

Social Constraints on the Expression of Futurity in Spanish-Speaking Urban Communities

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1. Introduction

As Orozco (2005, 2006) indicates, to express simple futurity in the indicative mood Spanish speakers use a morphosyntactic variable consisting of three interchangeable forms: the morphological future (MF), the simple present tense (SP), and the periphrastic future (PF). This variable is illustrated in (1), (2), and (3) respectively.

- (1) *Jugaré mañana*. '[I] will play tomorrow'.
- (2) *Juego mañana*. '[I] play tomorrow'.
- (3) *Voy a Jugar mañana*. '[I]'m going to play tomorrow'.

There is a change in progress in the expression of futurity in Spanish whose Brazilian Portuguese equivalent has virtually reached completion. Gutiérrez (1995) and Orozco (2004) point out that as a result of this change, the periphrastic future has become the default expression of simple futurity at the expense of the morphological future. Consequently, studies regarding the expression of future time throughout the Spanish-speaking world, including communities where Spanish is in direct contact with other languages, report that the PF is overwhelmingly favored as the marker of futurity. For instance, Silva-Corvalán (1988, 1994), van Naersen (1983, 1995), Zentella (1997), and Escobar (1997) indicate that the PF is the preferred expression of futurity in all varieties of Spanish. Moreover, the PF is reported as the variant of choice in Caribbean Spanish, in Chile (Silva-Corvalán and Terrell 1989), in Costeño Colombian Spanish (Orozco 2005), in Seville, Spain (Agudo 1985), in Venezuela (Sedano 1993), in Mexico City, Morelia, Mexico, and the Southwest US (Gutiérrez 1995), in New Mexico (Villa Crésap 1997), in the speech of Puerto Rican New Yorkers (Zentella 1997), and in the Spanish of New York Colombians (Orozco 2006). On the contrary, the occurrence of the MF as a marker of futurity is reported to have decreased considerably to the point of almost disappearing. Thus the MF is considered a receding form in the Americas (Escobar 1997), in educated Mexican Spanish (Moreno de Alba 1970), and in Colombia (Montes 1962, 1985). The MF is also reported to have almost completely disappeared in Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, (Lope Blanch 1972:144), and in the Colombian, Dominican, and Puerto Rican communities in New York City (Zentella 1990). More recent quantitative analyses have lent validity to earlier, qualitative studies.

Table 1. *Distribution of Forms in Barranquilla, Colombia and in New York City*

Form	Raw Frequency		Percentage	
	Barranquilla	New York	Barranquilla	New York
Morphological Future	269	133	18.2%	7.2%
Simple Present Tense	533	559	35.9%	30.3%
Periphrastic Future	681	1,153	45.9%	62.5%
Total	1,483	1,845	100.0%	

Previous analyses of the expression of futurity in Colombian Spanish (see Table 1) have determined the frequency distribution of the variants illustrated in (1), (2) and (3) above in the city of

Barranquilla (Orozco 2005) and in the speech of New York Colombians (Orozco 2006). The results of those studies also revealed that the same eight linguistic factor groups significantly constrain the expression of futurity in both populations. The similarity of constraint effects found in New York and in Colombia suggests that, despite the influence of language contact, the two populations are still members of the same speech community. Additionally, those results indicate that the change in progress from the preferential use of the morphological future to that of the periphrastic future seems to have been accelerated in the New York Colombian community. The main purpose of this paper is to follow up on those studies. In so doing, I seek to identify, explain and compare the impact of the social factor groups which significantly constrain the expression of future time in both communities.

2. Methodology

The data set examined in this study was extracted from approximately 55 hours of tape recorded sociolinguistic interviews with two groups of twenty informants each. The first, used in Orozco (2005), consists of monolingual residents of the metropolitan area of Barranquilla, Colombia. With a population of 1.7 million people, it is the largest Colombian sea port and one of the five largest cities located on the Caribbean. The migration pattern of people moving from rural to urban areas found throughout Latin America also affects Barranquilla. Since it attracts people from all over northern Colombia, the Spanish spoken in Barranquilla has become representative of that Colombian region. According to Spanish dialectal classifications (Lipski 1994:6, Quesada Pacheco 2000:154, Zamora and Guitart 1982:182 ff.), the local dialect, *Costeño*, is part of the Carib/Arawak Region which includes the Antilles and the coastal regions of Colombia and Venezuela. The speakers from Barranquilla include 10 female and 10 male individuals born between 1912 and 1984. Three of them were born before 1930; three were born in the 1940s, five in the 1950s, four in the 1960s, one in the 1970s and four in the 1980s. They live in middle and working class communities and have lived most of their lives within a hundred miles of their birthplace. The level of educational achievement of these speakers ranges from middle school to some graduate education.

The second group of informants, used in Orozco (2006), includes Colombian residents of the New York City metropolitan area, a community with an intriguing sociolinguistic situation: Their language is simultaneously found in direct contact with English and with many other varieties of Spanish. This community, which dates back to the 1910s, constitutes the largest concentration of Colombians in the United States (Orozco 2004). The speakers in this group were born between 1928 and 1987. Four of them were born before 1950, seven of them in the 1950s, four in the 1960s, two in the 1970s and three in the 1980s. These individuals include ten men and ten women from middle and working class extraction who immigrated to the United States at various ages. They are all native speakers of Spanish with various degrees of proficiency in English. As with the informants from Barranquilla, the level of educational achievement of these speakers ranges from middle school to post graduate education.

In the larger study from which this paper was extracted, I tested a total of nine linguistic factor groups and eight social factor groups. Five of these social factor groups apply to both groups of speakers (sex, age, education, socioeconomic status, interview conditions). The remaining three (proficiency in English, length of US residency, and age of arrival in the United States) only apply to the New York Colombian group.

The role of sex differences in furthering language variation and change has been widely analyzed by sociolinguists. As Fasold (1990:92) remarks, research involving quantitative analyses of social variables “has taken sex differences into account from the beginning.” In this study, I have treated speaker’s sex in terms of oppositional categories as has traditionally been done in sociolinguistic studies. In examining the significance of age, I intended to test Guy’s observation that, in situations of change from below, linguistic innovations are spurred by younger speakers (1990:52). To more accurately account for age differences, I divided my informants into six groups according to their age. I grouped together all speakers born before 1930, and the others according to the decade in which each was born, e.g., 1940s, 1950s, and so on.

Educational attainment is another social constraint widely explored by sociolinguists. In exploring its impact in Colombia, I tested the effects of three factors: an incomplete high school education, a complete high school education, and a college education. In exploring educational attainment among New York Colombians, I also tested the effect of a post-secondary education in the US. I did not include speakers under 25 years of age in either group based on the fact that their education is still in progress.

I also tested whether or not occupation or socioeconomic status correlated with the choice of a specific variant in expressing futurity. In my analysis of the Barranquilla data, I used the socioeconomic classifications that are customarily used in Colombia, which, for the most part, are drawn along the lines of those used in the United States. In analyzing the New York group, I was mindful of the fact that members of immigrant communities usually hold occupations that are below the socioeconomic status they had in their native countries. Because this also occurs in Colombian communities in the United States, the majority of my New York Colombian informants hold blue-collar jobs. To account more accurately for their occupational status, I divided New York Colombians into three groups. In the first group I included those individuals who retained the white-collar status they had in Colombia. The second group includes individuals who retained their blue-collar status, and the third group comprises individuals who traded their white-collar status in Colombia for blue-collar status in the United States. In a preliminary analysis of my data, I found that the effects of age do not show clear patterns in the Colombia-based population. However, they do show that speakers born before 1960 and those born after 1960 pull in opposite directions. To provide a better account of the effect of age and social class on the expression of futurity, I combined these two constraints into a complex factor group with four factors. Working class speakers born before 1960 constitute one factor and those born after 1960 another. The remaining two factors are middle class speakers born before 1960 and those born after 1960. The combination of age and social class into a complex factor group also helped me avoid the potential overlapping of social constraints indicated by Eckert (1989) and Labov (1990).

Recognizing the impact of peer-group influence on linguistic behavior, I tested interview conditions as a factor group. I unvaryingly encouraged the participation of more than one speaker in all interviews throughout my fieldwork in an effort to come closer to genuine, everyday speech. I also made certain that all of my informants felt completely at ease at all times, and I respected the wishes of those who chose to speak with me without others being present. This group has three factors: conversations that were one on one, conversations where others were present but did not participate, and conversations where others who were present interacted with the speaker.

As stated above, the remaining external constraints tested are only applicable to the New York Colombian group. I explored the significance of speakers' linguistic competence to test for the influence of English on the speech of bilingual individuals. Length of US residency has been tested in studies involving immigrant speakers such as Silva-Corvalán (1994) and Otheguy and Zentella (2003). To test the significance of this constraint, I divided New York Colombians into three groups according to the length of their residency in the United States: less than ten years, ten to twenty years, and more than twenty years. I tested the significance of arrival age, to see how it affected the expression of futurity among New York Colombians. I divided this group into three factors according to the age at which speakers immigrated to the United States: pre-teenager, teenager, and over 20 years of age. Based on preliminary results, and in an effort to avoid the potential overlapping of social constraints discussed above, I merged arrival age and length of US residency into a single factor group.

According to Labov (1972:252), to be able to understand the mechanisms of linguistic change, we need to study the social factors that affect it. In this study, the impact of social forces on the expression of futurity in Barranquilla can reveal important information as to the tendencies in effect prior to the onset of direct language contact. On the other hand, the social constraints on the New York Colombian population may tell us the effect of direct language contact during its early stages. In this study I answer the following basic research question:

What are the social forces that affect the morphological future, the simple present, and the periphrastic future in the Spanish of Barranquilla, Colombia and in that spoken by New York Colombians, and how are these variants affected?

In determining the significance of external social forces, I conducted a series of parallel statistical analyses for each variant of the expression of futurity examined in this paper (morphological future, simple present, and periphrastic future). To carry out these analyses I used the 2001 windows version of Goldvarb, a multivariate statistical method. In these Goldvarb analyses statistical significance was determined using a threshold for p of 0.05. Individual probabilities greater than 0.5 favor the occurrence of a variant, while those less than 0.5 disfavor it. The further a value is from 0.5, the stronger the effect of that factor.

3. Results

In presenting my results, I start by discussing the social factor groups significant in the expression of futurity in Barranquilla. Then I discuss the social factor groups that were found to be significant in the expression of future time for New York Colombians. I close by presenting the conclusions and implications of this study.

3.1 *Statistically Significant Social Factor Groups in Barranquilla*

The results for the external factors significant in the expression of futurity in Barranquilla are presented in Table 2. Speaker's sex, interview conditions, and the complex factor group combining the effects of social status and age significantly influence the expression of futurity in Colombian Spanish. All three of these social forces impact both the MF and the PF. However, the only external factor significant in the occurrence of the SP is social status/age. While the effect of speaker's sex on the MF is the opposite of that on the PF, there's no clear pattern for interview conditions. On the other hand, educational attainment did not reach statistical significance. In discussing the significance of external factors, I first address the role of speaker's sex. Then I discuss interview conditions, and finally I address the effect of social status/age.

3.1.1 *Speaker's Sex*

The probability levels for sex presented in Table 2 show that the MF is favored by women and disfavored by men while the opposite is true for the PF. Sex, however, did not reach statistical significance in the occurrence of the SP. According to James, with respect to linguistic behavior "there are a variety of different factors which can give rise to differences between women and men" (1996:119). These results may be interpreted in terms of the social and historical evolutions of these forms. The MF is the older form and the one considered to be more formal and invested with greater social status. In this light, women are using more of the more 'standard' form, which is highly consistent with other findings on language and gender. Another possible explanation for the fact that women from Barranquilla favor the more formal MF and disfavor the PF may reflect that Colombian women want to present themselves as "individuals worthy or respect" (Eckert 1989, James 1996:108). At the same time, this may indicate social upward convergence.

On the other hand, given traditional male roles in Colombian society, the tendencies registered by men could arguably result from traditional patterns of masculine or macho behavior. According to Bing (1995, cited in James) "informal speech is the prerogative of the more powerful individual," so Colombian men may prefer the more informal variant (PF) as a way to exercise their societal status. If we consider that the PF is in the process of expanding, these results could be interpreted as showing men as leading the change in progress. This fact does not conform to one of Labov's principles of sexual differentiation since he postulates that women are most often the innovators in spontaneous change from below (1990:215). Although the number of cases where men are in the lead is relatively small, my results have precedents. Other cases in which men are in the lead are that of Martha's Vineyard where they lead the centralization of (ay) and (aw) (Labov 1963), and the parallel shift of (ay) before voiceless finals in Philadelphia mentioned in Labov (1990:218). However, the fact that those are cases of phonological change and this study describes morphosyntactic change opens

questions as to whether the differences are due to the nature of the changes or to the makeup of the community under study.

Table 2. *Social Factors Significant in the Expression of Futurity in Barranquilla, Colombia*

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Speaker's Sex</i>									
Female	.594	125/677	19%	[.479]	218/677	32%	.451	334/677	49%
Male	.420	144/806	18%	[.518]	315/806	39%	.541	347/806	43%
<i>Speaker's Social Status/Age</i>									
Working Class	.460	83/419	20%	.488	137/419	33%	.536	199/419	47%
Middle Class Born Before 1960	.478	49/339	14%	.620	160/339	47%	.364	130/339	38%
Middle Class Born After 1960	.621	77/325	24%	.403	88/325	27%	.555	160/325	49%
<i>Interview Conditions</i>									
Others Did Not Participate	.664	124/495	25%	[.529]	188/495	38%	.367	183/495	37%
Others Involved	.428	110/805	14%	[.462]	291/805	36%	.579	404/805	50%
One-on-One Conversation	.363	35/183	19%	[.591]	54/183	30%	.533	94/183	51%
I= input	I=.138	269/1483	18%	I=.342	533/1483	36%	I=.453	681/1483	46%

3.1.2 Interview conditions

Turning to the effect of interview conditions, the non-participatory presence of other people inversely affects the MF and the PF. The findings presented in Table 2 show that while the non-participatory presence of others favors the MF, it disfavors the PF. The results also show that this factor group did not reach statistical significance in the occurrence of the SP. The results seem to indicate that the non-participatory presence of others may have been perceived by speakers as a kind of scrutiny. As a consequence, this situation favored the MF while the other situations disfavored it. The presence of others who interacted with the speaker seems to have contributed to more relaxed speech, thereby triggering the occurrence of the PF. Whereas the MF is most disfavored in one-on-one conversations, this condition favors the occurrence of the PF. The results also support the postulate that, if in one-on-one conversations the fieldworker is successful in making speakers feel at ease, they would freely use the vernacular and produce very informal speech which is representative of their actual linguistic behavior.

3.1.3 Speaker's Social Status/Age

Although age proved statistically significant in my initial analysis, those results did not reveal a clear pattern. For instance, as indicated in Table 2, while some older speakers favor the PF and the SP, other older individuals disfavor it. As noted in the methodology section, I combined social status and age into a complex factor group. The results presented in Table 2 show that middle class individuals born after 1960 favor the MF, and all other speakers disfavor it. That is, middle class speakers born before 1960 as well as all working class speakers disfavor the MF. At the same time, middle class speakers born before 1960 promote the SP while all other speakers disfavor it. The

tendencies for the PF shown in Table 2 run contrary to those for the MF, i.e., middle class individuals born before 1960 disfavor this variant while all others favor it.

It was interesting to find that all middle class Barranquilleros do not display the same linguistic behavior across different age groups. The favoring effect that all working class speakers and middle class speakers born after 1960 have on the PF presents these individuals as promoters of change. This suggests that the change towards expanded use of the PF began in the working class, and has more recently spread to the younger middle class. On the other hand, the disfavoring effect of middle class speakers born before 1960 on the PF shows these speakers as disfavoring the change in progress. In that respect, older middle class speakers appear to have distanced themselves from working class people as well as from their younger middle class counterparts. The results for MF, however, suggest a separate development for this form. The only group favoring the MF is younger middle class speakers, who thus favor both the MF and PF at the expense of the SP. It appears that while trying to hold on to tradition, these speakers are also acting as innovators. This may be due to expanded education in Colombia: speakers born after 1960 are generally better educated than older individuals, and formal education tends to promote the use of the MF.

The social factor groups significant in the expression of futurity in Barranquilla have been identified. Our understanding of the tendencies of the individual factors involved is helpful in comprehending the forces at play prior to the onset of direct contact with English and with other varieties of Spanish. In the next section, I will discuss the social constraints that significantly impact the expression of futurity in the Spanish of New York Colombians.

3.2 Statistically Significant Social Factor Groups in New York City

As presented in Table 3, four external factor groups proved to be statistically significant in the expression of future time for New York Colombians. These factors are speaker's sex, age, education, and the complex group combining the effects of arrival age and length of residency in the United States. As occurs with social forces in Colombia, the MF and the PF represent two extremes and the tendencies for the SP usually appear between them regardless of statistical significance. At the same time, the values of the factors significant in the occurrence of the MF usually have the opposite effect in the occurrence of the PF.

All four factor groups are significant in the occurrence of the PF. Education was the only factor group found to be statistically significant for all three variants, and age was the only factor group not to reach significance in the occurrence of the MF. One difference between the effect of external factors in the two populations under study is that in Colombia age combines with social status, and in the New York-based group it stands by itself. Additionally, while interview conditions did not register statistical significance in the New York Colombian population, arrival age and length of US residency apply to this analysis and turned out to be statistically significant. Other factors which did not reach statistical significance for this speaker group are socioeconomic status and proficiency in English.

3.2.1 Speaker's Sex

The tendencies for speaker's sex presented in Table 3 reveal that, as happened in Colombia, the results for the SP did not reach statistical significance. In both populations, however, men favor the SP. These results also reveal that in New York City, men favor the MF and women favor the PF. While this is the opposite of what obtains in Barranquilla (See Table 2 and §3.1.1), it is a reflection of what happens in the expression of nominal possession as reported in Orozco (2004:254). These findings may reflect a sociolinguistic role reversal motivated by a change of social setting. When my findings for the New York Colombian speakers are further contrasted with those for the Barranquilla-based speakers, the results are consistent with Eckert's (1989) observation that "gender does not have a uniform effect on linguistic behavior for the community as a whole." My findings also support James' (1996) view that the speech of men and women "reflects different agendas in different settings."

Table 3. *Social factors significant in the Expression of Futurity for New York Colombians*

Factor	MF	N	%	SP	N	%	PF	N	%
<i>Speaker's Sex</i>									
Female	.426	41/908	5%	[.477]	249/908	27%	.539	618/908	68%
Male	.572	92/937	10%	[.522]	310/937	33%	.462	535/937	57%
<i>Speaker's Age</i>									
Born before 1950	[.576]	56/355	16%	.618	125/355	35%	.352	174/355	49%
Born in the 1950s	[.563]	48/628	8%	.390	163/628	26%	.576	417/628	66%
Born in the 1960s	[.533]	17/381	4%	.585	125/381	33%	.407	239/381	63%
Born after 1970	[.341]	12/481	3%	.490	146/481	30%	.586	323/481	67%
<i>Speaker's Education</i>									
Did not Complete HS	.727	42/256	16%	.399	76/256	29%	.481	138/256	53%
Completed H S	.446	25/341	7%	.597	129/341	37%	.451	187/341	54%
College in Colombia	.559	42/558	7%	.515	161/558	28%	.470	355/558	63%
Higher Ed. in the US	.315	19/396	4%	.460	100/396	25%	.597	277/396	69%
<i>Arrival Age/ Length of U.S. Residency</i>									
Pre-teen >10 years	.244	5/293	1%	[.568]	92/293	31%	.509	196/293	66%
Teen or Adult >10 yrs	.404	28/529	5%	[.441]	138/529	26%	.589	363/529	68%
Teen or Adult <10 yrs	.629	100/1023	9%	[.511]	329/1023	32%	.451	594/1023	58%
I= input	I=.032	133/1845	7%	I=.262	559/1845	30%	I=.646	1153/ 1845	63%

If we consider that the PF is in the process of expanding, these results could be interpreted as showing New York Colombian women as leading the change in progress while men resist the innovation. This fact, contrary to what was found in Barranquilla, does conform to one of Labov's principles of sexual differentiation since he postulates that women are most often the innovators in spontaneous change from below (1990:215). In general, including what Labov and Trudgill postulate, sociolinguistic theory for sex behavior is largely based on phonology. However, Cameron (1998) shows that Puerto Rican women are in the lead in a change in progress in the use of direct quotations in Puerto Rican Spanish. Otheguy and Zentella (2003) also found that women lead change in progress in the use of subject pronouns in New York City Spanish. Similarly, my findings are based on the use of a morphosyntactic variable. Possibly, linguistic sex roles regarding phonological phenomena are different from those of a syntactic and morphosyntactic nature.

3.2.2 *Speaker's Age*

Turning to age, the results for the MF are sensitive to age despite their lack of statistical significance: with the younger the speaker, the less the MF is used. The results for the SP and the PF

are not entirely consistent. The oldest speakers favor the SP and disfavor the PF. The youngest speakers favor the PF and very weakly disfavor the SP just as middle class speakers born after 1960 do in Barranquilla. On the other hand, the two middle age groups are “reversed,” with the second youngest patterning with the oldest and the second oldest patterning with the youngest. It is not clear why this distribution obtains. From the results of the Barranquilla-based speakers, we already know that prior to the onset of direct language contact, there are no clear patterns regarding age. Thus the lack of a consistent pattern, while being representative of what happens with the expression of nominal possession in Colombian Spanish (Orozco 2004:255), calls for further research to determine the actual effect of age on the expression of futurity.

3.2.3 *Speaker’s Educational Attainment*

Educational attainment was the only external factor group that reached statistical significance for all three variants. Still, the results are somewhat puzzling. Speakers who have not completed high school strongly favor the MF. In fact, they exert the strongest influence of any external factor on any of the variants under study. At the same time, while weakly disfavoring the PF, they disfavor the SP. Speakers who only completed high school favor the SP while disfavoring both MF and PF. Those who attended college in Colombia favor both the MF and the SP while disfavoring the occurrence of PF. At the same time, individuals pursuing higher education in the US after having completed their secondary education in Colombia have the opposite effect, i.e., they favor the PF to the detriment of the other two variants.

New York Colombians who are pursuing their higher education in the US are generally better educated, more fluent speakers of English and have a higher socioeconomic status than most other individuals from their community. One reason why they favor the PF may be that these speakers have shifted from being under normative pressure in Spanish to having such pressure in English. On the other hand, speakers who attended college in Colombia disfavor PF perhaps as a consequence of having adopted attitudes stemming from their longer exposure to educated speech in Spanish and to the formal written language. In general, the strength and tenure of speakers’ contact with non-Colombian Spanish and with English, seems to bear a significant impact upon their choice of future marker.

3.2.4 *Arrival Age/ Length of U.S. Residency*

The combined effect of arrival age and length of US residency reached statistical significance for the MF and the PF but not for the SP. The PF is favored by speakers who have been in the United States for more than ten years regardless of their age of arrival. On the other hand, speakers with less than ten years in the U.S., whether they arrived as teenagers or adults, favor the occurrence of the MF, and, at the same time disfavor the PF.

The tendencies for speakers who arrived as teenagers or adults and have spent more than ten years in the US are interesting. The results given in Table 3 show that these speakers have the strongest influence on both the MF and the PF. However, their length of stay determines whether they favor the MF or the PF. The results for the MF in particular show a clear pattern suggestive of English influence especially for those who have spent most of their lives in New York City. The longer the impact of English contact, the less speakers use the MF. Arriving younger and staying longer are both consistent with a disfavoring effect on the MF, and a longer stay is consistent with a higher rate of use of the form most analogous to the English future, namely the PF.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have used data extracted from sociolinguistic interviews to identify the social factor groups which significantly impact the expression of futurity in two groups of speakers: residents of Barranquilla, Colombia and Colombian residents of the New York City area. In line with Labov’s (1972:252) perspective, I intended to gain a better understanding of the change in progress in the

Spanish expression of futurity. By determining the social forces constraining the expression of futurity in Barranquilla, we have learned about the tendencies in effect prior to the onset of direct language contact. By the same token, by identifying the social constraints on the New York Colombian population, we have gained some knowledge about what happens during the early stages of direct language contact.

As stated in the introduction, the two populations under study have been found to be two different segments of the same speech community (Orozco 2006). That is, the expression of futurity in both groups of speakers is significantly affected by the same linguistic factor groups with their individual factors exerting similar constraints. By contrast, the results of the present study reveal the following important differences between the two populations regarding the social factors constraining the expression of futurity. First, whereas some of the social factor groups significantly affecting the expression of futurity in both populations are the same, some are different. Sex and age are significant in both communities. On the other hand, interview conditions reached statistical significance in Barranquilla but not in New York while the opposite is true for speaker's educational attainment. Second, the individual factors significantly constraining the expression of futurity in both populations do not pull in the same direction. Specifically, the effect of sex in New York runs contrary to its effect in Barranquilla.

The larger linguistic situation under study consists of an internally-motivated change in progress which started in Colombian Spanish long before the onset of language contact and has accelerated in the New York Colombian community (Orozco 2006). The normative effect of the morphological future on the expression of futurity appears to have weakened in New York, and the ongoing change is aided by contact effects from the influence exerted by bilingualism in English. Moreover, the impact of individual social constraints reflects some differences that may be attributable to a relatively short period of contact with English as well as dialect leveling brought on by contact in New York with other varieties of Spanish. The results of this study suggest that sociolinguistic roles are different within different segments of the larger speech community of speakers of Colombian Spanish. In assessing the impact of social forces, it is important to consider that the situation of recent immigrant populations often involves abrupt changes in their socioeconomic and occupational status as well as in changes in their family roles. This in turn, may affect their linguistic behavior. Although, it is clear that the social constraints significant for both populations exert different pressures, it is virtually impossible to tease apart the effects of linguistic constraints from those of social pressures. Consequently, we may be in the presence of differences that have emerged in response to the new sociolinguistic landscape in which New York Colombians find themselves. If the results of this study prove to be typical of contact situations of recent inception, we can expect changes in the effects of social constraints to precede inevitable changes in the effects of linguistic constraints. Further research will ultimately help us satisfactorily answer the questions that still remain open regarding the pressures exerted by social factors.

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