

THE LOSS OF SEMANTIC DISTINCTION BETWEEN *IR* AND *IRSE*, *VENIR* AND
VENIRSE, IN A SPANISH-ENGLISH LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATION IN
MOORHEAD, MINNESOTA

by

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(Under the Direction of Diana Ranson)

ABSTRACT

This thesis shows that the semantic distinction between the verbs *ir* and *venir* and their reflexive counterparts, *irse* and *venirse*, is less clear in the bilingual speech community of Moorhead, Minnesota, than the monolingual speech community of Puente Genil, Andalusia. This loss of semantic distinction between two contrasting forms can be seen as evidence of simplification in the bilingual community. Specifically, the data show that monolingual Spanish speakers explicitly or implicitly express a point of departure when using *irse* and explicitly state a destination when using *ir*. In contrast, the bilingual Spanish-English speakers explicitly state a destination with both *ir* and *irse* with similar frequencies, and explicitly or implicitly express a point of departure with *irse* and explicitly state a destination with *ir* less frequently than the monolingual speakers. Similar results were found for *venir* and *venirse*, but the differences between the monolingual and bilingual communities were not as pronounced.

INDEX WORDS: Language Contact, Simplification, Language Shift, Monolingual,
Bilingual

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Simplification in Spanish in contact with English

A loss of opposition between two contrasting forms in language contact situations has been noted in various studies. This loss of semantic distinction has been documented in the use of *ser* and *estar* (Silva-Corvalán 1986, Gutiérrez 2003), the use of prepositions (García 1995), and mood selection (García and Terrell 1977, Torres 1989). The present study hypothesizes that language contact situations could also lead to a loss of semantic distinction between the movement verbs *ir* and *venir* and their reflexive counterparts, *irse* and *venirse*.

In a study of the uses of *ser* and *estar* in Los Angeles, Silva-Corvalán (1986) concludes that *estar* are now occurring frequently in contexts in which *ser* occurred almost exclusively in the past. This linguistic change “involves the loss of a semantic distinction associated with the choice of one of two contrasting linguistic forms. In this sense, then, it constitutes a simplification of the linguistic system, and supports the hypothesis that language contact favors processes of linguistic simplification” (Silva-Corvalán 1986:88). In a similar study of the *ser/estar* opposition conducted in Los Angeles and Houston, Gutiérrez (2003:169) concludes that both verbs are “competing for the same semantic domain”.

Silva-Corvalán (1994:3) defines simplification as:

the higher frequency of use of a form X in context Y (i.e. generalization) at the expense of form Z, usually in competition with and semantically closely related to X, where both X and Z existed in the language prior to the initiation of simplification. Thus X is an expanding form, while Z is a *shrinking or contracting* form.

A final result of simplification may be the loss of forms or elimination of alternatives. Gutiérrez (2003) recognizes simplification as a strategy that speakers employ in order to reduce the cognitive load, often in situations of language stress, such as a bilingual environment.

In her study of preposition use in San Antonio Spanish, García (1995:211) concludes that there is an “overreliance on *en* at the expense of other prepositions, adverbials, and verbs”. The increased use of the preposition *en* results in a “reduction of linguistic resources” (García 1995:211) consistent with simplification, as defined by Silva-Corvalán (1994:3).

In a diachronic study of indicative-subjunctive mood choice in Los Angeles, Ocampo (1990) found a significant decrease in the use of the subjunctive mood in contexts which allow both moods, albeit with differences in semantic-pragmatic meaning, than in contexts in which the subjunctive mood is obligatory. Silva-Corvalán (1990) found that over time bilingual Spanish-English speakers of Los Angeles used the indicative with much greater frequency than the subjunctive as well. She concluded from her study that “simplification affects first non-obligatory contexts, i.e., those where the choice between two or more forms is possible in order to convey subtle meaning differences associated with these forms” (Silva-Corvalán 1990:169).

Consistent with the studies mentioned above, the current study proposes that the process of simplification observed in bilingual communities can also be found in the incipient loss of semantic distinction between the verbs *ir* and *venir* and their reflexive counterparts, *irse* and *venirse*, a distinction not considered in previous research. By

comparing the speech of bilingual Spanish-English speakers in Moorhead, Minnesota with that of monolingual speakers in Puente Genil, Andalusia, the current study shows that the semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse* and between *venir* and *venirse* is less clear in the bilingual speech community. When commenting on the loss of mood opposition in Los Angeles Spanish, Silva-Corvalán (1990:169) stated that “neutralization of such oppositions, therefore, would involve some degree of semantic loss in a secondary language which may not be called upon to express these meaning differences as frequently as if it were the primary means of communication in a given group”. This notion might also be extended to include the loss of semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse* and *venir* and *venirse*.

2. The semantic distinction between *ir/irse* and *venir/venirse*

The semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse* has been thoroughly documented and is widely agreed upon (Bull 1952, Molina Redondo 1974, Deveny 1977, Maldonado 1999, Pérez Vázquez 2002, Aaron 2003). In the simplest terms, *irse* means ‘to leave’ while *ir* means ‘to go’ (Bull 1952:385). Molina Redondo (1974:48) supports this interpretation, adding that “la forma simple se relaciona fundamentalmente con el complemento de destino, con el ‘a donde’; la forma pronominal, por el contrario, se relaciona sobre todo con el comportamiento de origen, con el ‘de donde’”. Pérez Vázquez (2002:203) states that:

el verbo *ir* se interpreta como una actividad sin límite (*dirigirse a un lugar*); por el contrario, con el ‘se’, *irse* tiene el significado de *abandonar un lugar*, es decir, se interpreta como un evento limitado. En resumen, podríamos decir que *ir* es un proceso; en cambio *irse* es un estado-proceso-estado.

Deveny (1977) adds the detail that *ir* implies a return, while *irse* does not have this specific implication.

Often, there are clear restrictions that determine the use of the reflexive or non-reflexive form. “When no destination is implied or expressed the reflexive form is obligatory: *¿Se ha ido?* (Has he gone? Has he left?)” (Bull 1952:385). An example from the corpus for the current study illustrates this point. In *pararon la obra y se fue el francés...*(PG1), no destination is expressed or implied and it would be impossible in this context to say *y fue el francés*. According to Bull (1952:385), even though *irse* does not require a destination, it does require an implied or expressed point of departure, as seen in the following example: *De Puente Genil se iba el tío a Málaga...*(PG3). An example such as, *¿A dónde se va Vd.?*, where departure is not expressed or implied, would not occur in the speech of native speakers. Molina Redondo (1974:49) adds that *irse* is obligatory when the movement results in a prolonged absence from the point of origin, such as a change of residence, as illustrated in this sentence: *Y yo claro yo estuve hasta que me fui a la mili...* (PG3). As seen above, the uses of the reflexive verb in the Puente Genil corpus adhere to the restrictions noted previously in the literature.

The majority of uses of the reflexive verb in Moorhead also follow the aforementioned restrictions. However, two uses of *irse* in the Moorhead corpus do not correspond to the proposed uses, in that they lack the expressed or implied point of departure mentioned by Bull (1952:385):

- (1) a. **Me fui** a la escuela hasta el once grado. (MM3-3)
 - b. Dicen cuando estaban pequeños, mi papá **se iba** a la escuela de St. Joseph’s. (MM3-10)

Furthermore, these examples conflict with Bull's (1952) explanation that when the verb marks the beginning of the event, *irse* is used, and when the verb clearly does not describe the beginning of an action, *irse* is blocked. In examples (1a) and (1b) there is no implicit or explicit point of departure, thus one would expect the use of *irse* to be blocked.

Often, the use of *ir* or *irse* relies on the speaker's intention rather than on the restrictions mentioned above. According to Bull (1952), when a destination is expressed, *irse* is ambiguous and must be defined by its context which can mean either 'to leave' or 'to go.' Deveney (1977) states that if adverbs of place and time are both present in the utterance, either explicitly or implicitly, then the use of *ir* or *irse* will be governed by the message the speaker wishes to communicate. Likewise, "when 'to go' simultaneously implies departure from *and* arrival at a designated destination *ir* and *irse* alternate. Choice depends on which point is of most significance to the speaker" (Bull 1952:385). According to this analysis, *Fui a la tienda*, and *Me fui a la tienda*, could be translated as 'I went to the store' and 'I left for the store', respectively. Either verb is possible but there is a semantic distinction between them.

Molina Redondo (1974:49), however, has mentioned the possibility of lack of semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse*: "hay muchas situaciones en que la diferencia se neutraliza o, mejor dicho, en que es irrelevante para los participantes en la comunicación poner el énfasis en uno de los dos complementos; en esos casos se utilizan indistintamente las dos formas". This possibility is apparently put into practice by a bilingual speaker in MM, as seen in the following utterances produced within thirty seconds of each other:

(2) a. Pues el baby shower que fui el domingo, last year **fui** a su quinceañera...

(MM2-2)

b. ...la niña mía me dice ‘mami, no es, **nos fuimos** a la quinceañera de ella...

(MM2-2)

It is possible that this speaker uses the reflexive and non-reflexive form indiscriminately in this context, because both uses emphasize the action of ‘going’ to the quinceañera, and do not place emphasis on ‘leaving’ an explicit or implicit location.

The contrast between *venir* and *venirse* is less widely analyzed and is most often found in general explanations of reflexive pronoun use with intransitive verbs, often together with *salir(se)*, *llegar(se)*, *entrar(se)*, etc. (Fish 1966, Miguel and Fernández Lagunilla 2000, Aaron 2003). Molina Redondo (1974:51) provides a specific description of the pronominal use of *venir(se)*: “La forma pronominal se relaciona sobre todo con el complemento de origen; la forma simple, con el destino (que es siempre el lugar del hablante)”. The use of *venirse* then normally implies abandonment of the origin in question. Molina Redondo (1974:51) adds that the speaker’s intention can govern the use of the reflexive or non-reflexive verb, and he offers as evidence the examples *Vino a Barcelona* and *Se vino a Barcelona*. The first example emphasizes arrival in Barcelona, whereas the second signals total or partial abandonment of the place of origin in order to settle in Barcelona.

In order to compare the meanings of *ir* and *irse*, *venir* and *venirse*, in the monolingual and bilingual speech communities, the present study will limit the analysis of the the verbs *ir* and *irse*, *venir* and *venirse*, to whether they occur with explicit or implicit points of departure and destinations, since these uses can be determined clearly

from the utterances produced by the speakers without relying on an interpretation of speaker intent. Other possible meanings of these verbs which would depend on speaker intent for their interpretation will not be included.

The present study will show that the bilingual speakers of Moorhead, Minnesota do not maintain the distinction between *ir* and *venir* and their reflexive counterparts, *irse* and *venirse*, as clearly as the monolingual speakers of Puente Genil. This finding is consistent with the previous studies which proposed that language contact situations can result in a loss of opposition between two contrasting forms.

CHAPTER 2

THE SAMPLE

1. Methods and Speaker Characteristics

The Hispanic population in Moorhead, Minnesota presents an interesting linguistic situation because Hispanics comprise only 4.5% of the population, roughly 1,500 people. Mexican workers first arrived in the Midwest region of the United States in the 1920's to work as seasonal laborers for the growing sugar beet industry (Norris 2000). The majority of the laborers migrated from Texas to Minnesota in May and returned to Texas in early October. Clay County records show that the first Mexican immigrant settled in Moorhead in 1927. Although there have been Hispanic residents of Moorhead since this time, significant growth in the Hispanic population of Moorhead did not begin until the mid 1980s (Arauzo 2000).

The Moorhead, Minnesota corpus consists of ten interviews, conducted by the author, with twenty Spanish-English bilinguals in July and August 2005 in Moorhead, Minnesota. Each interview lasted approximately 15-30 minutes, so that a total of 3.5 hours of conversation were recorded. The participants were recorded with an external microphone connected to a laptop computer, using the program Audacity. The recordings were stored in aup and wav files. The participants were recorded in pairs and instructed to engage in a spontaneous conversation. The informants also completed a questionnaire which asked them to evaluate their own proficiency in English and Spanish and to identify personal situations in which they speak each language.

The data representing the monolingual speech community were collected in Puente Genil, Andalusia in June of 1987 by Diana Ranson. She recorded the participants

in the course of their daily lives through the participant-observer method, rather than conducting interviews. Each of the nine tape recordings lasted approximately 45 minutes, so almost 7 hours of conversation from Puente Genil are included in this analysis. The participants from Puente Genil are monolingual Spanish-speakers, with the exception a few words of English spoken by two of the informants. The informants are identified as PG for Puente Genil, plus an arbitrarily assigned speaker number. See Appendix A for other demographic information, including age, sex, and occupation of each participant. (For a fuller description of this sample, see Ranson 1992).

The bilingual participants from Moorhead, Minnesota compose an intergenerational sample divided into the three groups proposed by Silva-Corvalán (1994). The first group consists of six participants born in Mexico, having immigrated to the US after six years of age. Group 2 includes five speakers born in the US and those who immigrated to the US from Mexico before six years of age. Group 3 includes nine speakers born in the US who have at least one parent pertaining to Group 2. The informants are identified by MM for Moorhead, Minnesota, followed by the number of their generational group and an arbitrarily assigned speaker number.

Of the six members of Group 1, one had no formal education, two attended elementary school, two had some high school education and one attained a Bachelor's degree. Of the six members of Group 2, one attended elementary school, one had some high school education, two graduated high school, one completed two years of college and one attained a two year technical degree. In contrast, six of the nine members of Group 3 graduated high school and three have Associate's or Bachelor's degrees.

The MM participants consist of five men and fifteen women. At the time of recording, six of the MM speakers were in the 20-29 age group, six were in the 30-39 age group, four were in the 40-49 age group, three were between 50 and 59 years old, and one speaker was over 60 years old. The PG corpus consists of five men and seven women. Two of the PG participants were in the 20-29 age group, one was in the 30-39 age group, one was in the 40-49 age group, five were in the 50-59 age group, and one speaker was over the age of 60 when the recordings were made.

Of the seven PG women, five were housewives and the other two were not employed. One of the male PG speakers was a medical doctor, two were truck drivers, one was a brick factory worker/owner, and one was a retired farmer, produce vendor, and brick factory worker/owner. Four of the MM participants worked as migrant laborers, three were housewives, three were administrative assistants, and two drove service vehicles. Of the remaining participants, there was one each from the following occupations: nursing assistant, teacher aide, migrant liaison, job counselor, social worker, elementary school teacher, and factory worker. (See Appendix A for other demographic information, including age, sex, and occupation of each participant.)

The participants of the MM study were asked to converse in Spanish by the interviewer, who also spoke in Spanish. Four members of Group 3 admitted that among themselves they speak Tex-Mex, characterized by frequent code-switching between Spanish and English. The following dialogue between two participants of the study provides an example of what they called Tex-Mex:

(3) - So a lo mejor si no voy for sure vamos a ir en December por um, fifteen year reunion de mi clase...ahí como estás. (MM3-6)

- You gotta exercise. (MM3-5)
- Pero sí. (MM3-6)
- That's exciting. (MM3-5)
- Fifteen years...fui a la reunión de mi esposo de diez años en, pero estaba embarazada de L cuando fui... (MM3-6)
- Nosotros fíjate en la clase nosotros no ha hecho nada. Hay gente, it's exciting ver las personas, bueno ¿quién es ese? (MM3-5)

Two sentences uttered by members of the community who did not participate in this study illustrate the level to which English has penetrated the Spanish of Moorhead among third generation teenagers:

(4) Give it to him para que leave me alone.

(5) Cuando el wind está blowing...

Both clauses in (4) are entirely in English with only the connector *para que* being uttered in Spanish. Example (5) shows evidence not only of lexical influence from English, but syntactic influence as well. The speaker uses lexical borrowings *wind* and *blowing* in a native-like English construction, *when the wind is blowing*, instead of the traditional Spanish constructions *hace viento* or *hay viento*.

The following tables display the responses given by the Moorhead participants in the personal information questionnaire (see Appendix B). The participants were asked to evaluate the situations in which they speak Spanish, with the choices of 'always,' 'almost always,' 'often,' 'sometimes,' and 'never.' The Y-axis represents the frequency with which the participant speaks Spanish and the X-axis identifies with whom or in what specific context Spanish is spoken, when applicable. The tables below illustrate the case

for language shift in Moorhead because each generation of Hispanics speaks Spanish with less frequency and English with greater frequency than the previous generation.

Winford (2003:15) characterizes language shift as “the partial or total abandonment of a group’s native language in favor of another.” In many cases, immigrant groups experience language shift after three generations. Winford (2003) reminds us of Sasse’s (1992) three stages of the linguistic consequences of language attrition. The first stage is a primary language shift, in which the speakers become more proficient in the target language and use it more often than the ancestral language. The second stage consists of noteworthy structural changes in the ancestral language as spoken by these speakers. The last stage is that of monolingual target language competence and a total loss of proficiency in the ancestral language. Based upon questionnaires completed by participants of this study and personal interaction with the community, it seems that Spanish speakers who settle in Moorhead tend to reach the last stage of language shift within four generations.

Table 1
 Frequency with which Spanish is spoken at work among Moorhead participants

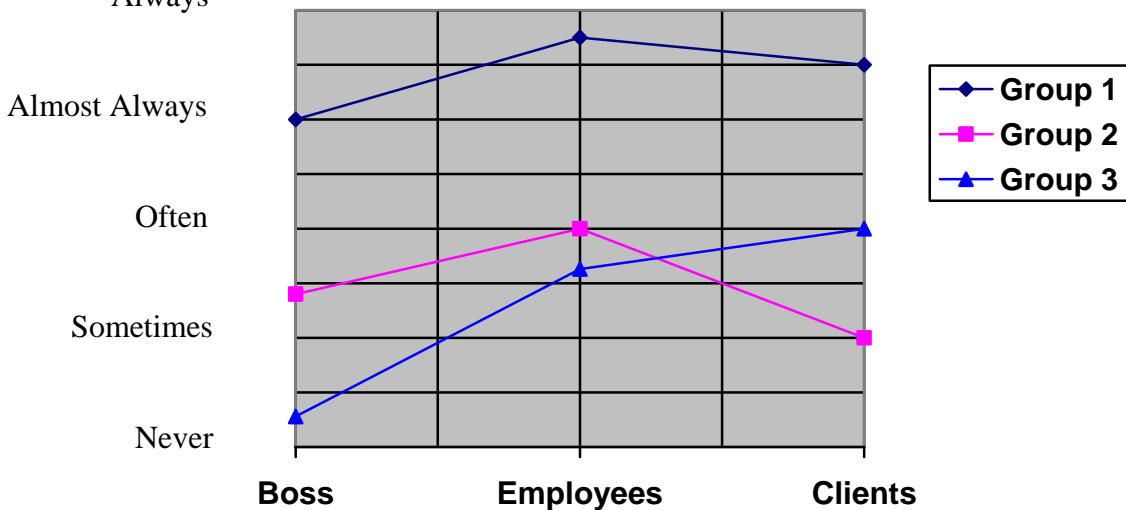
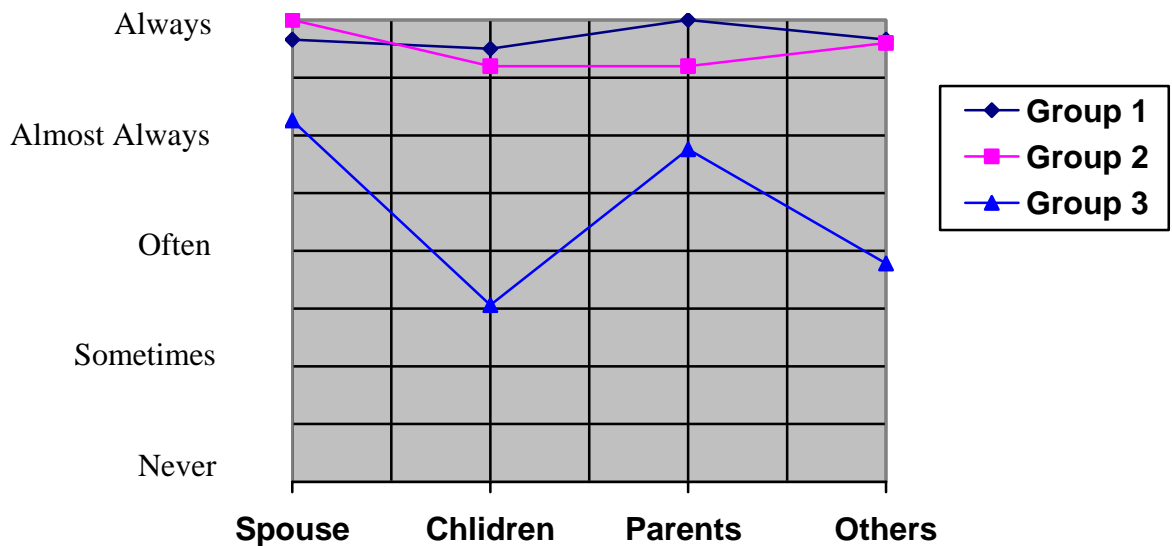


Table 1 shows that the participants from the first generational group report speaking Spanish with much greater frequency in all work related contexts. Of the six speakers in Group 1, three of them work as laborers in sugar beet fields, two are housewives, and one is an elementary school teacher. Only one member of Group 2 works in the fields and no speakers from Group 3 work as field laborers. Members of Group 3 speak Spanish more frequently with clients because four of the nine participants in this group work for public services or social programs designed for Spanish speaking migrant laborers.

TABLE 2
Frequency with which Spanish is spoken with family members among Moorhead participants



The members of Groups 1 and 2 both speak Spanish almost exclusively with all other family members. A marked difference can be seen in Group 3, whose members speak Spanish much less frequently with their children than the participants in the other two groups. Although the third generation of Hispanics in Moorhead still speaks Spanish with more frequency than English with family members, the case for language shift is

clear in Table 2 because the speakers in Group 3 speak less Spanish and more English in all contexts than the previous two generations.

TABLE 3
Frequency with which Spanish is spoken in social situations among Moorhead participants

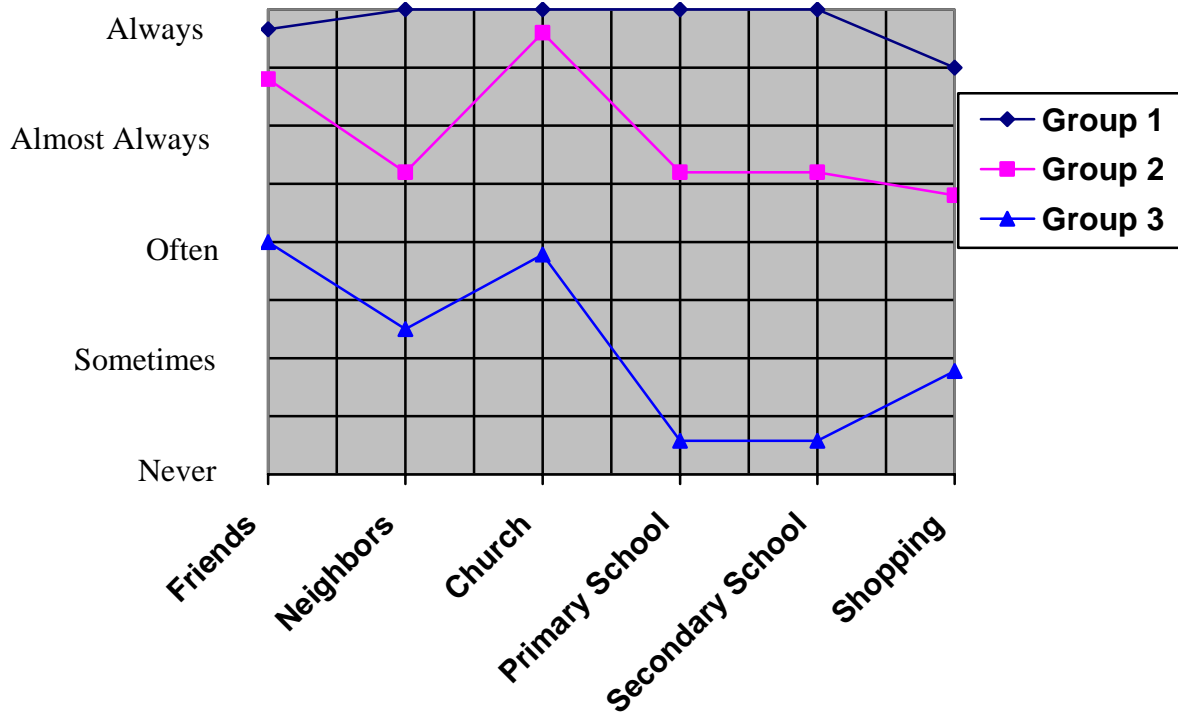


Table 3 shows clearly that Spanish is spoken less frequently in each generation in every social situation. Members of Group 3 often live in neighborhoods with Spanish and English speakers and have friends from each language group. The greatest difference of frequency in Table 3 is seen in the amount of formal education the participants received in Spanish. Each of the members of Group 1 who received formal education did so exclusively in Spanish. In contrast, members of Group 3 received almost no formal education in Spanish.

Again, the case for language shift is evident in Moorhead, with each generation speaking English more often than the previous generation in all social situations.

Situations of language shift as a consequence of languages in contact often result in “various kinds of reduction and simplification in the L1. The more speakers come to rely on the L2 for communication, the more their AL [ancestral language] disintegrates” (Winford 2003:261). For the purpose of this study, the L1 or AL is Spanish and the L2 is English. Evidence of simplification will be shown in the following chapter in the analysis of the use of *ir/irse* and *venir/venirse* in Moorhead, Minnesota and in Puente Genil, Andalusia.

CHAPTER 3
THE USE OF *IR/IRSE* AND *VENIR/VENIRSE* IN THE TWO SPEECH
COMMUNITIES

1. *ir* and *irse*

If, as proposed in Chapter 1, simplification were occurring in the use of the movement verbs *ir* and *irse*, and *venir* and *venirse*, one would expect to see a greater use of the reflexive or non-reflexive form in a given context at the expense of the other form. This would not necessarily lead to an overall greater frequency of use of one form or another, but could be seen as an increase of one form in a context in which the other form is preferred by monolingual speakers. A loss of semantic distinction between the two forms would serve as evidence of simplification.

In order to test the hypothesis that simplification is occurring in the use of non-reflexive movement verbs and their reflexive counterparts in the Spanish of Moorhead, Minnesota, all of the occurrences of the movement verbs *ir* and *irse*, *venir* and *venirse* which had animate subjects were identified in both corpora. Only the uses of *ir* and *irse* indicating movement, that is displacement from one location to another, were considered; all temporal, periphrastic uses of *ir* + *a* + infinitive verb were omitted. Also, all occurrences of *ir* and *irse* with adverbs that did not refer to displacement were omitted, such as *van muy bien vestidos* (PG2). Under these restrictions, the movement verbs *ir* and *irse* appear a total of 227 times in Moorhead (MM) corpus and 223 times in the Puente Genil (PG) corpus. All occurrences of *venir* and *venirse* that refer to a person's origin were also excluded, since such cases do not indicate displacement. After this

exclusion, *venir* and *venirse* appear a total of 59 times in the MM corpus and 190 times in the PG corpus.

The fact that the number of tokens of *ir* and *irse* is almost the same in the two corpora is remarkable because the MM corpus is about 3.5 hours long while the part of the PG corpus analyzed here is almost 7 hours long. If simplification were affecting the variety of movement verbs used in MM, then *ir* and *irse* could be replacing other movement verbs, such as *andar*, *volver*, *salir*, *regresar*. Tables 4 and 5 show the tokens of movement verbs which encode the notions of arrival or departure in both corpora, along with their percentage of the total number of occurrences of verbs expressing going or leaving.

Table 4
Movement verbs which encode the notion of a destination

	PG		MM	
	N	%	N	%
andar	3	1%	4	2%
llegar	49	24%	26	14%
llegarse	2	1%	1	1%
regresar	4	2%	3	2%
regresarse	0	0%	5	3%
volver	7	3%	3	2%
ir	139	68%	139	77%

Table 5
Movement verbs which encode the notion of a point of departure

	PG		MM	
	N	%	N	%
salir	42	31%	18	16%
salirse	1	1%	2	2%
volver	7	5%	3	3%
marcharse	2	1%	1	1%
irse	84	62%	88	79%

It is clear that *ir* and *irse* have not completely replaced any other movement verbs in MM. However, *ir* and *irse* compose a higher percentage of all movement verbs in MM than in PG. The MM speakers use *ir* and *irse* with greater frequency and *llegar* and *salir* with less frequency than the PG speakers. This could signal an incipient simplification in MM, with an increased frequency of use of *ir* and *irse* at the expense of *llegar* and *salir*, respectively.

The similar number of tokens of *ir* and *irse* in the two corpora, in spite of the differences in the duration of the corpora, can most likely be attributed to the different in topics of conversation in the MM and PG speech communities, the result of the collection methods and sociocultural factors. In PG, the participants of the study were recorded in the course of their daily lives with several informants often present at one time. In MM, the participants were recorded in pairs and instructed to engage in a spontaneous conversation. Conversation in MM often involved discussion of daily activities and almost always involved conversation about migrating from Texas to Minnesota and back, contexts in which *ir* and *irse* would likely appear frequently. Conversation in PG involved a broader range of topics. Nonetheless, it is believed that the uses of *ir* and *irse* in both corpora reflect spontaneous use.

There is little difference in the overall frequency of use of non-reflexive and reflexive verbs between the two corpora. As can be seen in Table 6, when one calculates the number of occurrences of *irse* as a percentage of the total number of tokens of *ir* and *irse* together, one finds that the bilingual speakers use the reflexive verb only 1% more than the monolingual speakers. Likewise, there is little difference in the percentages of *irse* among three generational groups of MM speakers, as these range from 35% to 41%.

Table 6
Frequency of reflexive *irse* as a percentage of *ir* and *irse* combined

Community or Group	<i>ir</i>	<i>irse</i>	%
	N	N	
MM total	139	88	39%
Group 1	33	26	41%
Group 2	42	23	35%
Group 3	64	39	38%
PG total	139	84	38%

Direct influence from English on the use of *ir* and *irse* on the Spanish of MM might result in a lower percentage of *irse* in MM than in PG, given that the verb *to go* is non-reflexive in English. This is not the case, however. In fact, *irse* is used at a slightly higher rate in MM than in PG. One can therefore reject the hypothesis that *irse* is being used with a reduced overall frequency in MM as the result of contact with English. Any differences of use of *ir* and *irse* between the two speech communities are not evident in overall frequency of *irse*.

The apparent-time hypothesis proposes that “people do not significantly alter the way they speak over their adult lifetimes, so that each generation of speakers reflects the state of the language when they acquired it as children” (Boberg 2004:250). For the present study, differences in the use of *ir* and *venir* and their reflexive counterparts among the three MM generational groups would represent a change in “apparent” time. As there is little difference in frequency of use of *irse* among the three MM generational groups, there is no clear indication of different preferences for the different generations. Therefore, there is no clear indication that the use of the reflexive verb is increasing or decreasing over time in this community.

In the analyses mentioned previously, *ir* has been described as having as its basic meaning “dirigirse hacia un lugar” (Pérez Vázquez 2002:203). The use of *ir* with an explicit destination is consistent with this meaning and, not surprisingly, both monolingual and bilingual communities prefer to use *ir* with explicit destinations than without them, as seen in Examples (6) and (7):

- (6) a. Yo **fui** a esa swimming pool...(MM2-2)
 b. **Vamos** a Los Ángeles también. (MM1-20)
- (7) a. Hay gente que no **van** ni a misa. (PG1)
 b. Yo **he ido** en coche a Barcelona. (PG3)

There is almost no difference in the frequencies of *ir* with an explicit destination between the two corpora. The PG speakers explicitly mention a destination in 62% of the occurrences of *ir* and the MM speakers provide a destination in 61% of the occurrences of *ir*.

Table 7
 Percentage of *ir* with explicit destination

Community or Group	Explicit destination/Total <i>ir</i>	
	N	%
MM total	85/139	61%
Group 1	19/33	58%
Group 2	28/42	66%
Group 3	38/64	59%
PG total	86/139	62%

As Table 7 shows, the difference in frequencies among the MM generational groups does not show any consistent generational pattern. There is only a 1% difference

in frequency between Group 1 and Group 3, yet the percentage of *ir* with an explicit destination is 7% or 8% higher in Group 2. As the frequency of use of *ir* in MM closely reflects that of the monolingual speech community, any changes that may be occurring do not appear to depend on whether a destination is expressed with *ir*.

Previous descriptions (see Bull 1952, Deveny 1977) assert that only the reflexive form *irse* can be used without an explicit or implicit destination, as in the example of *Terminó la hamburguesa y se fue*. In this example, the speaker emphasizes the act of leaving, instead of going to or arriving at a specific location. The occurrences of *irse* in the two corpora in which none of the participants of the conversation had previously mentioned an intended destination were considered not to have implicit destinations. Examples of *irse* without any expressed or implied destination are shown in (8) and (9) below. In (9b) an explicit point of departure may have been included even though no destination could be recovered from the conversation.

(8) a. Todos **se van** después. (MM3-3)

b. Es el único que **se ha ido**. (MM2-2)

(9) a. Bueno, **me voy**. (PG14)

b. **Se ha ido** de aquí. (PG6)

In these examples the point of departure of the grammatical subjects is understood from the context of the conversations, but no destination is mentioned. The emphasis is placed exclusively then on the act of leaving rather than on the destination. Since only *irse* and not *ir* can occur without any explicit or implicit destination, it is interesting to observe the percentage of such uses in the two corpora, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8
Percentage of *irse* without explicit or implicit destination

Community or Group	No destination/Total <i>irse</i>	
	N	%
MM total	14/88	16%
Group 1	8/26	31%
Group 2	1/23	4%
Group 3	5/39	13%
PG total	33/84	39%

Neither the monolingual nor bilingual community prefers to use *irse* without an explicit or implicit destination over other uses of *irse*. However, the percentage of *irse* without an implicit or explicit destination is greater in PG than MM. Furthermore, Group 1 uses *irse* in this context with greater frequency than either the second or third generational group. This could point to a decrease in the use of *irse* in this specific context over time in MM, which could also lead to a blurring of the distinctions between *ir* and *irse* in MM Spanish.

If PG speakers use *irse* with greater frequency than MM speakers in the one context where the contrast between *ir* and *irse* is the clearest, one could say then that there is a clearer semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse* in PG than in MM. If MM speakers use *irse* less frequently in this context than PG speakers, but do not use *irse* with less frequency overall, there must be other contexts in which MM speakers use *irse* with greater frequency. This will be demonstrated in Table 10.

If the non-reflexive form *ir* encodes the concept of a destination, then the reflexive form *irse* encodes the idea of a point of departure (Molina Redondo 1974). Neither the monolingual nor bilingual community explicitly referred to a point of

departure with greater frequency when using *irse*: 12% in PG and 10% in MM. Often, the specific point of departure must be inferred by the listener. In the example, *Terminó la hamburguesa y se fue*, the implicit point of departure is the site where the hamburger was eaten. For the present study, any utterances that were preceded by references to the location of the person in question before departing were considered to have implicit points of departure. Similarly, any occurrences of *irse* without explicit or implicit destinations were assumed to emphasize points of departure, wherever the subject was at that moment. In the example, *es el único que se ha ido*, the speaker doesn't mention implicitly nor explicitly where the subject has gone, nor explicitly where he departed from. The only emphasis is placed on the fact that he has left, and was the only one to do so. Thus, the implicit point of departure is wherever he was, or where the others are.

In line with previous descriptions of *irse*, both the monolingual and bilingual communities preferred to indicate a point of departure whether explicitly or implicitly.

- (10) Compré una traila...esta traila compré porque casi nadie quiere rentar por tres meses, tiene que ser un año, y pues, compré una traila y no más para el piso. **Me voy** para Tejas...pero en Tejas no más estoy como cuatro, cinco meses, aquí estoy como siete, seis meses, estoy más tiempo aquí. (MM1-13)

The conversation in which sentence (10) occurred dealt with the current living situation of MM1-13. It had already been mentioned that she migrates annually between Minnesota and Texas. Indeed, all uses of *irse* in MM where Texas was the explicit or implicit destination were considered to have Minnesota as an implied point of departure, because this is shared knowledge in this historically migrant community.

(11) Luego hay otro día, que es San Marcos, el día de San Marcos, que es en julio o... en julio no, en abril, el veinticinco de abril, y **se va** todo el mundo al campo. (PG1)

Example (11) comes from a conversation describing different regional and local holidays. The speaker is talking about the holiday traditions of the residents of Puente Genil, so one assumes that Puente Genil is the implied point of departure for the people going to the countryside.

Table 9
Percentage of *irse* with an explicit or implicit point of departure

Community or Group	Point of departure/Total <i>irse</i>	
	N	%
MM total	61/88	69%
Group 1	18/26	69%
Group 2	15/23	65%
Group 3	29/39	74%
PG total	74/84	88%

Consistent with previous descriptions, both speech communities used *irse* with explicit or implicit points of departure with greater frequency than without them. However, fewer of the occurrences of *irse* in MM have an expressed or implied point of departure than in PG. In MM, 31% of uses of *irse* do not implicitly or explicitly mention a point of departure, as shown in (12a) and (12b) below:

- (12) a. **Nos fuimos** a la quinceñera de ella, su birthday (MM2-2)
 b. **Nos fuíamos** a, a ¿cómo se dice? a matar conejos. (MM3-6)

Only 12% of the uses of *irse* in the PG corpus do not mention explicitly or imply a point of departure compared to 31% in MM. If a clearly understood starting point is an important characteristic of *irse* which distinguishes it from *ir*, then the distinction between *irse* and *ir* is less clear in MM than in PG. The fact that MM speakers use an explicit or implicit point of departure with *irse* less frequently than the monolingual community supports the hypothesis that the opposition between *ir* and *irse* is being lost in MM.

Not only do MM speakers use *irse* with a point of departure less frequently than PG speakers, they use *irse* with an explicit destination with greater frequency, a fact which is notable since *ir* rather than *irse* is associated with an expressed destination. In the MM corpus, 63% of the occurrences of *irse* are used with explicit destinations. In contrast, only 39% of the occurrences of *irse* are followed by an explicit destination in PG, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10
Percentage of *irse* with explicit destination

Community or Group	Explicit destination/Total <i>irse</i>	
	N	%
MM total	55/88	63%
Group 1	13/26	50%
Group 2	15/23	65%
Group 3	27/39	69%
PG total	33/84	39%

While the use of *irse* with an explicit destination is used by both the monolingual and bilingual communities, it is not favored by the PG speakers. In contrast, the MM participants prefer to use *irse* with an explicit destination. Furthermore, there is greater

frequency of use of *irse* with a destination in each generational group. This offers some evidence then that the preference for using *irse* with an explicit destination is increasing over time.

Not only do the MM speakers use *irse* with an explicit destination with greater frequency than PG speakers, they also use *ir* with an explicit or implicit point of departure with greater frequency, which is notable because *irse* and not *ir* is associated with the notion of departure. Table 11 shows the frequencies of use of *ir* with an explicit or implicit point of departure.

Table 11
Percentage of *ir* with an explicit or implicit point of departure

Community or Group	Point of departure/Total <i>ir</i>	
	N	%
MM total	28/139	20%
Group 1	6/33	18%
Group 2	6/42	14%
Group 3	16/64	25%
PG total	8/149	6%

PG speakers very rarely expressed or implied a point of departure when using *ir*. The MM speakers use *ir* with an explicit or implicit point of departure with greater frequency. As shown in (13a), the speaker mentions two specific points of departure and uses *ir* after each of them. Example (13b) shows two uses of *ir*, one with an implicit point of departure and one with neither an explicit nor implicit point of departure:

- (13) a. Hice de almorzar y luego de almorzar **fuimos** al Menards, y luego del Menards **fuimos** al Wal-Mart de Fargo. (MM2-4)

b. ...porque el pueblo es, está bien chiquito, solo hay, hay no más una tienda grande ahora de tienda de comida, so, casi todos **van** ahí o **van** a otros pueblos... (MM3-8)

In Example (13a), two clear points of departure are mentioned, the site where she ate lunch, and Menard's, a home improvement store. The speaker uses *ir* in both clauses, although a point of departure is expressed. When the speaker in Example (13b) states that almost everybody goes to the store in her home town, she does not describe a point of departure and thus uses *ir*, emphasizing the people's destination. When stating that the inhabitants leave their town to shop in other places, the speaker also uses *ir*, even though the implied point of departure is *el pueblo*.

The PG speakers are more systematic than MM speakers in using *irse* when a point of departure is expressed or implied, instead of *ir*, as shown in Example (14):

(14) G, yo voy a **ir** a la reunión, te arreglas y luego **te vas** con ellos y **vamos** en casa de mi prima a las ocho. (PG1)

The speaker uses *ir* in the first clause, where there is no expressed or implied point of departure. The speaker emphasizes the destination of *la reunión*, and thus uses *ir*. When a point of departure is implied, in this case the place where G gets ready, *irse* is used. In the second use of the verb *ir*, *vamos en casa*, no point of departure is mentioned or implied. It is possible that the speaker is going from the meeting to her cousin's house, but the speaker uses *ir* because G and the speaker would have had different starting points.

Although the MM speakers do not prefer to use *ir* with an explicit or implicit point of departure (20% from Table 11), it is still used in this context with greater

frequency in MM than in PG (6% from Table 11). The PG speakers clearly do not associate *ir* with the notion of departure, while MM speakers do not maintain this disassociation as clearly. This also supports the hypothesis that the distinction between *ir* and *irse* is clearer in PG than in MM.

There appears to be a clearer semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse* in PG than in MM. The use of an explicit destination is one factor that helps distinguish *ir* ('dirigirse hacia un lugar') from *irse* ('abandonar un lugar'). There is a marked contrast in the PG speakers' frequency of use of *irse* with an explicit destination (39% from Table 10), and *ir* with an explicit destination (66% from Table 6). The MM speakers, however, use explicit destinations in almost the same proportions with *ir* (62% from Table 6) and *irse* (63% from Table 10).

The use of an implied or expressed point of departure helps distinguish *irse* from *ir*. Again, the PG speakers clearly maintain the distinction, using *irse* with greater frequency with an implied or expressed point of departure (88% from Table 9) and rarely using *ir* with an implied or expressed point of departure (6% from Table 11). The MM speakers also use *irse* with greater frequency than *ir* when implicitly or explicitly mentioning a point of departure, but the differences in frequencies between the use of *irse* (69% from Table 9) and *ir* (20% from Table 11) are not nearly as great as the differences in frequencies in PG.

Table 12 summarizes the semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse* in the monolingual and bilingual speech communities. As can be seen, neither *ir* nor *irse* exclusively encodes the notion of departure or destination for either community. Indeed, speakers can use either form indiscriminately if neither destination nor point of departure

is emphasized (Molina Redondo 1974). Nevertheless, the PG speakers make a clearer distinction between *ir* and *irse*, expressing departure more often with *irse* and destination with *ir*.

Table 12
Comparative frequencies of point of departure and destination with *ir* and *irse*

	<i>ir</i>		<i>irse</i>	
	PG	MM	PG	MM
Explicit or Implicit Departure	6%	20%	88%	69%
Explicit Destination	62%	61%	39%	63%

In PG use of the two forms coincides neatly with the ‘to go’ vs. ‘to leave’ distinction. Similarly, destination is expressed with *irse* in only 39% of its occurrences and a point of departure is mentioned or implied in only 6% of the occurrences of *ir*. In contrast, the semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse* is less pronounced in MM. An implied or expressed point of departure is still a notable difference between the two verbs, since it occurs with far greater frequency with *irse* than with *ir*, but the difference between the two is not as prominent as it is in PG. The use of these verbs with an explicit destination does not serve to distinguish *ir* and *irse* in MM at all, since an explicit destination occurs with both verbs with almost the same frequency. The fact that *irse* is approximating the meaning of *ir* confirms even more directly the hypothesis that the semantic distinction between the two forms is being lost in MM. Having shown a tendency toward the loss of the semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse* in MM, we will now determine whether a similar change is underway for the verbs *venir* and *venirse*.

2. *venir* and *venirse*

As was done for *ir* and *irse*, all of the occurrences of the movement verbs *venir* and *venirse* which had animate subjects were identified in both corpora. Only the use of *venir* and *venirse* that referred to displacement from one place to another was considered. Any periphrastic uses or uses that referred to origin without indicating movement were omitted, such as the passage in Example (15), in which the speaker was referring to people's origins rather than movement.

- (15) ...luego se nota la gente que **viene** de Tejas y la gente que **viene** de México, la gente que **viene** de adentro de México porque hablan diferente. (MM3-17)

The second person singular command form *ven* was also excluded from the study because it appeared only in the PG corpus. With these considerations, there are 69 tokens of the movement verbs *venir* and *venirse* in the MM corpus and 190 in the PG corpus. Table 13 below shows the overall frequencies of use of *venir* and *venirse* in the monolingual and bilingual speaker communities.

Table 13
Frequency of reflexive *venirse* as a percentage of *venir* and *venirse* combined

Community or Group	<i>venir</i>	<i>venirse</i>	% of <i>venirse</i>
	N	N	%
MM total	41	28	41%
Group 1	14	8	36%
Group 2	10	8	44%
Group 3	17	12	41%
PG total	173	17	9%

If direct influence from English were evident on the use of *venir* and *venirse* in the Spanish of MM, one would expect to see the verb *venirse* used with less frequency in MM than in PG, as the English verb *to come* is not reflexive. As seen in Table 13, the MM speakers use the reflexive form *venirse* with much greater frequency than the PG speakers, especially when compared to the number of tokens of *venir*. One can, therefore, rule out the hypothesis that *venirse* is being used with a reduced overall frequency in MM as a result of contact with English.

Previous analysis indicates that the semantic distinction between *venir* and *venirse* is that *venir* encodes a destination, which is where the speaker is, and *venirse* encodes a point of departure (Molina Redondo 1974). As Table 14 shows, neither the monolingual nor bilingual community prefers to mention a destination explicitly when using *venir*. This is not surprising, however, considering the verb *venir* itself implies that the destination is the location of the speaker.

Table 14
Percentage of *venir* with explicit destination

Community or Group	Explicit Destination/Total <i>venir</i>	
	N	%
MM total	9/41	22%
Group 1	0/14	0%
Group 2	4/10	40%
Group 3	5/17	29%
PG total	39/151*	26%

*Five examples were excluded as ambiguous.

The overall frequency of use of *venir* with an explicit destination does not differ greatly between the monolingual and bilingual speakers, but varies greatly among MM generational groups. Whatever the difference between PG and MM usage is, it doesn't

seem to depend on whether a destination is expressed with *venir*. Again, this could be because the destination of *venir* is usually where the speaker is or projects himself or herself to be, therefore it is not necessary to mention a destination explicitly.

According to previous analysis, the use of *venirse* normally implies abandonment of the point of departure in question. Molina Redondo (1974:51) mentions that the speaker's intention can determine the use of the reflexive or non-reflexive form. The verb in *Vino a Barcelona* emphasizes arrival in Barcelona whereas the verb in *Se vino a Barcelona* signals total or partial abandonment of the place of origin in order to settle in Barcelona (Molina Redondo 1974:51).

For the purpose of this study, only uses of *venirse* (see Table 15) and *venir* (see Table 17) in which a specific point of departure had been previously mentioned in the conversation are considered to have an implicit point of departure. It is shared community knowledge in MM that the speakers frequently migrate between Minnesota and Texas. Hence, it is understood in the question *¿Cuándo decidiste venirte pa'ca?* that the point of departure is Texas. However, without previous mention of Texas during the course of the conversation, this occurrence of *venirse* is considered not to have an explicit nor implicit point of departure. Example (16) illustrates an implicit point of departure whereas (17) illustrates an explicit point of departure:

(16) Yo me quedaba en Texas, él **se venía** pa'ca siempre pa' Minnesota los, um, tiempo de ve, um, summer. (MM2-2)

(17) Sabes ya lo que es una escapadilla. Que te escapes de donde estés y **te vienes**. (PG8)

In (16), one can infer that the speaker's husband came to Minnesota from Texas because that is where the speaker was staying. Example (17) clearly emphasizes abandonment from a stated point of departure, *donde estés*.

Table 15 displays the use of *venirse* with an implicit or explicit point of departure.

Table 15
Percentage of *venirse* with explicit or implicit points of departure

Community or Group	point of departure/Total <i>venirse</i>	
	N	%
MM total	20/28	71%
Group 1	3/8	38%
Group 2	5/8	63%
Group 3	12/12	100%
PG total	12/17	65%

An explicit or implicit point of departure is preferred by both the monolingual and bilingual speech communities with *venirse*. Table 15 shows that there is only a 6% difference in the use of implicit or explicit points of departure with *venirse* between the monolingual and bilingual communities. If a change is occurring with the use of *venirse* in MM, it does not appear to hinge upon the use of an implicit or explicit point of departure with *venirse*.

As stated above, the verb *venirse* implies a point of departure and does not place emphasis on a destination. However, MM speakers tend to state a destination explicitly when using *venirse*. This is the case in Example (18), in which the speaker explicitly mentions the destination, *el norte*, emphasizing the arrival as well as the departure. In contrast, no destination is mentioned in example (19):

- (18) ...nadie está ahí, solo, y supe la razón porque nadie está ahí, porque todos **se vienen** al norte a trabajar. (MM3-3)

(19) Tomaba café en Madrid y **se venía**. (PG6)

In Example (19), speaker PG6 mentions the point of departure but does not provide a destination. Consistent with the nature of the verb *venirse*, it is understood that the subject is coming to the location of the speaker, in this case, the same town. The use of a point of departure and not a destination emphasizes the subject's leaving Madrid, not his coming home. Table 16 shows the frequencies of use of *venirse* with an explicit destination in the bilingual and monolingual speech communities.

Table 16
Percentage of *venirse* with explicit destination

Community or Group	Explicit destination/Total <i>venirse</i>	
	N	%
MM total	17/28	61%
Group 1	5/8	63%
Group 2	6/8	75%
Group 3	7/12	58%
PG total	8/17	47%

MM speakers express a destination with *venirse* more often than PG speakers, but the frequency of use among the three generational groups in MM does not provide a clear indication of an increase or decrease of this use of *venirse* over time.

Again, the distinction between *venir* and *venirse* is typically that *venir* implies a destination whereas *venirse* implies a point of departure. Therefore, when *venirse* is used with an explicit destination, it is becoming closer in meaning to *venir*. While the disparity between the bilingual and monolingual communities is not great, it does signal the possibility of a change in the meaning of *venirse* in MM.

The greater frequency of use of *venirse* with an explicit destination in MM is especially noteworthy considering the fact that *venir* is used with an implicit or explicit

point of departure with greater frequency in MM than in PG, such as in the Examples (20) and (21) below. The speaker in Example (20) implicitly mentions a point of departure yet there is no point of departure mentioned either explicitly or implicitly in (21).

(20) Como soy migrante, ¿verdad? Yo cuidaba a mis primos, verdad, cuando estaban chiquitos, porque mis tíos **veníán** a trabajar en los, en los tiempos de betabel...(MM3-7)

(21) Tenéis que llegar... que tenéis que **venir** a la boda. (PG11)

In Example (20), the speaker's uncles departed from the site where the speaker was taking care of her cousins. In contrast, in (21) there is no mention of where the subjects will depart from in order to go to the wedding. The emphasis is only on the destination in question. Table 17 shows the relative frequencies of use of *venir* with an implicit or explicit point of departure.

Table 17
Percentage of *venir* with implicit or explicit point of departure

Community or Group	point of departure/Total <i>venir</i>	
	N	%
MM total	17/41	41%
Group 1	9/14	14%
Group 2	1/10	10%
Group 3	14/17	76%
PG total	32/150*	21%

*Six examples excluded as ambiguous

The speakers of MM implicitly or explicitly mention a point of departure with *venir* with 20% greater frequency than PG speakers. This is especially common for speakers in the third generational group. Since a point of departure is associated

especially with *venirse* and not *venir* in the monolingual community, a greater frequency of use of implicit or explicit points of departure with *venir* could indicate that the meaning of *venir* is becoming closer to that of *venirse* in MM.

Although the differences between the frequencies of use of *venir* and *venirse* in the bilingual and monolingual communities are not as robust as the differences of frequencies of use of *ir* and *irse*, they do reinforce an ongoing trend. There does appear to be a less clear semantic distinction between *venir* and *venirse* in MM than in PG. Most notably, the MM speakers implicitly or explicitly state a point of departure when using *venir* with greater frequency (41% from Table 17) than PG speakers (21% from Table 17). The MM speakers also state a destination explicitly with *venirse* with greater frequency (61% from Table 16) than PG speakers (47% from Table 16).

As Table 18 shows, when using *venir*, neither the monolingual nor the bilingual community explicitly mentions a destination with great frequency. These numbers can be misleading because the implicit destination of *venir* is always understood to be wherever the speaker is or projects himself or herself to be. One could say then that in both the PG and MM corpora the frequency of use of an explicit or implicit destination with *venir* is 100%. With this consideration, the fact that the MM frequency of use of *venirse* with implicit or explicit destinations (61%) is greater than PG frequency of use in this context (47%), makes it closer to the frequency of use of an implicit or explicit destination with *venir* (100%). The meaning of *venirse*, then, is closer to that of *venir* in MM than in PG.

The MM speakers express a point of departure with *venir* with 20% greater frequency than the PG speakers, making the meaning of *venir* closer to that of *venirse* in

MM. Both speech communities highlight a point of departure with *venirse*, but the speakers of MM explicitly state a destination with greater frequency with *venirse* as well, making its meaning closer to that of *venir*.

Table 18

Comparative frequencies of points of departure and destination with *venir* and *venirse*

	<i>venir</i>		<i>venirse</i>	
	PG	MM	PG	MM
Implicit or Explicit Departure	21%	41%	65%	71%
Explicit Destination	22%*	26%*	47%	61%

* 100% implicit and explicit destinations are considered

The differences in frequencies of use of *venir* and *venirse* with implicit or explicit points of departure and explicit destinations between the two speech communities are not as pronounced as the differences in frequencies of use of *ir* and *irse*. However, these results indicate that the semantic distinction between *venir* and *venirse* is clearer in PG than in MM.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

1. Conclusions

It has been shown that the opposition between the verbs *ir* and *irse*, and between *venir* and *venirse*, is not as clear in the bilingual speech community of MM as in the monolingual speech community of PG. Table 19 shows the similarities and differences in these two communities in the use of *ir*, *irse*, and *venirse* with an explicit destination, and the use of *venir* with an explicit or implicit destination.

Table 19
Verbs *ir*, *irse* and *venirse* with explicit destination, *venir* with implicit or explicit destination

	<i>ir</i>	<i>venir</i>	<i>irse</i>	<i>venirse</i>
MM	61%	100%	63%	61%
PG	62%	100%	39%	47%

One would expect a destination to be expressed with *ir* ‘to go’. In fact, both communities express a destination with *ir* at similar high rates. What is interesting, though, is that MM speakers express a destination at a similar high rate with *irse* in contrast to the far lower rate of PG speakers. This offers evidence that the semantic distinction between *ir* and *irse* based on the explicit expression of a destination is being lost. In the case of *venir*, neither community explicitly expressed a destination at a high rate, but MM speakers expressed a destination with *venirse* at a higher rate than PG speakers. Since *venir* and not *venirse* encodes the idea of destination, this suggests that the semantic distinction between *venir* and *venirse* is also being lost in MM.

Table 20 shows the number of occurrences of the four movement verbs that implied or expressed a point of departure.

Table 20
Verbs *ir* and *irse*, *venir* and *venirse* with implicit or explicit points of departure

	<i>ir</i>	<i>venir</i>	<i>irse</i>	<i>venirse</i>
MM	20%	41%	69%	71%
PG	6%	21%	88%	65%

We find that both speech communities prefer to use *irse* and *venirse* with implicit or explicit points of departure, in accordance with the previously mentioned use of the verbs. The difference for point of departure for PG speakers between *ir* and *irse* of 82 percentage points and *venir* and *venirse* of 44 percentage points is far greater than the numbers for MM speakers of 49 and 30 percentage points, respectively. The greater lack of difference for MM speakers is due primarily to their mentioning implicitly or explicitly points of departure with greater frequency with *ir* and *venir* than PG speakers. In MM, *ir* and *venir* are used with greater frequency with implicit or explicit points of departure, which makes their meaning more similar to that of *irse* and *venirse*. Likewise, *irse* is used less frequently with implicit or explicit points of departure in MM, making its meaning more similar to that of *ir*.

Evidence shows that the semantic distinction between the movement verbs *ir* and *venir* and their reflexive counterparts is clearer in the monolingual speech community of PG than it is in the bilingual speech community MM when one considers the use of these verbs with destinations and points of departure. This is consistent with the notion that “change involves the loss of a semantic distinction associated with the choice of one of two contrasting linguistic forms” (Silva-Corvalán 1986:588). While there is no clear

indication that the semantic distinction between the reflexive and non-reflexive forms will ever be lost completely, the semantic distinction between the forms is definitely less clear in MM than in PG.

2. Suggestions for further research

Although differences have been shown in reflexive and non-reflexive verb use between MM speakers and PG speakers, it is not known to what extent the differences of use can be attributed to Spanish dialectical differences between the monolingual speakers of PG and the monolingual Spanish speakers of Mexican origin residing in Moorhead, Minnesota. It would be useful to conduct a similar study comparing the use of *ir* and *irse*, *venir* and *venirse*, between MM speakers and a monolingual speech community in Mexico.

The present study has analyzed the use of explicit destinations and implicit or explicit points of departure with the reflexive and non-reflexive verbs. These are notions encoded in the verbs which help identify whether or not a speaker is emphasizing a destination or point of departure. However, other nuances have been identified to help explain speakers' use of reflexive/non-reflexive pairs. In a study conducted on northern New Mexican Spanish, Aaron (2003) used Maldonado's (1999) concept of 'energetic constructions' to study clitic variation in the movement verbs *ir* and *irse* and *salir* and *salirse*. According to Maldonado (1999), reflexive verbs can be used as 'energetic constructions,' which signal a change of state or mark the action as unexpected or undesirable, in addition to the traditional 'to go' vs. 'to leave' dichotomy. The use of *irse* and *venirse* as 'energetic constructions' might help explain why the proportion of

reflexive to non-reflexive verbs has not decreased in MM in spite of the loss of semantic distinction.

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APPENDIX A

SPEAKER TABLES

Bilingual speech community, Moorhead, Minnesota

speaker number	generational group	sex and age	number of verbs in corpus	profession
1	1	F40	18	teacher
2	2	F31	29	administrative assistant
3	3	F30	20	housewife
4	2	F30	13	certified nursing assistant
5	3	F55	18	job counselor
6	3	F35	31	migrant liaison
7	3	F22	2	receptionist
8	3	F35	7	housewife
9	3	F44	16	factory worker
10	3	F21	14	receptionist
11	2	M23	5	field laborer
12	1	F20	4	housewife
13	1	F39	13	field laborer
14	1	M42	25	field laborer
15	3	M54	11	van driver
16	3	F49	11	social worker
17	2	F28	40	teacher's aide
18	2	M28	7	delivery driver
19	1	F64	6	housewife
20	1	M59	15	field laborer

Generational groups: 1=speakers born in Mexico having immigrated to the US after age six, 2=speakers born in US or immigrated to the US before age six, 3=speakers born in US who have at least one parent pertaining to group 2

M=male, F=female, the number indicates age at time of recording

Verbs in corpus: total number of tokens of *ir*, *irse*, *venir*, and *venirse* in corpus

Monolingual speech community, Puente Genil, Andalusia

speaker number	sex and age	number of verbs in corpus	profession
1	F53	82	housewife
2	M60	22	truck driver
3	M57	53	retired farmer, produce vendor, and brick factory worker/owner
4	F52	7	housewife
5	F28	32	not employed
6	M30	9	medical doctor
7	F51	17	housewife
8	F56	76	housewife
9	F25	20	looking for work
10	M53	12	brick factory worker/owner
11	F54	27	housewife
12	M45 (?) not from Puente Genil	10	ice cream delivery truck driver

M=male, F=female, the number indicates age at time of recording

Verbs in corpus: total number of tokens of *ir*, *irse*, *venir*, and *venirse* in corpus

APPENDIX B

ENGLISH QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire

Informant # _____

Gender: ___ male ___ female

Date of Birth: _____

Country of Birth: _____

Country of birth of your parents: _____

Country of birth of your grandparents: _____

Year in which you arrived in the United States: _____

Other places lived and for how long: _____

Occupation/place of work _____

Mark your level of proficiency in the following languages:

Spanish	Native	Near native	Good	Fair	Poor
English	Native	Near native	Good	Fair	Poor

Write the last year of education completed: _____

Age in which you started learning English: _____

Mark the situations in which you speak Spanish:

At work	Always	Almost always	Often	Sometimes	Never	N/A
With your boss						
With other employees						
With clients						

At home/with family	Always	Almost always	Often	Sometimes	Never	N/A
With spouse						
With children						
With parents						
With other family members						

Other situations	Always	Almost always	Often	Sometimes	Never	N/A
With friends						
With neighbors						
At church						
At primary school						
At secondary school						
While shopping						

APPENDIX C

SPANISH QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire

Informante # _____

Marque su sexo: ___ hombre ___ mujer Fecha de nacimiento: _____

País de nacimiento: _____

País de nacimiento de sus padres: _____ País de nacimiento de sus abuelos: _____

Año en que llegó a los Estados Unidos: _____

Otros sitios donde ha vivido y por cuánto tiempo: _____

Ocupación/lugar de trabajo _____

Marque su nivel de competencia en los siguientes idiomas:

Español:	Nativo	Casi Nativo/Alto	Medio	Nociones básicas	Bajo
Inglés:	Nativo	Casi Nativo/Aldo	Medio	Nociones básicas	Bajo

Escriba su último año de educación completado: _____

Edad en que empezó a aprender inglés: _____

Marque su uso del español en las siguientes situaciones:

En el Trabajo	Siempre	Casi siempre	A menudo	A veces	Nunca	N/C
Con el/la jefe/a						
Con otros empleados						
Con los clientes						

En la casa/Con la familia	Siempre	Casi siempre	A menudo	A veces	Nunca	N/C
Con el/la esposo/a						
Con los hijos						
Con los padres						
Con otros parientes						

Otras situaciones	Siempre	Casi siempre	A menudo	A veces	Nunca	N/C
Con amigos						
Con los parientes						
Con los vecinos						
En la iglesia						
En la escuela primaria						
En la escuela secundaria						
De compras						