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## Analysis of the Future Tense in Two Argentinean Cities

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**Research Honors**  
**Spring 2002**

**Illinois Wesleyan University**  
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*Analysis of the Future Tense in Two Argentinean Cities*

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Defense

Wednesday, April 24, 2002

3:00 PM

Buck Memorial Library 108

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The Spanish language has many dialects throughout the world, which vary on phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels, among others. The Argentinean national dialect of Spanish readily distinguishes itself from others primarily through: (a) the use of *vos* instead of *tú* as the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular subject pronoun, (b) the use of the [ʎ] and [ʝ] phonemes instead of the peninsular standard [y], and (c) the use of *lunfardo*, a national form of slang originated in Buenos Aires. Not only does *vos* replace *tú* as a subject, but it also has its own series of verb conjugations, specifically in the present indicative, which are not used with any other subject.

With those distinguishing features in mind, this study was conducted to explore other possible differentiating linguistic tendencies of the Argentinean dialect that may carry over to the production of future themes through verb tenses. In Spanish, there are various ways to refer to future time. For the purposes of this study, only the significantly used forms were analyzed. Those five forms are seen in example (1):

- (1) a) the present (P) for near future actions  
*Como con mi familia esta noche.*  
 I am eating with my family tonight.
- b) the periphrastic future (PF) (*ir* + *a* + infinitive)  
*Voy a comer con mi familia esta noche.*  
 I am going to eat with my family tonight.
- c) the morphological future (MF), temporal theme  
*Comeré con mi familia esta noche.*  
 I will eat with my family tonight.
- d) the infinitive (INF), (sometimes in the form of ellipsis)  
*¿Qué harás esta noche? Comer con mi familia.*  
 What will you do tonight? Eat with my family.  
  
*¿Qué vas a hacer esta noche? Comer con mi familia.*  
 What are you going to do tonight? Eat with my family.
- e) generalizations (G) made in the present tense  
*Bueno, cada noche ceno con mi familia.*  
 Well, every night I eat with my family.

Of the five verbal patterns mentioned above to communicate future activity, the morphological form (1c) is the most archaic, sharing the same structure as Latin, having the future tense incorporated into the root of the verb itself, *comeré* ‘I will eat.’ The periphrastic future, (1b), on the other hand, employs a combined structure (conjugated *ir* + *a* and the infinitive of the action verb, *voy a comer*, *he de comer*, ‘I am going to eat’) to state that a certain action “is going to” take place. This is a non-morphological structure due to the use of the present tense, *voy* ‘I go,’ with a preposition and infinitive.

Verbal periphrasis can be formed by two verbs, either with or without an interlacing word to complete the speaker’s thought, depending on the phrase. The difference between simple verbal locutions, *camino a la tienda* ‘I walk to the store,’ and periphrasis *tengo que caminar a la tienda* ‘I need to walk to the store,’ is that the latter often contains a changeable element that is impersonal in nature. The use of the personal verb (in this case, *tener que* ‘to have to’) as part of the periphrasis does not change the meaning of the later, *caminar* ‘to walk,’ rather it communicates of the action (Seco 336).

Previous studies conducted on Spanish dialects of the Iberian Peninsula, the southwest of the United States, and the Caribbean have demonstrated that speakers have a preference for the periphrastic future due to its simplicity. Although it is not more economical, in terms of the length of the verbal structure, the periphrastic tense requires speakers to create a phrase using the present indicative and infinitival forms of the verb. These are the verb forms that the speakers have known the longest, as they are the first to be acquired during childhood linguistic development.

One phenomenon that commonly occurs in cases of periphrasis, such as seen in the periphrastic future tense, is ellipsis<sup>1</sup>. An example of ellipsis with the periphrastic future can be seen in example (2).

- (2) *Persona A: ¿Qué vas a hacer esta noche?*  
*Persona B: Quedarme en casa.*

Person A: What are you going to do tonight?

Person B: Stay at home.

In this case, the response from Person B is grammatically correct but incomplete, because although in Spanish the subject pronoun may be omitted from a sentence, the corresponding verb must be conjugated in order for the sentence to be complete. When Person B states *quedarme en casa* ‘Stay at home,’ there is an implied repetition of the periphrastic future verb conjugation that would correspond to the question, in this example, *voy a (quedarme en casa)* ‘I am going to (stay at home).’ The use of ellipsis is not as complete as the inclusion of the subject pronoun and conjugated verb, but given that this utterance is preceded by a question, it is intelligible. On the other hand, however, if Person B were to state *quedarme en casa* without an opening question from Person A to indicate the temporal situation of the action, the phrase would be agrammatical.

The morphological future tense in Spanish, as seen in (1c), is used to express two themes: modal and temporal. These two themes employ the same morphological conjugation of the verb and can be distinguished by examining the context in which the verb is employed. The modal theme indicates probability, a prediction that something has already occurred:

- (3) *Acabo de escuchar algo ladrar. El vecino habrá comprado un perro.*  
 I just heard something bark. The neighbor must have bought a dog.

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<sup>1</sup> The omission of one or more words that are obviously understood but that must be supplied to make a construction grammatically complete.

In example (3), note that the speaker predicts that an action has already occurred with the verb *comprar* ‘to buy’ and therefore uses the future perfect tense *habrá comprado* ‘will/must have bought.’ This future perfect tense is comprised of the morphological future of *haber* ‘to have’ (in this case) and the past participle of *comprar*, *comprado*. In example (3), the speaker communicates that he believes that if one goes to investigate the barking that he has heard, one *will* discover that the neighbor has already purchased a dog.

The temporal theme of the morphological future, on the other hand, indicates an action that will occur in the future, such as seen in example (4).

- (4) *Mañana cantará el coro.*  
 Tomorrow the choir will sing.

The morphological form of the verb *cantar* ‘to sing’ denotes future action in the conjugation of the verb itself, by adding an *á* to the infinitive *cantar* for the third person singular, the plurality required for ‘the choir.’ Due to the morphological structure of the verb, the adverbial complement “tomorrow” is not necessary to indicate future action.

The present indicative, as seen in example (1a), is often employed by speakers to refer to events that are expected to happen in the near future. In order for the present indicative to hold future meaning, the context in which it is employed must include a temporal adverbial phrase, such as *esta noche* ‘tonight.’ If the speaker were simply to state *como con mi familia*. ‘I am eating with my family’ without a preceding question or a temporal adverbial clause, the statement would not be interpreted as referring to future action. However, as long as the temporal adverbial phrase is included by the speaker using the present indicative, or has been implied through the context of the conversation, the present indicative may be used to refer to future events.

Generalizations using the present indicative, as mentioned in example (1e), follow suit of other statements in the present indicative in that they require the temporal situation of the discourse to be established in order to communicate future action. The generalizations themselves do not generally include this temporal adverbial phrase, as seen in example (1e), *bueno, cada noche ceno con mi familia*. ‘Well, every night I eat with my family.’ We know that this action is being generalized due to the phrase “every night” and that it will occur in the future due to the question that preceded it, which was *¿Qué vas a hacer esta noche?* ‘What are you going to do tonight?’ Without that preceding question, the generalization would hold no future value, because the preceding question, in fact, could have been, *¿Qué hiciste anoche?* ‘What did you do last night?’, and that question could have elicited precisely the same response.

## Literature Review

This section contains a review of research regarding: (1) the existence of regional differences in various linguistic aspects, (2) the ease of learning various future tenses as a native speaker, and (3) explanations for the frequency of usage among different speakers. The present study aims extends some of the concepts found herein to explain the notion that there exists a possible variance of the use of future tenses in Argentina, a country with several linguistic variations.

According to Lipski (1996), there are six primary linguistic zones in Argentina: (a) coastal, (b) extreme occidental, “with a Spanish similar to the Chilean variety, (c) the extreme northwest of Quechua<sup>2</sup> influence, (d) the northeast with Guaraní<sup>3</sup> influence, (e) central

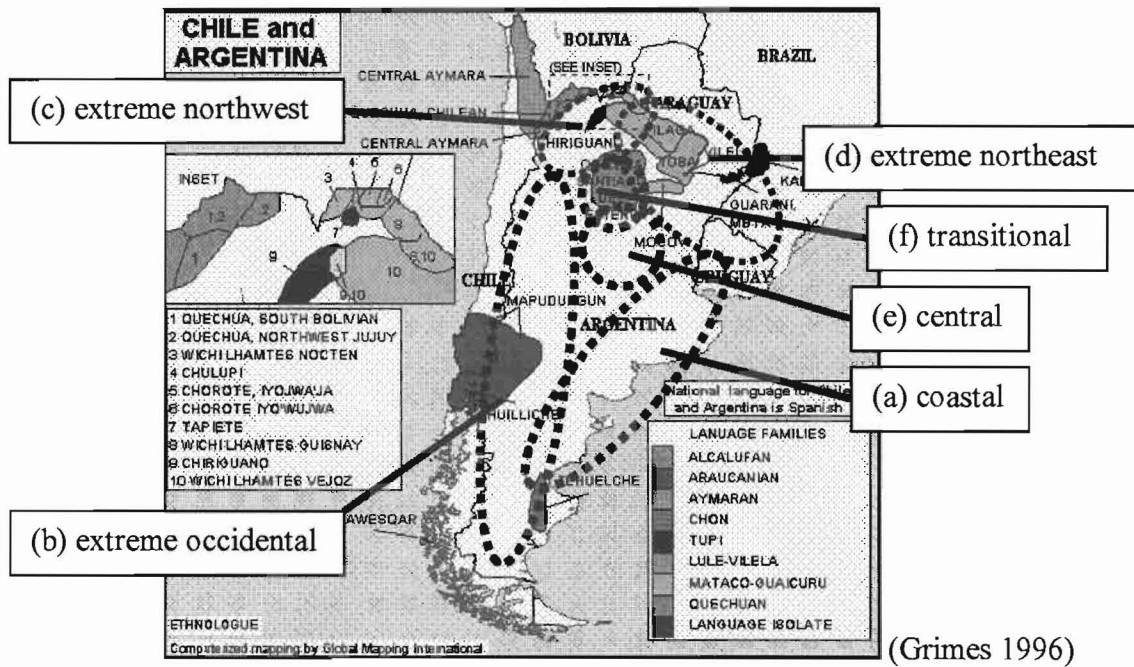
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<sup>2</sup> The primary native language of the Andes mountains, still spoken by indigenous people in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru

<sup>3</sup> Indigenous South American language, one of the two national languages of Paraguay

(Córdoba), and (f) small transitional zones, such as Santiago del Estero” (Burunat 219). These zones are highlighted on the following Map 1 featured in *Ethnologue*.

Map 1 Zones of linguistic variance in Argentina



Burunat also states, however, that the *porteño* dialect (Capital Federal, Buenos Aires), which originates in the coastal linguistic zone (a) and distinguishes itself with a unique rhythm and intonation, has gradually been integrating itself into the speech patterns of the rest of the country. This sub-national dialect also distinguishes itself by the use of two forms of slang: (a) the *cocoliche*, which resulted from contact with Italian immigrants and is now almost extinct, and (b) *lunfardo*, a hybrid of Spanish and Italian lexical structures that has been associated with speakers of a lower social standing and whose influence is very prevalent in tango lyrics.

This variation is important to note in terms of this study, since San Francisco's population (a city in the province of Córdoba) is predominantly of Italian decent, more than in many Argentinean towns. Although only monolingual Spanish speakers participated in the study, I hypothesize that some linguistic elements that have faded away in Buenos Aires may

still be present in San Francisco, whose citizens pride themselves in the preservation of their Italian heritage. Although speakers may not consciously aim to distinguish themselves on a linguistic level, especially as specific as the use of temporal discourse, I hypothesize that their preservation of Italian culture and influences that have been disappearing elsewhere in the nation may lead them to use more archaic temporal forms (specifically the morphological future). Such verbal forms were prevalent at the height of the Italian influence on a national level, which took place during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Having established geographic linguistic variations in Argentina, it is important to determine the probability that they have transcended into verbal structures. Sources cite that the use of the future tense in Spanish has evolved through time, as stated below:

One of the tendencies in the evolution from Latin to Spanish is the process of replacing synthetic forms with analytical forms. Within this tendency the modern use of the periphrasis *ir + a + infinitive* (hereafter periphrastic future)[analytical] is found to indicate future time. This form is in competition with the morphological form [synthetic], which is the result of the historical fusion between *habere* and a verbal infinitive form (hereafter morphological future) (Gutiérrez 214).

It is not uncommon for widespread evolution to occur at varying rates, with consequent varied results. Given that San Francisco and Capital Federal, Buenos Aires are in two distinct sub-national linguistic zones (central and coastal, per Lipski 1996 ), variations in linguistic evolution are probable.

Although the different dialects of the Spanish language in the Americas vary phonologically, morpho-syntactically, and lexically, they encompass a lesser variety of differences than the sub-national dialects of Spain itself. One of the ways in which many Hispanic American dialects distinguish themselves from peninsular Spanish is through the “decadence of the morphological future with preference for the periphrastic forms” (Burunat 190). Kany agrees stating that, “to replace the future [*cantaré* ‘I will sing’] is common everywhere, but in popular American Spanish, it [*voy a cantar* ‘I am going to sing’] has extended

its domain beyond its normal usage in Spain” (154). This linguistic evolution has even reached the upper classes of Buenos Aires, who have adopted and expanded the usage of the periphrastic future, which is less formal than its traditional morphological counterpart (Vidal de Battini 190).

One may wonder what would cause the “decadence” of the archaic morphological future a rate greater in Latin America than in Spain. It has been suggested by Gili and Gaya (1985) that periphrastic structures are favored in bilingual colonial situations, such as that of Argentina, because they are perceived to be more expressive, analytic, and easier to learn. As well, children do not learn the synthetic (morphological) future until late, so they often employ the present tense or periphrastic structures to describe future events (Gili y Gaya 165).

According to previous studies, it appears that there may be some variation within Argentina with respect to the use of various verb forms to describe the future. As noted in Westmoreland (378), “It (*voy a cantar* ‘I am going to sing’) and *he de cantar* ‘I am going to sing’ have largely replaced *cantaré* ‘I will sing’ among all social classes of San Luis (Vidal de Battini 190). In Rosario, *cantaré* is almost non-existent (Donni de Mirande 158).

This information, presented in Westmoreland’s research, is critical to the questions contemplated by the present study. San Francisco, which is on the border of the provinces of Córdoba and Santa Fe, has a very strong influence, in terms of accent, from Santa Fe. When traveling elsewhere in the country, Argentines recognize *sanfransisqueños* (speakers from San Francisco) for their *accento santafesino* ‘Santa Fe accent’ and find it hard to believe that the *sanfransisqueños* come from the same province as the infamous *canto cordobés*<sup>4</sup>. With that in mind, one might expect San Franciscans to have an exceptionally high aversion to the morphological future, as was found in Rosario, the capital of Santa Fé, which is three hours away by car. Since the speakers of San Francisco have a Santa Fe-influenced accent, it could be

expected that this influence has extended itself to verbal usage, and that speakers in San Francisco would follow suit with the near omission of the morphological future in Rosario, Santa Fe. However, given the prevalent Italian influence from the past two centuries, it would not be surprising to observe a certain level of preservation of archaic language that is vanishing elsewhere in Argentina. I hypothesize that because San Franciscan speakers are in great contact with their Italian heritage, and both Italian and Spanish are derivatives of Latin, whose future tense is morphological, speakers in San Francisco have maintained usage of the morphological future tense, while speakers elsewhere in the nation, who are not in areas of large Italian heritage, do not use the morphological future as frequently.

Therefore, this study was conducted to determine to what extent local historical linguistics influences, such as that found in San Francisco, have impacted the verbal preferences of native speakers. Based on research carried out on linguistic variance in San Francisco and other Argentinean cities, I hypothesize that local preference in future discourses will vary from national and international Spanish language standards.

## Research Questions

This study aims to: (1) analyze the verbal preferences of Argentinean speakers in general with regard to the future and the employment of the five primary ways of referring to future events; (2) to determine the extent to which such preferences vary by age, gender, and location; and, (c) explain the verbal usage as observed during the study.

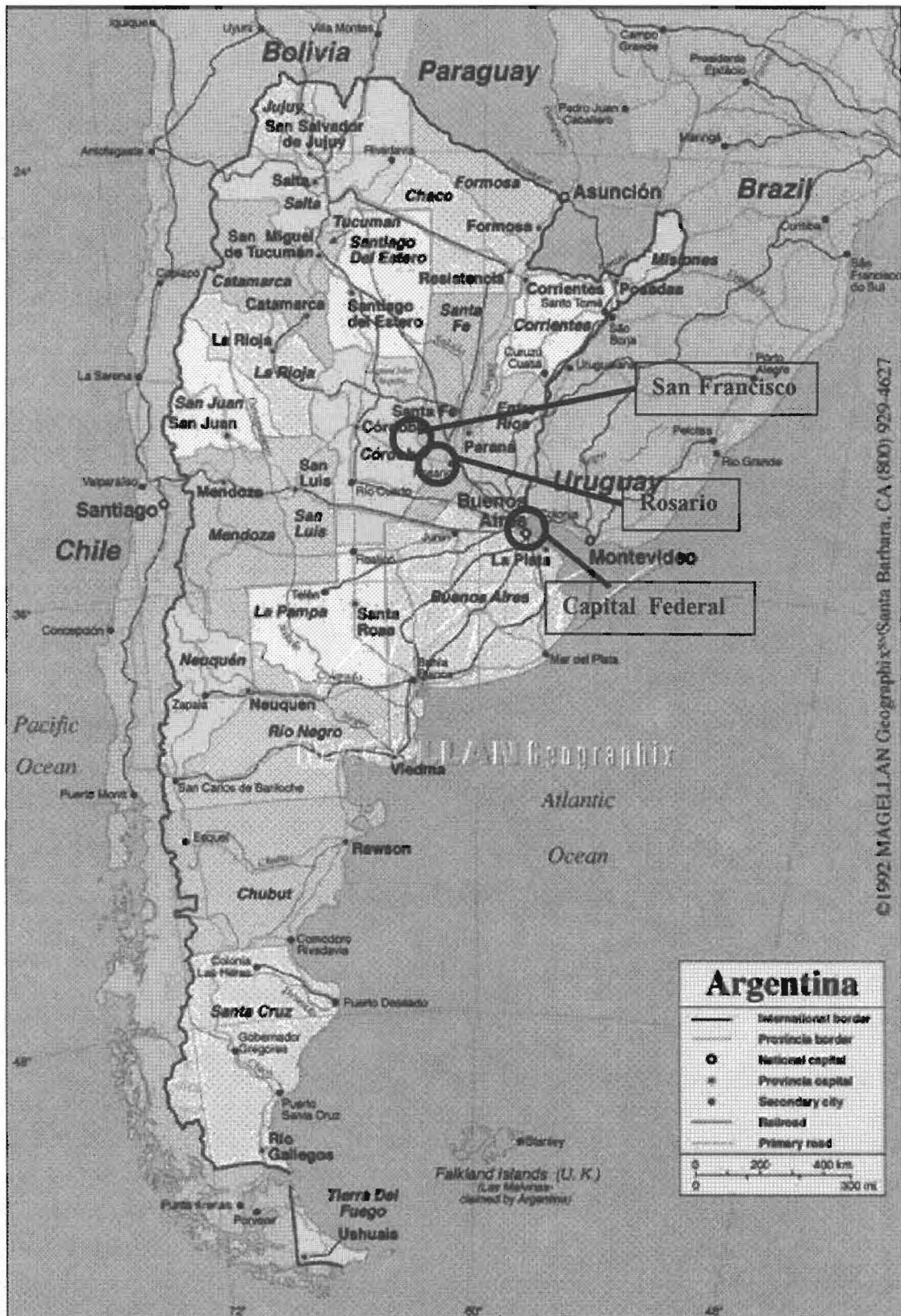
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<sup>4</sup> 'Cordovan chant' is a term used by nationals to describe the song-like fluctuations in intonations by speakers of the provinces of Córdoba, Argentina.

## Methodology

Data for this study was collected during a period of three weeks in Argentina interviewing 18 individuals in Capital Federal, Buenos Aires and San Francisco, Córdoba. These two cities were selected in order to collect data from two sub-national dialects of the Spanish language. Capital Federal is the capital of Argentina, a metropolitan city of 3 million people within the city limits, that has many international influences, especially North American and European. San Francisco, on the other hand, is a small agricultural and industrial town of 60,000 people, located 8 hours from Buenos Aires and 3 hours from Córdoba Capital, the nation's second largest city. See following Map 2 for the location of both cities. Capital Federal is listed on the map as Buenos Aires, while San Francisco is located within the other bordered oval on the map, directly on the border between Santa Fe and Córdoba.

Map 2 Locations of San Francisco, Rosario and Capital Federal



## Participants

Potential participants were either personal acquaintances of the investigator or else approached in public settings, such as parks, airports, and hotels. Each potential participant was greeted by the investigator and asked if they would be interested in participating in a linguistic study. Approximately 75% of those approached with no prior relationship to the investigator were not interested in being subjects of the study. Those who were interested after initial contact were asked to complete a questionnaire (see Appendix A) that was used to collect background information, such as their foreign language and cultural background, that included questions about their age, gender, level of education, travel abroad, places of residency throughout their lifetime, languages studied, proficiency in those languages, languages spoken by immediate family members, and social class.

The individuals that were selected to participate in the study had completed high school or university studies, had spent no more than 6 months residing in another location, were monolingual, had not attained substantial proficiency in a second language. They also noted that Argentinean Spanish was their home language, and categorized themselves as being socially middle or upper-middle class. These categories ensured that the participants had received a comparable language education. Given that the morphological form is more archaic and requires a higher level of domination of the Spanish grammar system (Gili and Gaya 1985), participants with self-reported lower educational levels and lower social standing were excluded from participation. Furthermore, because extended contact with multiple languages can change ones idiosyncratic linguistic tendencies, individuals that had spent a great deal of time exposed to another language or dialect, be it abroad, elsewhere in Argentina, or within their own home, were also excluded from participation.

## Data collection

The eighteen chosen participants signed a consent form to participate, in which they were told that they would be informally interviewed and tape-recorded for a half hour. Each individual was assigned an alias to maintain anonymity (i.e. BA1 for Buenos Aires' first participant, SF1 for San Francisco's first participant) and they had the option to withdraw if they chose to discontinue in the study.

The informal interview included a series of questions (see Appendix B) formatted in the three futures seen previously in examples (1a), (1b), and (1c). These interview questions elicited responses from the participants regarding actions that would take place later that day, within a week, within the month, and within a year. Participants were addressed with *vos* or *Ud.*, each which signify 'you' in English, depending on the age of the participant and the formality of his or her relationship with the investigator. *Vos* is to be used among family, friends, and peers, and *Ud.* is reserved for more formal situations. The interview questions were divided equally among the present tense, periphrastic future, and the morphological future to ensure that if there were a correlation between the verbal forms of the questions and verbal forms of the answers, the participants would not be led to use any tense more often than another.

Before the tape recording began, informal conversation took place between the investigator and participants so that they would feel as comfortable as possible with the interview setting and would be able to give natural responses. Then, the tape recording began and each participant completed a series of reading exercises, which were excerpts from magazines, so that they could adjust to the presence of a tape recorder. After both parts of the warm up were complete, the interview for this study commenced.

All questions directed at participants aimed to elicit responses regarding the future, be it in the temporal theme of the morphological future tense or in one of the other four ways of

communicating future events. Given that none of the questions or answers in this study treated present or past events, the modal theme of the morphological future does not apply to the results of the interviews.

Upon completion of the interview, which took 20-30 minutes, depending on the length of the responses, most of the participants spent additional time with the investigator learning more about the study due to their curiosity about the nature of the questions and what was being solicited. The investigator informed them that the study pertained to an analysis of the future tense and let them know of any trends that had been noticed immediately within their interview, if any. Many participants were sufficiently intrigued by the topic after learning more that they gave the investigator their contact information so that a summary of findings could be sent to them.

### Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed and instances of future reference in the participants' speech were isolated and analyzed for the preferred verb forms to answer the questions posed during the interviews. All verbs within these instances were tallied on a spreadsheet in MS Excel, which was divided into two documents, one for each city, similar to the transcriptions themselves.

The types of responses were: (1) present, (2) periphrastic future, (3) morphological future, (4) infinitival, (5) conditional, (6) subjunctive, and (7) other. Category (7), "other," denoted generalizations in the present that did not address the event or specific time presented in the question, as well as other questions that did not address the future, such as *No sé* 'I don't know.' The participants' responses in the structure categories (1), (2), and (3), the three original tenses that this study aimed to examine in terms of speaker preference, were subject to the greatest level of analysis.

Percentages were calculated for the frequency of the tallies of the different categories to denote the participants' preferences of verbal forms and number of responses. Another series of spreadsheets sorted participants of each city by age and gender and calculated the occurrences of the present tense, periphrastic future, and morphological future occurrences. I then calculated the occurrences of the periphrastic and morphological future and divided the results according to location, gender, and age. The three other forms (the present, infinitive, and generalizations) were not included in this calculation since they do not grammatically constitute the future tense out of context. Because the study results had been divided by regional location since the time of transcription, three additional charts were created to denote frequencies for: (a) present indicative, periphrastic future, and morphological future; and (b) periphrastic future and morphological future only. The tendencies of all speakers were then tallied and were categorized by gender and age from both locations. Additionally, it was noted that multiple participants responded with an elliptical structure, as seen in example (5).

- (5) *Persona A: ¿Qué piensan hacer mañana?*  
*Persona B: Che, no sé, (pensamos) ir al cine.*

Person A: What do you (all) plan to do tomorrow?

Person B: Hey, I don't know, (we plan to) go to the movies.

In Person B's response to 'What do you plan to do tomorrow,' instead of responding with, 'we plan to go to the movie, "we plan" is omitted and the response has an ellipsis "go to the movies." He/she implies by stating *ir al cine* 'go to the movies,' that he/she and his/her company *are planning on* going to the movies.

Responses in which the typical formation "*ir + a + infinitive*" construction was implied through the ellipsis or "*ir + a*" were included in the calculation, in addition to responses in which the verb *pensar* 'to think/plan,' was eliminated through ellipsis. Therefore, these occurrences of

ellipsis were tallied and included in the occurrence rates for the periphrastic future and present tense.

Finally, the statistical significance in verb usage among the participants was determined by performing  $X^2$  tests, which determine the probability that a given number has varied from a hypothesized or expected value of frequency. The only data that could be tested for such significance is the comparison of the periphrastic and morphological futures; these were the only two tenses for which previous studies noted a specific occurrence frequency ratio. For the  $X^2$  tests, the expected frequency value was calculated based on Hunnius' statement that the periphrastic future occurs twice as often as its morphological counterpart, a two to one ratio. For example, if tallies indicated that there were 60 responses in a given group in the periphrastic future tenses, the expected value of the periphrastic future would be 40 and the morphological future would be 20. The observed values were compared against these hypothetical values to determine to what extent chance was a factor in the outcome. The  $X^2$  test calculation provides a value,  $Z$ , which when traced on a  $Z$  value chart will determine to what degree,  $p$ , the results are statistically significant. In order for the results of the  $X^2$  test to be statistically significant,  $p$  must be lesser than or equal to 0.05, which means that there is only a 5% probability that the variation of the results from the norm was due to chance alone.

## Results

Following are a series of ten table sets that summarize the results of the eighteen interviews, followed by a brief explanation. Table Sets 1, 2, and 3 summarize the data of participants independent of gender and age in: (a) Capital Federal, Buenos Aires; (b) San Francisco, Córdoba; and (c) both locations together, respectively. Table Sets 4, 5, and 6 document findings sorted by gender for: (a) Capital Federal, Buenos Aires; (b) San Francisco,

Córdoba; and (c) both locations together, respectively. Likewise, Table Sets 7, 8, and 9 sort verbal preferences by age category for each location and then independent of location. Table Set 10 highlights the occurrence of ellipsis within the periphrastic future and present tenses among all speakers.

Table Set 1 Comparison of Tense used by Participants in Capital Federal, Buenos Aires (BA)

A: P, PF, MF <i>n</i> =7				
	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
BA1/31/m	24	7	16	1
BA2/14/f	8	2	5	1
BA3/15/f	13	5	7	1
BA4/15/f	11	2	8	1
BA5/15/m	14	7	7	0
BA6/32/m	8	2	6	0
BA7/53/m	12	6	6	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>34</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>4</b>

B: PF/MF only <i>n</i> =7		
PF	MF	Total
16	1	17
5	1	6
7	1	8
8	1	9
7	0	7
6	0	6
6	0	6
<b>54</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>92</b>	<b>8</b>	

P=Present, PF=Periphrastic Future, MF=Morphological Future

Table Set 1, summarizes the verbal preferences of participants in Capital Federal, Buenos Aires with respect to: (a) the present tense (P), the periphrastic future (PF), and the morphological future (MF); and (b) the periphrastic and morphological futures only. In Table 1A, the periphrastic choice is preferred over the other two by five of seven participants and used equally in comparison with the present tense by participant BA5 (7 times each) and BA7 (6 times each) in future discourse. The morphological future is the least preferred of the three by each of the participants. Comparing only the periphrastic and morphological futures, in Table 1B, the discrepancy is even larger: 92% of utterances, when comparing only those two forms, were in the periphrastic future. Three participants in the Capital Federal group did not use the morphological future form; those who did used it on only one occasion.

The contents of this table were the most statistically significant of the study results. The  $\chi^2$  test performed yielded a  $p$  value of 0.02, indicating that there is no greater than a 2% possibility that the deviation of these speakers from the hypothesized two to one frequency ration of periphrastic to morphological futures is due to chance alone.

Table Set 2 Comparison of Tense Use by Participants in San Francisco, Córdoba (SF)

A: P, PF, MF <i>n</i> =11					B: PF/MF only <i>n</i> =11		
	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF	PF	MF	Total
SF1/18/f	21	8	6	7	6	7	13
SF2/18/f	15	8	5	2	5	2	7
SF3/20/m	18	7	10	1	10	1	11
SF4/20/m	18	1	16	1	16	1	17
SF5/47/m	10	4	4	2	4	2	6
SF6/42/f	8	2	5	1	5	1	6
SF7/21/m	17	5	7	5	7	5	12
SF8/69/f	13	5	6	2	6	2	8
SF9/73/m	16	6	7	3	7	3	10
SF10/63/f	8	4	4	0	4	0	4
SF11/62/m	11	3	4	4	4	4	8
<b>Totals</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>34</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>27</b>	

P=Present, PF=Periphrastic Future, MF=Morphological Future

Table Set 2, above, summarizes the verbal preferences of participants in San Francisco, Córdoba. Seven of eleven participants prefer the periphrastic future tense in comparison with the morphological future and the present indicative when referring to future events. SF1 and SF2, two of the participants that did not select the periphrastic future as their preferred future verbal tense, preferred the present indicative, while the speech of SF5 and SF10 employed the present indicative and the periphrastic future with equal frequencies. None of the speakers in San Francisco used the morphological future tense more frequently than the periphrastic future tense or the present indicative when referring to future events. There was only one speaker, however, SF10, that did not use the morphological future at all. When the occurrences of only the periphrastic and morphological future tenses were compared, it was calculated that the

periphrastic future was used 73% more often. This is a lower preference discrepancy than noted in Capital Federal, Buenos Aires, which was 92%.

The contents of Table 2 were statistically significant as well. The  $X^2$  test performed yielded a  $p$  value of 0.025, indicating that there is no greater than a 2.5% possibility that the deviation of these speakers from the hypothesized two to one frequency ratio of periphrastic to morphological futures is due to chance alone.

Table Set 3 Comparison of Future Use Averages, Independent of Location, Gender, and Age

A: P, PF, MF					B: PF/MF		
	<i>n</i> =18					<i>n</i> =18	
	P	PF	MF	Loc. Total		PF	MF
San Francisco	53	74	28	155		77	28
Buenos Aires	29	57	4	90		57	4
Totals	82	131	32	245		134	32
Average %	33	53	13			81	19

P=Present, PF=Periphrastic Future, MF=Morphological Future, Loc=Location

In Table Set 3, the results of the interviews were tabulated to determine preferences in general among participants in the study, independent of speaker location, gender, and age. As can be seen in Table 3A, which compares preferences for the present tense, periphrastic future, and the morphological future, the periphrastic future was most commonly used, with a preference rating of 53%. The present tense was calculated at 33% and the morphological future at 13%. When the periphrastic and morphological futures are compared in Table 3B, the periphrastic future is used 81% of the time and the morphological future is used 19% of the time, demonstrating a clear preference for the periphrastic future among speakers when selecting between the two options that grammatically signify the future within their formation, independent of the context of the verbal usage.

The contents of Table 3 were statistically significant as well. The  $X^2$  test performed yielded a  $p$  value of 0.05, indicating that there is no greater than a 5% possibility that the

deviation of these speakers from the hypothesized two to one frequency ratio of periphrastic to morphological futures is due to chance alone.

Table Set 4 Comparison of Future Use by Gender in Capital Federal, Buenos Aires

A: P, PF, and MF				
Males				
<i>n</i> =4	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
BA1/31/m	24	7	16	1
BA5/15/m	14	7	7	0
BA6/32/m	8	2	6	0
BA7/53/m	12	6	6	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>38</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>2</b>

B: MF/PF only		
Males		
PF	MF	Total
16	1	17
9	0	9
6	0	6
6	0	6
<b>37</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>97</b>	<b>3</b>	

Females				
<i>n</i> =3	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
BA2/14/f	8	2	5	1
BA3/15/f	13	5	7	1
BA4/15/f	11	2	8	1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>9</b>

Females		
PF	MF	Total
5	1	6
7	1	8
8	1	9
<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>87</b>	<b>13</b>	

P=Present, PF=Periphrastic Future, MF=Morphological Future

As can be seen in Table Set 4, the overall preference among both genders in Capital Federal, Buenos Aires when comparing (a) the present indicative, the periphrastic future, and the morphological future to (b) just the periphrastic and morphological futures; is to use the periphrastic future. The morphological future was relatively more common among females, used once by each of them, whereas it was only used by one male. Although when comparing only the periphrastic and morphological futures, the males had a much higher tendency to use the periphrastic future, when the occurrence of the present indicative is included in statistical

analysis, females used the periphrastic future at a rate of 63%, compared to the 60% occurrence rate among males.

In Table 4, only half of the results, those of the males, were statistically significant. The  $\chi^2$  test performed on the periphrastic and morphological future verb frequencies for the males yielded a  $p$  value of 0.025, indicating that there is no greater than a 2.5% possibility that the deviation of these speakers from the hypothesized two to one frequency ratio of periphrastic to morphological futures is due to chance alone. The same test, when performed on the results of the females in Buenos Aires, yielded a  $p$  value of 0.20. This means that there is an 80% chance that the results that the findings were not due to probability alone, but that they are not statistically significant, having surpassed the minimum  $p$  value of  $p = 0.05$ .

Table Set 5 Future Use by Gender in San Francisco, Córdoba

A: P, PF, MF				
Males				
n=6	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
SF3/20/m	18	7	10	1
SF4/20/m	18	1	16	1
SF5/47/m	10	4	4	2
SF7/21/m	17	5	7	5
SF9/73/m	16	6	7	3
SF11/62/m	11	3	4	4
<b>Totals</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>29</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>18</b>

B: PF/MF only		
Males		
PF	MF	Total
10	1	11
16	1	17
4	2	7
7	5	12
7	3	10
4	4	8
<b>49</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>74</b>	<b>26</b>	

Females				
n=11	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
SF1/18/f	21	8	6	7
SF2/18/f	15	8	5	2
SF6/42/f	8	2	5	1
SF8/69/f	13	5	6	2
SF10/63/f	8	4	4	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>42</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>18</b>

Females		
PF	MF	Total
6	7	13
5	2	7
5	1	6
6	2	8
4	0	4
<b>26</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>64</b>	<b>36</b>	

P=Present, PF=Periphrastic Future, MF=Morphological Future

In Table Set 5, which categorizes results by gender in San Francisco, Córdoba, males prefer the periphrastic future tense in each of the following situations: (a) when it is compared in frequency to the morphological future tense and the present indicative, as seen in the left columns; and (b) when the periphrastic future is compared only to the morphological future, as seen in Table 5B. However, while females prefer the periphrastic future in comparison with the morphological future, when the present tense is included as an option, it is more popular. When comparing the present indicative, the periphrastic future, and the morphological future, both genders had the same preference rating for the morphological future, 18%. They did, however, vary with respect to the other two. The variance in preference for females in San Francisco was not large in this

three-way comparison, with a 40% preference rating of the periphrastic future and a 43% preference rating of the present indicative. All but one male in the San Francisco sample group preferred the periphrastic future, as did two of the five participating females. There were two participants in San Francisco who used the periphrastic future and present indicative equally; SFE and SFJ. Two participants, SFA and SFB, preferred the present tense to the periphrastic future. These were the only two participants in the study with such a preference. When only the periphrastic and morphological future forms are compared for the two genders in San Francisco, again the periphrastic future prevails as the preference, with a 74% occurrence rate for males and a 64% occurrence rate for females.

The contents of Table 5 were not deemed to be statistically significant, however. The population and numbers of responses were small, and they did not vary significantly enough for a corresponding non-significant value of  $p$  to be located on the  $X^2$  Z-value chart.

Table Set 6 Future Use by Gender in Both Locations

A: P, PF, MF				
Males				
<i>n</i> =10	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
BA1/31/m	24	7	16	1
BA5/15/m	14	7	7	0
BA6/32/m	8	2	6	0
BA7/53/m	12	6	6	0
SF3/20/m	18	7	10	1
SF4/20/m	18	1	16	1
SF5/47/m	10	4	4	2
SF7/21/m	17	5	7	5
SF9/73/m	16	6	7	3
SF11/62/m	11	3	4	4
<b>Totals</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>32</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>11</b>

B: MF/PF only		
Males		
PF	MF	Total
16	1	17
7	0	7
6	0	6
6	0	6
10	1	11
16	1	17
4	2	6
7	5	12
7	3	10
4	4	8
<b>83</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>83</b>	<b>17</b>	

Females				
<i>n</i> =8	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
BA2/14/f	8	2	5	1
BA3/15/f	13	5	7	1
BA4/15/f	11	2	8	1
SF1/18f	21	8	6	7
SF2/18/f	15	8	5	2
SF6/42/f	8	2	5	1
SF8/69/f	13	5	6	2
SF10/63/f	8	4	4	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>37</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>15</b>

Females		
PF	MF	Total
5	1	6
7	1	8
8	1	9
6	7	13
5	2	7
5	1	6
6	2	8
4	0	4
<b>46</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>75</b>	<b>25</b>	

P=Present, PF=Periphrastic Future, MF=Morphological Future

In Table Set 6, we note that when comparing usage of the present, periphrastic future, and morphological future use among males in the study, usage frequencies were as follows (in respective order): 32%, 56%, and 11%. Likewise, the females preferred the tenses, however, with a lesser degree of variance, as preference ratings were 37% for the present tense, 47% for the periphrastic future, and 15% for the morphological future. Interestingly, the only male

participants not to use the morphological future were in Buenos Aires, while the only female participant to avoid it was from San Francisco. When comparing only the periphrastic and morphological future tenses, again the periphrastic future was dominant in the speech of participants of both genders, although with a higher preference (83%) for males than for females (75%).

In Table 6, only half of the results, those of the males, were statistically significant. The  $X^2$  test performed on the periphrastic and morphological future verb frequencies for the males yielded a  $p$  value of 0.05, indicating that there is no greater than a 5% possibility that the deviation from hypothesis results were due to chance alone. The same test, when performed on the results of the females in both locations, yielded no significant  $p$  value that the results had varied from the hypothesis on a large enough scale that they were significant.

Table Set 7 Future Use by Age in Capital Federal, Buenos Aires

A: P, PF, MF				
Ages 18-25 <i>n</i> =4				
	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
BA2/14/f	8	2	5	1
BA3/15/f	13	5	7	1
BA4/15/f	11	2	8	1
BA5/15/m	14	7	7	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>7</b>

B: MF/PF only		
PF	MF	Total
5	1	6
7	1	8
8	1	9
7	0	7
<b>27</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>90</b>	<b>10</b>	

Ages 26-50 <i>n</i> =2				
BA1/31/m	24	7	16	1
BA6/32/m	8	2	6	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>3</b>

16	1	17
6	0	6
<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>96</b>	<b>4</b>	

Ages 51-75 <i>n</i> =1				
BA7/53/m	12	6	6	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>0</b>

6	0	6
<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>100</b>	<b>0</b>	

P=Present, PF=Periphrastic Future, MF=Morphological Future

According to Table Set 7, the periphrastic future is the preferred verbal tense by the two youngest age categories in Capital Federal, while it is equally preferred by the older age category in comparison with the present indicative when referring to future events. We see that as the age of the speaker increases, the probability of occurrence of the morphological future drops from 10 to 0% in comparison to the present indicative and periphrastic future. When comparing only the periphrastic and morphological future tenses, we note that there is a consistent increase of frequency of the periphrastic future in line with the age progression of the study participants.

The  $\chi^2$  test performed on the periphrastic and morphological future verb frequencies for the different age categories for both locations combined, it yielded a *p* value less than or equal to 0.05, indicating that there is a greater than a 5% possibility that the deviation of these speakers from the hypothesized 2 to 1 frequency ration of periphrastic to morphological futures is due to

chance. For the younger age groups,  $p$  values were yielded at  $p=0.15$  for participants aged 18-25 and  $p=0.10$  for participants aged 26-50. This indicates that there were probabilities of 15% and 10%, for each of the respective groups, that results had been influenced by chance. No  $p$  value could be determined for the oldest age group 51-75.

Table Set 8 Future Use by Age in San Francisco, Córdoba

A: P, PF, MF				
Ages 18-25 $n=5$				
	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
SF1/18/f	21	8	6	7
SF2/18/f	15	8	5	2
SF3/20/m	18	7	10	1
SF4/20/m	18	1	16	1
SF7/21/m	17	5	7	5
<b>Totals</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>33</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>18</b>

B: PF/MF only		
PF	MF	Total
6	7	13
5	2	7
10	1	11
16	1	17
7	5	12
<b>44</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>71</b>	<b>29</b>	

Ages 26-50 $n=2$				
SF5/47/m	10	4	4	2
SF6/42/f	8	2	5	1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>19</b>

4	2	6
5	1	6
<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>75</b>	<b>25</b>	

Ages 51-75 $n=4$				
SF8/69/f	13	5	6	2
SF973/m	16	6	7	3
SF10/63/f	8	4	4	0
SF11/62/m	11	3	4	4
<b>Totals</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>20</b>

6	2	8
7	3	10
4	0	4
4	4	8
<b>21</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>67</b>	<b>33</b>	

P=Present, PF=Periphrastic Future, MF=Morphological Future

Table Set 8 summarizes the usage of the present indicative, periphrastic future, and morphological future in future discourse by study participants in San Francisco, Córdoba. When all three verb forms are compared, the periphrastic future is preferred over the other two by speakers in the younger age categories, 18-25 and 26-50. In the oldest age category, 51-75, the periphrastic future was used as often as the present indicative, each with a preference percentage

rating of 40%. The present indicative and morphological future accounted for larger percentages of verbal utterances as the age of the speaker progressed from young to old. When comparing only the periphrastic and morphological future forms, we note that all age categories, however, have similar preferences, with the periphrastic form being used 67 to 77% of the time, which is approximately double the occurrence rate of the morphological future form in that comparison group. This data, while insightful, was not statistically significant.

Table Set 9 Future Use by Age in Both Locations

A: P, PF, and MF				
<u>Ages 18-25</u> <i>n=9</i>				
	Total P, PF, MF	P	PF	MF
BA2/14/f	8	2	5	1
BA3/15/f	13	5	7	1
BA4/15/f	11	2	8	1
BA5/15/m	14	7	7	0
SF1/18/f	21	6	8	7
SF2/18/f	15	8	5	2
SF3/20/m	18	7	10	1
SF4/20/m	18	1	16	1
SF7/21/m	17	5	7	5
<b>Totals</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>33</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>14</b>

B: MF/PF only		
PF	MF	Total
5	1	6
7	1	8
8	1	9
7	0	7
8	7	15
5	2	7
10	1	11
16	1	17
7	5	12
<b>73</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>79</b>	<b>21</b>	

<u>Ages 26-50</u> <i>n=4</i>				
BA1/31/m	24	7	16	1
BA6/32/m	8	2	6	0
SF5/47/m	10	4	4	2
SF6/42/f	8	2	5	1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>8</b>

16	1	17
6	0	6
4	2	6
5	1	6
<b>31</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>89</b>	<b>11</b>	

<u>Ages 51-75</u> <i>n=5</i>				
BA7/53/m	12	6	6	0
SF869/f	13	5	6	2
SF9/73/m	16	6	7	3
SF10/63/f	8	4	4	0
SF11/62/m	11	3	4	4
<b>Totals</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Average %</b>		<b>40</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>15</b>

6	0	6
6	2	8
7	3	10
4	0	4
4	4	8
<b>27</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>75</b>	<b>25</b>	

P=Present, PF=Periphrastic Future, MF=Morphological Future

Interestingly, Table 9 indicates that there is no standard progression of future tense usage by study participants as a whole. We see that as progression is made in the age categories, the categories' respective preference rates are: (a) 33% (18 to 25), 30% (26 to 50), and 40%(51 to 75) for the present indicative; (b) 55% (18 to 25), 62% (26 to 50), and 45% (51 to 75), for the periphrastic future; and (c) 14% (18 to 25), 8% (26 to 50), and 15% (51 to 75) for the morphological future, thus ranking the tenses in the same order within each group.

Likewise, as seen in the tables on the right within Table Set 9, which compare the use of only the periphrastic and morphological futures within each of the age groups independent of location, again there is no continued progression of preferences as the age of the participants increases. The middle age group, 26-50, had the highest preference for the periphrastic future at 89%, while the 18-25 category experienced a 79% preference and the 51-75 group indicated a 75% preference for the periphrastic future in comparison to only the morphological future.

When the  $X^2$  tests were performed on this data, none of the individual groups demonstrated enough variance from the norm to be considered statistically significant. However, the two younger groups both yielded  $p$  values of 0.10, indicating that there was but a 10% chance that the results had been created due to chance alone.

Table Set 10 Occurrence of Ellipsis in the Periphrastic Future (all participants)

<i>n</i> =18	PF	Ellipsis	% of PF formed by ellipsis (EPF)
SF118/f	6	2	33
SF2/18/f	5	0	0
SF3/20/m	10	1	10
SF4/20/m	16	0	0
SF547/m	4	0	0
SF6/42/f	5	1	20
SF7/21/m	7	1	14
SF8/69/f	6	1	17
SF9/73/m	7	0	0
SF10/63/f	4	1	25
SF11/62/m	4	0	0
BA1/31/m	16	2	13
BA2/14/f	5	2	40
BA3/15/f	7	0	0
BA4/15/f	8	0	0
BA5/15/m	7	6	86
BA6/32/m	6	2	33
BA7/53/m	6	0	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>15</b>

PF=Periphrastic Future

Table Set 10, demonstrates that on average, ellipsis was not the dominant formation of the periphrastic future. Of the 129 verbal utterances in the periphrastic future, 19, an average of only 15%, were formed by ellipsis. Eight of the participants did not use ellipsis at all, and only one participant, BA5, a 15 year old male, used ellipsis as his dominant formulation of the periphrastic future, opting not to repeat the corresponding conjugation of *ir + a +* and the infinitive.

## Discussion of Results

### Initial Observations

Much like the Spanish speakers elsewhere in the world, the Argentineans in both Capital Federal and San Francisco demonstrated a significant preference for the periphrastic future. Per the calculations of the  $X^2$  test for statistical significance, there is a 95% probability that the populations from San Francisco and Capital Federal do not adhere to the hypothesis of Hunnius,

rather than their preference for the periphrastic future over the morphological future occurs on a ratio higher than two to one. This preference was expressed regardless of the future form of the question used to elicit the response, as demonstrated in examples (6), (7), and (8). *I* refers to the interviewer.

(6) *I:* OK, y ¿te quedás en casa esta noche o salís?

*SF6:* Esta noche, voy a ir al cine.

*I:* OK, and are you staying (P) at home tonight or are you going out (P)?

*SF6:* Tonight, I am going to go to (PF) the movies.

(7) *I:* OK. Y, ¿cómo vas a festejar(PF) las fiestas este año? ¿Vas a observar(PF) alguna tradición familiar o tenés(P) algo distinto pensado?

*BA6:* Sí, este año, creo que por la primera vez lo voy a pasar(PF) totalmente solo. Me voy a alejar(PF) de mi familia y voy a estar(PF) solo.

*I:* OK. And, how are you going to celebrate(PF) the holidays this year? Are you going to observe(PF) a family tradition or do you have(P) something different planned?

*BA6:* Yes, this year, I think that for the first time I am going to spend(PF) it totally alone. I am going to get away(PF) from my family and I am going to be(PF) alone.

(8) *I:* OK, y el año que viene, ¿estarás(MF) más ocupado que ahora o no?

*SF4:* Voy a estar(PF) más ocupado que en este momento, seguramente.

Voy a estar(PF) estudiando, viajando de un lado al otro. ... Pero ahora estoy de vacaciones, y por esto voy a estar más ocupado el año que viene.

*I:* OK, and next year, will you be (MF) busier than now or not?

*SF4:* I am going to be (PF) busier than [I am] at this moment, surely. I am going to be studying (PF), traveling from one place to another. ... But now I am on vacation, and therefore I am going to be(PF) busier next year.

In the examples (6), (7), and (8), any of the speakers' plans can change due to unforeseen circumstances, due to the sheer nature of speaking about future events. For example, when SF6 states in example (6) that she is going to go to the movies, these plans could change, regardless of her intentions. The probability that plans described by the speakers will change increases as

we progress to examples (7) and (8), in which the events are further distanced from the time of discourse, at one week and one year, respectively.

These preferences may be explained by Silva-Corvalán, noted in Gutiérrez (222), who proposed that the periphrastic future tense is preferred by many speakers when an option exists between multiple forms of the future because it provides the closest temporal, spatial, and psychological meaning. She perceives that the speaker is more comfortable using this verb form to express the future occurrence of events for which there is no certainty. Hunnius (342-343) observes that:

*Voy a cantar* ‘I am going to sing’ [periphrastic] is aspectually inchoative as well as imperfective<sup>5</sup>, and describes *cantaré* [‘I will sing’ – morphological] as punctual and perfective, and observes that *voy a cantar* is twice as common as *cantaré*.

When the average preference of participants of the present study of just the periphrastic and morphological forms, as described by Hunnius, are calculated for these two Argentinean cities, as seen in Table Set 3, an average of 81% of utterances are with the periphrastic future tense while only 21% are with the morphological future tense. The occurrence of these future forms, independent of the others, was calculated because they are the only two that grammatically signify the future, independent of context. The statistics above demonstrate that on average, Argentinean speakers in the study used the periphrastic future four times as often as the morphological future, which is a preference much more drastic than described by Hunnius.

Much like in French, another Romance language, Argentinean Spanish speakers tend to prefer the periphrastic future to the morphological future. However, when speakers are presented with the present tense, Dahl (315) notes that this additional option complicates the situation as the speakers must select what they feel to be the best way to communicate events about their future using one of the options from example (1): the present indicative, the

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<sup>5</sup> Aspect without beginning or end of a verb.

periphrastic future, the morphological future, etcetera. In this study, an overall average of 53% of the utterances in one of the three targeted tenses were in the periphrastic future, while 33% were in the present indicative and 13% were in the morphological future. This confirms Dahl's theory, because in most cases, the rate of present indicative usage was nearly as common, if not equal to, the rate of the periphrastic future.

According to Dahl (315), the present tense is almost completely excluded in prediction-based contexts, as demonstrated in example (9).

- (9) I: OK. Um, *este fin de semana que viene*, ¿qué hace(P) su familia?  
 BA1: No tengo la menor idea.  
 I: [laughs] ¿Ni idea?  
 BA1: Ni idea, no, no sé, no sé, no sé.  
 I: ¿Una hipótesis, no sé? [laughs]  
 BA1: Sí, mis suegros van a tener(PF) negocio, porque tienen un kiosko por ahí en la Gran Buenos Aires, y no lo pueden cerrar(P) como está la situación en la Argentina económica. Sí o sí lo tienen que tener(P) abierto y mi madre, no sé que va a hacer(PF)- algo con nosotros va a hacer(PF). Va a salir(PF) a algún lado a hacer algo.
- I: OK. Um, this upcoming weekend, what is your family doing(P)?  
 BA1: I don't have the slightest idea.  
 I: [laughs] No idea?  
 BA1: No idea, no, I don't know, I don't know, I don't know.  
 I: A hypothesis, I don't know? [laughs]  
 BA1: Yes, my parents-in-law are going to do(PF) business, because they have a newsstand there in the Greater Buenos Aires area, and they can't close(P) it with how the economic situation in Argentina is. Without a doubt, they have to have(P) it open and my mom, I don't know what she is going to do(PF) – something with us she is going to do(PF). She is going to go out(PF) somewhere or do something.

This is a prediction-based context because the participant is asked to speak about the upcoming activities of his family. He states that he does not know, and then when asked to provide a hypothetical statement, a prediction about these events, he relies on the periphrastic future and not the present indicative to speak about predicted actions that are isolated in the future, such as his mother's activities with the family. When he does use the present indicative, it is because he

is making a generalization about the future, speaking of something that is routine, specifically, the business customs of his parents-in-law.

Contrary to the statement made by Dahl, there were multiple occurrences in the interviews of this study that used the present tense to make predictions (statements about events containing a degree of uncertainty).

- (10) I: *OK, y este fin de semana que viene, ¿qué hace(P) tu familia?*  
 BA3: *¿Familia? La verdad es que creo que se van a quedar(PF) en casa. No hacemos(P) nada especial: andar en bicicleta, salir.*
- I: *OK, and this upcoming weekend, what is your family doing(P)?*  
 BA3: *Family? The truth is that I think they are going to stay(PF) at home. We aren't doing(P) anything special: go biking, go out.*

In example (10), the speaker makes a prediction about her family's plans for the weekend in the periphrastic future tense and then her next sentence is in the present indicative, regarding the same prediction.

- (11) I: *¿Sí? [laughs] Y, este año, ¿cómo vas a festejar(PF) Año Nuevo? ¿Vas a observar(PF) alguna tradición familiar o vas a hacer(PF) algo distinto?*  
 SF8: *En general, nosotros íbamos a un club para festejar el Año Nuevo. Pero, este año, probablemente nos quedamos(P) en casa de mi hija. Iremos(MF) en el momento del, de la noche vieja y la noche nueva, eh, a la casa de mi hija.*
- I: *Yes? [laughs] And, this year, how are you going to celebrate(PF) New Year's Eve? Are you going to observe(PF) a family tradition or are you going to do(PF) something different?*  
 SF8: *In general, we used to go to a club to celebrate New Year's Eve. But, this year, we are probably staying(P) at my daughter's house. We will go(MF) at the moment of, of the old and the new year, eh, to my daughter's house.*

Similarly, in example (11), when asked about her plans for New Year's Eve, a participant makes a hypothesis regarding the future by using the present indicative, which is followed, interestingly, by the use of a verb in the morphological future.

Given that there is often a lack of distinction between the three forms of future discourse, we can conclude that the three forms of the future tense are used interchangeably and non-exclusively in situations of varied levels of uncertainty. The use of one form as opposed to another by speakers in Argentina does not necessarily indicate the speaker's feelings of confidence in or closeness to the event in question.

### Variance by location

Participants were selected in two different cities in different provinces of Argentina to test for regional variances in use of the future verb tenses. In both locations, the order of preference, from most to least commonly used future form, was the periphrastic future, the present indicative, and the morphological future. The speakers in Buenos Aires demonstrated the most progressive scale of preference (See Table Set 1) as follows: periphrastic future, present indicative, and morphological future. There were three participants in Buenos Aires who did not use the morphological future form at all, and there was only one use of that form by all of the other participants. Of the participants in Buenos Aires, there were two individuals, both males, whose future verbal preference was communicated equally in the periphrastic future and the present indicative.

In San Francisco, results were relatively similar. The periphrastic future, present indicative, and morphological future were used 48%, 34%, and 18% of the time, respectively, as shown in Table Set 2. As hypothesized, it appears that the use of the morphological future form is much more widely used in San Francisco, as compared to Buenos Aires. In comparing the periphrastic and morphological future forms only, it was noted that 73% of verbs were produced in the periphrastic future, while 27% were in the morphological future. At a first glance, it would appear that this shows a weakness of presence of the morphological future. However,

when compared with an only 7% occurrence rate of the morphological future in Capital Federal, we see that the San Franciscan participants did in fact have a notable tendency to use the morphological future in addition to the periphrastic future and present indicative tenses. Based upon the  $X^2$  test for statistical significance, there exists a 97.5% probability that the population from San Francisco does not adhere to the hypothesis stated by Hunnius, specifically, that the periphrastic future is used just twice as often as its morphological counterpart.

There were two participants in San Francisco who did not have the periphrastic future as their preference or co-preference with the present future. These participants, SF1 and SF2, were 18 year old females. This variance may be explained by their young age. As suggested by Gili and Gaya (165), the periphrastic structures are favored in bilingual colonial situations because they are perceived to be more expressive, analytic, and easier to learn. Children do not learn the synthetic (morphological) future until later in their linguistic development, so they often employ the present tense or periphrastic structures to describe future events.

Therefore, given that the present indicative is more economical than the periphrastic future in terms of word count and phrase structure, this speaker's answers may be reflective of his age and level of educational development. Another potential explanation for the verbal preferences of participant SF2 is that she is preparing to be a kindergarten teacher. At one point after the interview, the interviewer commented to SF2 that she had done an exceptionally clear job pronouncing the reading exercises in comparison to past participants, and SF2 stated that she has been instructed to form a habit of speaking slowly and clearly for classroom use. Often, the language used to speak to children is simpler than that used among adults. Therefore, understanding that the present indicative is a more economical way of communicating future events can explain a possibility for this unusual preference, which was not demonstrated by any participants elsewhere, regardless of gender or age.

The difference between the participants of Capital Federal and San Francisco is distinguished upon comparing only the periphrastic and the morphological future tenses. In Capital Federal, when choosing between the two tenses, participants selected the periphrastic future tense 93% of the time and the morphological future tense only 7% of the time (Table Set 1B). This indicates that the periphrastic future is 11 times more popular than its morphological counterpart in this sample study. In San Francisco, on the other hand, the preferences were 73% and 27%, respectively (Table Set 2B), with a usage ratio of approximately three (periphrastic) to one (morphological). Although the periphrastic future is still dominant, the degree of avoidance of the morphological future is not as extreme here.

#### Variance by Gender

Having already been tested for variance in preference due to location, the data was further analyzed to determine to what extent gender affects the formation of future tense verb structure. When the statistics of both cities were combined, as seen in Table Set 6, percentage preferences for females alone were as follows: 49 periphrastic future, 35 present indicative, and 15 morphological future. The percentage preferences of the males were the following: 58 periphrastic future, 30 present indicative, and 11 morphological future. Therefore, on average, both genders preferred the tenses in the following order: periphrastic future, present indicative, morphological future. The males demonstrated a larger scale of preference, with a high rate of periphrastic future usage and a low morphological future rate. Because the  $X^2$  test performed on the periphrastic and morphological future verb frequencies for the males in both locations yielded a  $p$  value of 0.05, there is no greater than a 5% possibility that the deviation of these speakers from the hypothesized 2 to 1 frequency ration of periphrastic to morphological futures is due to chance alone. Therefore, there is a 95% probability that the general male population

from both locations combined does not adhere to the hypothesis of Hunnius. The preferences of the females were more centrally distributed, and the resulting deviations from Hunnius' hypothesis were not statistically significant according to the  $X^2$  test, due the small sample size and a lesser degree of variation from the hypothesis.

The differences of what was found between the genders merit examination based upon location. Although the female participants preferred the periphrastic future on average, there was only a 5% difference in occurrence of the periphrastic future and present indicative by female participants in San Francisco, who used the periphrastic future only slightly more than the present indicative, with occurrence rates of 43% and 38%. With the morphological future tense being employed 18% of the time, the periphrastic future is approximately more than twice as popular among females in San Francisco, different from the norm of other groupings of study participants. For example, Buenos Aires females use the present indicative three times as often as the morphological future and the periphrastic future nearly 7 times as often as the morphological future. In Buenos Aires, the females and their verb selections follow the trend of the study by Kany:

to replace the future [*cantaré* 'I will sing'] is common everywhere, but in popular American Spanish, it [*voy a cantar* 'I am going to sing'] has extended its domain beyond its normal usage in Spain (154).

This is demonstrated by the rankings of the three target future verb forms among Buenos Aires females were: 63% periphrastic, 28% present indicative, and 9% morphological (Table Set 4). Therefore, the morphological future tense is only one third as popular as the present indicative, the next most popular form, among this group of participants. Even more astonishing is the comparison of use of only the periphrastic and morphological future forms among Buenos Aires males, by which we observe that the periphrastic future is nearly 24 times as popular as the morphological future in this group, with usage percentages of 92 and 8 respectively (Table Set

4). According to the  $X^2$  test for statistical significance, there is no greater than a 2.5% possibility that the deviation of these speakers from the hypothesized two to one frequency ratio of periphrastic to morphological futures is due to chance alone. Therefore, there is a 97.5% probability that the male population from Capital Federal, Buenos Aires does not adhere to the hypothesis of Hunnius. Males in San Francisco, as demonstrated in Table Set 5, had interesting results with preferences for the periphrastic future, present indicative, and morphological future ranking as 54%, 25%, and 18%, respectively. Although their frequency of usage of the morphological future tense is as high as that of their female counterparts in their location, it is interesting to note that their use of the present indicative is not even quite twice as frequent, indicating a strong preference for the periphrastic future but less distinction awarded to the present indicative and morphological future tenses.

#### Variance by Age

When the locations are examined together, there appears to be several trends of variance in usage of the verbal tense forms in future discourse within different age categories, which for the purpose of this study are 10 to 25, 26 to 50, and 51 to 75. On average, the periphrastic future, the present indicative, and the morphological future were selected (in respective order) by: participants ages 10 to 25 – 51% (periphrastic future), 33% (present indicative), and 16% (morphological future) of the time; participants ages 26 to 50 – 59% (periphrastic future), 32% (present indicative), and 9% (morphological future) of the time; participants ages 51 to 75 – 42% (periphrastic future), 42% (present indicative), and 16% (morphological future).

When comparing all three target forms in San Francisco, the morphological future tense becomes more popular with the progression of age (younger to older) among speakers, while the

preference for the present indicative decreases (Table Set 5). In Buenos Aires, however, the exact opposite trend exists, as shown in Table Set 6A, with both the least and most popular morphological future verb tense occurring among Buenos Aires males.

Another trend noticed among older speakers of both populations is their tendency to make generalizations (G) about the future by referring to past habits in the present tense, but without any connection to the event targeted by the interview questions, as seen in examples (12) and (13), given by participants in age group 51 to 75. Generalizations were made not only about the summer as a whole, but also about plans for the same evening.

- (12) I: OK, um, ¿qué pensás hacer(P) este verano?  
 SF8: Eh, en general en el verano no salimos mucho(G) a veranear, digamos, porque a Abalito, mi marido, no le gusta tanto veranear(G) Pero sí saldremos(MF) a hacer excursiones, este, solemos ir(G) a las sierras por unos pocos días, o a lo mejor también a la playa por unos pocos días. Pero, en general, este, eh, tratamos de disfrutar(G) la pileta aquí en la casa, durante el verano, ¿no?
- I: OK, um, what do you plan to do(P) this summer?  
 SF8: Eh, in general in the summer we don't go(G) on vacation much, so to speak, because Abalito, my husband, doesn't like taking summer trips so much(G) But yes we'll go do excursions, etcetera, um, we often go(G) to the mountains for a few days, or perhaps also to the beach for a few days. But, in general, um, eh, we try to the enjoy (G) the pool here at home, during the summer, no?
- (13) I: Y, últimamente, um, este año que viene, ¿estará(MF) más ocupado que ahora?  
 BA7: Suponemos que sí(G), por varios factores. Porque, por los desafíos que uno se plantea siempre(G) al principio de año, porque se prevea un año difícil para la ... la Argentina y sus trabajadores.(G) Y, circunstancias personales que van a hacer(PF)... de este año mucho más esforzado.
- I: And, lastly, um, this coming year, will you be(MF) busier than you are now?  
 BA7: We suppose so, for various factors. Because, for the challenges that one always poses for himself at the beginning of the year, because a difficult year is seen ahead for ... Argentina and its workers.(G) And, personal circumstances are going to make (PF) ... this year much more strenuous.

It is my perception of this series of occurrences that speakers in the oldest of the participating age category make such generalizations because they are set into certain routines. Speaker BA7, in example (15), not only adheres to his normal routines “one always poses for himself,” but also to the foreseen activities of the country as a whole, by speaking of Argentina and its workers. These participants have lived more years than the other speakers and can forecast what will happen in a given future time or event without necessarily contemplating the actions of that time or event themselves. The only time when other age groups were noted to have made a series of generalizations was when they were asked about plans for the holidays, for which many families and individuals have set plans that coincide with discourse in the form of a generalization.

## Conclusions

Based on the data collected from the interviews in this study, we can conclude that as a whole, despite the numerous linguistic differences by which it distinguishes itself, the Argentinean dialect of Spanish follows the norms of other dialects with regards to preference of use of the present, the periphrastic future, and the morphological future tenses in discourse pertaining to the future. It reveals, however, that not all speakers that come from a monolingual educated environment follow the norms, as they are not rules by which one must abide, as demonstrated by several speakers in San Francisco and one individual in Buenos Aires, who preferred either the present indicative over the periphrastic future or had no distinguishable preference between the two options when compared side-by-side. Additionally, in certain age groups and genders, the data show that there are other ways of referring to future situations, such as the generalizations made about a present situation, often done by older speakers.

The most significant of the findings of the study, however, were that: (a) on average, Argentinean speakers prefer the three target tenses in the following order: periphrastic future,

present indicative, morphological future; (b) the morphological future does not necessarily increase in frequency among older and more educated speakers; (c) that women tend to use the morphological future more than men; and, (d) that on a whole, the average speaker of San Francisco, Córdoba, still employs the morphological future significantly more than his counterpart in Buenos Aires, regardless of age or gender. This continued widespread presence of the morphological future, although not as prevalent as its periphrastic counterpart, in San Francisco supports the hypothesis that this small agricultural and industrial city is not evolving linguistically at par with the national capital, which can likely be attributed to: (a) the lingering preservation of Italian heritage and things of old; or (b) its geographic distance from larger cities.

Although research was performed on the findings of other linguists regarding Spanish discourse in the future tense, no information was located regarding the use of the infinitive, ellipsis, or generalizations about future events made in the present tense. This study provides several basic observations. First, in addition to the three target tenses (present indicative, periphrastic future, morphological future), the data from this study show that speakers often employ the infinitival verb form. Sometimes, this use of this form is isolated and not elliptical in nature, as demonstrated by some participants in response to a question made in a tense such as the morphological future. Questions formed in other verbal forms, whose structure permits ellipsis by the speaker with phrases such as *pensar + infinitive* ‘to plan to’ and *ir + a + infinitive* ‘to be going to,’ received answers employing ellipsis by a notable number, although not the majority of the responses.

While the present study included only 18 participants that were distributed quite evenly by gender, age, and location, results were determined to exemplify statistical significance, meaning that the noted deviations from hypothesized verbal usage were not due to chance alone. Although  $X^2$  tests generally require a very large sample size to be statistically significant, the

significance of the findings reinforces their validity and the probability that they are representative of the trends that would be observed in a larger-scale study.

Future research is needed to further evaluate these linguistic aspects of future discourse to determine if what was discovered in the data of the present study is typical only of the two geographical locations described or if it is a characteristic of the Spanish language as a whole.

**APPENDIX A**  
**Denise E. Miller**  
**Linguistic Research in Argentina, Spring 2002**

**Questionnaire Form** Alias for this person \_\_\_\_\_

Foreign language and culture background

- |  |      |        |      |
|--|------|--------|------|
| 1. Circle one:   | Male | Female |      |
| 2. Age:  |      |        |      |
| 3. Level of education  |      |        |      |
| 4. Have you traveled outside of Argentina?                                   | Yes  | No     |      |
| a. If so, where?   |      |        |      |
| 5. Have you lived (more than one month) outside of your current town?        | Yes  | No     |      |
| a. If so, where?   |      |        |      |
| b. And, for how long?  |      |        |      |
| c. What other languages, if any, were spoken there?                          |      |        |      |
| 6. Do you speak or have you studied any language other than Spanish?         | Yes  | No     |      |
| a. If yes, are any of them Romance languages?                                | Yes  | No     |      |
| b. Which one(s)?   |      |        |      |
| c. Identify the place/manner of learning.                                    |      |        |      |
| 7. Do any of your family members speak another language? Who, and which one? |      |        |      |
| 8. If you speak another language, how would you categorize your skills?      |      |        |      |
| _____ High proficiency (like a native)                                       |      |        |      |
| _____ Advanced proficiency (little difficulty or few errors)                 |      |        |      |
| _____ Intermediate proficiency (much difficulty and many errors)             |      |        |      |
| _____ Low/No proficiency   |      |        |      |
| 9. Cultural/social level   | Low  | Middle | High |
| a. Justification for this classification:                                    |      |        |      |

## APPENDIX B

Set of directed questions to elicit responses pertaining to future events and situations

*Denise Miller, Linguistic Research in Argentina, Spring 2002*

### Example Introductory Questions

*¿Cómo estás hoy?*

How are you today?

*¿Estás lista para las fiestas? / ¿Disfrutaste las fiestas?*

Are you ready for/did you enjoy the holidays?

*¿Qué opinas de la situación actual en Argentina?*

What do you think of the current situation in Argentina?

### Questions pertaining to the future

Using the Present Tense

*¿Que piensas hacer este verano?*

What do are you planning to do this summer?

*¿Te quedas en casa esta noche o salís?*

Are you staying home tonight or are you going out?

*¿Este fin de semana que viene, qué hace tu familia?*

What is your family doing this upcoming weekend?

Using the Periphrastic Future Tense

*¿Vas a esforzarte para lograr algún desafío este año que viene?*

Are you going to make an effort to reach any certain goals this upcoming year?

*¿Cómo vas a festejar Pascua este otoño? ¿Vas a observar alguna tradición de tu familia o vas a hacer algo distinto?*

How are you going to celebrate Easter this fall? Are you going to observe a family tradition or do something different?

*¡Hace mucho calor! ¿Qué vas a hacer para refrescarte después de esto? /la próxima vez que no aguantes más el calor?*

It is so hot! What are you going to do to cool down after this/ next time that you can no longer take the heat?

Using the Morphological Future Tense

*¿Que harás justo después de esta entrevista?*

What will do you after this interview?

*¿El año que viene, estarás más ocupado(a) que ahora?*

Next year, will you be busier than you are now?

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