generation (see Chapter 5). Nevertheless, the results displayed in Table 49 show a higher frequency of preterites among working stratum participants when they use verbs with the durative feature, such as activity or accomplishment verbs. This phenomenon supports the hypothesis of a

preference for the use of preterite forms, even in cases where the durative feature favors the use of the present perfect and the imperfect. Also, since this phenomenon is observed among working stratum participants and given the sociohistoric characteristic of this group, the use seems to be related to a tendency for the preterite and possibly to an acceleration of this use²⁵ when language contact occurs (Silva-Corvalán 1996, Chapter 2).

In summary, results displayed in Table 49 and illustrated in Figure 56 demonstrate that situation type has similar effects for middle and working stratum. These effects for the two social strata are significant ($p < .001$). Moreover, the greatest effect is observed in the working class, since the contingency coefficient is higher in this group (.345) than in the middle group (.300). The difference between social strata is not significant, though it occurs slightly more frequently with activity and accomplishment verbs, and could be related to a long term process of koinéization in Latin American Spanish speeded up by language contact.

5.2.1.3 Adverbials and Social Strata

The results of adverbials on the selection of preterite within social strata show a preference for this tense even when the adverbials favor the present perfect. If we compare the results obtained for the middle stratum with those obtained for the working stratum, we observe that the former group uses more preterites (92.2%) when adverbials are supposed to trigger preterite forms, whereas the working stratum uses less (87.7%)

Quite different are the results for present perfect adverbials. As was expected, the number of preterites diminishes in these entries, although the percentage is still above 60%. With

²⁵ We talk about a possible acceleration of this use on the basis of the pilot study results. These results showed an increase in use of this tense over generations.

adverbials for present perfect, the middle social stratum participants use fewer preterite forms (67.5%) while the working social stratum participants use more (75.6%).

The results described above demonstrate that adverbials have a stronger effect for the middle stratum than for the working stratum, as we can observe in the contingency coefficient (See Table 50 and Figure 55 below).

Table 50: Relationship of Adverbials to Preterite within Social Strata

SES	No Adverbials		Preterite Adverbials		Present Perfect Adverbials		Chi-Square	Contingency Coefficient
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Middle	119	74.4	295	92.2	216	67.5	60.560***	.265
Working	125	78.1	279	87.7	242	75.6	6.209***	.141

***p < .001

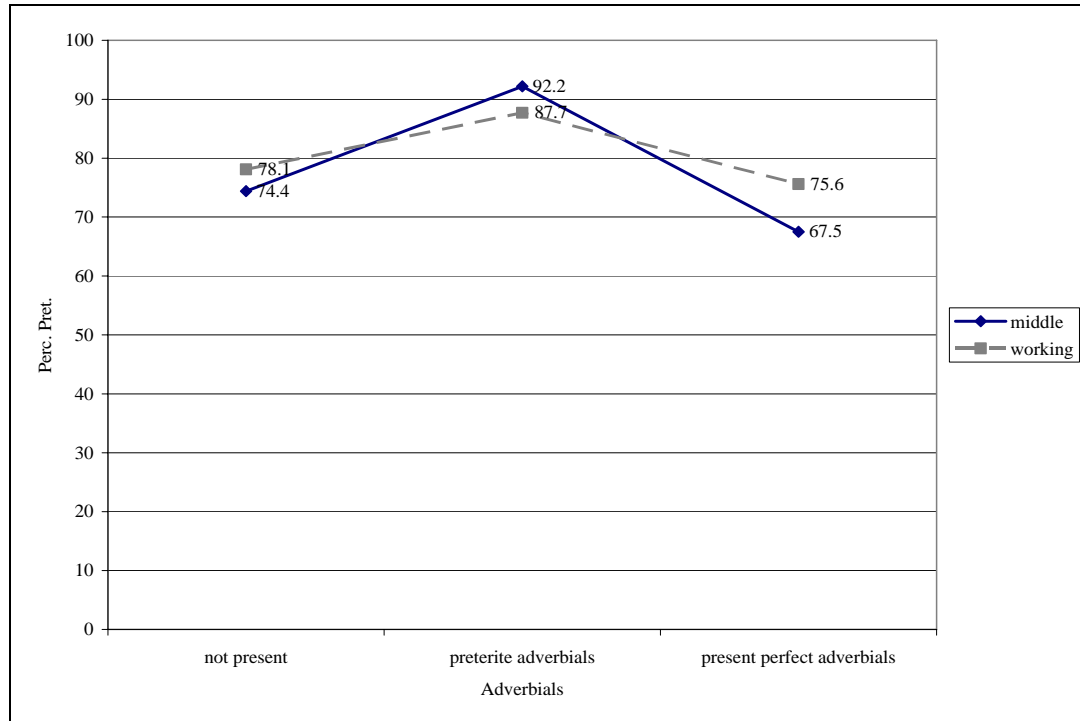


Figure 55: Adverbials within Social Strata

Comparing the results of both social strata, we find a non significant difference between them when adverbials are not present and when preterite adverbials are present in the entries. Nevertheless, preterite adverbials have a greater effect among middle class participants - these participants use more preterite than the working class participants, and the results are close to being significant ($p = .061$). On the contrary, present perfect adverbials have a significant effect among middle stratum participants ($p = .023$), since the number of preterites decreases and the number of present perfects increases considerably.

One may interpret the results for the middle social stratum participants in terms of having a greater metalinguistic consciousness of the written language, and consequently of the temporal adverbials included in the entries. Temporal adverbials act as a linguistic stimulus that provides information about the time span of each entry. Participants use more preterites when adverbials point to time spans remote from the moment of speaking, and fewer preterites when adverbials point to time spans close to speech time. We have to consider the written language in this study, since the linguistic stimulus received by the participants is a questionnaire. Some studies carried out in Latin America and Spain give evidence of a correlation between written language and use of present perfect; however, they also mention that this correlation could be attributed to diatopic differences, rather than to literary-written language, and that more studies on this topic are needed (De Kock, 1990, pp. 46 and 96; Moreno de Alba, 2003, p. 36). We must keep in mind that the middle stratum participants have a higher level of education, and consequently, more exposure to literary and written language.

In contrast, the working stratum participants show less awareness of temporal adverbials. They use more preterites, even in entries in which temporal adverbials are supposed to trigger

present perfect. One may attribute this use to their low level of education, and, as a result, to their limited exposure to the written language.

In addition, these results could be interpreted as a steady high use of preterites by the working stratum, independently of the linguistic factors. In other words, the working stratum speakers use preterite in more contexts and consequently, more frequently than the middle stratum speakers. Since this is the stratum that represents the majority of the population in Lima, one may suppose that this is the use being spread in Limeño Spanish.

5.2.1.4 Type of Speech and Social Strata

Results show no significance between type of speech and social strata. However, within the middle stratum participants the use of preterites is high in direct speech quotations. This type of linguistic context attempts to reproduce the actual words uttered by the speaker, thereby providing the appropriate context for the present perfect to be triggered. In fact, present perfect expresses present relevance and turns out to be the most appropriate for inclusion in a citation that intends to reproduce a speaker's words. Nevertheless, it does not occur either in the middle stratum (82.2%) or in the working stratum (80.8%) as we can see in Figure 56 below. This frequency of preterite in direct speech citations by both social strata corroborates the hypothesized intensive use of this tense, although this difference is not significant.

The lower use of preterites in direct speech citations by the working stratum participants in the present study bears similarities to the pilot study findings. Here, older working class participants overall used fewer preterites, and I suggested above that this could be linked to the influence of Andean Spanish (see section 1.2.6.2 in Chapter 1). We should remember that the majority of the parents of the working participants are immigrants from the Andes. This factor seems to have affected the Spanish of the participants.

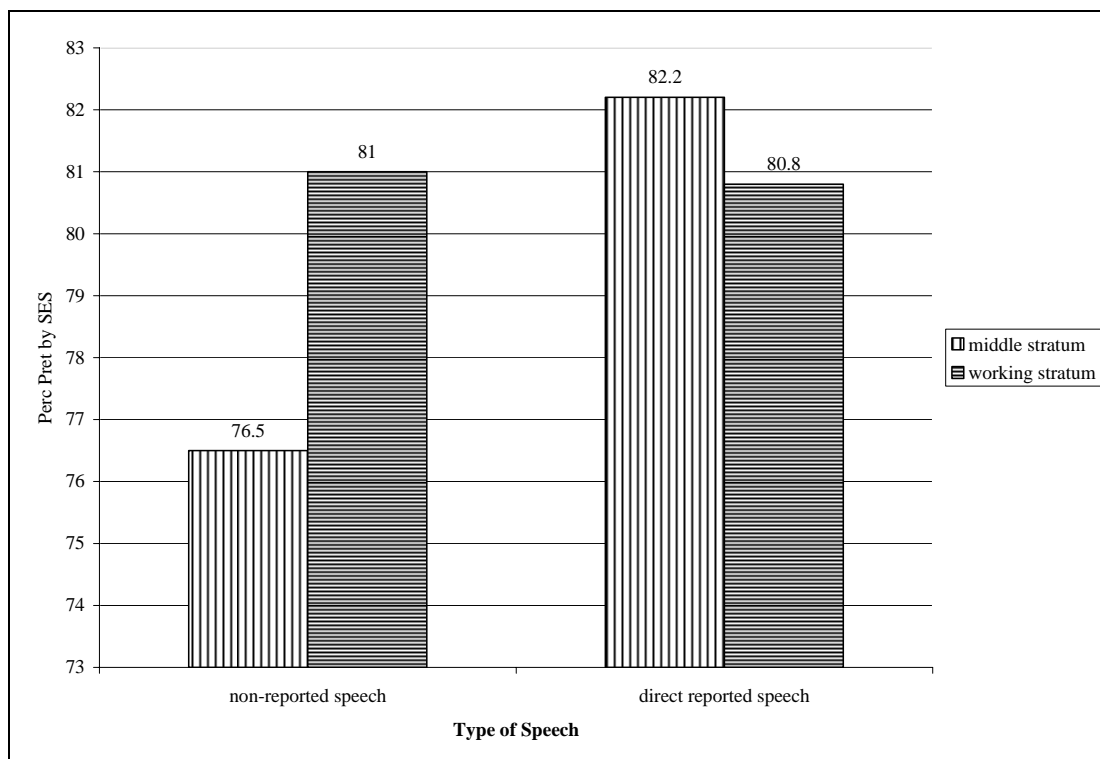


Figure 56: Effect of Reported Speech within Each Level of SES

Thus far, we have answered the second part of the first question in relation to the effect of the social factors. In the first part of the chapter, we found that there is no significant effect of the social stratum variable by itself on preterite choice. Social stratum is significant in relation to situation type and temporal adverbials, but not in relation to type of speech.

5.2.2 Age

In this section, I present the results for the age variable. First, I discuss the effect of age on choice of preterite, and then I analyze the relationship between each linguistic variable and age.

5.2.2.1 Age and Tense

With respect to age, there is no significant relationship between this factor and use of the preterite. Within entries both with and without adverbials, results show that the older generation has a slightly higher frequency of preterites (80.9%) than the younger generation (78.8%). However, this difference is not significant ($p > .05$). The following figure displays this small difference between one generation and the other in the use of preterite.

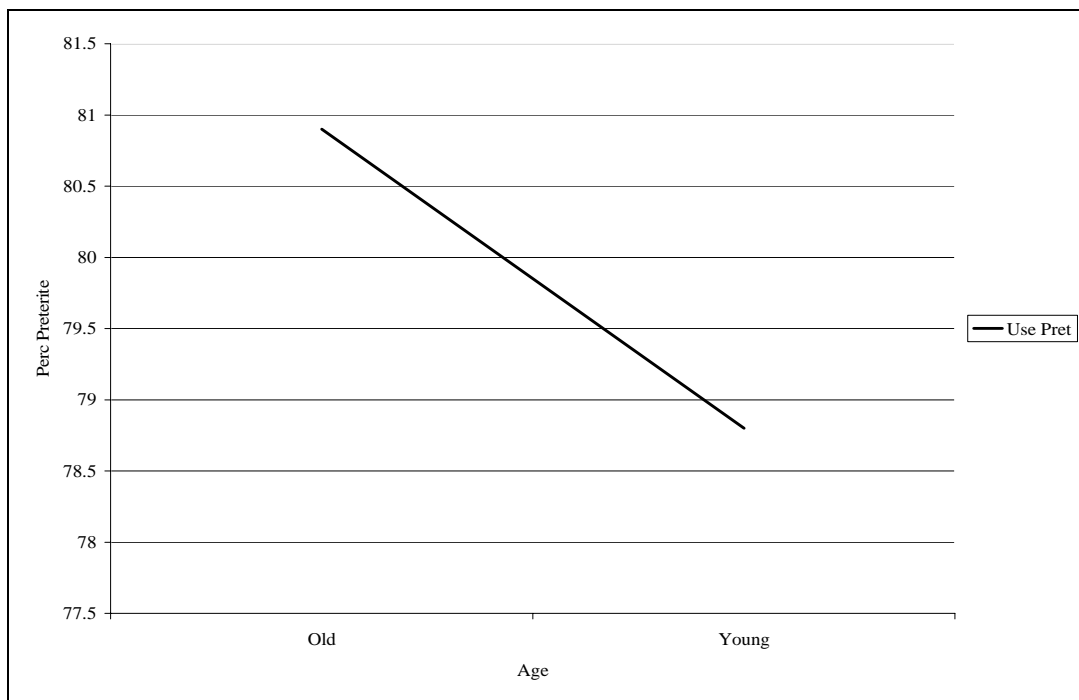


Figure 57: Effect of Age on Selection of Tense in Sentences with and without Adverbials

Similarly, the analysis of entries only with adverbials shows no significant effect of the age variable on the use of preterite. Even though the presence of preterites is slightly higher than that within entries with and without adverbials (above), this difference is not significant either.

Based on these results, one cannot assert that there is a growing tendency in favor of the preterite. On the contrary, the preterite is less frequent among young people than among older people, even if this difference is not significant.

5.2.2.2 Situation Type and Age

Another relationship that has been measured in this study is situation type with respect to age. In comparing the lines in the graph below (Figure 58), it becomes clear that the young generation and the older generation obtained similar frequencies for each situation type.

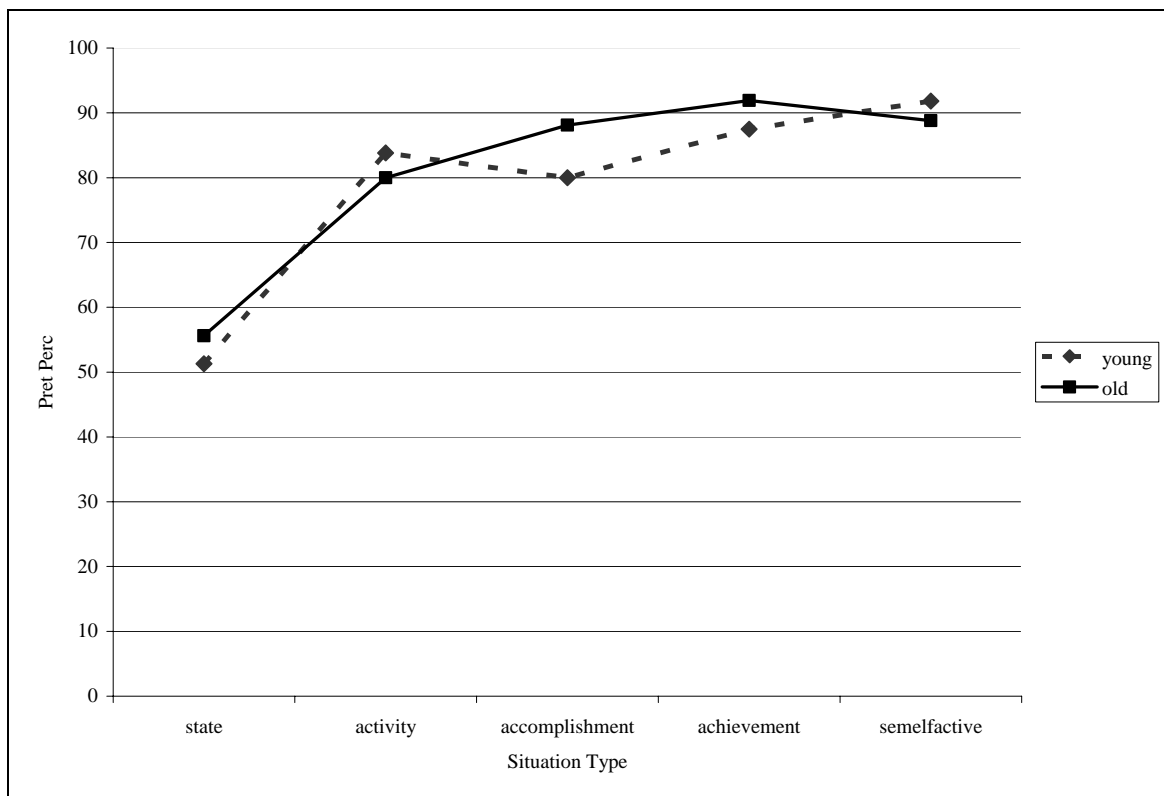


Figure 58: Effect of Situation within Each Generation

The effect of situation type on age is significant ($p < .001$), even if this effect is similar for both age groups. In Table 51 below, numbers and percentages are displayed, and for each

generation the contingency coefficient shows a significant effect, although the effect is similar in both age groups.

Overall, the difference between generations is not significant within each type of situation with the exception of accomplishment verbs. There is a significant difference ($p = .047$) between the two generations in the use of these verbs. This difference is due to the increase of imperfects and decrease of preterites within the young working stratum participants, who prefer the imperfect of indicative, specifically in entries 6 and 15.

The similar effect in both generations is not surprising, considering that lexical aspect (being grounded in our general conceptual structures) is constant, while viewpoint aspect (being a formal grammatical category) is subject to more variation. In other words, events are conceptualized by the participants in a similar way, independently of their age. We expect to confirm this finding in the analyses of situation type in relation to gender and social stratum.

Table 51: Relationship of Situation Type to Preterite Use within Age

Age	State		Activity		Accomplish.		Achievement		Semelfactive		Chi-square	Cont. Coeff
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Young	87	54.4	126	78.8	131	81.9	143	89.4	143	89.4	98.419***	.331
Old	89	55.6	128	80.0	141	88.1	147	91.9	142	88.8	90.400***	.319

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

In summary, the analysis of the interaction between age and situation type in relation to preterite choice has a similar effect on both age groups. A significant effect of situation type on preterite choice was obtained from the analysis of the linguistic factors. The following sections extend the analysis of age in relation to other linguistic variables.

5.2.2.3 Adverbials and Age

In this section I analyze the effect of adverbials within each generation group. The results demonstrate that this linguistic factor has a significant effect which is very similar in both the young generation and the older generation ($p < .001$). In fact, the difference between generations is not significant ($p > .05$) within the three types of context: in absence of adverbials, and in presence of preterite adverbials and present perfect adverbials.

As we see in Table 52 and Figure 59 below, when adverbials are not present in the sentence, the difference between one generation and the other is 2.5%. Likewise with preterite adverbials, the difference between the young generation and the older generation is 2.6%. This difference is slightly higher in the case of sentences with present perfect adverbials (3.7%).

Table 52: Effect of Adverbials within Each Generation

Age	No Adverbials		Preterite Adverbials		Present Perfect Adverbials		Chi-Square	Contingency Coefficient
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Young	124	77.5	282	88.7	223	69.7	34.673***	.204
Old	120	75.0	292	91.3	235	73.4	37.284***	.211

*** $p < .001$

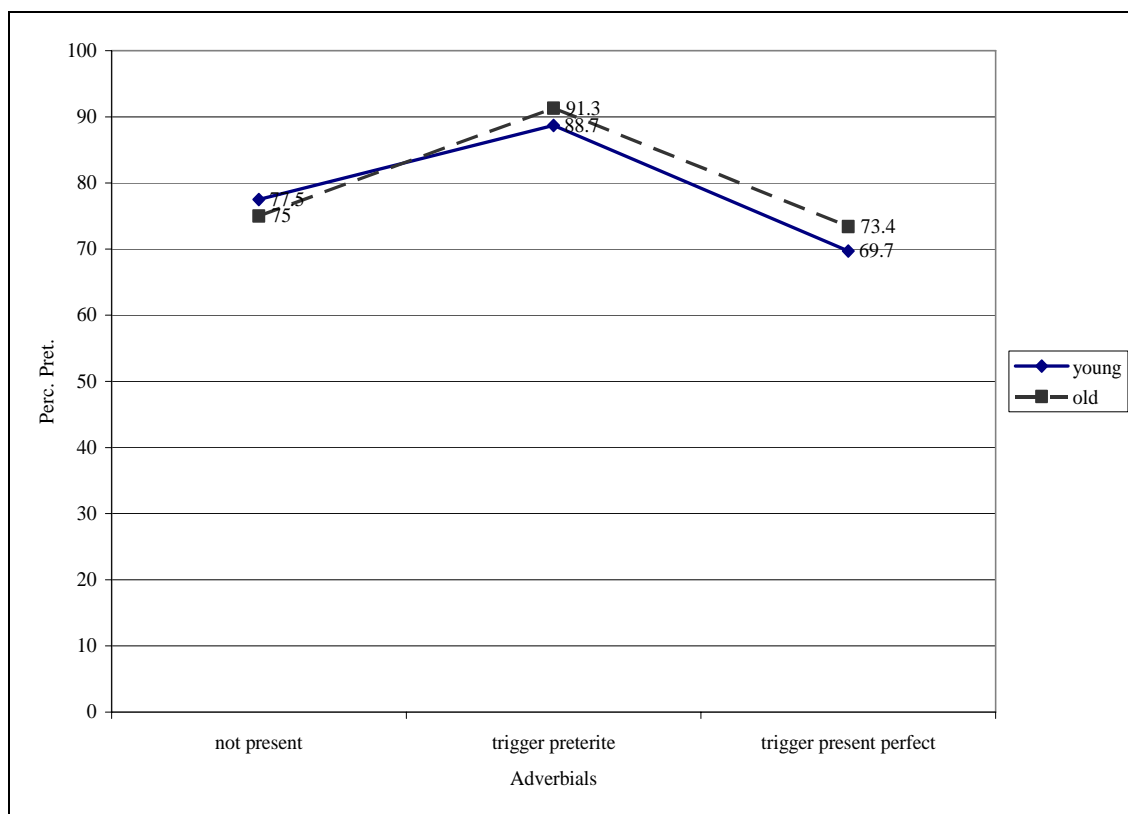


Figure 59: Adverbials and Age

In brief, adverbials by themselves have a significant effect on the selection of preterites within the young and the older generation. This effect is stronger among old participants (.211) than younger participants (.204); nevertheless, there is no great difference between them. What can be seen here is that present perfect adverbials trigger fewer incidences of preterites in both generations, especially with younger participants.

5.2.2.4 Type of Speech and Age

The young generation uses more preterites than present perfects or other tenses in relation to direct speech quotations (80.2%), and fewer preterites in non-direct speech (77.9%), but this difference is not significant ($p > .05$). The difference between generations within each type of

situation is also not significant ($p > .05$). We can see in Table 53 the quantitative results of type of speech in relation to preterite use within generations.

Table 53: Relationship of Type of Speech to Preterite Use within Age

Age	Non-Reported Speech		Direct Reported Speech		Chi-Square	Contingency Coefficient
	n	%	n	%		
Young	374	77.9	255	80.2	.592	.027
Old	382	79.6	265	82.8	1.294	.040

In the case of the older generation, the results are similar to those observed in the young generation. Older participants also used more preterites in direct speech quotations (82.8%) than in non-direct speech (79.6%). Summarizing our findings for reported speech, it can be stated that direct speech by itself does not have a significant effect for either the younger generation or the older generation.

In sum, the effect of age in interaction with situation type and adverbials is significant, but not in interaction with type of speech.

5.2.3 Gender

In this section, I discuss the interaction effect of gender on the selection of preterite. In addition, I study the interaction of this social variable with situation type, temporal adverbials and type of speech.

5.2.3.1 Gender and Tense

In the analysis of the gender variable, similar results are found (a) in entries with and without adverbials, and (b) in entries only with adverbials. In the former, female participants use 80.6% of preterite forms and male participants 79.1%, but this difference is not significant ($p > .05$). In the second kind of entry, the frequency of preterites used by females (81.9%) is very close to the frequency used by males (79.6%), and is also not significant ($p > .05$). Figure 60 shows this small difference in a bar plot.

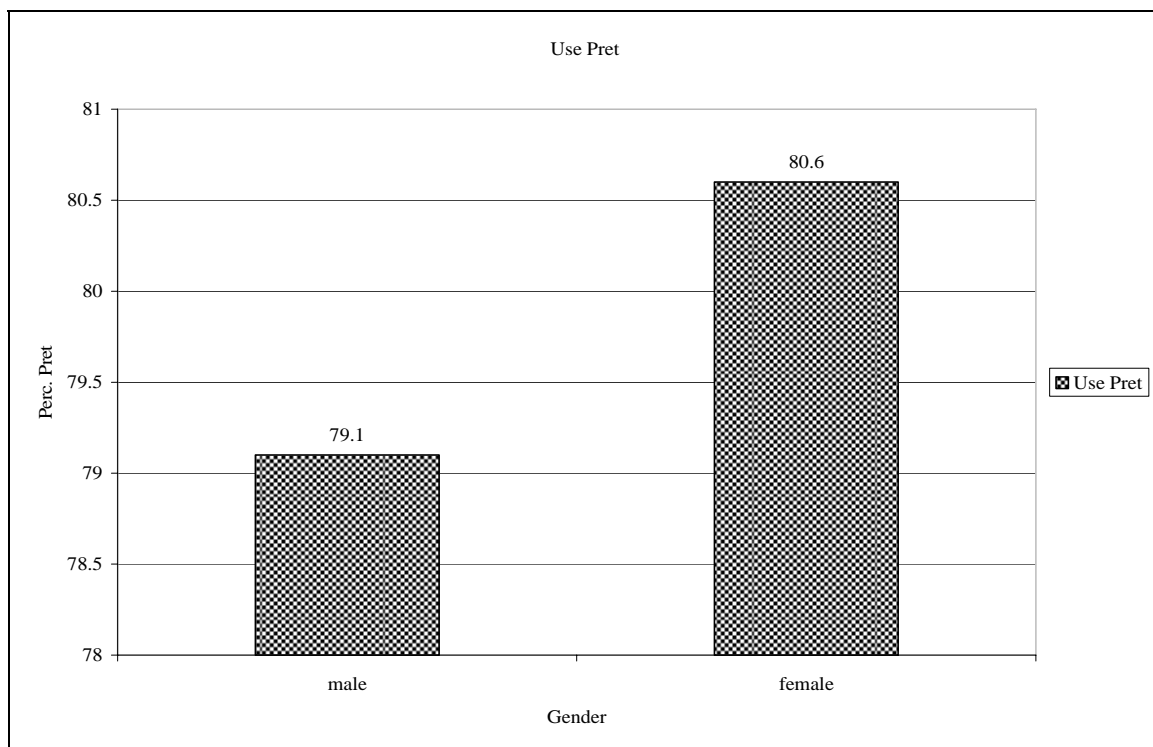


Figure 60: Effect of Gender on selection of Tense in Sentences without Adverbials

Thus, gender by itself does not have a significant effect in the selection of preterites. Although in both cases females are leading the use of the preterites, the difference between both gender groups is not significant.

The next three sections of this chapter present the interaction of gender with each of the linguistic factors in relation to the use of preterite.

5.2.3.2 Situation Type and Gender

Figure 60 above reveals that the effect of situation type on the selection of preterite within gender has a significant effect on both male and female participants. If one contrasts the results for each situation type for male and female, a similar use of preterites is found (Table 54 and Figure 63). In general, females use more preterites with stative, activity and accomplishment verbs, and fewer preterites with achievement and semelfactive verbs. Moreover, the difference between males and females within each type of situation is not significant, with the exception of the use of achievement verbs ($p = .043$).

Results of this type of verb show a higher frequency of preterite among men, which is related to an increase of other tenses in Entries 8, 17 and 18 among women. Young women of the working stratum increased the use of present perfect in Entries 8 and 18, and the use of presents in Entry 17. This increase could be related to a gender style.

It would be interesting to consider in further analyses whether this small difference can be accounted for in terms of independent factors. For example, one can hypothesize that the decrease of preterites with achievement and semelfactive verbs among women is linked to the mitigation of the telic feature present in achievement and semelfactive verbs by means of the use of tenses with present relevance. The use of the present perfect and the present (as ‘historical present’) in these contexts seems to confer more vivacity and more involvement of the speaker to the dialogued narrations. The mitigation of this semantic feature could be indirectly pointing to a discourse style stereotypically identified with a ‘feminine style’. Alternatively, the greater occurrence of preterites with achievement and semelfactive verbs could be related to a more

emphatic or self-confident interaction discourse style expressed via preterites and indirectly pointing to a ‘masculine style’; in other words, to gender differentiation.

Table 54: Relationship of Situation Type to Preterite Use within Gender

Gender	State		Activity		Accomp.		Achiev.		Semelf.		Chi-Square	Cont. Coeff.
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
male	81	50.6	126	78.8	131	81.9	149	93.1	144	91.1	112.013 ***	.351
female	90	56.3	136	85.0	138	86.3	138	86.3	143	89.4	77.139 ***	.297

***p<.001

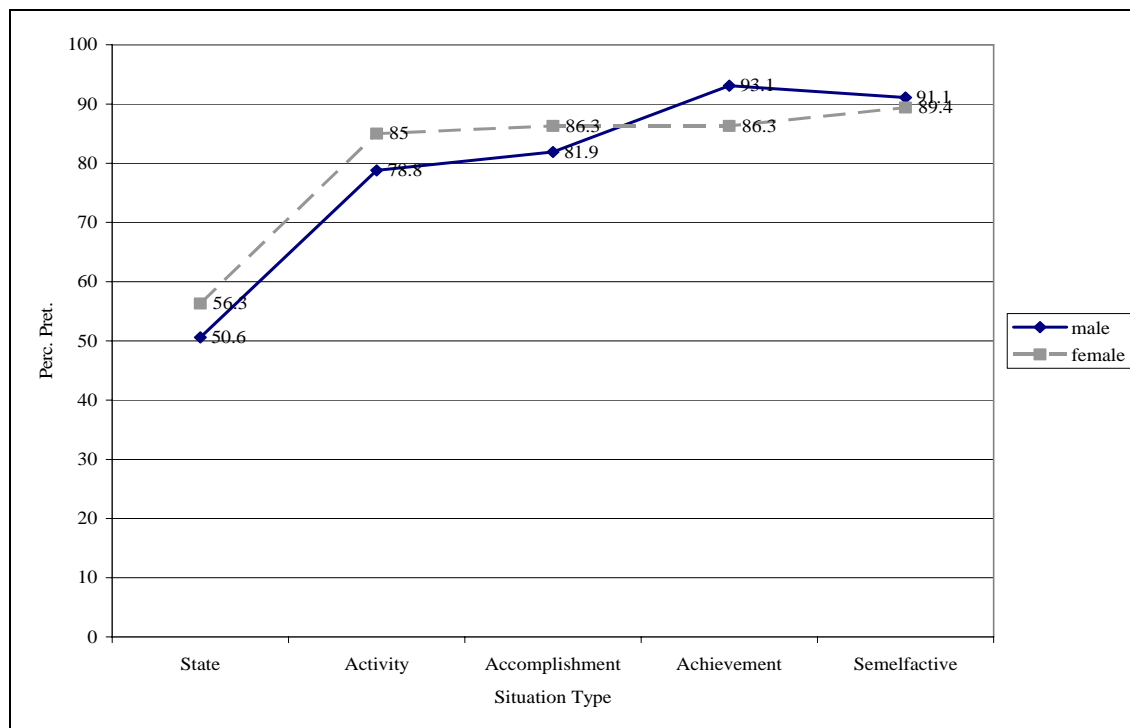


Figure 61: Situation Type within Gender

Suming up, whenever we observe the interaction of any social variable in relation to temporal adverbials, the results prove to be significant. Therefore, we can infer that it is the

presence of this linguistic factor, rather than the presence of other social factors that has the highest effect on the selection of preterite. Nevertheless, the differences found between women and men, although not always significant, seem to be linked to gender differentiation.

5.2.3.3 Adverbials and Gender

The effect of adverbials on the selection of preterites shows a very slight difference between males and females when adverbials are not present (Table 55 and Figure 62). However, this effect is similar in both groups ($p < .001$). Furthermore, the difference between males and females within each type of context is also not significant ($p > .05$).

Table 55: Relationship of Adverbials to Preterite Use within Gender

Gender	Not present		Preterite Adverbials		Present Perfect Adverbials		Chi-Square	Cont. Coeff.
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Male	123	76.9	286	89.9	222	69.4	41.336 ***	.222
Female	121	75.6	288	90.0	236	73.8	30.248***	.191

*** $p < .001$

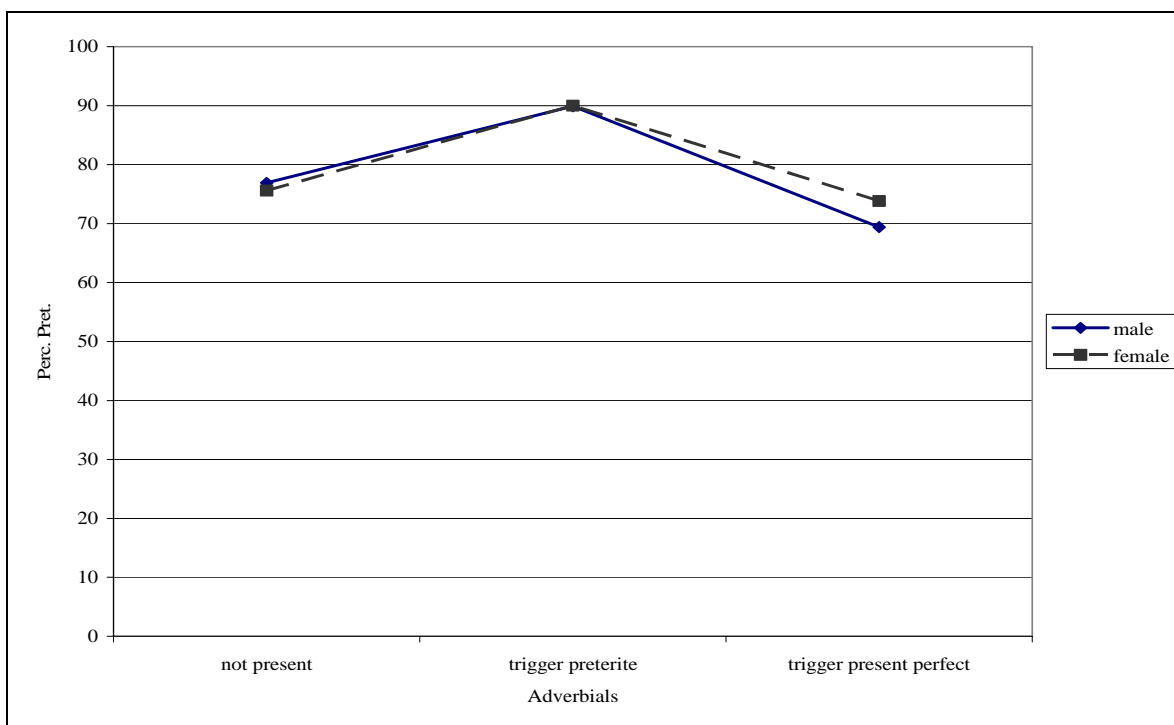


Figure 62: Situation Type within Gender

Additionally, when adverbials with preterite or present perfect as their target are included in the entries, the differences for the three types of contexts is small, even though the preference for preterites is significant. In conclusion, adverbials have a similar effect for males and females on the selection of preterites.

5.2.3.4 Type of Speech and Gender

As can be seen in Table 56, the percentages of preterite use are high in both non-reported speech and reported speech contexts. If one compares the use of preterite for males (78.1%) and females (79.4%) within non-reported speech, one observes that results are quite similar. The same thing happens when we contrast how males (80.5%) and females (82.5%) selected tense in direct speech quotations.

Table 56: Relationship of Type of Speech to Preterite Use within Gender

Gender	Non-Reported Speech		Direct Reported Speech		Chi-Square	Cont. Coeff.
	n	%	n	%		
male	375	78.1	256	80.5	.654	0.29
female	381	79.4	264	82.5	1.200	0.39

In short, the effect of the variable type of speech by itself does not have significant effect either for males or females ($p > .05$).

5.2.4 Social Factors: Conclusions

The answer to our second research question is that social factors by themselves do not have effect on the selection of preterite. In other words, the differences found between middle and working strata, young and old generations, and males and females are not large enough to be significant. (Table 57 below summarizes the results of the interaction between each social factor and selection of tense). The lack of significance of the social factors seems to be related to the fact that age, gender and social strata are participants' characteristics. In other words, the participants as human beings, who correspond to a specific age, gender and social group, chose tense options that are cognitively similar. More specifically, human beings associate similar semantic features between the lexical module and the grammatical module, especially if they are not in actual communicative situations, but in hypothetical communicative situations, such as those that they received in the questionnaire; for example, the participants preferred preterite for achievement verbs, because the punctual semantic feature of the preterite (grammatical module)

and the telic semantic feature of the type of situation (lexical module) express completion of the event. Thus, future research should involve observation of communicative interactions to find out what the real choices of speakers according the communicative situation are.

Table 57: Relationship of Social Factors to Preterite Use

Factor	Categories	Preterite Use		Total	Chi-Square
		n	%		
SES	Middle	630	78.8	800	1.204
	Working	646	81.0	798	
Age	Young	629	78.8	798	1.046
	Old	647	80.9	800	
Gender	Male	631	79.1	798	.598
	Female	645	80.6	800	

However, some interactions between social and linguistic factors were found to be significant. Social strata, age and gender have significant interactions with situation type and temporal adverbials, but not with reported speech.

In section 5.2.1.2 we mentioned that situation type has similar effects for middle and working stratum, and that these effects for the two social strata are significant ($p < .001$), although the greatest effect is observed in the working stratum. In section 5.2.2.2., we also showed that a similar significant effect is found for both groups of age ($p < .001$) and gender ($p < .001$). Moreover, in the case of the interaction of social factors with adverbials, significant effects for social strata, age, and gender are found. For social strata, the strongest effect is observed for the middle stratum as opposed to the working stratum; for age, the strongest effect is found among older people; and, finally, for gender the strongest effect is observed among men. Thus, we can

assert that situation type and temporal adverbials are independent variables that have the strongest effect on the selection of preterite.

Therefore, our second research hypothesis, which states that the use of the preterite instead of the present perfect is expected to be higher among younger speakers than older speakers, is not borne out. This hypothesis is related to our third research question concerning the use of apparent time as a means of measuring change in progress. Based on our findings, we cannot state that apparent time measured through age gives evidence of change in progress in relation to the use of the preterite and the present perfect. However, I must reiterate that in the questionnaire, the participants were provided with the same linguistic input. In real situations, it is the speakers themselves who make the choice. It would be interesting to classify and compare ‘types of context’ in a large linguistic sample in order to observe what actually happens with tense choice.

6.0 CHAPTER 5: THE PARTICIPANTS AND THE VARIETIES OF PERUVIAN SPANISH

The purpose of this chapter is to explore whether the participants in our study present characteristics which may provide evidence of a mixing of varieties over generations in the Spanish of Lima.

In the methodology chapter, I explained how I used letters to code the parents' birthplaces. It is important to specify their place of origin in this study because it is related to the Spanish varieties that they speak. In Peru, one can identify three very large Spanish varieties that broadly correspond to three geographical regions: the Amazon variety, the Andean variety and the Coastal variety (Escobar, 1978). These three varieties include other varieties, but essentially, they can be grouped into the three types mentioned. In the last 60 years, Lima has been the recipient of migration from these geographical regions, and as we will see, this phenomenon is reflected in the characteristics of the participants in our sample.

This information is provided in Tables 58 and 59, the first for the middle stratum, and the second for the working stratum.

Within the middle stratum, 21.87% of the older participants have parents who were born in Lima, 31.25% in the Northern/Central coast area, 28.13% in the Andean region 12.5% in the Amazon region, and the parents of 6.25% were born in a Spanish-speaking country other than Peru. In other words, among the older participants, 53.13% were exposed to the coastal variety. Exposure to the coastal variety increases among young participants. Within this generation,

75.0% of participants had parents who were born and lived in Lima, and 21.88% had parents born in the Andes.

Table 58: Parents' Place of Origin of the Middle Stratum Participants

Parents' Birthplace	Young		Old		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
A (L)	24	75.0	7	21.87	31	48.44
A	1	3.12	10	31.25	11	17.19
B	7	21.88	9	28.13	16	25.0
C	0	0	4	12.5	4	6.25
F	0	0	2	6.25	2	3.12
	32	100.0	32	100.0	64	100.0

In contrast, in the working stratum, 71.88% of the older participants and 65.62% of the younger participants have parents born in the Andes. In other words, the process of migration in this social stratum continued steadily, as we can see from the parents' origin. The Peruvian Spanish variety that predominated in the working stratum was thus the Andean variety.

Table 59: Parents' Place of Origin of the Working Stratum Participants

Parents' Birthplace	Young		Old		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
A (L)	7	21.88	2	6.25	9	14.06
A	2	6.25	4	12.5	6	9.38
B	21	65.62	23	71.88	44	68.75
C	0	0	3	9.37	3	4.69
unknown	2	6.25	0	0	2	3.12
	32	100.0	32	100.0	64	100.0

The information about the participants' parents in my study reflects the patterns of social migration in Lima. The sample mirrors the socioeconomic composition of the city as well as the statistical information about it (INEI; Arellano and Burgos, 2003, pp.114-123). It turns out that Lima is the perfect environment for a process of koinéization to take place.

It is necessary here to distinguish between diachronic and the synchronic koinéization processes. We must consider the historical process of koinéization that Latin American Spanish went through over the years, especially in its origins, which is a long term process. I suggested in the first chapter of this study that the increasing use of preterite between the younger and older generations in my pilot study could be explained as part of a long-term process of koinéization. We must also consider a short-term process of koinéization in the Spanish of Lima that is linked to the migration waves in the last decades. This is an ongoing process.

As I have just mentioned, each stratum was mostly exposed to one of the largest Peruvian varieties. The middle stratum was exposed mostly to the Coastal variety and the working stratum to the Andean variety. The question that arises is the extent to which both strata influenced the other.

We may say that the coastal varieties are more prestigious (Escobar, 1978, chapter 5), and that among them, the most prestigious is the variety spoken in the city of Lima. From these observations, we can assume that the working stratum probably tries to follow the linguistic patterns used by coastal variety speakers, but that in the process some patterns from the Andean variety permeate their language. The following paragraphs may be able to shed some light on this topic. Below I analyze the frequencies of tenses different from the preterite with the purpose of exploring whether the patterns of tense use were the same in both social strata. Since the places of origin of the participants' parents are diverse, and they are related to different Peruvian Spanish varieties, I expect to find information linked to dialect and/or language contact. Therefore, in the next section, I address several issues: 1) the frequencies of present perfect and imperfect forms in entries with direct speech citations, 2) the frequencies of present perfect

forms in Type A and Type B entries, and 3) the frequencies of imperfect forms in Type A and Type B entries.

6.1 FREQUENCIES OF PRESENT PERFECT AND IMPERFECT FORMS IN ENTRIES WITH DIRECT SPEECH CITATIONS

The analysis of those entries with blanks inside direct speech citations show interesting results for tenses other than preterite. Considering only those entries that include ‘preterite adverbials’ and ‘present perfect adverbials’, the frequency of present perfects is higher within the middle stratum (59.62%) than within the working stratum (40.38%). The young middle stratum participants are the group that uses the present perfect most frequently in this context (32.69 %).

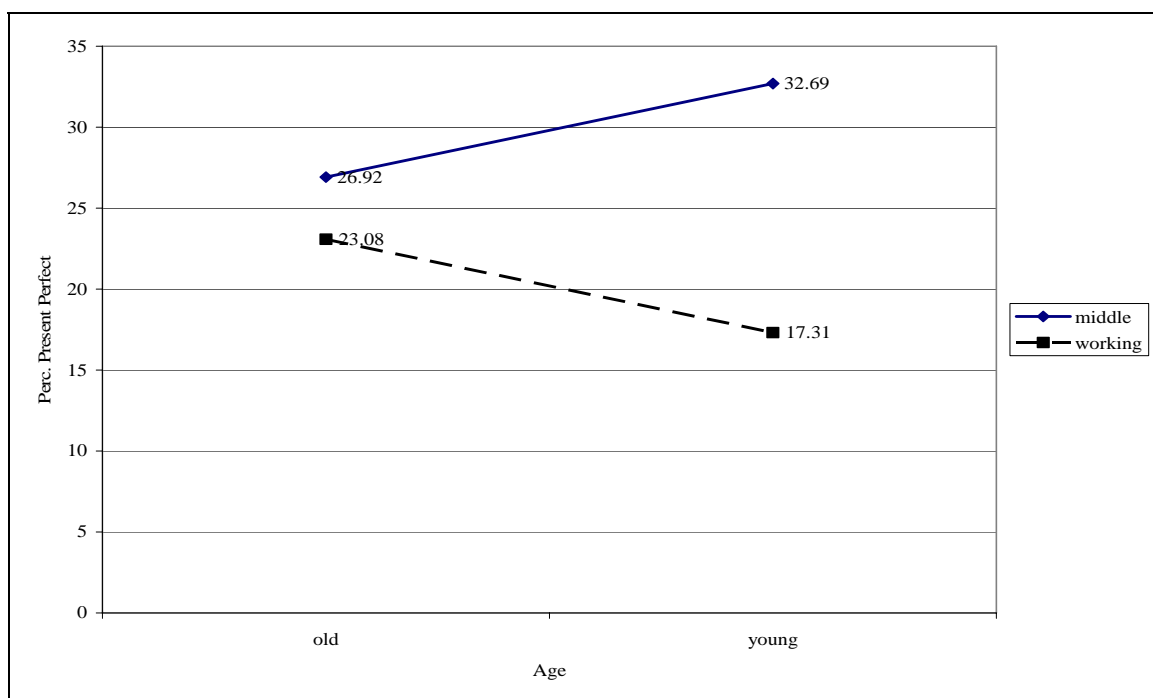


Figure 63: Present Perfect in Entries with Direct Speech Citations

In contrast, the analysis of imperfects in the same entries analyzed in Figure 64 shows the inverse frequency observed for the present perfect forms. In this case, it is the working stratum (73.81%) which uses more imperfect forms, and especially, the young participants (47.61%).

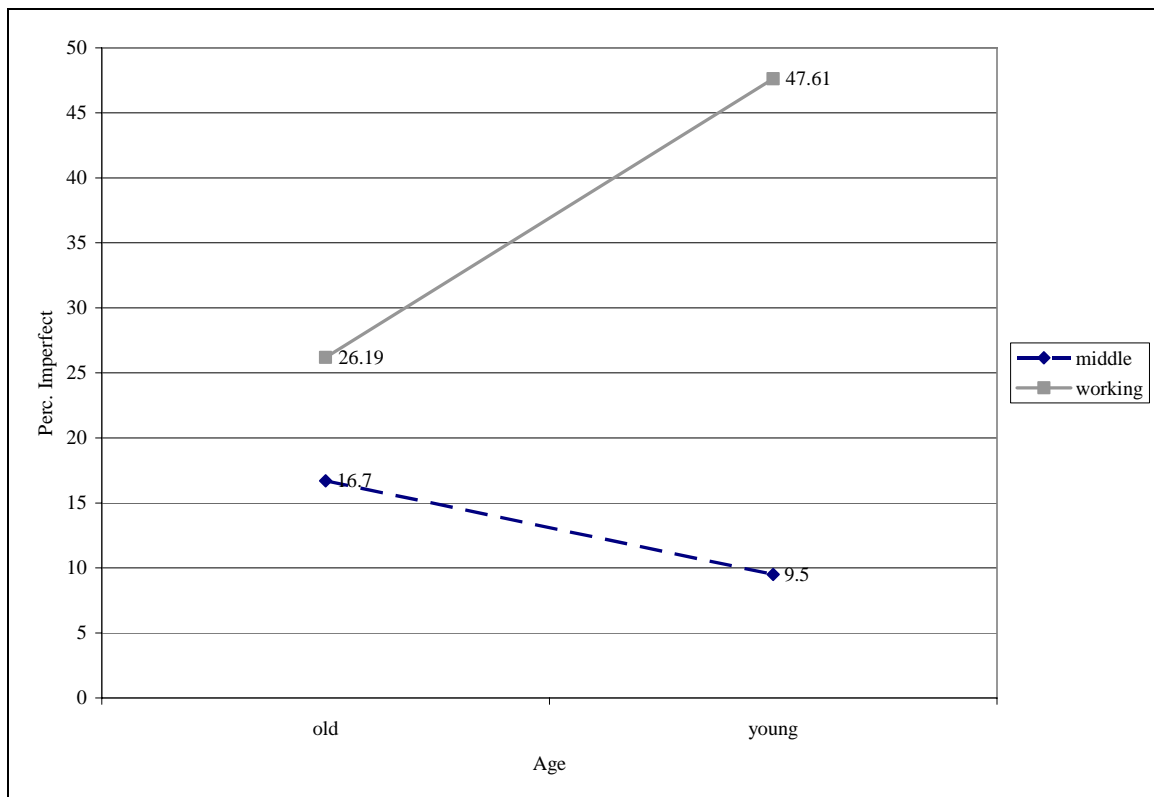


Figure 64: Imperfects in Entries with Direct Speech Citations

Comparing the results displayed in both tables, it is clear that middle stratum participants are inclined to use present perfects in direct speech citations, whereas working stratum participants tend to use more imperfect forms. The results in Figure 64 above show that the difference between middle and working strata approaches significance within younger participants ($p < .10$) but is not significant within older participants ($p = .682$). Similarly, the results in Figure 66 show a highly significant interaction between social strata and age with

respect to selection of tense. The difference between middle and working strata is very significant within younger participants ($p < .01$) but not within older participants ($p = .332$). In addition, the difference of age is not significant within middle stratum ($p = .357$) but it approaches significance within the working stratum ($p < .10$). In fact, there is a large difference in the use of imperfections in direct speech citations between social strata.

These results seem to be related to the formation of each social stratum in Lima and the phenomenon of language contact, which is especially pertinent within the working stratum. We can also infer from these findings that there does not seem to be a point of influence or interaction between one stratum and the other. What there seems to be is a considerable social distance and lack of interaction between groups. If this is the case, koinéization is only possible inside social strata but not between them. Further investigation is needed to compare the Peruvian varieties spoken by the migrants with the actual Limeño sociolects in order to determine if in fact koinéization occurs.

6.2 FREQUENCIES OF PRESENT PERFECT FORMS IN TYPE A AND TYPE B ENTRIES

I will now go on to analyze with the analysis of present perfect forms. In the following tables, I show the frequencies of present perfects in entries with the present perfect as target (Type A), and in entries with preterite as target (Type B).

Figure 65 below shows that within Type A Entries, the middle stratum uses more present perfect forms (68.04%) than the working stratum (31.96%). It is important to note that the young

middle stratum group is leading the use of present perfects again (41.0%). Results show that the difference between middle and working stratum is significant within young participants ($p = .004$), but within old participants is not significant, although it approaches significance ($p = .066$).

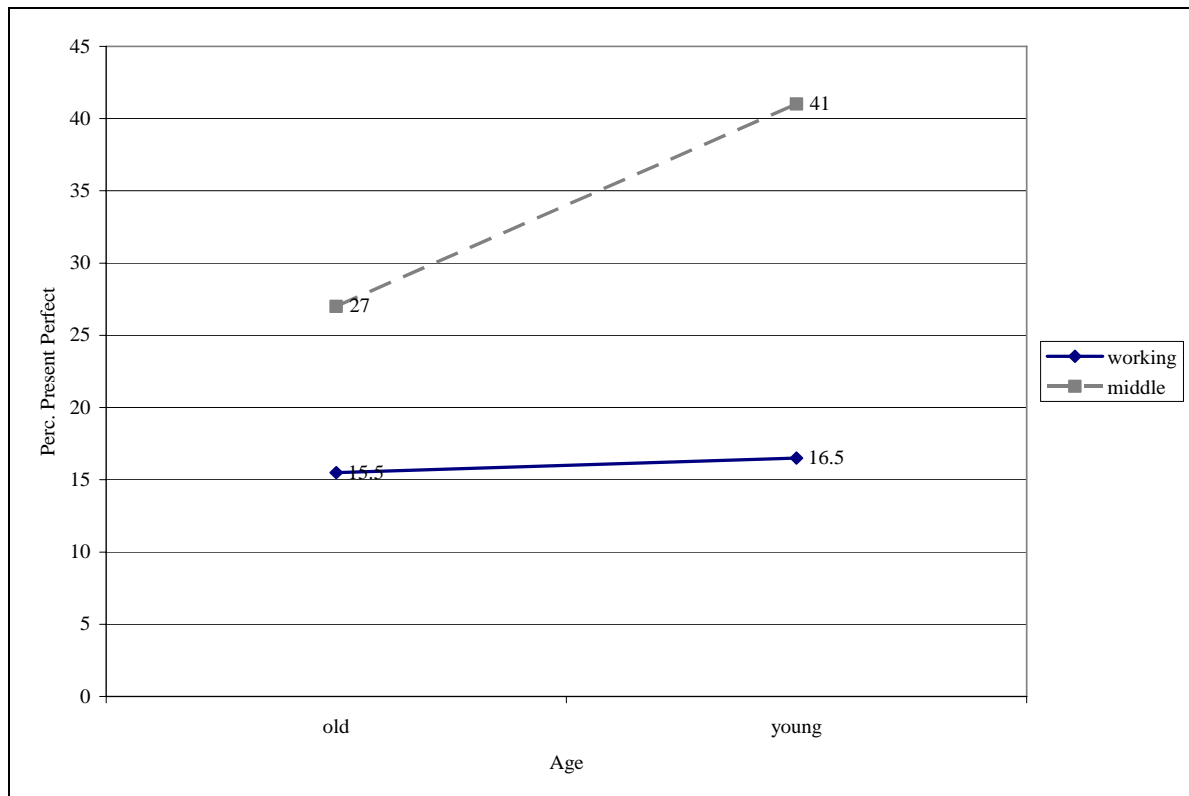


Figure 65: Frequencies of Present Perfect Forms in Type A Entries

The pattern of use described above is also observed within Type B Entries (Figure 66 below); in these entries, it is the older generation which uses present perfects more frequently (41.8%). However, the difference between young and old participants is not significant either within middle or within working stratum.

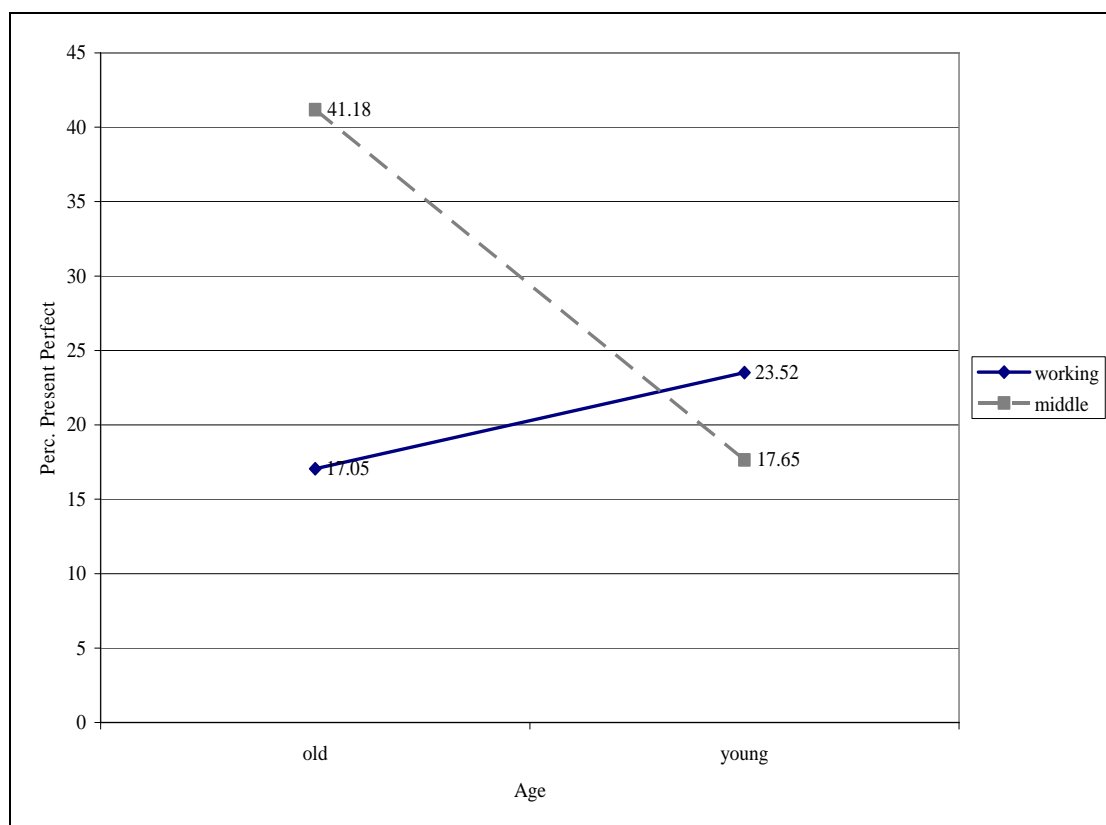


Figure 66: Frequencies of Present Perfect in Type B Entries

There is more than one possible reason for this behavior, all of which could be affecting this use at the same time. One possible reason is that the use of present perfect is linked to level of literacy, as has been suggested by some scholars (De Kock, 1990). Therefore, it is understandable that the middle stratum group produces more tokens of present perfect, because the middle stratum group has a higher level of education. The second reason is referred to as the progressive grammaticalization of the present perfect. Over time this form has strengthened its meaning of present relevance, which is supported by the adverbials present in Type A entries. For this same reason, with Type B entries, the use of the preterite decreases significantly,

because there are no adverbials to support present relevance. This is a pattern of usage observed through apparent time, since it is observed between the young and the older generation. In Type B entries, the older middle stratum participants produced more present perfect forms within entries without present relevance because this form was not used with the strong degree of recency which is used by the younger generation. In Figures 67 and 68, we can see that the frequencies of present perfect produced by the middle stratum group are inversely proportional within Type A entries and Type B entries, for both the young and the older generations.

6.3 FREQUENCIES OF IMPERFECTS IN TYPE A AND TYPE B ENTRIES

The following figures add more evidence that in the Spanish of the two social strata, different patterns of use occur. Figure 67 shows the frequencies of imperfects in Type A entries, and Figure 68 shows frequencies of imperfect in Type B Entries.

Regarding entries for triggering present perfect, the participants used imperfect forms only in Entries 1, 3, 6 and 9. Figure 67 below shows that the working stratum has chosen more imperfect forms to complete these entries than the middle stratum. The total number of imperfect forms used by the working stratum is 27, whereas the total number of imperfect forms used by the middle stratum is only 8. The frequencies of imperfects are the same among old and young participants of the working stratum, as well as among old and young participants of the middle stratum. However, the difference between the middle and the working strata is significant both within the younger participants ($p < .05$) and the older participants ($p < .05$).

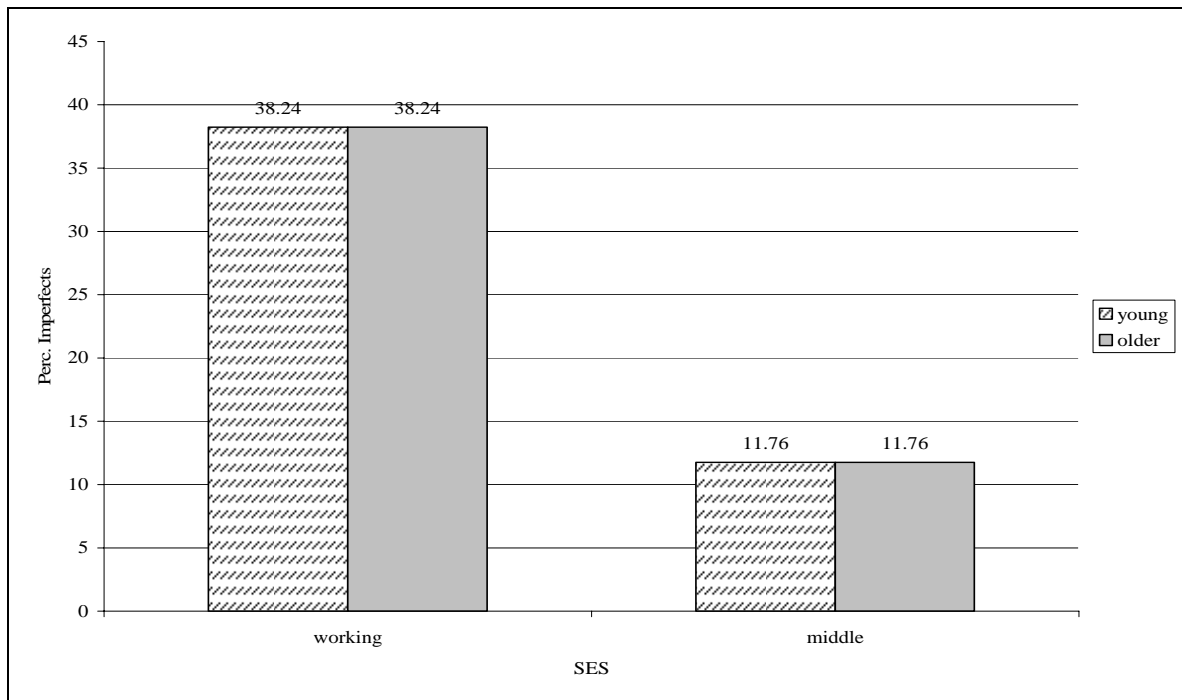


Figure 67: Frequencies of Imperfects in Type A Entries

Similar results are obtained for Type B entries. Figure 68 shows the frequencies of imperfections in Type B entries. The number of imperfections is greater among working stratum participants than among middle stratum participants.

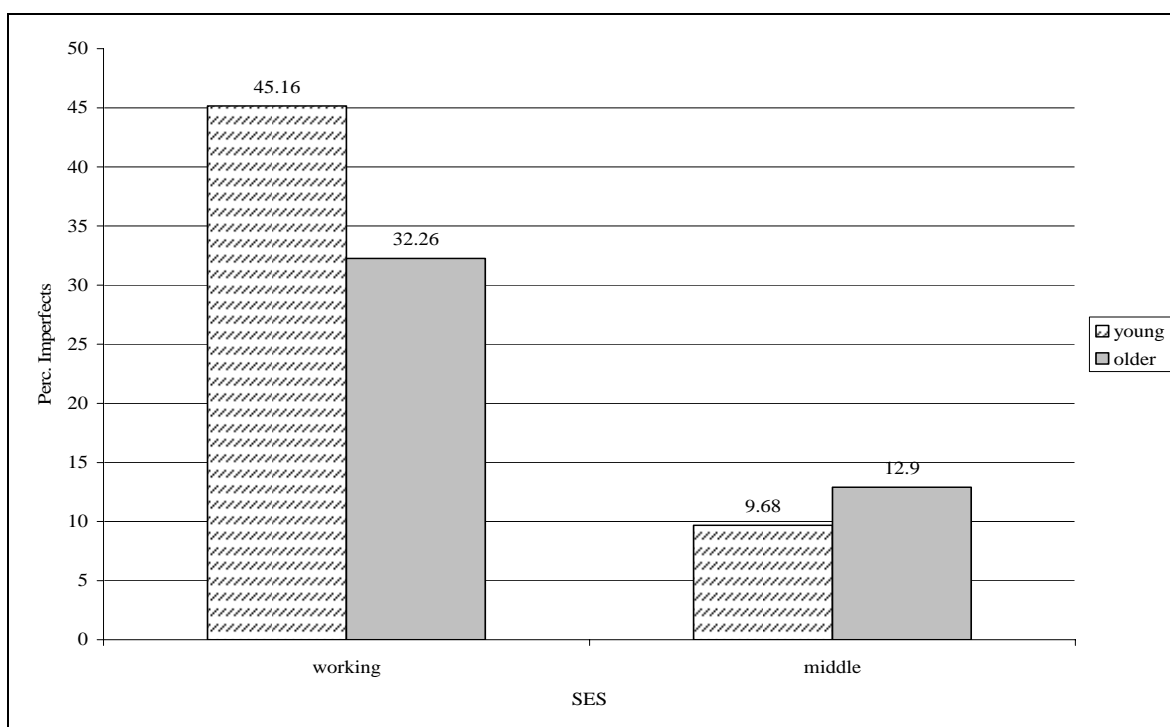


Figure 68: Frequencies of Imperfects in Type B Entries

In Figure 68 the difference between middle and working strata within young participants is significant ($p = .006$), but the difference between middle and working participants is not significant within old participants ($p = .101$). Additionally, the difference between young and old participants is not significant either within middle or within working stratum. The fact that the social stratum factor matters more for young people is connected to the idea of language contact. The majority of the younger working stratum participants had contact with a variety of Spanish spoken by bilinguals whose first language is Quechua. This seems to be the reason for the significant effect of the interaction between social strata and age.

Figures 67 and 68 display frequencies that account for different patterns of usage between working and middle stratum. I attribute the usage of the imperfect within working stratum participants to an influence of the Andean Spanish spoken by their parents. Recall that these parents were born and raised in the Andes; thus, they are Andean Spanish monolinguals or

bilinguals with Quechua as a first language and Spanish as a second language. In the latter case, their level of proficiency in Spanish that they had must also be taken into consideration.

In Andean Spanish the present perfect has other functions besides that of present relevance. I have already presented these functions in section 1.2.6.2. The new working class *limeños* were exposed to the usage of the present perfect in the Andes and the different levels of proficiency in the Spanish spoken by their parents. However, the results do not show an increase in the frequency of usage of the present perfect. Instead, this tense favors the usage of an alternative past tense, which in this case is the imperfect.

We appeal to two possible sources that can explain this usage. On the one hand, we find a common semantic feature between the present perfect and the imperfect. We have shown in Chapter 1 that the present perfect as used in *Limeño* Spanish has a durative meaning. Additionally, it is widely known that the imperfect typically expresses durativity in the past, as well as habitualness, and unboundedness. Thus, durativity is the common feature shared by the present perfect and the imperfect. On the other hand, a perfective use of the imperfect has been attested in Peruvian Spanish –more specifically in Andean Spanish (Klee and Ocampo, 1995, p.59).

The first source points to the possibilities provided by the grammar to make contrast with the preterite. Thus, depending on the needs of the speaker, the present perfect and the imperfect present two possible choices for the speakers. The second source points to language contact, since most of the participants' parents of the working stratum came from the Highlands and are Quechua-Spanish bilinguals or Andean Spanish monolinguals. This source would require further study, since it is necessary to observe the actual use of the imperfect among working stratum participants, to see if in fact this tense is used with perfective meaning.

6.4 CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of occurrences of imperfects and present perfects within direct speech citations, and within Type A and Type B Entries shows a social distribution of these tenses in Limeño Spanish.

The middle stratum participants prefer the present perfect. This preference is significantly stronger among young participants of this stratum. Participants from the middle stratum also prefer the imperfect, with the young participants leading the preference once again.

As mentioned above, these patterns may be accounted for in terms of language contact. Although all of the participants are Spanish monolinguals, the working stratum inherited patterns of use from Andean Spanish. It is interesting to note that the use of the imperfect with perfective values has previously been found in Andean Spanish. Klee and Ocampo (1995, p. 59) report the use of imperfect in Andean Spanish with the same uses as non contact dialects, but also with perfective and punctual values expected for the preterite. This use was observed in narratives of the lowest social groups in their sample.

As we have mentioned in the previous section with respect to the use of imperfects, the difference between middle and working stratum is significant among young participants. In other words, the social distance between both strata is reflected in the linguistic patterns of young *limeños*. This use seems to be closely related to the place of origin of the participants' parents and the Peruvian variety spoken by them.

This use of the imperfect seems to be increasing from one generation to the next within the working stratum, as displayed in Figures 64, 67 and 68; moreover this increase is significant. It is necessary to observe the actual use of the imperfect in narratives and interactions to see whether, in fact, there is a significant difference in the use of imperfects between generations in Limeño Spanish. If this were the case, it would also be relevant to examine whether the

increasing frequency of imperfections among young working stratum participants is indicative of a change in progress related to dialect or language contact.

The extent to which this usage has permeated more prestigious varieties in Lima is also a topic for further research. Future studies should analyze the results of the process of dialect mixing in Limeño Spanish at the morphosyntactic, discursive and phonological levels. In future studies, we will have to consider three aspects in the whole process: 1) dialect contact among Coastal varieties and among Andean varieties, 2) language contact within both social strata, but especially within the working stratum, and 3) the relationship of the prestigious Limeño variety with the non-prestigious varieties.

7.0 CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The goals of this chapter are threefold. I first discuss the significance of a synchronic and experimental study on the use of the preterite and the present perfect in Limeño Spanish within a socio-historical context. I then summarize the main findings of our sociolinguistic analysis of the use of the preterite and the present perfect by Spanish monolingual speakers in an experimental study. Finally, I identify a number of theoretical implications of this study and propose questions for future research to address.

7.1 THE STUDY

The main study in this dissertation utilized an experimental data collection instrument with the purpose of providing the Spanish monolingual participants the same linguistic contexts that would offer them the possibility of choosing either the preterite or the present perfect. The data collection instrument consisted of a questionnaire that contained certain types of verbs, adverbials and types of speech. The objective was to elicit verb forms which could be compared, since they occurred in the same linguistic context. In the pilot study, unstructured interviews were chosen as the data collection instrument, and the number of tokens obtained was sufficient to use the same method again. Thus, in this investigation I chose a different data collection instrument, specifically, a questionnaire.

I examined linguistic and social factors statistically. The linguistic factors analyzed were situation type, adverbials, and type of speech; the social factors studied were age, gender and social stratum. Additionally, a number of interactions among these factors were analyzed. Various measures were found to be significant in the interaction of these variables, which are summarized below. The results of this study broaden our understanding of the Spanish spoken in Lima in several ways.

First, this study contributes to the semantico-syntactic description of this area of the Limeño Spanish verb system, since it uses a data collection instrument that allows the comparison and measurement of tokens used in the same linguistic context. Furthermore, this study provides information on the interaction between internal aspect and tense choice in Limeño Spanish. No other study of this variety has been carried out on internal aspect and preterite and present perfect use. The Limeño variety has been described sociolinguistically mainly at the phonological level thus far, while this study provides a synchronic linguistic description of an aspect of morphosyntactic variation.

This study also adds to our knowledge of the verbal patterns used by *Limeños* in relation to their social characteristics. Lima is the largest city in Peru, and its social composition makes it an ideal place to analyze the effects of language and dialect contact. In Chapter 5, I have suggested that the distribution of the imperfect and present perfect seems to be the result of degree of literacy, as well as language contact through time.

This study furthermore plays a role in the dialectological mapping of the verb system of Latin American and Peruvian Spanish, since our findings are informative with regard to the linguistic practices in the Limeño variety, and specifically within its sociolects.

In the last section of this chapter, I turn to the theoretical implications of this study.

7.1.1 The linguistic factors

The results of this study demonstrate that lexical aspect has a strong effect on the selection of the preterite; in other words, this effect is determined by the semantic features that make up the semantic matrix of the verbs. Depending on this semantic matrix, some verbs are more likely to be used with the preterite than others. I have presented a scale of probability from those verbs most likely to be used with the preterite to those least likely to be used with it. Among the semantic categories that make up the meaning of each type of verb, *telic* is the category which most favors the use of the preterite, whereas the *durative* category favors the use of the present perfect.

In fact, the semantic features encoded in lexical items such as verbs can be used with different tense choices provided by the grammar; however, some tenses are more likely to be associated with certain lexical features. On the one hand, the perfective aspect of the preterite, which expresses conclusion of an event, agrees with the telic feature since it also expresses completion. On the other hand, the present perfect conveys at the same time perfectivity and reference to the past leading into present. The ‘present relevance’ characteristic confers durativity to this tense, because it extends the duration of the past event to the present. Thus, the grammar provides the possibility to focus on both time spans -past and present- by referring to a recent past event. In the case of Limeño Spanish, it has been observed in the pilot and main study that the present perfect is preferred with adverbials of duration, and that it is not necessary that the past event is recent, but can be remote as well.

Another determining linguistic factor in preterite choice is adverbials. Temporal adverbials, deictics and anaphorics (see Figure 17), have a significant effect on the use of the preterite, and temporal adverbials of duration (see Figure 17), on the use of the present perfect.

Moreover, temporal adverbials that lack present relevance have more impact on the selection of the preterite, while adverbials with present relevance have a greater influence on the selection of present perfect. In general, the inclusion of adverbials has a greater effect on selection of tense choice than their omission.

In contrast to situation type and adverbials, reported speech is a linguistic variable with no significance in itself. Direct speech quotations are not the type of linguistic context that significantly triggers the use of the preterite, although the frequency of preterite use is higher than that of present perfect or other tenses. There is also evidence that direct speech quotations help to trigger selection of present perfect, especially among more educated participants.

There were also interactions among linguistic and social factors which were found to be significant. Let us first consider the effect of situation type within other linguistic variables. First, the interaction of situation type with the preterite within adverbials is significant. In fact, when adverbials are present, there is a greater effect on preterite choice. Second, the interaction of situation type with preterite within type of speech is significant, because the situation has a greater effect in the absence of reported speech. Reported speech counteracts the effect of situation type on the use of the preterite, in favor of the present perfect.

The effect of adverbials within other linguistic factors also proved to be interesting. The relationship of adverbials to preterite within situation type shows that verbs that include the telic semantic feature (accomplishments and achievements) are more likely to be used with the preterite, and that verbs that include the durative semantic feature (states, accomplishments and activities) are less likely to be used with the preterite. When there are no adverbials, the telic feature is predominant. Finally, the relationship of adverbials to preterite within type of speech is significant, but the effect is stronger in direct reported speech than in non-reported speech.

A next variable, the relationship of type of speech to preterite within situation type was found to be significant. The results show that there is a clear connection between durativity and reported speech. Verbs with the durative feature are preferred in direct speech quotations. The relationship of type of speech to preterite within adverbials is not significant.

Summing up, situation type and adverbials constitute the linguistic factors most likely to affect the use of the preterite. This means that in the Spanish of Lima, semantico-syntactic constraints expressed by means of situation type and adverbials are determinant in the use of the preterite and the present perfect. In addition, direct reported speech has been shown to affect the use of the present perfect and the imperfect depending on social stratum.

7.1.2 The social factors

The results of the examination of the social factors show that social strata, age and gender by themselves do not affect the selection of the preterite. However, some of the interactions of the social factors with the linguistic factors are significant.

The effects of the interaction between situation type and adverbial as related to preterite within social strata are significant, while the relationship of reported speech to preterite within social strata is not significant. With respect to situation type, its effect is very similar in both social groups, although slightly stronger within the working stratum. Regarding adverbials, their relationship to preterite within social strata is significant. Adverbials have a stronger effect for the middle stratum than for the working stratum. I suggest that level of education could be a contributing factor in terms of awareness among the middle stratum.

Considering the effects of linguistic factors within age, the effect of situation type within age was found to be significant. This relationship is similar in both generational groups, but the

effect is stronger in the young group. In addition, the effect of adverbials within age is significant, and it is stronger among older participants. However, the effect of type of speech within age is not significant.

With respect to linguistic factors in relation to gender, the results show that the relationship of situation type to preterite within gender is significant, as is the effect of adverbials to preterite within gender. However, the effect of type of speech to preterite within gender is not significant, as was also observed in the cases of the interactions of type of speech with social strata and with age.

Finally, the alternative forms used by the participants seem also to be influenced by social factors. The middle stratum participants show a preference for the present perfect in Type A entries, whereas the working stratum participants show a preference for the imperfect in the same type of entries. I have suggested that the patterns used by the working stratum participants are the results of historical language contact. Additionally, we observe that the imperfect and present perfect used by both strata respectively share durativity as a common feature. Thus it appears that there is a common cognitive element in the use of these forms.

7.1.3 The Research Hypotheses and Research Questions

Of the two hypotheses presented in Chapter I, I have confirmed the first, but not the second. The first hypothesis proposed that there would be a tendency for the preterite to be used in contexts where the present perfect would conventionally occur in European Standard Spanish. The incidence of preterite use is significantly high even in contexts where the semantic features of recency and durativity appear. In fact, these semantic features are associated with present

perfect; thus, it is expected the increase of these forms. However, it seems that in Limeño Spanish, duration adverbials are more likely than recency adverbials to trigger present perfects.

The second hypothesis, which states that the use of the preterite in place of the present perfect is expected to be higher among younger speakers than older speakers was not confirmed. There is no significant effect of age on preterite choice.

In Chapter I, four research questions were also presented. The first research question aimed to find out whether there is a significant effect of internal aspect on the selection of preterite. The answer is affirmative. Situation type and temporal adverbials have a significant effect on tense selection, but type of speech by itself does not. The relevance of the effect of situation type on the selection of preterite highlights the role of the semantic component in the actual use of this tense. Furthermore, the impact of temporal adverbials on the use of the preterite as well as on the present perfect supports the interactive role of the above mentioned components in the use of these verb forms.

The second research question had the purpose of discovering the impact of social stratum, age and gender on the selection of the preterite and the present perfect. The answer is that these social factors, by themselves, do not have a significant impact on the selection of these tenses. Nevertheless, their interactions with situation type and adverbials are significant. The answer to this question also enables me to answer the third question, which aimed to find out whether apparent time, measured through age, gives any evidence of change in progress. The answer is negative, since the results of the study do not indicate a growing tendency to use the preterite instead of the present perfect, from the older generation to the younger generation.

Finally, the fourth question aimed to find out if the relationship between the use of the preterite and the present perfect, and the speakers' social characteristics give evidence of a

setting appropriate for koinéization. The birthplace information of the participants' parents mirrors the information described by scholars specializing in the socioeconomic and statistical description of Lima (INEI, 2006; Arellano and Burgos, 2004). In the middle stratum, the majority of the parents speak Coastal or Limeño varieties, while in the working stratum, the majority of the parents speak an Andean variety. The interactions within each social stratum should have produced an appropriate setting for dialect contact and consequently, for koinéization; however, there is no linguistic evidence that the different systems are converging. On the contrary, it seems that they are diverging over generations.

7.2 IMPLICATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study fills in a gap in the dialectological description of the Peruvian Spanish varieties, and is one of the few studies on the use of the preterite and the present perfect by monolingual Spanish speakers from Lima.

The analysis of the linguistic factors, situation type, use of adverbials, and type of speech, demonstrates that the effect of internal aspect on selection of the preterite is a determining factor. The findings presented here provide evidence of the interface between lexical properties and grammatical categories of external aspect and tense. The effect of situation type on preterite choice proves that the semantico-lexical and syntactic levels are the first levels that the speakers are sensitive to when using the preterite or the present perfect. The participants in our sample established natural semantic associations between the lexical properties of the verbs and the grammatical verb categories. Thus, this study supports a modular approach to the study of language, in which independent components interact in different ways. On the one hand, the

lexical component encodes the semantic features of the verbs according to their actual interactions with their arguments in the grammatical component. On the other hand, the lexical component interacts with the grammatical component in the selection of tense. Therefore, the scale of preterite preference according to situation type observed in our study shows the associations of semantic similarities made by the participants between the lexical meaning of the verbs (internal aspect) and the selection of tense (external aspect).

This study also paves the way for the study of the use of the preterite and present perfect at the discourse and pragmatic levels. On the one hand, we have seen in this study that there is a natural semantico-syntactic association between internal aspect and use of the preterite; on the other hand, the pilot study reveals that the present perfect is taking over some discourse functions of the preterite, thus crossing the barrier between syntax and discourse. The contrast of the results from both studies indicates that the speakers associate those items that have similar semantic features. However, the fact that they also use the present perfect with punctual meanings, as was seen in the pilot study, suggests that they are highlighting the features recency and durativity for pragmatic purposes. It is in a specific communicative situation that the speakers decide between the preterite or the present perfect. Speakers use the present perfect in narrations for expressive and stylistic purposes--not only for specific discourse functions but also for giving the narration a more dramatic color, similar to the way in which the historical present is used instead of the preterite. We have seen through chapter one that the present perfect is used with punctual meaning in Limeño Spanish. The recency feature gives the narration a vivid tone as well other discourse functions (see section 2.2.4.3.) These observations create methodological and conceptual difficulties linked to syntactic variation and language change. Although our data collection instrument situated the participants in communicative situations, these were not real.

In an actual communicative event, the speaker must choose among different grammatical temporal options in order to provide their utterances with expressivity. Nevertheless, in real discourse it is quite difficult, if not impossible, to find the same linguistic contexts that can be compared and analyzed. Thus, it appears necessary to create an alternative method of classifying data from narrations, peer stories, and other types of linguistic corpora, or to directly observe the verb forms in question in the interactions. Both methods would involve a large amount of data, but they would also make it possible to observe how social and discourse meaning is constructed (Cheshire, 2003).

This discussion brings us again to the hypotheses set forth in this paper. Based on the pilot study findings, I predicted that there would be a tendency over generations to use more preterites than present perfects, and that this increasing frequency would mirror a possible ongoing change in the use of these tenses in Limeño Spanish. This possible ongoing change would be part of a long term process of koinéization initiated by the transplantation of the Spanish to the American continent centuries ago, and possibly accelerated in the last fifty years by the language and dialect contact situations. Only the analysis of real conversations will give us the opportunity to observe social meanings and ongoing change more accurately. The present study corroborates that speakers make cognitive associations between the lexical and grammatical modules, but there is also evidence that they change some features of these associations when they want to convey other semantic nuances.

Until now, the preference for the preterite that has been observed in the present study corresponds to language variability, and therefore, to the specific patterns used in Latin American Spanish. If there is a growing preference for either the preterite or the present perfect, it is at the discoursal-pragmatic level that it will be observed. If there is any change in progress in

favor of one or the other, it is at this level that it can be identified. We have seen in this study that there is a cooperative interface between semantics and syntax, as well as indications that future work needs to look for insight at the discoursal and pragmatic levels. In fact, the present perfect is used with perfective meaning in narrations with specific discoursal functions. Furthermore, the switching from preterite to present perfect when the participants are narrating is used to express more realism or dramatism.

Finally, the findings also support Company's theoretical approach (2002) to the diatopic distribution of the perfect. According to her, there is a semantic-syntactic isogloss that divides European and Latin American Spanish. Company claims that Peninsular Spanish is more sensitive to the observable semantic properties of the entities/situation, whereas American Spanish is more sensitive to the speaker's assessment and perspective of the entities/situation (p.39). Thus, in the case of the present perfect, Peninsular Spanish selects a non-relational profile emphasizing temporality, whereas American Spanish chooses a relational profile emphasizing aspectuality. The current study has demonstrated that the present perfect in Limeño Spanish is used with an emphasis on aspectual rather than temporal meanings.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Questions	Type of situation	Temporal adverbials	Direct speech	Entry Number
1. A: Tu problema me causa pena. B: Sí, pero ya este último mes lo _____(superar) bastante. <i>A: Your problem upsets me.</i> <i>B: Yes, but just this last month I _____ (to overcome) quite a lot.</i>	accomplishment	1pp	NDS	Entry 5
2. A: Y me dice: “Quiero ingresar. Hoy en la mañana, justamente hace muy pocas horas, yo _____(comenzar) a estudiar en la academia.”. B: ¡Qué bien por él! Es una excelente decisión. <i>A: And he says: “I want to be accepted. This morning, just a few hour ago, I _____ (to start) to study at the academy.”</i> <i>B: Good for him! It’s an excellent decision.</i>	achievement	1pp	DS	Entry 7
3. A: ¡Es horrible lo que acaba de ocurrir! B: ¿Qué cosa? No me asustes. A: _____(morir) el papá de mi mejor amiga. <i>A: What just happened is horrible!</i> <i>B: What? Don’t scare me.</i> <i>A: My best friend’s dad _____(to die).</i>	achievement	1pp	NDS	Entry 8

<p>4, 5, 6</p> <p>A: Bueno, en aquel momento mi papá _____17_____ (aparecer). La empleada _____24_____ (abrir) la puerta, asustada.</p> <p>B: Ya me imagino.</p> <p>A: Sí, recuerdo que _____25_____ (oír) disparos...como un secuestro, algo así. Horrible. ¡Qué miedo!</p> <p>A: <i>Well, at that moment my dad _____ (to appear). The housekeeper _____ (to open) the door, scared.</i></p> <p>B: <i>I can imagine.</i></p> <p>A: <i>Yes, I remember _____ (to hear) shots...like a kidnapping, something like that. Horrible. How scary.</i></p>	<p>achievement accomplishment</p> <p>achievement</p>	<p>1p 0</p> <p>0</p>	<p>NDS NDS</p> <p>NDS</p>	<p>Entry 17 Entry 24</p> <p>Entry 25</p>
<p>7.</p> <p>A: Entonces me dijo nerviosa: “Hace horas los doctores la _____15_____ (meter) a la sala de operaciones, por eso nos _____ (poner) en un cuarto, para esperarla allí”.</p> <p>B: ah, deben haber esperado mucho.</p> <p>A: <i>Then she said to me nervously, “Two hours ago the doctors _____15_____ (to put) her in the operatin room, that’s why we _____ (to put) ourselves in a room, to wait for her there.</i></p> <p>B: <i>Ah, you should have waited longer.</i></p>	<p>accomplishment</p> <p>accomplishment</p>	<p>1p</p> <p>1p</p>	<p>DS</p> <p>DS</p>	<p>Entry 15</p>
<p>8.</p> <p>A: Estaba saliendo a tomar algo, entonces llego a mi casa, cuadro el auto, bajo, y en ese momento la empleada me dice: “Acaba de llamar la tía del Sr. Pedro. Parece que anoche _____ (ocurrir) un accidente”.</p> <p>B: ¿Y tú qué hiciste?</p> <p>A: Me preocupé, por supuesto.</p> <p>A: <i>I was going out to get something to eat, then I get to my house, I park my car, I get out, and at that moment the housekeeper says to me, “Mr. Pedro’s aunt just called. It seems that yesterday there _____ (to be) an accident.</i></p> <p>B: <i>And what did you do?</i></p> <p>A: <i>I got worried, of course.</i></p>	<p>achievement</p>	<p>1p</p>	<p>DS</p>	<p>Entry 18</p>

<p>9. A: En esa época aquí vivía mi mamá. Aquí <u>16</u> (crecer) mi mamá. Aquí _____ (criarse) ella. Esta es la casa de mi abuela. B: Sí lo sé. Esta casa es muy bonita.</p> <p><i>A: Back then, my mom lived here. My mom _____ (to grow up) here. She _____ (to be raised) here. This is my grandmother's house.</i> <i>B: Yes, I know. This house is very pretty.</i></p>	accomplishment accomplishment	1p 1p	NDS NDS	Entry 16
<p>10. A: Y Lucía me dice: “En estos últimos meses yo también _____ (vivir) en Miraflores”. B: ¿Pero te piensas mudar o no el año que viene?</p> <p><i>A: And Lucia tells me, “These last months I also _____ (to live) in Miraflores.</i> <i>B: But are you planning to move or not next year?</i></p>	accomplishment	1pp	DS	Entry 6
<p>11. A: ¿Te manda mensajes por correo electrónico tu prima? B: Sí, este año me _____ (enviar) mensajes todo el tiempo.</p> <p><i>A: Does your cousin send you messages via email?</i> <i>B: Yes, this year she _____ (to send) me messages all the time.</i></p>	activity	1pp	NDS	Entry 3
<p>12. A: ¿Y cuáles son tus actividades del año pasado? B: El año pasado _____ (bailar) en muchas fiestas. A: And what are your activities from last year? B: Last year I _____ (to dance) at a lot of parties.</p>	activity	1p	NDS	Entry 13
<p>13. A: Entonces me pregunta: ¿quién es la próxima cantante? B: ¿y qué le dices? A: Le digo: “La que viene es Shakira. Hace pocos minutos _____ (cantar) Cristina Aguilera”.</p> <p><i>A: Then he/she asks me, “Who is the next singer?</i> <i>B: And what do you say to him/her?</i> <i>A: I say to him/her, “The one that is coming up is Shakira. A few minutes ago Cristina Aguilera _____ (to sing).</i></p>	activity	1pp	DS	Entry 4

14. A: ¿Y? ¿Qué tal? Cuéntame B: Bien, _____(caminar) por el parque. <i>A: And? What's going on? Tell me.</i> <i>B: Well, _____ (to walk) around the park.</i>	activity	0	NDS	Entry 22
15. A: ¿Alguna noticia sobre el profesor Rodríguez? B: Sí. Desde el mes pasado hasta esta semana el profe _____(estar) en otra oficina. <i>A: Any news about Professor Rodríguez?</i> <i>B: Yes. From last month to this week the Prof _____ (to be) in another office.</i>	state	1pp	NDS	Entry 1
16. A: Es una chica muy triste. B: Sí, pues, ella el año pasado _____(sufrir) mucho. <i>A: She is a very sad girl.</i> <i>B: Yes, well, last year she _____ (to suffer) a lot.</i>	state	1p	NDS	Entry 11
17. A: ¿Por qué tenías esa cara de fastidio la semana pasada? B: No, nada. Es que ese domingo alguien _____(tocar) el timbre, pero no había nadie en la puerta. <i>A: Why did you have such a bothered look on your face last week?</i> <i>B: No, it was nothing. It's that that Sunday someone _____ (to ring) the doorbell, but there wasn't anyone at the door.</i>	semelfactive	1p	NDS	Entry 19

<p>18. A: ¿Quién era? B: No sé. Creo que _____(tocar) la puerta por fastidiar nomás. A: <i>Who was it?</i> B: <i>I don't know. I think (they) _____ (to knock) on the door just to be annoying.</i></p>	semelfactive	0	NDS	Entry 23
<p>19. A: Le pregunté sobre el porqué de su silencio y sobre su paradero el día anterior B: Me dijo: “Ayer _____ (estar) en la casa de mi tía.” A: <i>I asked him/her the reason for his/her silence and about his/her whereabouts the day before.</i> B: <i>He/she told me, “Yesterday I _____ (to be) at my aunt’s house.</i></p>	state	1p	DS	Entry 12
<p>20. A: ¿Y entonces? B: Entonces Lucía me dice: “Nunca te _____(odiar)”. A: <i>And then?</i> B: <i>Then Lucia tells me, “I never _____ (to hate) you.</i></p>	state	1pp	DS	Entry 2
<p>21. A: Y me pregunta: “¿hace un momento tú _____(ser) la que _____9 _____(toser)?” B: Me parece una pregunta inesperada. A: <i>And he/she asks me, “a moment ago (to be) _____ you the one who _____ (to cough)?</i> B: <i>That seems like an unexpected question.</i></p>	state semelfactive	1pp 1pp	DS DS	Entry 9

<p>22. A: ¿Qué acaba de hacer la niña? B: Ella _____(estornudar) hace un instante. <i>A: What did the girl just do?</i> <i>B: She _____ (to sneeze) a second ago.</i></p>	semelfactive	1pp	NDS	Entry 10
<p>23. A: ¿Tienes alguna noticia de Javier? B: No _____(saber) nada de él. <i>A: Do you have any new of Javier?</i> <i>B: No, I don't _____(to know) anything about him.</i></p>	state	0	NDS	Entry 21
<p>24. A: “Se te ve cansado” le dije y me contestó: “Es que ayer _____(manejar) muchas horas”. B: ¡Pobre! ¡Debe estar muerto de cansancio! <i>A: “You look tired” I told him, and he answered “It’s that yesterday I _____ (to drive) for hours.</i> <i>B: Poor thing! He must be dead tired!</i></p>	activity	1p	DS	Entry 14
<p>25. A: Alicia me preguntó: “Anoche _____(timbrar) el teléfono?” B: ¿y por qué te preguntó eso? A: Quisiera saberlo yo también. <i>A: Alicia asked me, “Did the telephone _____ (to ring) last night?”</i> <i>B: And why did she ask you that?</i> <i>A: I would like to know, too.</i></p>	semelfactive	1p	DS	Entry 20

APPENDIX B

INFORMATION RELATED TO THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

B.1 TYPE OF EDUCATION

B.1.1 List of Schools

SCHOOLS			14.09.04
SCHOOL NAME	CATEGORY	UPPER THIRD	REFERENCE
ABRAHAM LINCOLN	3	SI	LA MOLINA
ALEXANDER FLEMMING	4	SI	LA LIBERTAD - TRUJILLO
ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT	2	SI	MIRAFLORES
ALGARROBOS	4	SI	LAMBAYEQUE - CHICLAYO
ALPAMAYO CEP	2	SI	LA MOLINA
AMERICA DEL CALLAO	4	SI	CALLAO - BELLAVISTA
ANGLO AMERICANO PRESCOTT	4	SI	AREQUIPA
ANTONIO RAIMONDI	2	SI	LA MOLINA / LINCE
BEATA IMELDA	4	SI	LURIGANCHO
BELEN SS.CC.	4	SI	SAN ISIDRO
CAMBRIDGE COLLEGE	2	SI	CHORRILLOS
CASUARINAS	1	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
CEIBOS	4	SI	LAMBAYEQUE - CHICLAYO
CLARETIANO	4	SI	SAN MIGUEL
CRISTO SALVADOR	4	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
DE LA CRUZ	4	SI	ICA
DIEZ DE OCTUBRE (PERUANO-CHINO)	4	SI	BREÑA
FRANCO PERUANO	2	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN	4	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
HIRAM BINGHAM	2	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
HOLLY TRINITY	4	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
ISABEL FLORES DE OLIVA (I.TERESIANA)	4	SI	SAN ISIDRO
JEAN LE BOULCH	3	SI	LA MOLINA
JEAN PIAGET	4	SI	LA MOLINA
JOSE QUINONEZ FAP	4	SI	LA MOLINA

JUAN XXIII	4	SI	SAN MIGUEL
LA INMACULADA	3	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
LA SALLE	4	SI	BREÑA
LA SALLE	4	SI	PROVINCIAS
LA SALLE - SAN JOSE (CUSCO)	4	SI	CUZCO
LEON PINELO	1	SI	SAN ISIDRO
LEONARDO DA VINCI	3	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
LICEO NAVAL ALMIRANTE GUISE	4	SI	SAN BORJA
LOS REYES ROJOS	3	SI	BARRANCO
MAGISTER	2	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
MARIA REINA	3	SI	SAN ISIDRO
MARISTAS	4	SI	MIRAFLORES / SAN ISIDRO
MARKHAM	1	SI	MIRAFLORES
MAX UHLE	4	SI	AREQUIPA
MAYUPAMPA	4	SI	JUNIN
MUNDO MEJOR	4	SI	ANCASH - CHIMBOTE
NEWTON ISAAC	1	SI	LA MOLINA
NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA MERCED	4	SI	SANTA ANITA
NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL CARMEN-CARMELITAS	3	SI	MIRAFLORES - SAN ANTONIO
PEDRO RUIZ GALLO	4	SI	CHORRILLOS
PERUANO BRITANICO	1	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
PESTALOZZI	2	SI	MIRAFLORES
PIO XII	4	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
RECOLETA SS.CC.	3	SI	LA MOLINA
REGINA PACIS	3	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
REYNA DE LOS ANGELES	3	SI	LA MOLINA
REYNA DEL MUNDO	3	SI	LA MOLINA
ROOSEVELT FRANKLIN	1	SI	LA MOLINA
SALCANTAY CEP	2	SI	SAN ISIDRO/SURCO
SALESIANO	4	SI	BREÑA
SALESIANO	4	SI	CUSCO
SALESIANO DON BOSCO	4	SI	PIURA
SAN AGUSTIN	3	SI	SAN ISIDRO
SAN AGUSTIN	4	SI	LORETO
SAN AGUSTIN	4	SI	LAMBAYEQUE
SAN ANDRES	4	SI	LIMA
SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA	4	SI	JESUS MARIA
SAN FRANCISCO DE SALES	4	SI	JUNIN - HUANCAYO
SAN IGNACIO DE RECALDE	2	SI	MIRAFLORES / SAN BORJA
SAN JOSE	4	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
SAN JOSE AREQUIPA	4	SI	AREQUIPA
SAN JOSE DE CLUNY	4	SI	SURQUILLO
SAN PEDRO	2	SI	LA MOLINA
SAN SILVESTRE	1	SI	MIRAFLORES
SANTA MARGARITA	2	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
SANTA MARIA	2	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
SANTA MARIA	4	SI	ICA - CHINCHA
SANTA MARIA EUFRASIA	4	SI	ATE
SANTA RITA DE CASIA	4	SI	MIRAFLORES
SANTA ROSA DE LIMA	4	SI	LINCE
SANTA URSULA	3	SI	SAN ISIDRO
SANTISIMA TRINIDAD	4	SI	BELLAVISTA
SANTISIMO NOMBRE DE JESUS	4	SI	SAN BORJA
SEBASTIAN SALAZAR BONDY	4	SI	SAN BORJA
SOPHIANUM	4	SI	SAN ISIDRO
TURICARA COLEGIO DE LA U.P. PIURA	4	SI	PIURA
UNION (JAPONES)	3	SI	PUEBLO LIBRE
VALLESOL COLEGIO DE LA U.P. PIURA	4	SI	PIURA
VILLA CARITAS	2	SI	LA MOLINA

VILLA MARIA	2	SI	LA MOLINA
WALDORF	3	SI	ATE
WEBERBAUER AUGUSTO	3	SI	SANTIAGO DE SURCO
WINETKA	4	SI	CHACLACAYO

B.2 NEIGHBORHOOD

B.2.1 Districts of Lima

Central Lima		Southern Lima	
Districts	Code Number	Districts	Code Number
Barranco	1	Chorrillos (new)	18
Breña	2	Lurín	19
Chorrillos (old)	3	Pachacamac	20
Jesus María	4	Pucusana	21
La Molina	5	Punta Hermosa	22
La Victoria	6	Punta Negra	23
Lima (downtown)	7	San Bartolo	24
Lince	8	San Juan de Miraflores	25
Magdalena	9	Santa María	26
Miraflores	10	Villa El Salvador	27
Pueblo Libre	11	Villa María del Triunfo	28
Rímac	12		
San Borja	13		
San Isidro	14		
San Miguel	15		
Surco	16		
Surquillo	17		

B.2.2 List of Private Universities by Participants

- PUCP Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú
- UPCH Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia

- UL Universidad de Lima
- USMP Universidad San Martín de Porres
- UIGV Universidad Inca Garcilaso de la Vega
- UPMC Universidad Particular Marcelino Champagnat
- UPC Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas
- UAP Universidad Alas Peruanas

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