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This book is dedicated to Fabrizio, Marino, Jara and Magda.

DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE ARTICLES IN NIKKEI SPANISH[1]

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1. Introduction

The American Commodore Matthew Perry arrived in Japan in 1853 with the purpose of putting pressure on the Tokugawa Shogunate to open commercial relationships. In 1868, a group of samurai overthrew the Shogunate, which ended the feudal economy and led to the rise of the Meiji Restoration. In an attempt to industrialize Japan, government officials from the new regime established taxes that many farmers were unable to pay, causing these farmers to lose their lands and emigrate. A few decades later, different waves of Japanese emigrants settled in Latin America: Mexico in 1892, Peru in 1899, Chile in 1903, Cuba in 1907, Argentina in 1907, Brazil in 1908, Panama in 1915, Bolivia in 1916, Uruguay and Paraguay in 1930, and Venezuela in 1931 (Befu 2002: 6). This paper focuses specifically on the Japanese emigrants to Colombia and on the influences this emigration had on their language use.

After this initial wave of emigrants to numerous different countries, commercial relationships between Japan and Colombia opened in 1908, further allowing Japanese travelers to visit Colombia. One such traveler was Professor Yuzo Takeshima, who received support from the Japanese Government and the *Compañía de Fomento de Ultramar* to visit Colombia. Fascinated by the vastness and fertility of the lands in the southwestern *departamento* ('province') of *Valle del Cauca*, he translated a romantic novel entitled *María* into Japanese, written by the Colombian author Jorge Isaacs in the nineteenth century. The novel's Japanese translation was published periodically by the University of Tokyo Press as a short story, influencing Japanese migration to Colombia. In his novel, Isaacs portrays the landscape of a plantation in Valle del Cauca called *El Paraíso*. Metaphorically, Japanese immigrants recounted that they went to Colombia seeking a paradise.

The first Japanese families arrived in Colombia via three distinct waves: 1929, 1930, and 1935. These emigrants were farmers from the Northern Japanese prefecture of Fukuoka, and sought land to cultivate. World War II, however, stopped new arrivals until 1952. After this global conflict, many Japanese citizens migrated and integrated into a community of traditional settlers. Their efforts to recover from the War led to prosperity: by 1955 they owned 13,000 hectares of cultivated land (Sanmiguel 2006: 89), and an average of $ 1.25 million in profits (Masterson and Funada-Classen 2004: 210). By the beginning of the twenty-first century, there were approximately 1,000 people of Japanese descent living in Colombia (Masterson and Funada-Classen 2004: 210).

The Japanese language identifies *Nikkei* as any individual who emigrated from Japan to settle elsewhere, as well as any descendants thereafter. The language reserves the term *Issei* (first generation) for those Nikkei who were born in Japan, and *Nissei* (second generation) for Japanese children born in a foreign country. Most Japanese who consider themselves as Nikkei arrived in Colombia around 1929-1935 and 1952-1980. These Colombian-Japanese also use the term to refer to their descendants, even if born in Colombia. Being a Nikkei person involves the expectation of having integrated into the social life of first generation Japanese immigrants. Thus, both *colonia japonesa* and *comunidad japonesa* are Spanish translations used by the Japanese participants to convey the meaning of the term.

This chapter examines the linguistic outcomes of Spanish in contact with Japanese in the specific community of Colombian Nikkei, focusing on their unique usage of indefinite articles as opposed to definite articles through a sociolinguistic approach. Section 2 provides a qualitative analysis of how Japanese communities in Colombia define their identity. Sections 3 and 4 elaborate on the nature of indefi-

nite articles and show how previous L2 research has dealt with them. Section 5 describes the methodology of data collection and analysis adopted in this study. Finally, section 6 provides the results and discusses them.

2. Language contact and Nikkei identity

The International Nikkei Research Project (INRP) was a program sponsored by the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, California to analyze the strategies for maintaining social cohesion among the Nikkei communities in Latin America (Hirabayashi, Kikumura-Yano and Hirabayashi 2002). However, this project did not include the smaller Nikkei communities, such as the Colombian-Japanese community. In an effort to expand this previous research, I present an overview of the Colombian Nikkei with regard to identity and language (cf. also Díaz Collazos 2011, 2012; Sanmiguel 2006; Masterson and Funada-Classen 2004; Asociación Colombo-Japonesa 1979).

The first wave of Japanese immigrants to Colombia founded a plantation called *El Jagual*, in the departamento of Cauca (close to Valle del Cauca). The immigrants created *Hikarien* in 1936, an elementary school for their children. The instructional language for all communities surrounding *El Jagual* was Japanese. I interviewed two women who arrived during their childhood in 1935. They report using, at present, a fossilized version of the variety of Japanese spoken in the prefecture of Fukuoka at the time they left Japan. The most frequent interactions for the first Nikkei children were with their peers from *Hikarien*. The linguistic results of this sectioning off are some Japanese features present in the Spanish spoken by these isolated communities, as exemplified in (1):

(1) Ellos llegaron a una familia a ayudar a **trabajo agricultura**, pues, y en donde **otros familia** (Interviewee 30).

In (1), a Spanish native speaker would expect "en el trabajo de la agricultura." The construction shown lacks prepositions and articles, as well as gender and number agreement in "otros familia." I argue that this construction results from the contact of the two languages. Interviewee 30 was born in Japan and arrived in Colombia at the age 6 in 1935. Her speech shows similar evidence of language contact to that of interviewee 21, who was born in Colombia in 1931. In her childhood, she acquired the Fukuoka dialect, but she cannot speak any variety of Japanese today:

(2) **Situación** era muy buena en Japón (Interviewee 21).

(3) Ellos quedaron en Corinto (Interviewee 21).

In (2), she says "situación" instead of "la situación," omitting the definite article in an obligatory subject position. She also omits the reflexive pronoun, saying "quedaron" instead of "se quedaron."

The inhabitants of the *departamentos* of Cauca and Valle del Cauca—located in the southwestern highlands, close to the Pacific coast—speak this unique *sub-dialecto caucano-valluno* (Monroy 1996). Besides a regional vocabulary, this variety contains features like *heheo* (production of /s/ as [h] before vowels); realization of /n/ as [m] in the final position; and a triadic system of singular pronouns of address made up of *vos* (extremely informal), *tú* (informal), and *usted* (formal). The region has an important presence of African descendants. In some isolated communities, dialectologists have identified certain phonetic features derived from contact with African languages, such as glottal stops (Granda 1977). With regard to the indigenous languages, the main population of the region comprises the *nasa kiwe* or *paeces*, and the *misak* or *guambianos*. Also the native speakers of these languages exhibit article omissions in their use of the Spanish language (cf. Sánchez Méndez 2003: 282; Solano Fitzgerald 2008). However, the Nikkei participants I interviewed do not report contact with indigenous speakers.

World War II marked a period of serious challenges for the Nikkei communities around Latin America because migrations from Japan were banned until 1952 (see also Hernández, forthcoming: 1658). Interviewees emphasize the persecution led by the Colombian police who accused Nikkei of being spies for the German government as rationale for the dispersal of the Nikkei around *El Jagual*. As a result, the Hikarien school, where instruction took place in Japanese, closed down. The 1950s were also years of a period called *la violencia* in Colombia, during which two political parties, *Liberales* and *Conservadores*, were involved in a confrontation that reached unspeakable extremes of cruelty. The Colombian-Japanese colony is unique among others because of their courage to succeed economically despite these hardships (Masterson and Funada-Classen 2007).

As a strategy to maintain their community ties, the Nikkei of Colombia created a cooperative of farmers called *Sociedad de Agricultores Japoneses* (SAJA). They changed the name to *Sociedad Colombo-Japonesa* in 1963, and to *Asociación Colombo-Japonesa* in 1979. During the 1950s and 1960s, they encouraged family integration with Japanese citizens in order to expand and strengthen traditional Japanese culture by arranging marriages for their children. Indeed, marriage was a good opportunity for those trying to leave Japan and escape from the post-war crisis. After 1952, many Japanese arrived to Valle del Cauca to live among the Nikkei families. This situation led to dialect contact involving the old Fukuoka variety and modern Japanese. The Nisei husband of interviewee 6 speaks the old Fukuoka dialect. After she arrived in 1964 and they married, he complained that

she was not speaking real Japanese. He was expecting his partner to talk the way he talked. Befu (2002:11) has called these women *war brides*, but there were also men, such as the husband of interviewee 24. His parents would not allow him to move from Japan to Colombia without being married, so the wedding was performed in Colombia between her and a picture of him, and between him and a picture of her in Japan.

After the fears of the 1950s subsided, the expansion of economic activities for the Nikkei put pressure on this community to hire more local labor for agricultural production. This led to a better integration between the Nikkei and Colombians, mainly farmers of African descent. All Nikkei/Issei learned Spanish through interactions with their Colombian employees. During the 1960s, the sudden urban growth of Cali, the capital of Valle del Cauca, prompted most Japanese settlers to leave their rural settings. Since new schools were established, many Nikkei people moved to Cali to take advantage of these educational opportunities. Interviewee 6 provides an insightful narrative of her linguistic situation. When she moved to Cali, her husband hired an accountant. The first time they interacted, the accountant scolded her because of the "uneducated" rural words she was using. Interviewee 6 quotes the words of the accountant in the following manner: "Señora, esa palabra no usa así, ese palabra muy mal, ese habla gente no está estudiao, campesino así, aquí no estudia, gente no estudia." As we see in this example, the interviewee omits the middle -d- in the participial ending in "estudiao," despite the fact that she is representing the supposedly educated speech of the accountant.

The integration into the urban community also implied a gradual attrition of the Japanese language among the children born in the 1960s and thereafter. Urban schools created a space of frequent interaction between the Nikkei/Nisei students and Colombian high-middle class speakers. Interviewee 17 learned the Fukuoka dialect at home, but gradually lost it during school. His teachers recommended that his parents speak only Spanish to him, and even among themselves. As a reaction to the danger of losing their language, the community restarted the Hikarien in 1968 for the teaching of Japanese in a program integrated with the activities of the Asociación Colombo-Japonesa. During the 1980s, they opened their doors to anyone who wanted to learn Japanese, whether or not Nikkei. The instructors of Hikarien complain that the Nikkei/Nisei students do not have a sincere interest in the Japanese language. If we contrast this opinion with the interviewees, it is possible to find that some Nikkei/Nisei said their reason for studying Japanese was to meet the requirements for a Japanese passport, or to be able to migrate to Japan and find high-paid jobs (interviewees 4, 22 and 25). Some others, however, state that their motivation was different, and more of a personal search for identity and

pride (interviewee 20). All of the interviewees share the opinion that Japanese is their second language, not Spanish.

The Japanese economy underwent a period of significant growth in the 1980s that gave many Japanese the financial standing to become world-travelers. This subsequent wave of post-1980s Japanese people to Colombia has clearly expressed feelings of not belonging to the Nikkei community. Three of the non-Nikkei interviewees were volunteers for the *Japanese International Cooperation Agency* (JICA), working in Colombia on programs of cooperation. Interviewees 10 and 11 studied Spanish for three months before arriving in Colombia, and their exposure to Spanish was less than two years at the time of the interview. Interviewee 9 studied Spanish for five years before arriving in Argentina in 1982. He has lived in Latin American countries since then and is a fluent speaker of Spanish. Other JICA volunteers recognize their Spanish as "muy bueno."

Among the non-Nikkei individuals, interviewees 1 and 3 are scientists who work in biology and agriculture for the *Corporación Internacional de Agricultura Tropical* (CIAT). However, interviewee 3 had contact with Spanish for 9 years in Colombia after having studied it for two years in Japan. Interviewee 1 taught herself Spanish one month before arriving and she has been exposed to Spanish for 2 years. Interviewee 18 works as a secretary at the Asociación Colombo-Japonesa. She was a former JICA volunteer who was in Colombia for three years between 2001 and 2003. She returned to Colombia with her Japanese husband, one year prior to the interview. During her time in Japan, she was continuously devoted to the study of Spanish. Interesting is the case of interviewees 27 and 28, who are pastors of a Christian church, and came to Colombia in the 1990s to gain converts. Interviewee 28 feels more confident with Spanish than his wife, interviewee 27. He has taught himself Spanish through textbooks and dictionaries during his 19 years in Colombia. Interviewee 27 expresses that she has not been able to study Spanish because she has to do chores besides her religious duties, reporting low proficiency in the oral domain.

The Nikkei and non-Nikkei are two clear-cut categories recognized by the Japanese in their personal histories. Members of the second generation Nikkei (Nikkei/Nisei) identify as both Nikkei and Colombian. This second generation speaks Spanish natively, except for the offspring of the earlier immigrants (interviewee 21). People from the first generation Nikkei (Nikkei/Issei) have not studied Spanish in a formal setting, while the non-Nikkei individuals have studied at least some; these differences in preparation appear through the use of Spanish by Nikkei and non-Nikkei Japanese immigrants.

3. Spanish indefinite articles

Articles accompany nouns in order to mark the speaker's assumptions about what the hearer knows. Definite articles mark referents familiar to the hearer, and indefinite articles, referents unfamiliar to the hearer (Leonetti 1999: 798). This is a semantic feature known as *definiteness*. If taken in a discursive context, definite articles should appear before referents previously mentioned. Contrary to this expectation, computational analyses have shown a significant number of definite articles in first mentions (Rescasens, Martí and Taulé 2009; Poesio 2004). Even more problematic are indefinite articles: since they share properties with quantifiers, they may not be considered real articles, but *quasi-indefinite* or *cardinal articles* (Lyons 1999). In Spanish, the cardinality of the indefinite article is especially salient since it has the same form as the number *one*. The plural indefinite article is thus made by pluralizing the word *one*, but it does not work as a real indefinite article because it has its own semantic properties (López Palma 2007). Spanish articles agree in both number and gender with a noun, as shown in Table 1.

	Singular		Plural	
	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine
Definite	la	el	las	los
Indefinite	una	un	unas	unos

Table 1. Spanish articles.

According to Priebsch and Collinson (1966: 309), in Indo-European languages the definite article is more widespread than the indefinite: "The function of the definite article is to pick out and distinguish a particular item from others of the same kind or to isolate an item which is unique of its kind; that of the indefinite article is to indicate some particular item as member of a class, thus implicitly denying its uniqueness and abstracting from its differences as compared with other items." This concept seems to refer to *specificity*. *Specificity* encodes whether the referent exists or does not exist [+/- Specific Referent] (SR), while *definiteness* encodes referents 'Assumed Known to the Hearer,' [+/- Hearer Knowledge] (HK). Articles contain different combinations of such features (cf. Huebner 1983: 135; Leonetti 1999):

1) [-SR, +HK], or generic. The speaker assumes that the hearer is familiar with the designated referent, which is not an entity in particular, but the designation of a type. This meaning is compatible with quantities. In (4), both the speaker and the hearer know which type of animal is the "guepardo," but the speaker is not referring to any "guepardo" in particular. In Spanish, both indefinite and definite

articles convey the expression of generic reference. In (5), both interlocutors are familiar with a group of criminals who committed an assault, but the identity of the one who was imprisoned is irrelevant. In fact, the quantification becomes more salient as it is coordinated with "el otro."

(4) El/un guepardo es fácil de domesticar (Leonetti 1999: 874).

(5) Un atracador fue detenido, el otro consiguió huir (Leonetti 1999: 859).

2) [+SR, +HK], or definite. The speaker assumes that the hearer knows the entity because it was already mentioned, it is the only one that exists (uniqueness), or it is physically present. In (6), "el diario" is a referent previously mentioned through its title "Ahora." In (7), each hand is unique to each person. In (8), the speaker is warning about the presence of a danger, which should be in sight of both speaker and hearer.

(6) Lea *Ahora*, el diario de actualidad (Leonetti 1999: 794).

(7) Puso la mano sobre la mesa (Leonetti 1999: 793).

(8) Cuidado con el escalón (Leonetti 1999: 792).

3) [+SR, -HK], or indefinite. The speaker assumes that the hearer does not know the entity. It may be the first mention in discourse, and the identity of the referent is relevant, thus being specific. Indefinites also appear after existential verbs such as *there is/are* or *have*. In (9), the indefinite article marks the accusative to "tenemos." The existential construction enhances the presentational function of the indefinite article. "Ayudante" refers to a person unknown to the hearers, and the speaker is providing an introduction of his identity.

(9) Tenemos un nuevo ayudante (Leonetti 1999: 835).

4) The last category, [-SR, -HK]. The speaker assumes that the hearer does not know the entity, which also does not have a particular existence. It appears in predications of copulative verbs, called *equationals* by Huebner (1983). It also appears in negations, questions, and irrealis mode.

(10) Pilar es una persona responsable (Leonetti 1999: 851).

(11) ¿Quién me presta un bolígrafo? (Leonetti 1999: 861).

(12) Me compraré una gabardina nueva (Leonetti 1999: 861).

I will argue that we can restate all semantic features in terms of context.

4. Previous research

When native speakers of article-less languages learn English, they seem to follow stages in the acquisition of articles: 1) Overgeneralization of nouns without articles (omissions, bare nouns, or zero articles); 2) Overgeneralization of definite articles in some contexts (more common), and of indefinite articles in other contexts; 3) Native-like article usage. According to Huebner (1983), speakers start by using bare nouns when they have not acquired the forms of the articles. As acquisition progresses, speakers are able to use articles, but they do not know when to properly use them. His Hmong participant starts by overusing *the* in many contexts that do not require an article. Participants in Huebner's research reduce the amount of usage of *the*. Afterwards, he or she gradually increases the usage of each type of article in a native-like manner.

For Chaudron and Parker (1990), the Japanese participants use English definite articles and bare nouns more often than indefinite articles at early stages. As their language proficiency increases, they gradually include indefinite articles. These authors detect at the lowest proficiency an unexpected native-like usage of indefinite articles, which they consider an "exceptional" finding. Trademan (2002) reports that both Spanish and Japanese learners of English first integrate *the* into their article systems, later *a*. Ionin, Ko and Wexler (2004) describe different patterns of fluctuation in their Russian and Korean speakers of English. They tend to overuse *the* in specific, indefinite referents, while overusing *a* in non-specific, definite referents. This happens because at early stages speakers rely on *specificity* for article choice. As acquisition progresses, speakers are able to use *definiteness*, and not specificity, to select an article.

Butler (2002) is the main researcher who has highlighted the influence of contexts in article learning. Japanese speakers with little proficiency start by using very narrow, syntax-based contexts for selection of articles. They gradually expand the range of contexts until they achieve broader perception of SR/HK in what she calls "structural" contexts. Other researchers have already suggested the influence of certain contextual clues as follows:

Mention: First mentions favor indefinite articles (Jarvis 2002), while second mentions definite articles (Ionin and Yang 2009).

Existential and copulative verbs: Indefinite articles tend to appear before nouns within the scope of verbs *there is/are,* possessive *have* or the verb *to be* (Lardiere 2006; Robertson 2002; Trademan 2002; White 2003; Young 1996).

Modifier: Postmodified nouns followed by *of* are definite contexts (Young 1996: 148; Wakabayashi and Hall 1997) as well as nominal modifiers (Robertson 2000).

English contexts where an adjective is added yield a higher number of omissions (Jaensch 2009; Trenkic 2009), possibly because speakers interpret the preceding adjective as an article.

Position in the clause: The beginning of an utterance often works as a connection with previous utterances, triggering the continuation of the speech, which favor article omission in the English spoken by a variety of L2 speakers from different linguistic backgrounds, such as Serbian, Chinese, Czech, Swedish, etc. (cf. Trenkic 2009; Robertson 2000; Young 1996). In contrast, Quechua speakers of Spanish prefer indefinite articles (Sánchez and Jiménez 1998).

Semantic class: Torres-Cacoullos and Aaron (2003) have studied the nouns of English origins in the Spanish of New Mexico to determine whether these are Spanish-like or English-like contexts. If bare nouns appeared in English-like contexts, the speaker would switch to the grammar of English. This does not occur: the cases of article omission in these nouns are Spanish-like. What is interesting for us is a factor they consider: *semantic class*. In Spanish, bare nouns usually appear in the names of occupations or status such as *bombero* 'fireman', *curandera* 'healer', and *volunteer*, in predicate nominal constructions (see also Lyons 1999: 104).

I note a potential problem in second language research as being its limitedness to Huebner's approach, which furthermore involves a methodological problem. How are we to determine the semantic features of a given token? The usual method has been introspection. Aware of the danger of bias, Ionin, Ko and Wexler (2004) and Young (1996) both use coders; however, with this method researchers still cannot control the multiple factors that affect the coder's choice. There is a methodological need in second language research to show how linguistic factors altogether influence article choice as a linguistic network beyond the SP/HK framework.

In a pilot analysis, I found that Nikkei participants tend to produce a high rate of article omissions in a similar fashion as non-Nikkei/Beginners, with an average of 75.4% and 75.7% respectively (Díaz Collazos 2011: 85). This means that their language development may not have moved forward from the early stages of acquisition. But they do use some articles, which raises the question of what function type these participants assign to the language they produce.

5. Methodology

The methodology used for data elicitation consisted of sociolinguistic interviews (Tagliamonte 2006). The questions in my research were designed to prompt participants to talk about general aspects of their lives, engaging them in spontaneous con-

versation, as is usual in sociolinguistic studies. Table 2 provides information about the participants selected for this research.[2]

Interview ID	Group	Spanish proficiency	Age	Date/ age of arrival	Years of exposure to Spanish	Gender	Profession
6	Nikkei/ Issei N=439	Advanced	68	1964, 22	46	Female	Teacher
7			60	1961, 21	49	Male	Farmer
12			73	1957, 20	53	Female	Teacher
29			67	1961, 18	49	Female	Farmer
31			77	1957, 24	53	Male	Farmer
14			57	1980, 27	30	Female	Teacher
3	Non-Nikkei N=612	Advanced N=386	31	2001, 22	9	Female	Engineer
9			58	1982, 30	28	Male	Business-man
18			23	2001, 23	4	Female	Secretary
28			50	1991, 31	19	Male	Minister
10		Beginner N=226	65	2008, 63	2	Male	Engineer
11			62	2009, 61	1	Male	Business-man
1			33	2008, 31	2	Female	Biologist
27			52	1994, 36	16	Female	Minister
5	Nikkei/ Nisei N=401	Native	57			Female	Secretary
17			46				Farmer
20			61				Entrepeneur
23			41				Church manager
Total=1452							

Table 2. Information about participants

The focus group comprises the Nikkei/Issei who arrived as adults, in contrast to non-Nikkei participants. I selected four native speakers of Spanish from the Nissei as a control group. Proficiency values reflect an average of listening and speaking skills, since I am only analyzing oral production. I asked them to self-assess their

[2] Selected interviews can be found at http://talkbank.org/browser/index.php?url=BilingBank/ DiazCollazos/

proficiency using a scale from 1-5, where 1-2=Beginner, 4-5=Advanced. I excluded Intermediate because there was only one participant in this category. Those who have been exposed to Spanish for more than 30 years (all the Nikkei/Issei) and those non-Nikkei who have studied Spanish for more than two years are also advanced. As Sánchez and Jiménez (1998) suggest, working with communities of immigrants may pose material difficulties for performing standardized tests. It was not easy for me to find participants due to time limitations and shyness, as indicated by the participants themselves. I did not want to add difficulty by intimidating them with a test.

Table 3 presents research questions and expectations. If omissions are indicators of fossilization in Nikkei article systems, they should behave as non-Nikkei/Beginners regarding indefinite articles in most factors. I also expect that both groups rely heavily on narrow contexts such as lexical types and object positions, following Butler (2002). If non-Nikkei/Advanced behave more like native speakers of Spanish, we may hypothesize that explicit instruction is necessary for the learning of articles.

Research question	Expectation
1. To what extent do the lexical type and discursive position affect production of indefinite articles instead of definite articles?	1. Nikkei/Issei and Non-Nikkei/Beginners prefer indefinite articles in quantitative and pro-forms, while Non-Nikkei/Advanced and native speakers prefer them in first mentions. Fossilization is expected in Nikkei/Issei, showing more influence of narrow contexts in a similar fashion as Non-Nikkei/Beginners.
2. What is the influence of number and agreement in article choice?	2. All groups will prefer indefinite articles in the singular, but Nikkei/Issei and Non-Nikkei/Beginners will show fewer cases of number and gender agreement. Fossilization is expected in Nikkei/Issei, showing more influence of narrow contexts in a similar fashion as Non-Nikkei/Beginners.
3. What is the role of the modifier in article choice?	3. Non-Nikkei/Advanced speakers will behave as native speakers in choosing definite articles in modified nouns because cataphoric contexts (Leonetti 1999) yield a more complex pattern of definiteness.
4. What is the relationship between syntactic case and article choice?	4. Nikkei/Issei and Non-Nikkei/Beginners prefer indefinite articles in object positions. Fossilization is expected in Nikkei/Issei, showing more influence of narrow contexts in a similar fashion as Non-Nikkei/Beginners.
5. What is the role of verb type in article choice?	5. All groups will prefer indefinite articles in existential and copulative verbs. It is a pattern described as natural in native speakers of Spanish (Leonetti 1999). Even Non-Nikkei/Beginners would be able to follow this pattern, since it is a narrow context.

Table 3. Research questions and expectations

I extracted approximately 100 tokens per participant, where speakers used any article, for a total of 1452 tokens. Some speakers used slightly less than 100 articles per interview, and in those cases I extracted all tokens. I excluded tokens where speakers would drop nouns, and also the neutral article *lo*. A limitation in this research, however, is the fact that I left aside all nouns without articles. Omission of articles has linguistic properties with a level of complexity deserving of a separate report. In contrast, I did not exclude idioms or collocations, such as *todos los días* or *un poquito*, as all researchers have done following Huebner (1983). Since I claim that article choice depends heavily on collocational rules, I consider every type of token, regardless of idiomatic usage.

Among the tokens included, I coded the following factors: lexical types/discursive position, number, gender, modifier, case, and verb type. After coding, I performed a statistical regression using GoldVarb X (Sankoff 2011), a software designed for multivariate analysis.

1)   *Lexical type and discursive position.*

1.1) *Lexical type*: The term *semantic class* (Torres-Cacoullos and Aaron 2003) may lead to confusion with the semantic features of Huebner (1983). As such, I make use of the term *lexical type* as a way to make clearer the subtle methodological difference.

1.1.1) *Definite lexical types*: Definite articles mark noun phrases whose referent is "unique", such as "The Pope", or with "referents conventionally assumed to be unique", such as "The President" (Huebner 1983: 132). The word *president* may appear after a definite article in first mentions modified by the proper name of the president. Subsequent mentions may omit the name of the president, and still have a definite article. Thus, "The President Barack Obama" is a definite lexical type due to the presence of the proper name. In this line of reasoning I code proper nouns in this category, such as names of institutions (*Asociación Colombo-Japonesa*) and of people, among others.

Entities that are not replaceable may require definite articles, such as nouns to refer to family members or parts of the body. I base this assumption on the patterns I observed in native speakers of Spanish of my corpus. To the best of my knowledge there is not study on the matter on the deictic nuances implied in *mi mamá/ la mamá*. Other family members such as uncles and cousins may select indefinite articles, but I preferred to keep them all grouped within the same category to avoid excessive sub-grouping or coding bias. Regarding parts of the body, for example, a person may have two hands, but each one is referred to as *la mano*, with a definite article (see example 7).

There are other types of words that may favor the definite articles such as feelings (*tristeza*) or values (*esfuerzo*); time ranges and dates (*otoño, noche, tres de mayo*); names of professions or fields of knowledge and practice (*medicina, agricultura, sumo*); collectivities (*gente, rebaño*); names of languages (*japonés*); natural elements (*agua, viento, sol*). Spanish also may prefer definite articles before nouns that traditionally have been viewed as generics: nationalities and names of regional origins in the plural (*colombianos, japoneses*). In the case of modified nouns, I rely on the lexical type of the modifier: nouns modified by *todo(s), único, mismo*, post-positional possessives (*mío, tuyo, de él*), and the ordinal numbers (*primero*) are *definite lexical types*.

1.1.2) *Non-specific lexical types*: They include *quantities* and *lexical pro-forms*.

Quantities are nouns designating measurements, which include *día, mes, año, metro, vez/veces, momento*. I also look at the syntactic context to include nouns coordinated with cardinal words, or modified by *sólo* or *poquito*. The English *a little bit* has been traditionally excluded from coding for being too idiomatic. But since I am looking for collocational usage to determine its rules, I include its Spanish counterpart (*un poquito*) to test my thoughts on the idiomatic nature of articles. The Spanish *un/una* may overlap with a pure quantifier not only in form, but also in meaning. In an attempt to avoid bias and limit the scope of this project, I keep *un/una* in this category.

Lexical pro-forms are elements that specialize in substitution since they are empty in meaning by themselves. Pronouns are grammatical pro-forms, while lexical pro-forms comprise words like *thing* or *person* (Bernárdez 1982: 105-106). It may happen that these types of nouns usually go with indefinite articles because they are compatible with the traditional concept of *generics*. I have coded as lexical pro-forms: *persona, señor(a), niño(a), cosa, lugar*, and singular nationalities (*colombiano, japonés*).

1.2) *Discursive position*: For nouns not coded as lexical types, I look at the entire interview to code discursive position. Every noun not previously mentioned in an interview received the label of *first mention*, and any subsequent mention, *second mention*.

2) *Number*: singular article/singular noun, singular article/plural noun, plural article/singular noun, and plural article/plural noun.

3) *Gender*: feminine article/feminine noun, feminine article/masculine noun, masculine article/feminine noun, and masculine article/masculine noun.

4) *Modifier*: any absence or presence of any modifier was coded as such.

5) *Case*: Considering the verb in the smallest clause, there are five categories: subject position, object position (postverbal nominative, accusative, dative), prepositional phrase (excluding dative), adverbial expression, and verb deletion.

6) *Verb type*: This factor comprises existential (*tener, haber, faltar*) and copulative verbs (*parecer, ser*) as a single factor; another factor groups all other types of verbs.

Examples:

Nikkei/Issei

(13) Y **un** día venía a mi casa, venía **una** secretaria para ser contador, para hacer todo, yo hablé **una** palabra (Interviewee 6).

   Noun Phrase=*un día*/Verb=*venía*: quantity, singular/singular, masculine/masculine, unmodified, adverbial expression, non-existential/copulative

   una secretaria/venía: first mention, singular/singular, feminine/feminine, unmodified, object (post-nominal nominative), non-existential/copulative

   una palabra/hablé: first mention, singular/singular, feminine/feminine, unmodified, object (accusative), non-existential/copulative

(14) Claro, yo miré ciudad como puro campo, ahora sí cambió todo, pero realmente como **una** finca, **una** como campo, yo vi (Interviewee 14).

   una finca/vi: first mention, singular/singular, feminine/feminine, unmodified, object (pre-verbal accusative), non-existential/copulative

   una campo/vi: first mention, singular/singular, feminine/masculine, unmodified, object (pre-verbal accusative), non-existential/copulative

(15) Que piensen que cada uno **una** vida y que cree **una** sola bandera, eso es nacionalidad (Interviewee 31).

   una vida: quantity (within the scope of *cada uno*), singular/singular, feminine/feminine, unmodified, no case assignment (assumed the meaning *cada uno tiene una vida*), no verb (excluded from quantification)

   una sola bandera/cree: quantity (modified by *sola*), singular/singular, feminine/feminine, modified, object (accusative), non-existential/copulative

non-Nikkei/Beginners

(16) En verano o sea, **el** quince de agosto en Japón hay **una** fiesta muy famoso, este es día de persona muerto allá viene su casa entonces nosotros ok, y también hay **unas** baile, se llama bondori (Interviewee 10).

el quince de agosto/hay: definite lexical type (name of date), singular/singular, masculine/masculine, modified, adverbial expression, existential

una fiesta muy famoso/hay: first mention, singular/singular, feminine/feminine, modified, object (accusative), existential

unas baile/hay: first mention, plural/singular, feminine/masculine, unmodified, object (accusative), existential

(17) Está hablando **un** bolsa, **una** bolsa (Interviewee 1).

un bolsa/está hablando: first mention, singular/singular, masculine/feminine, unmodified, object (interpreted as accusative), communication

una bolsa/está hablando: first mention, singular/singular, feminine/feminine, unmodified, object, communication

non-Nikkei/Advanced

(18) Yo pienso que **el** español es **una** lengua muy importante (Interviewee 9).

el español/es: definite lexical type (language), singular/singular, masculine/masculine, unmodified, subject (pre-verbal nominative), copulative

una lengua muy importante/es: definite lexical type (language), singular/singular, feminine/feminine, modified, object (post-verbal nominative), copulative

(19) Hay **un** señor de, no sé, muy mal educado y así (Interviewee 18).

un señor/hay: pro-form, singular/singular, masculine/masculine, modified, object (accusative), existential

(20) O sea, eh tiene como **un** círculo, de, pues yo no sé cuantos metros (Interviewee 3).

un círculo/tiene: first mention, singular/singular, masculine/masculine, modified, object (accusative), existential

6. Results and discussion

Table 4 displays the frequencies of indefinite versus definite articles in three of the factors. In number agreement, the Nikkei/Issei bilinguals produce 8 errors, the non-Nikkei/Advanced speakers 4, and the non-Nikkei/Beginners only 6. Gender agreement shows higher instability: non-Nikkei/Beginners produce 20 discordances, while Nikkei/Issei speakers 24. Nikkei/Issei speakers resemble non-Nikkei/Beginners at this point, in part consequent to the aforementioned expectation 2. However, both groups behave as non-Nikkei/Advanced speakers with regard to number agreement. This result goes against expectation 2, but it is not surprising: number is agreement. This result goes against expectation 2, but it is not surprising: number agreement. This result goes against expectation 2, but it is not surprising: number is agreement. This result goes against expectation 2, but it is not surprising: number is easier than gender because it is morphologically uniform and also more semantically

motivated (see White et al 2004), at least in inanimate nouns. All plural nouns have a final -*s*, but not all feminine nouns end in -*a* and not all masculine nouns in -*o*.

	Nikkei/Issei		Non-Nikkei/ Advanced		Non-Nikkei/ Beginners		Natives/Nisei	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Position/type								
Non-spec	88.5	165	57.9	76	89.3	56	38.9	54
First Mention	69.9	83	56.3	71	87.0	54	33.3	63
Sec. Mention	21.6	37	19.7	61	35.0	20	6.0	50
Definite type	4.5	154	4.5	178	4.2	96	3.0	234
Number								
Sing/Sing	51.6	405	29.6	295	49.0	196	16.5	292
Sing/Plural	66.7	6	25.0	4	83.3	6	-	-
Plural/Sing	50.0	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plural/Plural	19.2	26	19.1	91	22.7	22	3.7	109
Gender								
Masc/Fem	16.7	6	60	5	87.5	8	-	-
Fem/Masc	33.3	18	-	-	66.7	12	-	-
Fem/Fem	44.3	235	20.2	178	48.4	95	11.2	196
Masc/Masc	61.1	180	31.7	202	41.8	110	14.6	205

Table 4. Relative frequencies of Spanish indefinite articles versus definite articles in Japanese speakers (Nikkei and non-Nikkei)

Non-spec=Non-specific lexical type which includes quantities and lexical proforms (*cosa, persona*). Sec. Mention=second mention, which includes any mention after the first. Sing=singular. Masc=masculine. Fem=feminine. App=indefinite articles (*un, una, unos, unas*); NonApp=definite articles (*el, la, los, las*).

Another issue that is worthy of comment is the definite lexical type. All speakers produce very few indefinite articles with definite lexical types (no more than 4.5%). Both definite lexical types and non-agreeing articles yield a low amount of data, which results in statistical interactions. For example, a speaker said:

(21) hay **unas** judoka (Interviewee 31, Nikkei/Issei).

This is the only case where any Nikkei/Issei bilingual produced an indefinite article without number agreement. It was in an object position, so other syntactic cases do not have a representation with non-agreeing nouns.

To perform statistical regression, I collapsed second mentions and definite lexical types into a single group, while putting together all the cases where speakers produced a singular/plural and feminine/masculine article, regardless of the number of the noun. Table 5 presents the results of the regression by showing the weights of all factors.

Factor	Nikkei/Issei			Non-Nikkei/Advanced			Non-Nikkei/Beginners			Natives/Nisei		
	%	N	Weight	%	N	Weight	%	N	Weight	%	N	Weight
Position/type												
Non-spec	66.9	165	.90	57.9	44	.88	89.3	56	.91	38.9	54	.91
First Mention	88.5	83	.72	56.3	40	.86	87	54	.91	33.3	63	.90
Def. type/Sec	7.9	191	.09	8.4	239	.23	9.5	116	.10	3.5	284	.29
Range			89.91			65			81			62
Number												
Sing	51.8	411	.53	20.9	182	.59	50	202	.55	16.5	292	.66
Plural	21.4	28	.15	32	203	.24	29.2	24	.17	3.7	109	.14
Range			38			35			38			52
Gender												
Masc	60.2	186	[.56]	32	203	[.57]	44.9	118	[.39]	14.6	205	[.56]
Fem	42.3	253	[.46]	20.9	38	[.42]	50.5	107	[.62]	11.2	196	[.44]
Modifier												
Yes	51.9	131	[.53]	31.1	119	[.62]	48.2	166	[.59]	14.2	176	[.54]
No	49	308	[.49]	25.1	267	[.44]	46.7	60	[.47]	12.0	225	[.47]
Case												
Object	59	166	.60	41	173	.72	65	52	.74	17.9	168	[.62]
Adverb	71.4	49	.60	38.9	18	.61	68.6	24	.63	31.6	19	[.62]
No Verb	50.9	108	.55	33.3	30	.68	40	35	.59	7.7	13	[.56]
Subject	44.2	52	.44	7	57	.17	50	28	.56	7.1	98	[.31]
Preposition	12.5	64	.19	11.1	108	.28	8.3	48	.08	7.8	103	[.47]
Range			41			55			73.92			
Verb Type												
Exist/cop	51.9	81	[.54]	39.4	104	.68	55.2	58	[.53]	21.3	89	[.57]
Others	49.5	248	[.49]	21	252	.42	46.5	129	[.49]	10.7	271	[.48]
Log Likelihood	-149.469			-133.080			-60.428			-99.48		

Table 5. Frequencies and weights of Spanish indefinite articles versus definite articles in Japanese speakers (Nikkei and non-Nikkei).

Brackets mark non-significant results. Non-spec=Non-specific lexical type which includes quantities and lexical pro-forms (*cosa, persona*). Def. type/Sec=definite lexical type grouped with second mention. Sing=singular. Masc=masculine. Fem=feminine. Adverb=adverbial expression. Preposition=prepositional phrase. Exist=existential verb. Cop=copulative verb. App=indefinite articles (*un, una, unos, unas*); NonApp=definite articles (*el, la, los, las*).

Contrary to expectation 1 of this project and previous research, all speakers significantly use indefinite articles in non-specific lexical types and first mentions. I expected a higher degree of lexicalization of indefinite articles in both Nikkei/Issei and non-Nikkei/Beginners, following the idea that beginners rely on narrow contexts to produce articles (Butler 2002). This is a tendency also present in native speakers of Spanish, and in non-Nikkei/Advanced speakers. Moreover, non-Nikkei/Beginners and Nikkei/Issei speakers significantly produce indefinite articles in first mentions, being able to manage discourse, a structural context.

The regrouping of gender and number shows that only the latter is significant for all speakers. The forms *un/una* are preferred over their plural counterparts. This may be due to the semantic overlap of indefiniteness and number *one*:

(22) **Un** secuestro, cuánto paga, cuánto tiene usted, principio dice que seis millones, seis millones es muy barato, porque dos tractores y **una** camioneta y estas herramientas y todo eso sí camión grande y se llevaron todo (Interviewee 31, Nikkei/Issei).

"Una camioneta" is coordinated with the cardinal expression "dos tractores." A Colombian native Spanish speaker would argue that this is just a number, not an indefinite article, and an English speaker may use the word *one*. Yet we can consider *un/una* to be polysemic particles with different degrees of saliency for the cardinal or indefinite meaning. In the case of (22), "una camioneta" is also the first mention of this word in his speech: it has some indefiniteness, but the cardinal meaning is more salient.

Contrary to expectation 4, all speakers prefer indefinite articles in object positions, not only in the non-Nikkei/Beginners or Nikkei/Issei. Since this does not occur in the speech of Spanish native speakers, we may believe that there is a type of L1 transference, consistent with suggestions of Chaudron and Parker (1990). The Japanese language marks old information with the particle *wa*, while new information with *ga*, even though both may co-exist as subjects in a sentence. The morpheme *wo* marks the accusative, and *ni*, the dative. The Japanese speakers may be producing some transference of all *ga/wo/ni* as Spanish objects. This would not be a one-to-one transference, but sensitivity to intra-sentential opposition between old and new information. While Spanish speakers rely solely

on discourse to mark new information, Japanese speakers use both discursive and sentential clues. This may also be a general developmental pattern of speakers without articles in their native systems, since this outcome is also present in speakers of other language backgrounds such as Quechua (Sánchez and Jiménez 1998) and Finnish (Jarvis 2002).

The presence of indefinite articles in adverbial expressions generates high weights. Given the overlap between the indefinite article and the number *one*, it is natural that adverbial expressions of time contain *un/una* (see "un día" in example 13). However, why indefinite articles are preferred upon verb deletion is not so clear. Non-Nikkei/Advanced speakers never deleted the verb, so this factor was found only in non-Nikkei/Beginners and Nikkei/Issei. In the absence of a verb, Nikkei/Issei speakers prefer indefinite articles, and the reason may be that it implies an existential or copulative construction, as in (23):

(23) **Una** gente come no importa, **un** plato, así sí, así empezamo (Interviewee 7, Nikkei/Issei).

When the speaker says "un plato," he probably means 'había un plato.' Thus, we can consider no case assignment as a type of object position.

Finally, I expected that all groups would produce more indefinite articles with existential and copulative verbs (expectation 5). The tendency for indefinite articles to appear with existential verbs has been described as a property of Spanish grammar (Leonetti 1999). Being a narrow context, I expected significance of this factor for the non-Nikkei/Beginners and Nikkei/Issei too. However, the factor is significant only for non-Nikkei/Advanced speakers, probably because they have studied Spanish longer and they are more sensitive to syntactic rules for article selection.

7. Conclusions

These results suggest that there are two types of articles: collocational articles, and interactional articles. Collocational articles are attached to certain lexical entries, working as idiomatic chunks. Interactional articles behave independently from the lexical type of the noun, being sensitive to whether the noun is a first or a subsequent mention in a broad discursive unit. An indefinite article is a useful resource for the speaker to smoothly introduce a new referent. Improper usage of indefinite articles may imply that the speaker considers the hearer to be unaware of a certain issue. Omissions seem to operate as strategies of evasion, so we still need to take into account omissions in future research to see how the statistical method works with them.

Indefinite articles can take the place of the number *one*, which points towards the early acquisition of this form. Speakers start by transferring this lexical item from their native language into their second language because cardinal meaning becomes immediately salient for them. Bilinguals tend to use L2 articles to mark referents that need special designation in the context of communication, which is called *saliency* (Trenkic 2002). After that, speakers easily learn the lexical conditioning related to non-specificity, and the interactional meaning associated with indefiniteness. For learners of English, the cardinal meaning of *a* may not be as salient as in Spanish because *a* does not correlate with any other lexical item, thus it may be more difficult to acquire. Future research could benefit from comparing acquisition of other Spanish-like languages so that we can test whether the form of the article plays a role.

This research shows how naturalistic contact with a second language has led to a solidification of grammar in Nikkei/Issei speakers, whose speech presents similarities to the one of non-Nikkei/Beginners. The use of articles in these two varieties is not radically different from that of non-Nikkei/Advanced speakers. The only point of contrast is that speakers who have been heavily exposed to explicit instruction seem more sensitive to syntactic contexts such as existential and copulative complements. We can interpret this result as hyper-corrective behavior, but we still need to examine the production of articles in each of the syntactic cases separately.

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SECTION 4.
LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH OUTSIDE OF LATIN AMERICA